

# The Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK. ... ..	313
ARTICLES :—	
The Critical Stage. ... ..	317
The Simon Report and the Indian States. By Prof. G. R. Abhyankar. ... ..	317
Independence for the Philippines. By V. N. G. ... ..	319
REVIEWS :—	
Leisure. By D. F. M. ... ..	320
Women. By K. Venugopal Rao. ... ..	322
Empire Trade. S. G. Sastry. ... ..	323
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
The Problem of India. By Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.O., C.H. ... ..	323
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	324

## Topics of the Week.

### Mr. A. V. Patwardhan.

AFTER twenty-five years of service as Secretary of the Servants of India Society, Mr. A. V. Patwardhan has relinquished that office, the most important of his, of late varied, activities. He is one of the foundation-members of the Society and throughout this long period he has served as Secretary with unparalleled devotion and unswerving loyalty. He sought not the footlights, but was content to work in comparative obscurity. He served the country not so much directly as through his colleagues. With paternal love and responsibility he watched over his colleagues, looked after their wants and enabled them to concentrate on their service to the country with undivided attention. Like the Mother who devils for her children and never thinks of herself and finds her joy in the happiness of her children, Mr. Patwardhan gave the best in him to the service of his colleagues and rejoiced in their work for the country and the recognition, if any, that it brought them. Such self-abnegation and self-surrender is a rare virtue in public life: Mr. Patwardhan excels in it. The flower smiles in the sunshine and is courted for its beauty and fragrance; but deep down in the soil in contented obscurity the sturdy root is grimly struggling in the darkness against rock and pebble to garner sustenance for the flower to blow.

### Sastri Nursing Home.

THANKS to the initiative, enterprise and devotion to social service of the Indian Christian priest, Rev. B. L. E. Sigamony (18, Moseley Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg), a nursing home for the use of Asiatic and Coloured women and children has been started in Johannesburg. This new institution will relieve to some extent the pressure on the existing institutions, and at the same time, cater to the special needs, the religious and caste susceptibilities and the dietetic preferences of non-Christian Indian women and

children. The Indian and the Coloured communities have taken up the idea with enthusiasm: merchants have offered groceries, and other stores beside linen; skilled workmen have offered their services as carpenters, plumbers, etc. free to fit up the Home. The most gratifying feature of the enterprise is the active and zealous co-operation of European friends. Sister N. Schmidt has offered her services as matron-sister in an honorary capacity until the Home has sufficient funds to pay her a salary. Dr. Rachel Getz has placed her services at the disposal of the Home as consulting doctor, though patients are free to engage their own doctors. The Chairman of the Committee of management is Mrs. Florence Van Heijst, (late Sister of St. Thomas' and Charing Cross Hospitals, London), and the members include several well-known and influential European ladies and gentlemen of Johannesburg. The Home has been named after the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, "who, by his magnificent work for South African Indians, endeared himself to all South Africa."

It is hoped that the Indian community of Johannesburg will be able to maintain the Home when they begin to reap the full advantages of the institution. But in the initial stages the Committee feel the need of help from outside. Efforts are being made to raise funds from the European community in Johannesburg and the Committee appeals to India for financial help to the extent of a thousand pounds, and we heartily join in the appeal. Every effort at co-operation between Europeans and Indians in South Africa should receive the utmost encouragement from India, for there is no greater and more permanent solvent to the Indian Problem in South Africa than understanding and co-operation between Indians and Europeans.

### Unanimous Repudiation.

SECOND thoughts seem to have sobered down the artificial enthusiasm with which the recommendations of the Simon Commission were acclaimed by the bulk of the British Press, which is slowly but surely realising that no constitution, whatever its merits, has any chance of being worked unless it carries with it the willing assent of political India. A constitution is but a channel to direct the flow of the human will, but the will must be present, if it is to be directed. The will to work the Simon constitution is absolutely wanting. The Simon constitution might be perfect but it is unacceptable and that settles its fate, as far as India is concerned. The strength, rather the violence, of feeling behind the repudiation of the Simon constitution would be shocking under other circumstances. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, an extraordinarily sober and restrained statesman, a constitutional lawyer of the very first rank, and ex-member of the Viceroy's cabinet, roundly denounced the report as "a piece of unparalleled political humbug and chicanry", and a "constitu-

tioned monstrosity." The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, to mention only two other outstanding leaders of the Liberal Party, have condemned the Report unreservedly. The Hon. Raja Nawab Ali Khan, a member of the Council of State and of the Central Simon Committee, was so disgusted with the Simon Report that he publicly regretted his having ever co-operated with the Simon Commission. The Congressmen are, of course, even more outspoken in their repudiation. Even the Anglo-Indian Press is halting and hesitant in its lukewarm and constrained support. The repudiation of the Report is unanimous for all practical purposes in India.

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#### The Communalists' View.

WHILE the nationalists, like the Liberals and the Congressmen, have based their repudiation on the unsatisfactory nature of the Simon Report from the point of view of the attainment of Dominion Status, the communalists, like the Muslims, Depressed classes, have emphasised their condemnation on the narrower ground that they did not get all that they wanted for their own communities. The Muslims, for instance, are disposed to test the proposals by the demands put forward on their behalf by the Delhi Conference under the presidency of the Aga Khan. While they are pleased with the retention of separate electorates for the Muslims, they are disappointed that the Lucknow pact is also retained, and their desire to make Punjab and Bengal definitely Muslim states has not been supported.

The rank communalist that he is, Sir Abdur Rahim has perceived that the Simon Commission have exploited the Hindu-Muslim differences to deny Dominion Status to India and he seems to repent the part his community played in contributing to this result. In his presidential address to the Bihar and Orissa Moslem Conference last week, Sir Abdur Rahim is reported to have said :—

"From their general attitude towards questions raised by the Muhammadans it would appear that the Commissioners have at every step laid emphasis on communal divisions and rivalries as an effective obstacle to the attainment by India of a Government responsible to the people and as a justification for shutting out any substantial political advance of the country; while what the Mussalmans equally with the other communities wanted was responsible government for the country with the additional demand that reasonable safeguards should be provided in the constitution against any possible over-riding of their rights by any communally inclined Government. They never expected that the main objective of all should be ruled out because of the existence of what the Commissioners call communal rivalries."

And he advised that leaders of both communities should review the entire position carefully. If the bulk of the Muhammadans will realise what Sir Abdur Rahim has now painfully realised and will actively help the Patro Committee to arrive at an agreed solution, we may yet defeat the reactionary purposes of the Simon Commission.

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#### Communal Electorates.

THE Simon Commission justify their recommendation of indirect election to the Central Legislature on the ground that under a system of direct election the constituencies would be too large to permit of personal contact between the electors and the candidates. At the same time, they propose to retain the separate electorates for Muslims and some other minorities for the provincial legislatures. The

smaller the minority and the wider its dispersal, the larger become the constituencies, the more difficult becomes the establishment of personal contact between the electors and the candidates of that group, and the thinner becomes the representative character of the elected. Such "electoral monstrosities", as the *Nation and Athenaeum* calls these constituencies, make a farce of democracy.

The Commissioners, be it said to their credit, are not enamoured of the communal electorates, but in the absence of agreement by mutual consent between the Hindus and the Muslims, they feel themselves precluded from recommending their abolition. It would be truer to say that it did not suit their purpose to do so. It is the British Government that had the greater responsibility for the introduction of the communal electorates. The *Nation and Athenaeum* is right when it says, "a century hence it is possible that the introduction of the communal system will be considered one of the most disastrous innovations for which the British have been responsible. It is true that the Indian politicians asked for the introduction of the system, but we have refused many more reasonable demands, and it is we who claimed responsibility for the introduction of a workable form of democracy." Our contemporary is mistaken, however, in thinking that Indian politicians asked for the communal system. It is only the Muhammadans that asked for it and they too were set up by the British. The responsibility for this "disastrous innovation", therefore, rests entirely on the British. On this side, it is the Indian Muhammadan alone that succumbed to the temptation and Sir Abdur Rahim now realises the Muslims have been used for the purpose of denying self-government to India. In his speech to the Behar and Orissa Moslem Conference, he is reported to have suggested that the Mussalmans of Bengal should consider whether they should not discard separate electorate and take their chance in a common electorate according to the extended franchise or whether they should still insist on their original demand. Sir Abdur Rahim might have given a more unequivocal lead. We do hope that the Muslims all over India will take up the hint thrown out by Sir Abdur Rahim and decide on the common electorate.

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#### Indians in Germany.

THE first annual report of the *Indian Information Bureau*, (52, Mauerstrasse, Berlin, W. 8.) has several interesting remarks to offer on the education of Indians in Germany. A larger number of students seek industrial and technical education than before, with a view to fit themselves for independent careers on their return to India. Their sole objective is no longer Government service. More students in proportion are going to the Continent than to England for the reason that in the former there is less prejudice against them and better opportunities for practical industrial education than in the latter. The majority of students belong to Bombay, and the subjects that draw more votaries than others are electrical engineering and chemical industries. Film industry is attracting increasing number of Indians: no less than seven are reported to be studying photography and cinematography. The *Bureau* is making commendable efforts to secure practical training for Indian students in factories in Germany and suggests that Indian firms who have business relations with Germany should second the efforts of the *Bureau* in this respect. Indian Chambers of Commerce may well take up this suggestion in right earnest.

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### The Vapourings of Lord Rothermere.

THE pound-shilling-pence argument for continuing the political domination of India has rarely been so bluntly put as by Lord Rothermere in an article contributed to the *Daily Mail* in the first week of June. He warns the "sloppy-minded sentimentalists" against surrendering to Indian agitation because loss of India would mean immediate economic ruin to Great Britain. According to his calculation at last four shillings in the pound of the income of every person in Great Britain is drawn from India in some way or other and he emphasizes the fact that India is the greatest overseas market for British manufactured goods. Lord Rothermere says that India is an absolutely essential ingredient of the economic unity of the British Empire on which latterly he has set his heart. He prophesies famine, civil war and anarchy in India if she is released from the control of Great Britain. He has repeated in this article the time-worn argument against the extension of democratic institutions to a vast Asiatic sub-continent inhabited by people of different races, religions, and languages; as if human ingenuity is incapable of making adaptations in the political sphere. The picture that Lord Rothermere draws of India under Dominion Status is ridiculous to a degree; he is certain that the Indian army in such an event would be placed under the command of anti-British politicians. One can only pity the poverty of an imagination which cannot see that after the grant of self-government there would not be an iota of reason for Indians being anti-British and that both would be the greatest friends in the whole wide world. His Lordship believes that under Home rule the administration of justice would be corrupt and oppressive, although the reputation established by the Indian judiciary belies such a prophecy. In his view the nationalists in India aim at setting up not a democratic government but the despotic tyranny of their small class. That men holding such ante-diluvian views should hold important positions in the party organization of the Opposition in England is a great misfortune.

### Economics or Sentiments.

THE cant about the high mission of trusteeship of backward peoples is not confined to England but obtains in the United States of America, notwithstanding the high idealism claimed for it. If Lord Rothermere emphasised that the essence of the relations between India and England was the economic exploitation of the former for the preservation of the latter, the essence of the relation between the United States and the Philippines is not far different. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a summary of the arguments for and against the grant of independence to the Philippines. The economic factor is made to look insignificant by those who oppose the grant. But the decision of the Committee of the Senate of the United States to recommend the grant is highly significant. The Committee has, by a majority of eight votes to four, recommended that a constitutional convention should be called to form a provisional Government to take the place of the existing Government. A plebiscite at the end of five years shall determine if the Philippines are to have complete independence, subject to leasing coaling and naval stations to the U. S. A. But the most significant part of the proposals is the tariff arrangement, by which each country is to impose gradually increasing scale of tariff duties on the imports from the other. The American farmer complains that the free entry of certain products of the Philippines, like sugar, oils, leads to unfair competition with local products. Neither naval policy nor the supposed unsettling of the Orient nor the civilising mission of America in the Islands has

weighed with the Committee as the economic interests of the American farmers. The Washington Correspondent of the *London Times* shrewdly observes that, "it is not cynical to say that this economic reason, whether genuine or invented, is playing a larger part in the movement for Philippine independence than moral or sentimental considerations."

### India at the I. L. O.

OBJECTION has been taken in some quarters to the introduction of the domestic politics of India by the Indian delegates in the discussion of the Report of the Director of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva. The objection is based on an inadequate appreciation of the state of politics in India at the present moment. No politics in the ordinary sense is engaging India to-day, but a mighty revolution is sweeping over the land. India is vibrating with an all-pervasive and almost cataclysmic passion. The Indian delegates would be more than human if they could successfully shake off the overpowering influence of the one feeling that dominates India. Messrs Ojha and S. C. Joshi, the representatives of the employers and the workers respectively of India, were only true to themselves and to India when they referred to the political situation in India, which is not without profound repercussion on Indian labour. Moreover, the I. L. O. is directly interested in the welfare of the workers in India and the present campaign of Mahatma Gandhi has aspects which profoundly affect the welfare of the workers. His campaign has done more than the I. L. O. to awaken and shape the aspirations of Labour in India, and it is of vital interest to the I. L. O. and the nations represented thereat to enquire whether the new inspiration will direct Indian workers to Geneva or to Moscow. Both Messrs Ojha and Joshi devoutly wished that Geneva prevailed.

It is gratifying to find the employers' delegate, Mr. Ojha, frankly avowing that the work of the I. L. O. was appreciated in India. He explained that if more conventions of the I. L. O. have not been ratified by India, it was because Indians had not the final voice in the matter in view of the constitution of the Government of India and not because of any opposition from the employers—which is perhaps an over-statement. Another handicap was the immunity of the Indian States from obligations to the I. L. O. Unfair competition between industrial concerns in British India and Indian States within the same competitive area must militate against a more rapid adoption of the I. L. O. conventions in British India. The remedy for this is not to hold up progress in British India but to bring the Indian States into line. The position of these States is most anomalous. The Princes have no international status, yet they are represented at Geneva; but they are not bound by the conventions of the I. L. O. As far as the 70 million people who live in the States are concerned, they simply do not exist for the purposes of the I. L. O. This intolerable situation must be ended.

The ridiculously insignificant representation of Indians on the staff of the I. L. O. is a sore point with India. And it was well that the Indian delegates reverted to this standing grievance, and it is hoped that their remonstrances will evoke more satisfactory results.

### Congress and the Millowners.

IT was feared that the vigorous movement for the use of Indian cloth and the boycott of foreign cloth would lead to the penalisation of the consumer by the invitation it offers to the millowners to profiteer at his expense. In order to prevent such

contingency an agreement has recently been reached between Pandit Motilal Nehru, on behalf of the Congress, and the Bombay millowners by which the latter agreed to charge a fixed price irrespective of fluctuations of demand and supply. Although it is doubtful whether this self-denying ordinance can be observed as a normal plan of action, it is likely that for a specified time the millowners would be content with ordinary profits and forego scarcity prices. Some of the other proposals which are directed against the competition of mills in the khadi line and against the use of foreign materials have been accepted by the Ahmedabad millowners and are being considered by the owners in Bombay. Every one would endorse the proposal that the millowners shall undertake to use swadeshi goods in their mills as far as possible. Those millowners who make cloth out of yarn below eighteen counts, which resembles hand-woven and hand-spun cloth, are asked to make an earnest effort to change over to other sorts as early as possible. Although this will be rather hard on some of the mills, it might be said that good cometh out of evil if they should be persuaded to take to finer counts. The reluctance of the Bombay mills to produce finer cloth and to spin finer yarn than thirty counts has been a notable defect which has partly been responsible for the severe competition from the upcountry mills which it had to suffer from latterly. The proposal however that no foreign yarn or silk shall be used will lead to a great fall off in the quantity of cloth produced since at present nearly 50 million lbs. of foreign yarn are imported and it is doubtful whether the whole of it can be replaced by Indian yarn in good time.

#### Dangerous Madness.

THE Government of Madras is covering itself with ridicule by the amazingly foolish acts of its subordinates. We have on a former occasion referred to the award of two years' rigorous imprisonment to a volunteer for cutting the spathe of a palm tree. More recently, the Collector of South Canara has distinguished himself by prohibiting motor bus owners and drivers from carrying Congress volunteers; the Collector of Madura hauled over the coals an American missionary for having shown common hospitality to Mr. Reginald Reynolds, an English admirer of the Mahatma! Several other instances of the penalising of people who afforded shelter or gave food to volunteers are reported. While condemning social and economic boycott of Government officials by Congressmen and forging ordinances to prevent and penalise such boycotts, Government themselves seem to promote and insist on the boycott of Congressmen by their countrymen. In this orgy of madness the Collector of Guntur takes the cake. He has actually prohibited the wearing of Gandhi caps in public! The Empire must now be safe!

#### All-India Medical Conference.

SIR Fazli Hussain must be complimented on the tact and patience with which he has got together an All-India Medical Conference at Simla and found a way out of the present *impasse* with regard to Indian Medical Degrees. The Conference has passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to amend the rules so as to enable medical graduates with Indian registrable qualifications to be recruited to the I. M. S. in spite of the fact that they are not registrable in England. The Conference has also decided unanimously in favour of an All-India Medical Council, which will regulate the standards of education in Indian Universities so as to prevent them falling below a certain minimum standards prescribed by it and maintain an all-India register of medical practitioners. It is proposed for the present

that, in addition to three members nominated by the Governor-General, each Local Government should nominate one member on the Council, the medical faculty of each university should nominate one member and one medical graduate with five years' teaching experience should be elected by medical graduates of each province whose names are on the provincial register. Sir Fazli Hussain has given an assurance to speed a bill on the above lines through the Assembly, after eliciting the opinions of Local Governments, medical councils and the Indian universities.

#### Education in Bombay.

THE Report on public instruction in Bombay for 1927-28 has the great merit of pointing to the defects as well as to the merits of the organizations that impart the several types of education in the province. The total number of pupils has increased by nearly 44 thousand or 3.8 per cent, while the total expenditure has increased only by 2¼ lakhs. Of the total expenditure 51¼ per cent, has been met from provincial revenues while the Board and Municipal funds have contributed 17.6 per cent; if primary education is to prosper the local bodies must seriously give their attention to increasing taxation for this purpose. The general wail about financial stringency has been repeated again in this report and it says that there is no likelihood of secondary education and University education getting their needs provided for years to come. Similarly physical education and industrial education are certain to be starved for want of funds. The Report expresses the view that the majority of those who pass the Matriculation are not fit for University education and it is sad to reflect that such should be the state of things after seventy years of educational progress; the remedy suggested is the raising of the standard for admission to the University. With regard to the low efficiency in secondary schools it is worth noting that in the opinion of one of the Inspectors the actual results of the new methods of teaching are not so encouraging as were expected. We are glad to notice that most of the schools have made attempts to encourage various extra-school activities, including lantern lectures and school excursions to interesting places. This province compares unfavourably with most of the other provinces in the matter of trained teachers; while in Madras and the Punjab nearly three-fourths of the teachers in high schools are trained. Bombay shows only 22 per cent; a good deal of leeway has thus to be made up. The number of pupils in primary schools has increased by 3.6 per cent; the report is however very pessimistic about the future growth of primary education on account of the very high cost of educating a pupil in this province, which is twice the average cost in the Punjab and two and half times the average cost in Madras. Besides there has not been that large increase of pupils which was expected, owing to the poor response given to the call of compulsory education by local bodies. The Director thinks that the policy of giving agricultural bias to education has proved successful and the system deserves to be extended. In his opinion the transfer of primary education to local bodies has led to a marked decline in its efficiency owing principally to communalism and in a smaller degree to the friction between school boards and local authorities. The latter defect ought to be corrected by fixing precisely the jurisdiction of the two bodies by means of an amending Act. The total number of pupils of the depressed classes has increased by nearly fifteen hundred and the special primary schools for these classes contain nearly twenty thousand pupils. During the year 186 depressed classes boys passed the V. F. Examination.

## Articles.

### THE CRITICAL STAGE.

THE King opens the India House in London on the 8th inst., and on the following day the Viceroy makes a statement to the Central Legislature at Simla. The Simon gag is removed and the British Government are free to speak out their mind. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has conferred with the leaders of the Opposition. Eagerly, with trembling heart India awaits the fateful message, and anxiously enquires if it will bring peace or war.

Sooner or later there must be a settlement and that must inevitably mean the assumption of Dominion Status by India, subject to temporary reservations. Either of two roads may be taken to reach the goal: Government might attempt to crush the civil disobedience movement, call the Round Table Conference without previous commitments, ignore the Congressmen, rely on non-Congressmen, and hope that the results of the Conference may prove satisfactory even to the Congressmen and evoke their co-operation in working the new constitution, or they might immediately make civil disobedience unnecessary, announce that the Round Table Conference shall discuss Dominion Status, invite the co-operation of the Congressmen as well as of others, and ensure that the new constitution will start with the good will of India as a whole. Pride and prestige will counsel the former course and statesmanship the latter; the former will involve needless and endless unhappiness, bitterness, perhaps bloodshed, for an incalculable period, while the latter will almost in a trice restore peace and goodwill.

Civil disobedience and the Round Table Conference are both means to an end, and the end is the fulfilment of India's political ambition, Dominion Status, subject to transitory reservations. His Majesty's Government have announced that Dominion Status is the goal and the purpose of the Conference is to explore ways how best and how quickly it can be attained. After all that has happened in India during the last six months and the unbroken chorus of Indian opinion in favour of Dominion status or the 'substance of independence' as Mr. Gandhi would have it, it is certainly unnecessary to wait for the formal meeting of the Round Table Conference to make known and urge India's plea. All that remains to be settled is the nature and duration of the reservations and that may well be done at the Conference. There is nothing to be lost but everything to be gained by the Government recognising India's demand at once and declaring that the purpose of the Conference is the framing of a Dominion Constitution for India, subject to certain transitory reservations, for it is going to be that and the Government know it well enough.

The chances of such an announcement being responded to by the Congressmen are not discouraging. In the interview which Mahatma Gandhi

gave to the Correspondent of the "Daily Herald" some weeks ago, he toned down his conditions and showed a more accommodating spirit. Pandit Motilal Nehru, less sentimental and more practical, has in his recent speeches in Bombay and elsewhere declared his willingness to go to the Conference provided it was to discuss a Dominion Status constitution and not to consider a case for such advance. He laid down no further impossible conditions. The release of political prisoners is by common consent a necessary prelude to a conference. There is every hope that if the Government releases the political prisoners and announces that the purpose of the Conference is to frame a Dominion constitution for India, the Congress and even the Mahatma will consent to co-operate. It is highly regrettable that at the very time that the Pandit made a gesture of peace and conciliation, he was arrested and put out of action.

If unfortunately the Government should decide on "victory before peace" policy, it would be a calamity. Now that the Simon obstacle is out the way, there is not the least excuse for the Government refusing to move forward but marking time with their cry that nothing shall be done before the Conference meets and that at the Conference nothing shall be ruled out and nothing taken for granted. The further delay can be attributed only to arrogant pride and insolent superiority and no Indian can agree to look on unconcerned when his own countrymen, however erring in certain ways, are humiliated and crushed to please British vanity. Much more repression still more ruthless will have to be applied before the civil disobedience movement can be crushed, and it will leave wounds which will fester for generations to come and sour public life. May be the results of the Conference will be all that may be desired. Yet the atmosphere to work the new constitution will be absent; there will be opposition and discord. And the task of those who will venture to work the constitution will be extremely difficult, if not impossible. Failure to rally the Congress will leave a *damnosa hereditas* to the successors of the present Government in India. It will not only be a blunder but a crime if the British Government adopted the policy of "victory before peace."

At a critical stage of the Irish troubles it was King's speech in Northern Ireland that precipitated peace. May it not be that the King's speech at the opening of the India House will usher in peace in India?

### THE SIMON REPORT AND THE INDIAN STATES.

THE report of the Simon Commission so far as it relates to Indian States is not only disappointing but thoroughly retrograde.

In the first place, it was not within the competence of the Statutory Commission appointed under Sect. 84 A of the Government of India Act to consider the question of the Indian States as they bear on British India. The discussion

of the problems relating to Indian States, although it is desirable in devising a constitution for British India, is not permissible under the statutory provision sanctioned by Parliament. Sir John Simon addressed a letter to the Prime Minister in October last intimating to him that it was essential that the methods by which the future relationship between the two constituent parts of Greater India might be adjusted should be fully examined, and although the Prime Minister gave his consent to such a course, the whole of this procedure was unconstitutional as neither the Chairman of the Statutory Commission nor the Prime Minister could override the express limitations of the statute. Special enactment of legislation was found necessary to empower the Government to appoint the Statutory Commission before the expiry of ten years: similar statutory provision was necessary to authorise a discussion of matters affecting the future relations of British India and Indian States.

Secondly, it is significant to note that the necessity for considering the reactions of the presence of the States on the problems relating to British India and the repercussions on the States of any reforms to be recommended for British India, occurred to the Commissioners at the fag end of their enquiry when they had completed their labours but for the writing the report. No evidence was recorded, no questions were put, eliciting information on this subject, and yet the Commissioners have expressed conclusions, which, it is not surprising, are disastrous.

Thirdly, Sir John Simon's report is but the echo of the Butler Committee Report. All the fantastic, unwarranted, and *ex parte* pronouncements of that report have been strongly emphasised by Sir John Simon and his colleagues. The Butler Committee endorsed the view, asserted by the Indian Princes, that the relations of the States were directly with the Crown. This view is not borne out by historical facts. Most of the treaties considered sacrosanct by the Indian Princes and upon which this theory is based, were concluded with the East India Company. This theory, without any additional evidence, without any historical support, has been completely acquiesced in by the Simon Commission.

The superintendence, direction and control of the Indian States vested in the Governor General in Council since 1833 when Parliament renewed the charter of the E. I. Company. The Butler Committee recommended that this power should no longer vest in the Governor General in Council. The Simon Commission unreservedly supports this recommendation. The Butler Committee proposed that the Viceroy, and not the Governor General, should represent the Crown in relation to the States. The term Viceroy is unknown to the constitution. The Simon Commission adopts this recommendation and approves of the nomenclature and further desires that statutory recognition should be given to the dignity called Viceroy representing the suzerainty of the King Emperor over the Indian States. Sir Leslie Scott, the champion of the Indian Princes, dogmatically stated that "The British Government as Paramount Power has undertaken the defence of all

the States and therefore to remain in India with whatever military and naval forces may be requisite to enable it to discharge that obligation. It cannot hand over those forces to any other Government, to a foreign power such as France or Japan, to a dominion Government such as Canada or Australia, nor even to British India." The Simon Commission, captivated by the wisdom of Sir Leslie Scott, has wholeheartedly accepted this dogma and has recommended that the Central Government should be divested of the control over the army and should be required to make a contribution for the maintenance of the Imperial army, quartered in India, paid for by the poor Indian taxpayer and controlled by an irresponsible Viceroy, assisted by an equally irresponsible Commander in Chief, both representing the British Government. Sir Leslie Scott had suggested a "Union Council" for the consideration of subjects of common concern. The Simon Commission enlarges this very idea under the designation "Council for Greater India." The objective of the recommendations of the Butler Committee was to divorce the Indian States from British India and keep them under the control of an irresponsible Viceroy assisted by an alien white bureaucracy. The Simon Commission has gone a step further and proposed a scheme to maintain intact the autocracy of the 700 Indian States under the control of a military dictator called the Viceroy. Sir John Simon and his colleagues desire that under the overpowering shadow of this irresponsible and autocratic hegemony the future federation should prosper. Whether the federation will ever come about and prosper or wither it will be stifled at birth, it does not require much wisdom to imagine.

So far as the betterment of the people of the Indian States is concerned the report is silent. The very mention of the people of the States has been studiously avoided. When developing their scheme of the Federal Legislature for Greater India the Commissioners propose that the British Indian representatives should be elected by the provincial legislatures while the representatives of the States should be nominated by 'the Governing organ of each State, whatever that organ may be.' Instead of this ambiguous expression "Governing organ" of each State, it would have been more frank and honest to speak of the autocratic rulers of the States.

The authors of the report are fully aware of the connotation of the word 'India', which includes 'Indian India and British India'. It is upon this basis that the Indian Princes are members of the Indian delegations to the League of Nations. If for the sake of privileges of Indian Princes Indian states are to be included in the word India, we fail to see why the significance of this very expression has been entirely lost sight of by the Commission in considering the obligations of the Paramount Power and of the Indian States towards the people of the States. The declaration of 1917 of His Majesty's Government, which embodies the cardinal principle of British policy towards India, clearly laid down that it was the intention of His Majesty's Gov.

ernment to bring about progressive realization of responsible Government in "India". Was it not the duty of the Commission to see how this ideal could be realised in the other half of India which is covered by Indian States? Was it not equally necessary to state how and by what method progress from autocracy to democracy was to be achieved in the now autonomous and autocratic Indian States? The Commission has rightly pointed out that India is moving from autocracy to democracy. We, however, find with poignant regret that absolutely no heed has been paid to the forces of the growing spirit of democracy in the Indian states.

The Commissioners have tried to exploit the vanity of the autocratic rulers of Indian States with a view to putting all conceivable difficulties in the way of closer union between Indian India and British India. We do not know how far the Indian Princes would be parties to this reactionary purpose. If the Indian States are taken out of the control of the British Indian Government and are entirely separated, the incentive for closer union even in matters of common interest would hardly subsist in the British Indian units. It is the Indian States who are bitterly complaining that, by reason of the policies pursued and actions taken in the respect of matters of common concern, the Indian States are suffering enormously. The relief in this respect is desired by the Indian States and not by British India. The British Indian units would not be so enthusiastic about a *reapproachment* in the direction suggested in the report since their interests are not likely to be materially advanced. The net contribution of the Commission is that they have used the vanity of the Indian Princes to strengthen the hands of the reactionaries in thwarting India in the attainment of real Dominion Status in the near future. The Princes are sure to become odious in the public eye for allowing themselves to be used for this purpose. Furthermore, whether when entirely separated from the National Government of British India the Princes would be happy under the control of the irresponsible political bureaucracy and the military dictatorship of the Viceroy is open to grave doubt.

So far as the people of the Indian States are concerned, all their hopes of emancipation have been shattered. They hoped that if real Dominion Status was achieved and if the States were in organic connection with the future National Government the repercussions of it would produce most beneficial effects upon the autocratic rulers, would induce them to abandon their irresponsible position, would persuade them to rule as constitutional monarchs, and would encourage them to establish responsible governments within their States. The Simon Report now proves that this is a vain hope. The only remedy now left is for the subjects of the Indian States to rely on themselves and carry on a vigorous and widespread agitation in the States themselves until the Princes yield to the wishes of their people gracefully or until the Viceroy prompts them to do so. Neither is likely to happen until the agitation gathers revolutionary force, threatening the very elimination of the Rulers, for it is only

under such extreme circumstances the Butler Committee would permit the intervention of the Paramount Power. Is such revolution the only road that the Paramount Power and the Indian Princes would prescribe for the subjects of the Indian States?

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

#### INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PHILIPPINES

THE May issue of *Current History* has a discussion of the question of the independence of the Philippines from opposite points of view: Major Gen. H. T. Allen enlarges on the duty of U. S. to retain control of the Islands, while Speaker M. Roxas puts forth the plea for independence. Mr. Allen begins by saying that the question of the Philippines is linked up with the future of the U. S. in the Pacific; the acquisition of these Islands has bridged the Pacific Ocean for that country. Owing to the opening of the Panama Canal, Asiatic Russia, with its vast storehouse of mineral and agricultural wealth, must receive due consideration. The Philippine problem must be viewed both from the moral standpoint and that of American self-interest. Referring to the history of the Islands, Mr. Allen recalls that there were numerous sovereignties exercised over them, including the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, and he fears that if the U. S. were to withdraw her control the same thing would happen again. She has achieved much in the Islands. The major portion of the population is Christian and the Filipinos have shown a marvellous desire to have their children attend school; and Mr. Allen claims that nowhere in any country's oriental possessions has there been attempted such an intensive educational programme. In proof of his contention that a spirit of helpfulness towards self-government has been exercised constantly in the Philippines, he quotes President Mc-Kinley's instruction to the Commissioners in 1900 who were sent to supersede the military government. Through successive stages of transition the present liberal democratic form of government has been evolved. The Act of 1916, which created the two houses of legislature, Mr. Allen regards as an unfortunate piece of legislation, because he thinks that Filipinos are not equipped to administer their own government at the present moment and because it disregarded the moral obligation of the U. S. in the great altruistic enterprise of assisting an oriental country to reach democratic government.

With regard to President Wilson's message of 1920 to the Congress pleading that the government of the Philippines was stable enough to warrant independence, Mr. Allen attributes the stability to the control of U. S. and not to the capacity of the Filipinos. Moreover, he opines that with independence the Philippines would lose three-fourths of their export trade which is carried on with U. S. and that the revenues of the Islands then would be inadequate to maintain a separate government with its adjuncts of separate army, navy and diplomatic services. There are many Filipinos who hope that, even after granting independence, the U. S. would still retain responsibility for

security and defence. This, says Mr. Allen, is unthinkable, since American sovereignty is a corollary of American defence. The agitation for complete independence was renewed with great vigour after the Pacific Pact of 1921, but just before it the commission appointed to judge the fitness of the Filipinos for independent government had declared that the American withdrawal would be a discreditable neglect of national duty and a distinct step backward in the path of progress. Again, in 1926, Mr. Thompson, deputed by President Coolidge, reported that complete independence was impossible then and for a long time to come owing to the absence of controlling public opinion devoted to public welfare. The abrogation of free trade relationship with U. S. would bring about economic disaster. Latterly, the sugar interests of U. S. and Cuba seem to have joined forces in espousing the cause of the independence of the Philippines. But Mr. Allen regards this as unfortunate and recommends U. S. to be prepared to accept responsibilities beyond her primary confines owing to her dominant position in the world. Mr. Allen enumerates the various benefits the Philippines derive from the present position; amongst which are included the enjoyment of the privileges of American citizenship, representation in the U. S. Congress and exemption from Federal taxes. He contends, therefore, that peace, progress, security and freedom should not be sacrificed for the sake of independence by the Filipinos. From the point of view of American self-interest, the giving up of such a naval base as the Philippines would, in Mr. Allen's opinion, be impossible owing to the continually expanding trade of U. S. in the Pacific. If naval bases were handed over by the Philippines, there would be vexations and uncertainties. As it is very likely that the vast expanses of Australia, China and Siberia may be the theatres of operations for American capital, the U. S. should not give up the naval bases and distributing centres which it already possesses. The moral obligations connected with this oriental trusteeship take precedence over all other considerations for the retention of the Philippines by U. S.

Mr. M. Roxas, Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives, makes short work of most of the arguments advanced by Mr. Allen. With regard to the moral issue Mr. Roxas takes his stand upon a definite pledge of independence given by U. S. on condition that stable government was established. That condition had been declared to have been fulfilled by President Wilson in 1920. As for the argument that the peace of the Pacific and the Orient would be disturbed by the grant of independence, Mr. Roxas is positive that, far from such a contingency arising, the withdrawal of U. S. would tend to stabilize international conditions in that part of the world. Filipinos, according to him, are united in their desire for immediate, absolute, and complete independence and he points to the fact that no candidate is elected to an office unless he advocates independence. If there is a doubt about the true desires of the Filipinos it could be dispelled if the Congress should authorise the Philippine Govern-

ments to hold a plebiscite on the question. He admits that the interests of U. S. should receive proper consideration but he challenges the arguments adduced by Mr. Allen and opines that the Philippines not are a good distributing centre for American exports or even a desirable naval base. He points to the fact that up to the present nothing has been done to equip the Philippines as a centre of distribution and says that actually traders preferred Shanghai, Yokohama, Hongkong to ports in the Philippines. As for free trade relations with U.S., Mr. Roxas says that they may be terminated at any time by mere Congressional enactment, apart from the grant of independence. The persistent agitation in U. S. against free imports from the Philippines has strengthened the desire of the Filipinos for independence. As for the argument based on the inability to govern themselves Mr. Roxas points out that the period of greatest autonomy has been the period of greatest progress in education, sanitation, economic development and improvement in the administration of justice and general efficiency of government. They are a homogeneous people, as President Taft admitted. The literacy among them is over 60 per cent: a proportion much higher than in Spain, Portugal and Siam. Similarly the proportion of qualified voters who actually vote is much higher than in many other countries. As to foreign aggression, Mr. Roxas affirms that the Kellogg Pact and the World Court are the best guarantees for the international security of the Philippines. He is prepared to trust the League of Nations to preserve against aggression the political independence of the Philippine Islands.

V. N. G.

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## Reviews.

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### LEISURE.

**LEISURE AND ITS USE. SOME INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATIONS.** By HERBERT L. MAY AND DOROTHY PETGEN. (Barnes, New York.) 1928. 20 cm. 268p. \$ 2.00

THE authors have presented in this book the result of a study of leisure time activities in the principal countries of Europe. Inasmuch as a complete study would have involved a detailed inquiry into the racial, social and economic history of each country, the authors recognize that their survey must of necessity be brief and superficial. While the report has been prepared for the Playground and Recreation Association of America and particularly for use in America, the book should prove of value to all educators and social workers in India concerned for the enrichment of life not only among the youth but adults as well.

The first section of the book presents some general considerations of the leisure problem. Leisure is defined as "the time surplus remaining after the practical necessities of life have been attended to". "Recreation" of "leisure time activities" include not only the various forms of physical culture but adult education, cultural pursuits and even political study and activities. Leisure activity is classified broadly as organized, such as indulged in by clubs, or provided on the initiative of



philanthropic bodies, industrial organizations or government, or as unorganized, such as the types followed in the home or garden or the traditional pursuits of outdoor life, games, etc. Factors influencing the use of leisure in the various countries are defined as "external". The external factors are largely social and political. The extent of leisure is determined by the hours of labour, whether fixed by legislation, agreement or custom. The use of leisure must be influenced by the physical condition of the people who must be properly nourished and housed if they are to benefit by leisure time activities. The prevalent political system determines the "recreational phenomena." In a country such as Italy where a dictatorship exists we find a superimposed programme with practically no individual initiative, while in England the programme is left largely to individual initiative. The "internal" factors are the economic and the educational or cultural.

As the countries of Europe have introduced legal restrictions as to hours of labour on the basis of the eight-hour day, the problem of adequate provision for leisure time has become more acute. The practical accomplishment of the International Labour Conference has been almost nil in the securing of legal restrictions but the moral value of the Labour Conference's movement for restriction has been considerable. The authors quote in full the recommendations of the International Labour Conference of 1924 regarding the utilization of workers' spare time. These recommendations provide a statement of a goal to which every government can be constantly challenged.

The second part of the book deals with some phases of recreation in France, Germany and England, in which countries the more detailed studies were made. "In France, there is a notable indifference to recreation as a problem, and a conspicuous lack of widespread recreational and leisure provision, either official or voluntary." In reply to an inquiry from the International Labour Office regarding its policy, the Government indicated, "that it considers provision for the leisure of its citizens to be no affair of the State." Individualism is a most marked characteristic of the French. "The Frenchman's feeling of social responsibility does not in general extend beyond his immediate family." While France adopted the eight-hour day in 1919, the working day has not diminished for many workers as the leisure thus secured has been utilized to increase earnings by doing additional work in the leisure time thus provided. The specific leisure activities are listed principally under the head of "Industrial Welfare" and particular emphasis has been placed by employers on the "workers' house and garden as a sufficient solution of the social problem." Gardening seems to be the generally favoured "leisure time activity." From the workers' garden movement "garden cities" have been developed, often "characterized by carefully planned recreational facilities and almost always by communal enterprises such as co-operative stores." While there are numerous institutes and religious patronages ministering to leisure needs and with comprehensive programmes, yet the findings of the investigators show that "there is in France comparatively, virtually nothing of what in England is called Adult Education." Little was done in the field of organized recreation until the war and organizations for the promotion of sports, play and community affairs touched a very small section of the population. Since the war, however, there has been a very considerable development in the growth of sports, which, according to the report of the Ministry of Labour, is taking first rank among the activities

of leisure. "A large part of the explanation of the lack of young people's recreation in France is to be found in the fact of their sudden emergence, at the time of adolescence, into adulthood." For this the educational system has been held responsible. Physical training in the elementary schools has become a fact only since the war.

The temperamental gregariousness of the Germans and their ready response to "movements", their capacity for organization and their strong social consciousness have created an atmosphere for the easy organization of leisure and for a ready response to official leadership. "The German official attitude in social matters may be considered as an expression of the German social consciousness. In general its purpose may be defined as the building of the physical life of the people and especially of the youth—the latter purpose having come into especial prominence as a result of after-war developments—and the supplying of wholesome and cultural influences." Seventy-two pages are given to listing the activities which express the varied aspects of this general purpose. And because of the political, social and religious divisions within the country we find the non-official organizations devoted to sports, adult education, youth activities, etc. described in "two to half-a-dozen manifestations indicating degrees left and right, or varying religious sympathies." While there have been great advances in voluntary organized recreation since the war the greatest advance has been in the multiplication of agencies for the promotion of sports. "A military implication is inevitably suggested by the widespread conversion of drill field into athletic grounds." Among the specific activities listed and worthy of note here are the Patriotic and Military Associations with a strong programme of physical education and numbering over six million members; the German National Committee for Physical Training which is semi-official and state-subsidized and which centralises all sports clubs, playground effort, etc. and which aims to incite rivalry among towns to excel in playground and stadium provision: the Central Commission for Sport and Physics Development with 600,000 adult members; the Youth Movement, which expresses itself through various societies, too numerous for description here; the Subsidy System for State Theatres, Operas and Orchestras and the People's Stage Societies which aim to lay the "foundation of a new intellectual theatre." On pages 80-82 the authors present a suggested Playing-fields Bill, one of the publications of the German National Committee for Physical Training. There is also on page 86 the complete quotation of the Lippe Playing-ground Law, and instance of legislation making playing-grounds compulsory. These documents should be of interest to municipalities in India and all who are concerned for the provision of adequate playing space for the youth of India. It is stated that German school curriculum requires five hours of physical training weekly, that no German scholar is allowed to leave school without having learned to swim and that the young spend a great part of their free time in sport. It is also estimated that 5,000,000 adults, of whom one-fourth are women, are connected with some sport organization. As for the worker, "it is not unusual for a German workman to belong to a trade union, a political society, a sport club, and to a People's Stage Society or a similar cultural society."

In England the authors found their work of investigation somewhat difficult, due principally "to a lack of centralisation and co-ordination" as well as to a marked disparity of motives. On the part of the numerous agencies engaged in fostering and furthering leisure time provision in one or another of its various forms—Adult Education, Playing Fields,

Playgrounds for Children, Industrial Welfare, and the like. Individual independence is the chief cause of this lack of co-ordination and centralisation. The persistence of the feudal attitude has to a certain extent influenced the matter of supervision of the material conditions of dependents but for the most part the policy has been one of non-intervention in the personal life of work people. While recreational clubs of all sorts are widely existent there is very little wide co-operative organisation. Similarly the churches take much less interest in the use of leisure than the churches of the continent or of America. "It is interesting to observe that where individual opinion in England has attained a high degree of intelligence in appreciation of the question of the use of leisure, it is invariably regarded as a problem requiring an educational solution. A means to this solution has been furnished by the admirable work of the Adult Education Movement, the only official agency concerned in a broad sense with general questions of leisure occupation." Among the specific activities described are the Playing Field Societies, widely scattered and representing one of the most important aspects of English recreation; the Holiday play centres and Evening Play Centres for children; the Scout Training Camps and the Industrial Welfare Centres, generally of a comprehensive, paternalistic type, and consisting principally of recreational and health schemes. The Adult Education movement is one of the most significant and is defined as "the pursuit by men and women in their leisure hours of those liberal and non-vocational studies by means of which a man may understand himself and his world, determine the personal and social values that shall govern his thought and action, and learn to serve his generation in whatever way seems to him most vital." The range of studies includes economics, industrial history and theory of politics, modern history, geography, literature, science, psychology and philosophy, art, architecture, music and drama and folk-dancing. Under the provisions of the Fisher Act of 1918 the local educational authorities are responsible for providing and aiding all forms of education within their areas. And the Board of Education has announced the policy of making grants to voluntary organisations for adult education projects through the local Educational authorities. Other voluntary associations listed in the Directory of Adult Education and described by the authors are the English Folk-Dance Society, Workers Educational Associations, The Adult Education in Rural Areas, the National Federation of Women's Institutes and the Village Clubs Association, the Public Library Service described as a "living thing even in remote villages of purely agricultural countries." Several organisations exist for the promotion of musical education. One of these—the British Federation of Musical Competition Festivals—has met with a remarkable response in the arrangement of choral and orchestral competitions where "the number of individual competitors have ranged from 150 in the very small village festivals to 12,000 in the largest town centres."

Part three is devoted to a brief study of the leisure time movement in Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Italy and in it the aspects of the movement having especial significance are recorded. The chapter concludes with a description of Recreation in the United States, provided by the Playground and Recreation Association of America.

The book presents a problem that is universal and exists for India as well as for Europe. The authors have gathered a very considerable amount of material, suggestive and of real value to the educationalist, social worker or official concerned for a

more satisfactory use of the abundant leisure of the average Indian youth or adult.

D. F. M.

## WOMEN.

**THE FREE-WOMAN.** By IRENE SOLTAN. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1929. 20cm. 207 p. 6/—

THE Feminist movement of to-day is an expression of the spirit of the time. As such it has to be looked at and judged as it stands. To shed even so much as doubtful scriptural blessing on its harmless tendencies as Irene Soltan does in the book under review is to overshoot the moral boundaries established by the Gospels. In his own person Jesus Christ may have had, as Miss Soltan argues, tender regard for individual woman or such of them as were in distress, but his general attitude towards the fair sex was deeply coloured by the morality of his time. With the birth of Christian theology religion was wholly identified with "good life" so much so woman came to be regarded as a danger to it. She was a moral pollution, an accomplice of Satan and St. Augustine wondered "why women were created at all. "Another Christian feared even to look upon his mother's face." Living under such a cloud of piety which shunned her, she was forced to submit to a discipline, designed to keep her in good behaviour for the spiritual benefit of man. According to the fathers of the Church, if woman possessed a soul at all, it was for them to imprison it so as to save the world from sin. It was not for her to question why but to remain under moral surveillance. In order that her repression did not restrict man's sexual license, marriage was allowed as a concession to feminine weakness, care being taken that she became a bond slave to it often with no power to prevent her own desertion by the husband or his multiple marriage. Certain religions, such as Hinduism, which far from denying, as Miss Soltan ignorantly thinks, a soul to her gave her more than she could swallow, evolved a system of early marriage, lifelong widowhood and cremation of living widows. Rendered powerless by sanctified laws or otherwise enslaved by a subtle process of "wife-beating" the woman became chaste! Her untamable sister on the other hand adopted prostitution or lived a similar life under cover of religion, honourable freedom being considered more scandalous. Centuries of such hot-house morality bred rebellion in her heart and once the lid was removed by free thought, she burst out as the Free Woman of to-day. "Truly the hammers to destroy the temple were 'forged within the temple.'" To save her from the dangers attendant upon the abuse of freedom, Miss Soltan reminds her that heaven is not for such as eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree. Woman, she says, is both free and unfree, a mistress of a doll's house whose business is to increase and multiply regardless of economic and eugenic considerations. But Miss Soltan forgets that the new woman knows bad logic from good. She is determined to be free outside of religion even though it involves terrors of hell fire and she believes with Bertrand Russell that "if there is to be tyranny it is better that it should be scientific." It is her privilege now to possess a soul of her own, to do what she wills with it and no amount of religious siren song will persuade her to walk into the prison she had turned her back upon. It matters naught to her whether religion is willing to meet her half-way but man is man for all that and it is well for him that there is one standard of morality for himself and another for woman. True it is, as Miss Soltan says, that motherhood is sacred but so should fatherhood be. Motherhood loses its sanctity when it is forced

just as wifehood becomes a torture if it is inflicted. There is time yet for Miss Soltan to call down the punishment of heaven upon the feminist movement which through experiments in free-love and companionate marriage is evolving a new moral idealism.

Miss Soltan has laboured in vain. It is waste of time to read what is ancient and out of date in the light of the living present. The genius of the present is its own and not a pale ghost of the past.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

### EMPIRE TRADE.

**MARKETS OF THE EMPIRE.** By W. H. WILSON. (E. Wilson, London.) 1930. 21cm. 280p. 7/6.

FIFTY years ago Great Britain was the dominant manufacturing country in the world, drawing her raw materials from the four corners of the earth in exchange for her manufactured goods. Today she is not the dominant industrial country in the world. That position has been assailed by many other countries notably by the United States of America and Germany. It was during the middle of the war that England suddenly discovered that she was fast losing her ground in the industrial world and she realised that her only hope of salvation would be to consolidate her position at least within the Empire, as the main producer of manufactured goods. The Great War and its aftermath, followed by a troubled peace, left all parts of the Empire with problems of reconstruction. A relentless economic war commenced amongst all the main manufacturing countries of the world and tariff walls were put up against imports from other countries. England soon discovered that her competitors were to be found even in her own dominions since they also had launched out definitely on industrial expansion. A grand exhibition was arranged in 1924 at Wembley in order to take stock of the resources of the British Empire. The exhibition was a huge success. The occasion of the exhibition was made use of by the important manufacturers in Great Britain to consult the representatives from the Dominions, India, the Colonies and Protectorates, and the British Empire Trade Conference was organized in order to get reliable information on local conditions as supplied by the representatives of the Empire assembled at Wembley. These meetings, by their very nature, were kept confidential and British manufacturers gained a good deal of valuable information.

Even though for the sake of party politics, the question of free trade and protection was discussed on orthodox party lines, every one of the three political parties in England—the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Labourites—soon discovered that if England had to continue to exist and provide for her people, she also must introduce protective measures—call them what you will, "Key Industries Act", "Safeguarding of Industries Act", etc.—and further the leaders realised that they must consolidate their position within the Empire itself. The idea of Imperial preference was worked for all it was worth and the Federation of British Industries as well as the Empire Marketing Board began to advertise the idea of considering the British Empire as one economic unit. The present book, "Markets of the Empire" by W. H. Wilson is an important contribution to this subject. Even though the subject matter of this book appeared as a series of articles in the London Times Trade Supplement, the publication of this in the form of a handy volume just before the Imperial Conference, which meets in London on September 30th this year, will be a great help to those manufacturers in England who want to press their claims for the promotion of British industries. The book is not of any special interest to Indians

except to show once again to the world that the chief interest of Britishers in India is Indian trade. It is rather a curious fact that India is the largest purchaser of British manufactured goods, but England is not the chief purchaser of India's goods. Therefore, any great disturbance in the present trade relationship between these two countries will act as a greater hardship on England than on India. Recently an experienced gentleman remarked, "Don't argue with the British, but refuse to trade with them". If merchants in India should follow this policy, it will be a hard day for England, because as mentioned earlier, the major portion of English exports come to India.

It is a great pity that there are no publications in the interests of Indian trade on the same lines as the present volume under review.

S. G. SASTRY.

### Miscellaneous.

#### THE PROBLEM OF INDIA.

The June number of *The Labour Magazine*, which is the "Official Monthly Journal of the Labour Movement" in England, gives the first place to the following article by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, F. C., C. H.

EVERY day the situation in India is growing worse. It is true the people who practise disobedience are unarmed except with stones, but they are so many and so persistent that the police have to use *lathies* in order to disperse them. In some cases more violence had to be employed, and even martial law was proclaimed in Sholapur. No wonder this state of things destroys temper on both sides. Private news is to the effect that in several places the guardians of law and order have exceeded the necessity of the situation and inflicted injury and humiliation on the people as if in a spirit of vengeance. On the whole, considering the intensity of the agitation and the area over which it is spread, it is remarkable how faithfully the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi has been followed, and even mobs in excitement have restrained themselves. It is quite clear that, if this state of things were continued much longer, the normal course of administration would be seriously disturbed, and the authorities would find themselves fully occupied with the quelling of the disorder. It is no good saying that the root cause of all this trouble is the poverty of the people, their indebtedness, and their ignorance. Nor does it help to fix the blame on the unemployed products of our schools and colleges. The economic backwardness of India cannot be cured in a day, and the educated Indian is a factor to be always reckoned with. Whether he is an ally or an enemy depends to a great extent on the way in which his legitimate aspirations are met by the authorities.

It is an old gibe that between the educated classes and the masses in the country there is a wide gulf. It was started by some sections of British officers and encouraged by some types of missionaries in order to create the belief that the former were the only friends of the peasantry and the working classes, and the latter their only teachers. There was a time when it was true in a sense, but it is now a wholly mischievous and misleading legend. Mr. Gandhi and his teaching have awakened the masses everywhere. The present discontent is spread wider all over India than ever before. To give sinister touch to this aspect of Indian life, young men are now carrying the doctrines of Communism into the villages and creating zones of a no-tax spirit likely to cause acute embarrassment to the machinery of Government.

Too much reliance is placed on the fact that Mohammedans, the depressed classes, and the landed gentry have dissociated themselves from the Gandhi movement. It must not be forgotten that these sections are as clearly for Dominion status as the active agitators in the country. The only difference is that they require effective safeguards to be provided in the Constitution, so that their special interests and cultural needs may not suffer at the hands of a heedless majority. This statement is true also of the Princes, who occupy a special position in the polity of India. They have repeatedly declared their approval of a Dominion Constitution for British India, though insisting on guarantees for the maintenance of their freedom in internal matters and the rights and privileges of their order.

What these safeguards and guarantees should be, by what means they are to be enforced while they last, and when or in what circumstances they may be removed from the Constitution, are complicated questions which must be settled at the Round Table Conference. It is no good trying to anticipate them now. One distinction, however, is of great importance. The reservations regarding the defence of India and the guarantees on behalf of the Princes will be in favour of the Crown and enforceable by authority of the British Parliament. The provisions designed to protect minorities and other interests need not and should not depend on outside sanction. If the Secretary of State for India were still to be an overriding authority in these respects, the character of the Indian Constitution would be greatly reduced, and the friction and suspicion engendered would be intolerable. Statesmen in this country hardly realise the intensity of the aspiration of young India to a position within the Commonwealth of complete equality with the European race. This explains our opposition to any further stages or mere steps on the road to full Home Rule. It does make a difference whether we describe the Constitution of India as another stage towards Dominion Status or as Dominion Status subject to certain reservations. The latter name has the advantages of looking forward and of gratifying the national pride of India.

Misgivings exist about the Round Table Conference itself. The weight attaching to its proceedings depends almost entirely on the capacity for compromise and accommodation shown by the representatives of the different communities and interests in India. It would be rash to overlook the feelings of mutual hostility and suspicion which they might bring to the debates, or the mandates by which they might be fettered in considering the various proposals made for settlement of differences. Let us hope that the greatness of the occasion will reign supreme in the minds of the Indian delegates and avert the disaster which will follow the failure of the Conference. On the British side two conditions must be fulfilled—a political amnesty, which would enable Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress to attend, if they chose, and a statement, without loss of time, of the intention of the Government here to support the grant of Dominion Status with the necessary safeguards. It causes surprise to our critics here that even moderate opinion in India should make this demand. Moderate opinion does not exist in a world of its own, but has to move more or less concurrently with other opinion. What might have satisfied yesterday will not satisfy to-morrow. This is a truth in the East as well as in the West. British reaction towards Indian political advance has suffered at every turn by being too late. Half

measures have no chance whatever of being accepted to-day in India.

I do not forget the defects of the Liberal Party in India. Perhaps they have more than their share of the imperfections of political organisations, but the Government of India has much to answer for in this matter. Indeed the European community have ostentatiously stood aloof from Indian political parties. Their privileged position inevitably blurs the distinctions that might otherwise exist in clear definition between Indian parties and draws them together against a common rival. In the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Government and the Indian Moderate Party worked in harmony, but soon Government resumed its old habit of regarding all politicians in India, extreme or moderate, anti-British or pro-British, as tarred with the same brush. To neglect friends in security and to court them in danger has been an incurable vice of Government policy. One has only to remember the protestations made during the war and compare them with the chilling hesitations of a later day. The betrayal in Kenya rankles still in Indian bosoms. The slow-footed Indianisation of the army is a measure by which the Indian tests the integrity of Government's declarations. The process leaves him angry and despondent.

For our purpose in this article people in England fall into three classes. The first are the die-hards, who would annul all previous promises, whether made by the King or Parliament, reconquer India by the sword, and hold her down for the benefit of Britain. They poison the atmosphere all round, and create bitterness and racial hatred; otherwise they would be negligible. But we had best leave them alone, as they are not likely to prevail at the present moment. The other two classes mean well by India, and would fulfil pledges made to her. One of these, following the traditions of the past, would give no more than was absolutely necessary, and proceed by stages devised in the name of caution, but calculated to retain the substance of power as long as possible in British hands. The other class, actuated by the magnanimous ideal of the time, would admit India to full Dominion equality if they were not oppressed with a genuine fear that India might suffer terribly by domestic feuds, leading up to Civil War. This fear must be dispelled by advocates of the Indian cause by willingness to adopt and abide by provisions in the Constitution designed to inspire confidence in all communities, however they may seem to run counter to Western ideals of democracy. Once these generous friends of India are satisfied that there are people who possess the grit and the patriotism required to work a real Dominion Constitution and to whom they can hand over their great charge, they may be trusted to carry the second class along with them, and by their combined weight in the forthcoming discussion establish on a firm foundation the welfare of India and the honour of Britain.

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