

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Indian Salt Industry.

THE agitation over the salt question initiated at the dawn of the present century by the Indian National Congress and the late Mr. Gokhale did indeed awaken the bureaucracy from time to time to a sense of its duty and responsibility. Far from doing away with the salt duty altogether, it has with the ups and downs of public criticism and agitation over the matter, altered the duty on salt till it stands today at Rupee one and annas four a maund. Mr. Gokhale in his Budget speeches in the Imperial Council, proved that a reduction in the salt duty had always advanced the consumption of salt. He said, "the salt duty question in India is essentially a poor man's question, for it is the poor many—not the richer few—who eat more salt when it is cheap and less when it is dear. The soundest and best policy in the matter—even financially—would therefore seem to be to raise an expanding revenue on an expanding consumption under a diminishing scale of duty". At the same time he pointed out that the Government monopoly of salt manufacture had the effect of transferring a third of the industry to the foreign manufacturer, and suppressing the numerous small salt works on the coast. With an extensive seaboard and salt mines, Mr. Gokhale said, as far back as 1904, that India could manufacture every pound of salt that she required for her consumption. But since then conditions of the manufacture of salt have not improved. India still imports six hundred thousand tons of salt, worth a crore of Rupees, from

England, Egypt and other foreign countries. The question of retaining that money in India by improving the industry has not yet been solved. It may be mentioned here that out of the total consumption of salt, 35 per cent. is produced in India by licensees, 35 per cent. is produced by the Government, and the, remaining 30 per cent. is imported foreign salt.

This question was considered by the Taxation Inquiry Committee, which suggested that it should be inquired into by the Tariff Board, which it did accordingly and has now published its report. Form the recommendations that it has made one is convinced that there is a great future before this industry. There is every scope for India to be self-supporting in the supply of salt needed for her consumption. After instituting a thorough inquiry into this matter followed by personal visits and inspection of the works in various parts of India, the Tariff board rules out both protection and the system of bounty as unsuitable in this case as they would constitute a permanent burden to the consumer and the importer by reason of the instability of prices, speculations and market fluctuations and disturbances. It should be borne in mind that it is Bengal, that is consuming practically the whole of the imported foreign, white fine Liverpool salt. In considering the ways and means by which Bengal could be supplied with Indian salt, the Board is of opinion that India is capable of producing the quality of salt required by Bengal, by the careful preparation of the salt bed, careful scrapping and collection and taking due precautions in storing. It also believes that the present output of the works at Okha, Karachi, Khewara, Sambhar, and Pachbadra could be considerably increased, in certain cases tenfold. Salt works in Aden, most of which are Indian owned, could also be made to increase their output. With a view to facilitate transport of salt from these works to Bengal the Board suggests a reduction in the railway freights at a through rate of 1 pie per maund per mile. This, it is believed, will enable the consumer in Bengal to purchase Indian salt at a price not more than what he has to pay for foreign salt. The proposals, if given effect to, would afford increasing opportunity for the employment of Indian labour, retaining the profits in the country and insuring against the shortage of pure white salt during times of war. With a view to regulate the retail sale of salt at cost price, the Board recommends the constitution of a public utility board which would be entrusted with the duty of regulating the import and the retail price of salt in Calcutta and Northern India. The Board fears that even before such a marketing board is constituted the salt works at Aden, Karachi and Okha may be crushed out of existence by foreign competition. It therefore suggests, that the Government of India should immediately assume control of the import of salt into Bengal. The Government should encourage the purchase of the Indian

sea borne salt from Aden, Karachi and Okha and the use of rail borne salt from Khewara and Sambhar. Only when Indian salt, both sea borne and rail borne, is not able to meet the demand should foreign salt be purchased. This will no doubt give a great fillip to the salt industry in this country.

The Government of India have done well in appointing Sir Chunilal Mehta and Mr. C. H. Pitt to inquire into the prospects of the industry as recommended by the Tariff Board. The other recommendations of that body regarding the controlling at once of the import of foreign salt and the price of Salt in Calcutta through a marketing board, are even more vital than the inquiry. We wish to draw pointed attention of the Government to the fact that unless immediate effect is given to these recommendations also, it is certain that the industry will be seriously affected by foreign competition. We may assure the Government in this connection that public opinion in this country has always been in favour of developing the industry and reducing the duty on Salt.

* * *

Indian Press on failure of Peace Talks.

IT is interesting to note some of the comments in the Indian Press on the breakdown of the peace negotiations. We do not intend to refer to each and every important journal, for the views of some papers can be easily imagined. If it is a Congress organ, it will obviously try to throw the blame for the breakdown on the Viceroy and if an Anglo-Indian paper, vice versa. The *Tribune* of Lahore begins by saying that "Once again the unexpected has happened" and yet cannot say "we are surprised at it." While it considers the present method of negotiation faulty, it has a suggestion to make on the point. What the Viceroy should have done, in its opinion, is to have ordered the release of the important leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, the Nehrus, the Patels, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Dr. Mahmud and others, who number more than the half a dozen, stipulated by our contemporary. The next step, should have been to summon them to Simla and "having got them there" the Viceroy "should have told them that he would not part with them until peace had been arranged." Our contemporary also assures the public that there is nothing in the course suggested by it which is "beyond the constitutional competence of the Viceroy." It of course hints at the possibility of resignations by Service members; but its belief is that "the moment the revolting members of the Services realised that they had found a master, they would know how to yield submission to him." All one can say about the suggestion is that it has not even the merit of novelty, for it is within public knowledge that a suggestion somewhat on the same lines was made for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim relations with this difference that the belligerents in this case were not to be given food or water until they found a solution! Let us now turn to the *Week*. According to it, the real cause of the failure is "the ingrained suspicion in the Congress leaders about the good faith of the British Government. They are obsessed with the idea that the offer of a free Conference is a mere dodge. They are convinced that the British will not part with a particle of power if they can help it, and that to go to the Conference without a prior understanding is to walk into a trap". We think this is a correct description of Congress mentality. The *Guardian* of Calcutta is inclined to think that the Congress leaders by rejecting the Viceroy's offer and putting forward their own impossible conditions gave clear proof that they "did not desire peace or an atmosphere of goodwill in which the various parties could discuss the problems of the future con-

stitution of India with a view to an agreed solution." The *Hindu* of Madras is puzzled "as to why the negotiations should have been broken off in the manner in which they have been," but thinks that the statement in the Congress leaders' final reply to the negotiators that there was an unbridgeable gulf between Pandit Motilal Nehru's first statement and the Viceroy's communication "hardly justified." The view of the *Leader* is that "the Congress leaders showed much less concern to terminate the prolonged misery wrought by the ill-advised disobedience campaign than would have been expected." It also says: "Reading all that they committed to paper, it would appear to an unbiassed mind that "prestige" is not the exclusive hobby of the British Government in India." "In a word, peace talks went on, but there was not the atmosphere of peace." We hope it will not be long before the atmosphere of peace is forthcoming.

* * *

Present Situation through official spectacles.

IN their latest appreciation of the Indian situation, viz. that of the 6th inst. telegraphed to the Secretary of State, the Government of India make a fairly lengthy reference to the failure of the peace negotiations. This is not surprising nor is it surprising that the breakdown they should try to attribute to "the unreasonable and impractical nature" of the Congress leaders' demands. After detailing the demands, they say the Congress proposals were "so far removed from practical politics as to suggest that they have been put forward deliberately for propaganda purposes." This can be said about some of the Congressmen's demands; but we doubt whether the description can be applied to each and everyone of them. Apart from this, it is news to us that the conversations were used as evidence that the Government was anxious for a "settlement on any terms" and had been employed to encourage the volunteers to defy the law on the assurances that the prisoners would be very shortly released." We do not suppose there is anything wrong in the Government being anxious for a settlement and if anybody represented them as such, they need not complain that they were misrepresented. So far as the civil disobedience movement goes, the reports from the provinces are described as "on the whole reassuring," which means the movement is weakening. This is a reality of the situation which it would serve no useful purpose to ignore or conceal. With all the big leaders behind prisonbars, the movement lacks leadership and can hardly be maintained at its original level. Picketing of educational institutions has also become a failure except at a few places like Allahabad, though it must be recognised that the picketing of council elections was more widespread and was attended by a fair measure of success. In Punjab, according to the communique, the movement has reached a stage approaching stagnation. That too must be put down to the Government's repressive policy which pounces upon the leaders the moment they are guilty of any breach of the existing laws and ordinances. The position might have been different if their attitude had been somewhat tolerant. But nobody has a right to expect that it should be so. In Bombay City owing to the closure of mills as many as 45,000 millhands are thrown out of employment. We are told the local Government is trying to pack them off to their homes in the districts, not at their own, but at Government, expense; but they are declining the kindly offices of the Government on the ground that as harvesting operations are practically over, they would have nothing to do in their villages.

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Mudhol Reforms.

ANOTHER State in the Southern Mahratta Country, Mudhol, the fifth in order of time, has had the beginning of representative institutions initiated the other day. While the step is doubtless in the right direction and to that extent the Chief Saheb entitled to our congratulations, we are afraid the constitutional advance it involves can hardly be regarded as satisfactory even for "backward" Mudhol. The proposed Representative Assembly is to consist of 53 members, 20 nominated and 33 elected, three seats being reserved for depressed classes. We are glad to observe that "practically universal franchise" has been granted to Mudhol state subjects, all persons above 18 being entitled to vote. The results of this step will be watched with interest in British India. But the condition that a prospective candidate for election should have secured the State's previous permission to his candidature appears to us to be very mischievous. It reduces election to a farce and should be done away with. It is a source of satisfaction that, from the first, the Assembly is to enjoy the right of electing its own President as also Deputy President. As for the Assembly's powers, it is believed they are unrestricted so far as primary education, sanitation and medical relief, local self-government, are concerned. Presumably it will also have the right to interpellate the Government and place them on their defence by moving resolutions. So far so good. But unless it is provided with the necessary financial resources for improving these nation-building departments, any assembly, however representative and influential, will find itself powerless to do anything substantial. In this connection we notice that the whole of the net proceeds of the local funds and one-half of the net proceeds of income-tax will be granted to the Assembly to enable it to discharge its responsibilities. We fear it will find these resources inadequate for the purpose. Almost the first thought that occurs to us when we hear an Indian ruler granting reforms to his people is how far he is prepared to limit his own personal expenses and subject the State accounts to independent audit. We cannot pretend that Mudhol did not provoke this kind of inquiry in our mind. On this point however we have been unable to get any satisfactory explanation. A modest civil list for the ruler instead of his unrestricted personal expenditure is, it seems to us, at the root of all kind of reform in a state. For with the ruler free to make unlimited demands upon the state revenue for his own use there would be little left in the state coffers which could be expended on increasing or improving public utilities. This is especially more so in states with limited incomes like Mudhol. We trust the Raja Saheb has on this occasion come forward wisely to put a conscious limit on his privy purse, as was done by the Maharaja of Indore, to mention only the latest instance.

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Servindia Hostel.

In connection with the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics recently started under the auspices of the Servants of India Society, Poona, it is proposed to open in the Society's headquarters a small hostel for the convenience of the research students of the Institute. Accommodation for eight workers will be available from the 1st October next. Other research workers, who wish to make use of the Society's Library in Poona, may also be admitted if accommodation be available. The Secretary of the Society will be glad to furnish information.

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Articles.**THE INDIAN DELEGATES.**

NOW that the Congress leaders have declined to come to any agreement with the Government, the latter lost no time in announcing the names of the Indian invitees from other political parties and interests in British India and from among the Indian Princes. The selection of representative Indians could not have been an easy or an enviable task for the Viceroy. So many claims have been pressed on him during the last few months from parties and interests, some of which suddenly came into existence only after the Round Table Conference was announced! The list of British Indian delegates finally invited to the Conference contains many names which command respect and confidence even in certain sections of Congressmen. On the whole the selection has been good and judicious and fairly representative.

But that is not to say that there are no disappointing features in it. For some reason, which we shall not guess for fear of being wrong but which, nevertheless, makes us uneasy, the Muslim delegates, with an exception or two, are wholly drawn from that section which is far too communalistic. Even outside the Congress ranks there are Muslims of the nationalist persuasion. The Raja of Muhammada-bad, Sir Ali Imam and Mr. Yakub Hassan, for instance. We hope the Government will promptly make amends for the grave injustice they have, perhaps unconsciously, done to the Muslim community by tarring them all with the same brush, by inviting representatives of the nationalist section of Muslims, even if, thereby, they run the risk of being accused in certain quarters of having given disproportionately large representation to Muslims.

Considering the vital importance of fiscal swaraj the inadequacy of the representation of Indian industry and commerce and Indian labour is disconcerting to a degree. It is not quite clear who was responsible for this inadequacy: the Government or the interests concerned. News is going the rounds that Sir Purshottandas Thakurdas declined the invitation. There is no doubt that Indian businessmen are sore over the Government's currency and other fiscal policies, but that is, in our opinion, all the more reason why Indian businessmen should not decline to participate in the Conference. It may be that in view of the intensity of the civil disobedience movement in Bombay few Indian businessmen in that city felt free to go to the Conference, but other places might have been tried. The representation of women on the Conference could have been more adequate.

We have always held that the subjects of the Indian States were entitled to representation in the Conference along with the Indian Princes. The failure to concede the claim must remain a grievance. But the inclusion of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao and

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani is some consolation to the subjects of the Indian States that their interests will not be forgotten or neglected.

The absence of Congressmen at the Conference must, it must be frankly admitted, deprive it of the claim to be fully representative of India and any agreement reached at the Conference cannot claim the allegiance of all India. Under the circumstances British Indian delegates who have accepted the invitation to the Conference will be judged not by their representative character but by the achievements of the Conference. There are many among the delegates who even in their own individual capacity may be trusted to press India's claim for swaraj with all the conviction and ardour of the most representative Congressman. And in the matter of India's claim for swaraj there is no difference between Congressmen and non-Congressmen: their fundamental objective, even with regard to the time of the consummation of swaraj, is the same. The absence of Congressmen can give no shadow of justification to anybody to pretend that India is not solidly united in her ardent demand for swaraj.

The prospect of the conclusions of the Conference being acceptable to the large majority of politically-minded Indians will, therefore, depend to a very large extent on their nature, though it is quite conceivable that those who had not an active share in formulating them might consider it a point of honour with them to denounce them, if only for a time. Attention should, therefore, be concentrated on making the Conference as successful as possible. Much depends on the Chairman, and we hope that the Premier, Mr. Ramasy MacDonald, will himself preside over the Conference and guide its deliberations. The composition of the British delegation has not yet been announced, and much will depend on it also. The Congress in India may well suspend its aggressive activities and give a chance to the Indian delegates to do their best under the circumstances. We hope Pandit Motilal Nehru will soon recover his health and assume leadership of the Congress and take a correct appreciation of the political and economic situation created by the Congress and the Government activities and call a halt to the deterioration to the extent to which the Congress can help it.

Those who have accepted the invitation to the Conference have undertaken a responsibility immense in itself but rendered more immense and difficult by the failure of the Congress to assist at the Conference. Their patriotism and their motives will be questioned, and much obloquy cast on them for their action. Many of them have been in public life for years and by hard and unremitting public work earned the esteem and confidence of the discerning public. They value public support. It cannot be a pleasant task for them to run counter to the prevailing public sentiment and draw on themselves the scorn and disapprobation of their own people. In consenting to go to the Conference they are faced with the sacrifice of something which they value greatly, public opinion. But they are

sustained by the thought that the permanent and higher interests of the country they love as much as the best of their detractors require this sacrifice and they will not shrink from it.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND ADULT EDUCATION IN MALABAR.

THE Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust submitted to the Madras Government some time back a scheme of rural reconstruction giving special importance to adult education through night schools, magic lantern lectures, reading rooms, libraries, leaflets, exhibitions, etc. The Trust undertook to work the scheme in six centres provided the Government agreed to meet the major portion of the expenditure. The Government have been pleased to accept the scheme and to sanction half of the recurring as well as non-recurring expenses.

The one difficulty which the Trust had to face at the very outset in the inauguration of the scheme was the paucity of properly equipped workers to take charge of the centres. The experience of the Trust in the field of rural welfare work during the past six years showed that the ordinary teachers trained in the Training Schools were not competent to undertake rural welfare work which demanded a practical knowledge of adult education, agriculture, medical relief, co-operation and other subjects which affect the life of the villagers. If the worker in charge of the centre is to be of real help to the village population he should be capable of giving them advice in all matters regarding their welfare. After selecting the workers, to equip them to discharge their functions properly, the Trust sought the aid of experts in different departments to give them a special course of training. Instruction was given to workers in agriculture by the Agricultural Demonstrator; methods for educating the adults were explained by those who had experience in the line; first aid lessons were given by a qualified doctor who took the workers to the Hospital and made them actually dress wounds, fractures, etc.; the Co-operative Inspector explained how to organise and conduct co-operative societies; the Assistant District Health Officer dealt with Health and Sanitation. Such a practical course, although short in duration, gave confidence to the workers to go to the villages to do welfare work. On the date of the completion of the training the District Educational Officers and the District Health Officer and the members of the Trust gave sound advice to the workers as to how they should behave towards the villagers and wished them success in their endeavours.

The work according to the scheme actually began on June 16th. Feroke, Kottakkal, Tirurangadi, Tirur and Mangattur were the five Centres selected. In selecting the centres in consultation with the Educational Officers the Trust has kept in view the places where illiteracy and poverty prevail to the greatest extent and where ignorance and superstition have caused great havoc. Tirur, Tirurangadi and Kottakkal were storm centres during the late Mopla Rebellion, where 90% of the adult moplas are still

illiterate. Feroke is a place where nearly 6000 labourers gather in different factories out of whom 80% are illiterate. At Mangattur a large number of people who belong to the Depressed classes are illiterate and poor.

The workers were sent to their respective centres on the 16th June and till the end of the month they were engaged in making a thorough survey of their centres by coming into contact with the people and by taking statistics about illiteracy, poverty, etc. As buildings were not available in the centres, permission had to be secured from the Taluka Boards to use their buildings to hold the Adult Education classes. Classes were opened at Feroke, Tirur and Kottakkal during the first week of July, at Tirurangadi during the second week and at Mangatri during the third week of July. The following table will show the progress regarding the admission of adults during the month of July. Considering the condition of the adults who attend these centres—and they are mostly day labourers—the attendance can be deemed satisfactory.

No. Centre	Strength on opening day.	Strength today.
1 Feroke	4	53
2 Tirur	24	51
3 Kottakkal	16	57
4 Tirurangady	15	39
5 Mangatri	15	51

The classes usually begin at 7-30 p. m. As most of the students are labourers who often return to their homes late in the evening it is difficult to enforce attendance at a particular time. The students are so treated in their class as to make them forget the rigours of the day's hard work as they need diversion of some sort which does not impose strain. Stories that strike their imagination and sustain their interest are narrated. Magic lantern lectures which do not impose additional strain on their tired brains are conducted regularly to impart knowledge while affording recreation. Many of the students do not know even the letters of the alphabet and efforts are being made to teach the same to enable them to read for themselves. Talks on civics, history, health, hygiene and sanitation are given so that the outlook of the students may be widened and that they may become healthy and useful citizens. Music and mental arithmetic have been given a prominent place in the curriculum because they make the students cheerful and alert.

Reading rooms have been opened in all the centres which are used not only by the students of the adult education classes who are able to read but by the public also. Seven periodicals, English and Malayalam, are made available. It is to be noted that there have been no free reading rooms in any of these places and consequently the public have welcomed the opportunity afforded by the Trust to read newspapers and periodicals free.

Books for the library approved by the District Educational Officers have been ordered and within a few days each centre will have a library of its own.

In addition to the worker stationed in each centre, the Trust has appointed an itinerant lecturer who

goes round to all centres to help the workers and deliver magic lantern and general lectures on subjects regarding rural welfare. The Trust has slides dealing with co-operative stores, co-operative credit, thrift, agriculture, health and sanitation, maternity and child welfare and temperance. These slides are being exhibited in all centres on 5 or 6 days every month in each centre according to a pre-arranged programme. The shows attract a large number of adults in each centre.

In order to associate the public of the place in which the Trust is working and to obtain their co-operation local advisory committees are being formed in all centres. The officers in charge of different departments have been requested to make use of the worker in each centre and render him every help in furthering the cause of village uplift in which the Government as well as the Trust are equally interested and the replies we have received from the officers are very encouraging. The task is difficult; the apathy and ignorance of the village population are appalling. The support so far received from the public in our work is encouraging. The workers are new to the kind of work in which they are engaged. The Trust hopes to do something to bring a ray of hope and cheer into lives that sadly need it with the co-operation of the official and non-official public, whose help it gratefully acknowledges.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

BRITISH OPINION AND INDIA.

THE peace parleys which have since broken down were not altogether neglected by the British Press. The Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* was responsible for the information that though Mahatma Gandhi recognised that owing to strong opposition in Parliament the Labour Government may be unable to "guarantee" Dominion Status or substantive independence, he asked that the Viceroy and the Home Government shall give their support to the Indian demand at the Round Table Conference. The correspondence on this subject having now become public property, everybody can test for himself the correctness or otherwise of the information supplied by the correspondent in question. But it furnished the basis for a leading article headed "A New Ultimatum from Gandhi" which is in the usual *Daily Telegraph* style. And it is interesting to note what it has to say about the assurance for which Mahatmaj, according to its correspondent, had asked:

He goes so far as to recognise that a minority Government in this country is not in a position to carry out the immediate surrender which he would impose upon it as a policy; and it is interesting to note the apparent assumption that a Government having a Parliamentary majority would only have to announce its conversion to his views, and the thing would instantly be done. When GANDHI'S study of our constitutional arrangements is yet further advanced, he will learn that there is a nation behind any Parliamentary majority, and that Great Britain is not prepared in any political circumstances to sanction the crime of flinging India into chaos such as imagination recalls from.

As for the result of the peace negotiations, the *Tele-*

graph was never too hopeful but considered it "justifiable to allow this unofficial attempt by Indians to procure the ending of a movement which is causing so much loss and misery to their own people. The attempt has failed, and the duty of the Indian Government remains."

Mr. Churchill's speech, a short summary of which was cabled to India at the time, also attracted some attention in the British Press. A perusal of the fuller report given by the *Times* shows it to have been more mischievous than its cabled summary led one to believe. He seems to hold the present British Government responsible practically for everything wrong under the sun. If the wild Afridis are giving trouble, it is because the Labour Government is installed in Whitehall. "Such a lamentable spectacle would have been impossible in former times." His explanation for this state of things is simple enough. "These tribesmen came only because they had been led to believe that Lord Irwin's Government was clearing out of India and that rich spoils lay open to their raids." We are confident the tribesmen have since been disillusioned, for which at least Mr. Churchill must remain grateful to the Indian Government. The next question to which he devoted some attention was the constitutional one. To facilitate discussion, the Government of India, as is well known, allowed the Nehrus to be taken to Yerrowda. To him this is nothing short of permitting Mr. Gandhi "to hold cabinet Councils with fellow conspirators in gaol, while the great governing organism, upon whose calm strength the lives and livelihood of uncounted millions depended, waited cap in hand outside the cell door hoping to wheedle a few kind words out of their prisoner." He has not yet been able to reconcile himself to Sir John Simon's exclusion from the Round Table Conference, which is, to him, "a proceeding at once abject and foolish, reflecting nothing but discredit upon those responsible for it, whether here or in India." He appears to think that for the sweeping aside of "the original plan" which involved the reference of the Simon Report to a Joint Committee after its consideration by Parliament the present Labour Government was responsible. He ought to know this is not a fact. The proposal for the Round Table Conference originated, as he will see from the Simon Report itself, with the Commission. But his description of the Round Table Conference as "a sort of large lively circus in which 80 or 90 Indians, representing hundreds of races and religions, and 20 or 30 British politicians divided by an approaching General Election were to scrimmage about together on the chance of their coming to some agreement" is quite characteristic of him. His conviction as to the result of the Conference is that it "will be confusion worse confounded." But what follows is no less interesting:—

It is very wrong to encourage false hopes in the minds of the Indian political classes. They are only a handful compared to the vast Indian masses for whom we are responsible, but they are entitled to be treated with good faith and sincerity. It would be wrong to lure and coax them over here with vague phrases about Dominion status when it is quite certain that these Indian politicians will

not obtain Dominion status in their lifetime. We may not be able to win their agreement: let us make sure we do not lose their respect. In dealing with Indian problems and with earnest men it is far wiser and far safer to be blunt and plain. The Round Table Conference has no power to confer any constitution upon India. Parliament alone can deal with that. No proposal for Dominion status would pass through even the present House of Commons. We do not know what the next House of Commons will be like, but it seems certain that it will be less favourable to Dominion status for India than the present Parliament. Therefore I take this opportunity of stating these facts and truths simply and straightforwardly so as to prevent, so far as a private individual can prevent, the very grave dangers and reproaches of disappointed hopes.

It need hardly be pointed out that Mr. Churchill's "facts" and "truths" are not those of a man eager to ease a troubled situation, but of one bent upon displacing the Government now in office. No wonder that the *Manchester Guardian* dealt with it in an article under the caption "That Foolish Big stick," which Mr. Churchill exhorts the authorities to flourish as a way out of their present difficulties in India. According to the paper, this, "besides being barbarous, is no longer even effective." The greater the realisation of this fact in England, the better for the future of Anglo-Indian relations. "Facing the facts of the situation," proceeds the paper, "the Government made it clear to India that they wished her to have Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment. In this they carry the vast majority of the people of this country with them." We hope that in saying this the *Manchester Guardian* represents British opinion more correctly and faithfully than Mr. Churchill. Else India would find very much to her regret that her faith in the sense of British justice was utterly misplaced. The *Daily Herald's* opinion is also noteworthy. "Mr. Churchill evidently imagines" says it "noise is a substitute for thought. If his speech at Minster is a measure of his political wisdom, wise men will beware."

In mail week Lord Lytton, ex-Governor of Bengal, wrote to the *Times* a long letter on the Round Table Conference in which he tries to take up a thoroughly impartial attitude. Herecalls the circumstances in which the idea of the Round Table Conference was put forward by Sir John Simon with a view to ensuring "a fuller consideration of the position of the Indian States in a federated India than his Commission had been able to give to it." The suggestion was welcomed by the Viceroy and the British Government, for the additional reason that it would give an opportunity "for the ventilation of opinions which should have been, but were not, expressed in evidence before the Commission." In this connection he condemns the die-hard attitude which regards "all attempts to reason with critics in India" as "weakness" and points out that the process of self-government having gone on so far, "it is impossible altogether to ignore the wishes and susceptibilities of Indians, especially if the next constitutional enactment is to be a further extension of the principle of self-government." He then makes clear that the Conference is not a "Constituent

Assembly summoned to draft a Constitution that will give to India forthwith the status of a Dominion "as is, according to him, supposed in India, but "an occasion for collecting opinions from all quarters." Looked at from this point of view he regards the demand of the Opposition parties for representation at the Conference as "entirely reasonable." As regards the inclusion of representatives of the Commission, Lord Lytton thinks "all concerned seem to have behaved with the maximum of unreason." All the same, he opines "it is really inconceivable that the Conference should take place without the presence of Sir John Simon" and hopes "the mistake may yet be rectified in the time remaining before the Conference meets." We hope he realises that the rectification of the mistake in question might even endanger the chances of success of the Conference.

It is sometimes said that a boycott of British goods, in stead of inducing British business men to exert their influence in the direction of a satisfactory settlement of the Indian problem, will merely put up their backs and stiffen their opposition to our demand. The following extract from the letter published in the *Times* of Mr. R. W. Brook, editor, *Capital*, Calcutta, who must be presumed to be knowing what he is talking about, shows that the fear in question is groundless :

There is no doubt, in other words, not only that the present boycott is more extensive and intensive than any preceding campaign of the same type, but that it will continue, and even intensify, until political concord has been re-established. In such conditions, it appears legitimate to assert that an early settlement of the Indian Constitutional problem is vital to the restoration of British industry and trade and the reduction of unemployment. Administrative measures to reduce unemployment or to alleviate its effects, having definitely and demonstrably failed, it remains to take political measures, likely to be as potent, and certain to be less expensive. In India we can preserve our political pre-eminence, or can preserve our trade, but we cannot preserve both ; and a stage has been reached when we must decide whether our primary concern in India is trade or administration. Acquiescence in the desirability of a considerable political advance does not necessarily imply condemnation of British administration in the past. Its chief implication is a candid recognition that the measure of Indian cooperation which rendered our rule possible and beneficial has disappeared and that neither India nor Great Britain can gain by endeavouring to evade the administrative and political readjustments this new attitude in India involves.

The moral is obvious and will, it is hoped, not be lost on proper quarters.

D. V. A.

Reviews.

PEASANT LIFE IN THE PUNJAB.

RUSTICUS LIQUITUR OR THE OLD LIGHT & THE NEW IN THE PUNJAB VILLAGE.
By MALCOLM LYALL DARLING. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1930. 23cm. 400p. Rs. 9.

THE book under review is an account in the form of a diary of Mr. Darling's tour in the villages of the Punjab undertaken for the purpose of gauging the progress of the co-operative movement in that Pro-

vince. It reveals such an intimate knowledge on the part of the author of rural conditions and problems and such a deep and genuine sympathy to improve the lot of the agricultural population, that one can turn to it for instruction and enlightenment as regards Indian peasant life, its joys and its sorrows. Mr. Darling, who, by the way, was the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for a long time in the Punjab, was more than what an official bureaucrat could be or would be and his tour also was much more than a mere official tour ; he has entered into the real spirit of the peasants and has exhibited a desire throughout to save them from unwholesome influences and old fashioned prejudices and bring into their lives renewed hope and renovated enthusiasm.

The value of the work for the general reader consists in the third part of it which contains the 'deductions and impressions' of the author and wherein Mr. Darling has enunciated certain general propositions about the life and living of the Punjab peasant and suggested ways and means for improving his lot. And what he has stated therein by way of analysis and suggestion applies as much to the agricultural situation in other parts of the country as that in the Punjab. Mr. Darling institutes a contrast between the old and the new ideals dominating the outlook of the agriculturists calling them the old and the new lights and depicts, in its various phases, the conflict that has been going on in the Punjab between the two, the former being represented by custom, religion, superstition and helpless resignation and all those other baneful influences and the latter represented by the ideals of hope, reason, scientific outlook, self-help, independence, etc. The old light is, according to Mr. Darling, gradually extinguishing, yielding place to the new and this phenomenon is particularly marked in the East of the Punjab, where irrigation, cooperation, education, the improvement of communications and experience gained through emigration have all combined to help its advancement. Wherever the new light penetrated, it has had an appreciable and beneficial effect upon the standard of living of the people, upon their methods of agriculture and generally upon their life and living.

Everyone will be disposed to agree with the diagnosis and statement of the problem when Mr. Darling puts it in the manner mentioned above ; for everyone who has devoted any thought to it will recognize that the worst point about the Indian agriculturists is to get him help himself and resist the onslaught of the several factors that contribute to his bad and unprogressive condition ; and the "new light" has this to recommend it that it is based on the fundamental principle of self-help and reliance on one's own efforts as distinct from an unrelieved feeling of hopelessness and helplessness.

The dominating force of custom and religion which has had such a strong grip on Indian society in general and Punjabi society in particular, is gradually crumbling down before the ourushing force of economic necessity. It is a commendable change so far as it results in the subduing of blind obedience to religious forms and superstitious beliefs and in the inducement of an ideal of better life and better farming in the agriculturists. But still the question remains, should the peasant dethrone custom altogether in favour of expediency, in favour of comfort and a higher standard of living or should he cling to his religion and be content with his grinding poverty ? The latter is positively bad while the former may, if stretched beyond its proper limits, easily lead one into the blind alley of materialism. The solution to the problem does not lie in the pursuit of any of these two extreme courses but in the adoption of a middle

course. In Mr. Darling's words, "what is wanted is some gospel that will synthesize the old light and the new, which, on the one hand, will preserve the corporate life of the village and the villagers' comparative indifference to material values, and, on the other, will secure to every man and also to every woman all that is indispensable to what Aristotle calls the good life." Such a synthesis may be found in what Mr. Darling calls the gospel of sufficiency and service, the former meaning the cultivator and maintenance of just those wants that enable one to live a happy and healthy life and the latter being understood to be the service of one's fellow-men and the inculcation in the people of a spirit of sacrifice for the sake of public good. There is much more in these two ideals to appeal to the essentially religious mind of the Hindu population than either in the mere negative ideal of doing nothing and leaving things to fate or in the mere grabbing ideal of doing everything for the sake of gain and profit. The difficulty is to bring the people to accept them cheerfully and the spread of education and the ideals of cooperation and the cooperative movement can be relied upon to do it. Altogether the book is an eminently interesting one, full of hope for the future of the agriculturists and full of instruction to the reformer and the student of rural problems.

C. V. HANUMANTA RAO.

NEEDS OF PUNJAB FACTORY WORKERS.

FACTORY LABOUR IN THE PUNJAB. By AHMAD MUKHTAR. (The Huxley Press, Madras.) 1929. 207p. Rs. 5.

THE Punjab is essentially an agricultural area, but the industrialisation of the province has been going on at a fairly rapid pace during recent years. Professor Ahmad Mukhtar's book is, therefore, an opportune contribution, in that it serves to focus attention on the growing needs of the factory workers of the province. In 1926, up to which year only the statistical tables in the book are made uptodate, there were 52,648 factory workers in the Punjab, as against 49,110 in 1923, 50,842 in 1924 and 53,533 in 1925. These figures show that though the industrial expansion of the province is proceeding apace, yet, owing to the comparative smallness of its factory population, the labour problem in the Punjab has not up till now assumed unmanageable dimensions, and that, if timely action is taken, much can be done to improve the lot of the Punjab worker.

The book, which was submitted as a thesis for the author's Ph. D. degree of the London University, furnishes clear evidences of careful study and scientific investigation. The chapters dealing with the socio-religious customs, literacy and educational standards, and the wages of the workers, with their housing, health and home-life with ventilation, humidification, and other sanitary conditions in factories, with the sources and extent of labour supply and the demand for it, and with the development of trade unionism in the province serve to give a faithful, but harrowing, picture of the actual conditions of work of the Punjab factory operatives. The salient points which emerge from the author's protracted and painstaking investigations are that the factory labourer in the Punjab is poor, very poor. His labour is often sweated and underpaid. He is badly fed, badly clothed and badly housed and is subject to decimation by occasional epidemics. He is also ignorant and disorganised. Investigation into 547 family budgets of employees in the North-Western Railway workshops, Lahore, show that 37% of the workers were living below jail

standards, 12% were just earning subsistence wages and that 18% of the families were earning just above the subsistence level, Rs. 2-14-4 being the surplus per family. On the subject of the chronic indebtedness of the workers, Professor Mukhtar's investigations show that the rate of interest charged on loans to workers in some cases goes up to as much as 300 per cent. per annum, and that one anna per rupee per month is a common rate! Again, the book shows that trade union organisation in the Punjab is in a very backward state and that much headway has to be made if the province is to keep abreast of all-India developments in this respect. There have been few strikes in the Punjab up to now, the principal ones being the strikes in 1920 and 1925 in the N. W. Railway, but the comparative immunity of the Province from strikes, far from connoting that the Punjab labourers have nothing to complain about, furnishes a sad commentary on their lack of organisation for the ventilation of labour grievances.

The book does not stop with merely pointing out the numerous handicaps under which the Punjab workers are living. The author maintains that the remedy for the deplorable conditions in the Punjab, as also in other provinces, lies not in piece-meal provincial legislation, but in the initiation of comprehensive all-India legislation designed to ensure uniform and simultaneous progress in labour matters in all the Indian provinces. The book is also fertile in practical suggestions capable of immediate local application, a few of the more important of which deserve more than passing notice. On the workers' side, the author observes that steps should be taken immediately to speed up the pace of trade union organisation in the province, by which alone the workers can hope to consolidate their rights and enhance their powers of collective bargaining. As this step can be achieved only by the spread of literacy and the cooperative movement, Government is admonished to take active steps for the furtherance of both these aims. It is also pointed out that there is obvious maladjustment in the supply and demand of labour in the province. The statistics for 1921 show that in that year no less than 5,49,386 workers born in the Punjab had emigrated outside the province, of whom 5,30,899 were enumerated in other provinces of India. The book maintains that the present casual methods of recruitment of labour have, therefore, to be given up, and industrial labour bureaus have to be set up in each division, with an industrial labour department for the whole province. According to the author, there are a number of other ways also in which the State can render first-aid to the workers. The ensurance of a considerable increase in the number of factory inspections, whereby alone the proper observance of the stipulations of the Factory Act in respect of hours of work, rest intervals, holidays, fencing and guarding of machinery, etc. can be secured, the taking of a wage census of the province, the abolition of the practice of holding tests for supervisory positions in industry in English only and the acceptance for this purpose of Urdu and other suitable vernaculars, the introduction of a technical and industrial bias to middle school education in selected areas and schools, the discontinuance of discriminatory preferential treatment at present accorded to Anglo-Indians and Europeans in the grant of facilities for technical education, the insistence on a thorough medical examination of children in factories by certifying surgeons, and the speeding up of maternity legislation—these are but a few of the concrete suggestions for the immediate improvement of labour conditions in the province embodied in the book. In the sphere of the employers' duties, the author comments unsparingly on the absence of a sympa-

thetic outlook on the part of the employers, advocates greater consideration by them of the human factor in labour, and stresses the need for welfare work being conducted on more intensive lines in the Punjab factories.

Most of the remedies suggested in the book may appear to be trite and commonplace; but it has to be remembered that the economic and other handicaps of the Punjab worker are much the same as those of workers in other Indian provinces, and that, therefore, it is not so much the airing of new-fangled principles and the suggestion of novel remedies that is wanted, as a sympathetic approach to and a patient, scientific, and first-hand study of the problems involved and the devising of commonsense remedies for the ills of labour. In this task the author has not spared himself.

K. E. MATTHEW.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE WORLD IN 2030 A. D. By THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD. (Hodder & Stoughton, London.) 1930. 24cm. 215 p. 12/6.

FROM the point of view of a scientist, who is gifted with some imagination, the book offers very tame and insipid writing. His Lordship might as well have written these chapters for some Sunday papers to enlighten and to enliven the minds of rural folk dozing lazily in their arm chairs after a comfortable Sunday dinner. Even the so-called predictions, which have some semblance of a scientific basis, have been discussed in scientific circles nearly a decade ago. Ideas have been borrowed from other people and one sometimes feels there ought to have been a franker and more generous acknowledgment of this, —the mention of this in the introduction is inadequate.

Lord Birkenhead has a great intellect and if he had confined his writings to politics or subjects of judicial interests, he would have achieved something worthy of his great name. Where he discusses the future of different races, and how they will be oriented in 2030, one meets with the familiar "Birkenhead tone". His Lordship envisages the world dominated by white people, the other races complacently, willingly and perhaps, according to His Lordship, happily, succumbing to the influence of the white people, amongst whom the Anglo-Saxon will be the superman of supermen.

So far as India is concerned, it is unthinkable, in His Lordship's opinion, that even in 2030 India can be independent. Either out of fear or a lack of proper appreciation of the new world forces, His Lordship does not mention anything about either Gandhi or his Non-violent Civil Disobedience movement. Already this new force is being felt in other parts of the world and the result of it will be manifest in other parts of the world also in 2030.

From the point of view of a scientist this is a shallow book. The world expects something really big and worth having from a person who is undoubtedly a great man in other spheres of life.

S. G. SASTRY.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By CALEB PERRY PATTERSON. (Heath Political Science Series.) (Heath & Co., New York.) 1929. 22cm. 888p. \$ 3.60.

THE book will admirably serve the purpose of being a text for University students. It traces the growth of the constitution and Indian readers have much to

learn from its evolution. Those of us, who are scratching their heads for evolving a constitution for such a vast country as India with its heterogeneous elements, will do well to ponder over the development of the American Congress and the executive administration, and to realise how slow and often painful the process was. Englishmen also should not gloat over the apparent failure of Indian leaders to frame a constitution for India. They must know that even after the severance of the British connection, the Central Legislature of the United States, i. e. the Congress, could not immediately set in motion its own authority in several constituent States, and it took a long time in securing their perfect allegiance. The Indian National Congress stands more or less in the same predicament to-day, and we hope a time may soon come when the Indian National Congress also will, like its American sister, be recognised as the mouth-piece of India. The writer has set forth the defects of the American constitution, and has advanced his own considered opinions on them. The style is lucid and interesting and is best adapted to focus the attention of the reader on essential points. The book will certainly be useful to those who wish to study this subject.

V. M. BHAT.

INDIAN STATES REGISTER & DIRECTORY 1930. Ed. By A. N. SUDARISANAM. (Indian States Register & Directory Office, Madras.) 19 cm. 728 p. Rs. 6/-.

ENCOURAGED by the favourable reception given to the first edition of the Indian States Register and Directory which, as was anticipated by its author, proved to be a good seller Mr. A. N. Sudarisanam has come forward with this second (1930) annual number of his compilation and thus has made a very valuable addition to the reference library on this important national problem of the Indian States. In addition to the speeches made by the Princes at various banquets to the Viceroy and the Viceroy's replies, extracts from the Nehru Report, the legal opinion of Sir Leslie Scott on the States Problem, the views of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and such other leaders of Indian political opinion on the Princes' case as presented to the Butler Committee, the Editor has also included in the present edition the full text of the Indian States Committee's Report, Sir M. Visveswarya's address at the Southern States' People's Conference, Prof. G. R. Abhyankar's speech at Poona, the correspondence between Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Sir John Simon which authorised the Indian Statutory Commission to include in its terms of reference "a careful examination of the methods by which the future relationship of British India and Indian States might be adjusted", the Maharaja of Bikaner's interview with the Associated Press of India about the Viceroy's last November announcement and an account of the meeting of the Chamber of Princes held in February 1930 etc. etc. At a time when the problem of the Indian States is being so very widely discussed amongst all phases of political opinion in our country and when it is engaging the attention of some of our best brains who think it a bit of a hard nut to crack this annual is sure to prove indispensable to all students of this particular problem in India. It really supplies a long felt want of a comprehensive book of reference on the subject and it is earnestly hoped that the Editor will be enabled to bring out every year a new and up-to-date edition of the Directory and Register.

K. G. SPANL

Miscellaneous.

BOGUS SCHEME OF FEDERALISM.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., contributes the following article to the *Spectator* of London :

THE Simon Commission observe that there is really one India, but that the unity of India includes the Indian States as well as British India. But this recognition is not followed up to all its logical consequences. They suggest nothing to bring about the realization of this unity, unless they consider that the formulation of the federal ideal is a step towards the same.

Federalism implies the derivation and limitation of the central authority by the constituent States or provinces, the vesting of residuary powers in the constituent members, the comparative weakness of the central government, the potentiality of friction between the central government and the provincial or State governments, and the encouragement of particularism, communalism and provincial patriotism as opposed to a sense of Indian nationalism and broadminded citizenship. The strong communal tendencies and other centrifugal forces of India can be checked and the national consolidation promoted, only by a strong central government with powers of intervention when necessary. This can be secured only by the adoption of a unitary form of government as the future ideal.

DEVOLUTION

Unitary government is quite compatible with a very large amount of devolution and decentralization even by statute. The future ideal must be considered from the point of view (a) of British India, (b) of the Indian States. From the stand-point of British India, its consolidation has been effected by the present unitary structure, and national solidarity can be promoted only by the continuance of the same structure. Progress must be on the line of the existing system, i. e., by moving forward on the existing rails and not by reversing the engine and diverting it to a new line.

It is admitted by the Commission that the conditions necessary for the development of a federal structure do not now exist in India, that the present unitary government must be broken up, that new political entities with provincial patriotisms will have to be brought into existence, that it is a most difficult task to carry out the two processes of devolution and integration simultaneously, that federalism is only an intermediate stage between separate States and a consolidated unitary State, that the general tendency of federations is towards increasing centralization, and that it is not now possible to predict or formulate the structure or form of the federal government which they hold out as a remote ideal. Nevertheless, the Commission are anxious to destroy the present structure of the Indian Legislature for the purpose of leaving the door open for the Indian States to walk in at some future time.

The implications and obligations of genuine federalism are not realized by the Indian Princes, and they are not likely to be realized for a long time to come. The false and vicious analogies of the old German Federation and the League of Nations, suggested by the Commission, make one doubt whether the Commission themselves have realized the realities of the situation. From the standpoint of the Indian States also, the federal ideal is not practicable for a long time. For a detailed exposition of the subject I would refer readers to my book on "Indian

Constitutional Problems." The term "federal union" appeals to minds without any clear conception of the subject, to communalists and to Indian Princes.

Before proceeding to consider the changes in the structure of the central legislature recommended by the Simon Commission, I should like to point out that their bald endorsement without argument of the view of the Butler Committee in favour of the theory of direct relations between the Indian Princes and the British Crown as distinguished from the Government of India cannot command any acceptance in British India. This doctrine must prove a permanent wedge between British India and the Indian States and prevent the political union of all India and its advance towards Dominion Status. Can this be an explanation of the readiness with which the Princes' theory has been accepted by the Butler Committee and by the Simon Commission?

A WRONG ARGUMENT.

It is argued by the Simon Commission that a federal structure can alone provide a framework for the union of elements of diverse internal constitutions and of communities in different stages of development and of special and backward areas. One would have thought that this was a strong argument for the unitary type of government. The federal type of government implies the union of provincial governments with complete internal autonomy. Whatever may be the form of internal government, federalism implies the non-interference of the central government in matters of internal administration and the absence of all control or guidance. When it is said that the federal structure alone will enable the inclusion of special and backward areas, do the Commission mean that they are fit for internal autonomy and that no control from the centre is necessary? It is hardly credible that they do. But if they do not, the facts indicate the need for a unitary structure. The diversity of conditions and needs can be provided for by decentralization by a unitary government as much as by a federal type. But the existence of a supreme central government will serve the essential purpose of preventing serious aberrations of the provinces from their proper orbits.

It is said that, during the march of India to her goal, it is essential to maintain the strength of the central administration to ensure peace and safety. This need will continue even after the attainment of the goal and can be best met by a unitary type accompanied by decentralization.

INDIRECT ELECTION.

It is urged that the area and population of India require a system of indirect election and that that system is more in keeping with, or rather calls for, a federal structure. The electioneering difficulties referred to by the Commission must be solved by the development of party organisations for which the Commission do not wish to provide any facilities. The adoption of the indirect method will be attended by serious disadvantages:—(1) It would prevent that contact between the voter and the member which, the Commission admit, is essential to representative democracy; (2) It would afford no training to the voter in the decision of all-India issues. Probably the Commission do not desire to promote the competency of the elector in such matters.

The Commission would apparently be content with a uni-cameral legislature, though they are prepared to tolerate the existence of the Council of State. According to their scheme, the federal assembly must be representative of the ultimate units of federation, to the provinces.‡

Unless the representatives of each province are required to record a single block vote, it is difficult to see how they can prevent difference of opinion among the representatives of the same province. Indirect election will not really secure the object. We do not know of any case of a uni-cameral federal legislature.

AN IGNORED PRINCIPLE.

The two principles which underlie the structure of every federal government are that, while the upper chamber is a sop to the desire for equality of the constituent States, the lower chamber is invariably elected directly by the people and represents the sovereignty of the nation and the responsibility of the legislature to it. What trace is there of any recognition of this fundamental principle of federalism in the structure of the central government proposed by the Commission?

The principle of indirect election to the Senate was tried in America and abandoned. The Commission take a very long view indeed of the development of Indian Self-government—so long that it cannot be realized within any measurable distance of time. What India needs is a strong central government founded on popular support.

THE FEDERAL GOAL.

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao writes in the "SPECTATOR" of the 33rd August last:—

PRACTICALLY speaking, apart from the niceties of constitutional terminology, India has been governed hitherto under a unitary system of government. The supremacy of the Government of India is constitutionally acknowledged in the British Indian Provinces; it is acquiesced in by the Indian States.

It is this system that the Simon Commissioners wish to replace by a federal system. That may not come about at once, they recognize, but it is the aim to be steadily kept in view and worked for. As the first step, they propose to break up the unitary government of British India, to invest the now subordinate Provinces with the status of autonomous States, and simultaneously compel them to join in federation, to delegate to the central Government jurisdiction over subjects of common interest, and to extend a standing invitation to the Indian States to join if and when they please.

There is much in the circumstances of India and the evidence placed before the Simon Commissioners which makes for this conclusion. They are impressed by the fundamental unity between British India and the Indian States; only an arbitrary line divides them. The interests of both are extensively dovetailed. They are impressed also by the diversity in India, diversity of race, religion, language and history. The size of India and its teeming population, running into some 315 millions, make for decentralization. Only a federation, they conclude, can reconcile the claims of unity with those of diversity.

Moreover, Indian politicians have, with one voice, demanded during the last two decades "full provincial autonomy"; the Muslims have supported the demand, and repeatedly claimed and demanded that the provinces in British India should, under full provincial autonomy, retain residuary powers and reduce the central government to the status of an agent for some delegated purposes. The Indian Princes contend that they acknowledge the paramountcy of the British Crown and of the Government of India so long as the latter is but an agent of the Crown, but they will not acknowledge the paramountcy of a Dominion Government of India responsible to the people of British India. The farthest they may consent to go is to federate with British India for common purposes. What would be more natural under the circumstances and more acceptable to political India, than federation in the place of the present, for all practical purposes unitary, government?

But a closer examination of the motives underlying the

plea for federation must make one pause before one accepts it. The Muslims have shouted from the housetops that their motive in advocating federation is the creation of some five Muslim States in British India, in which the power of the Muslims shall be unchallenged. They have made up their mind that, as a counterpoise to Hindu rule in the other Provinces, where Hindus are in a majority, they wish to create some Muslim States. The national ideal of States which are neither Hindu nor Muslim but above both they abandon, and frankly wish to cut up India into Muslim States and Hindu States. They propose to secure the rights of Muslims in the Hindu States by threatening the Hindus in the Muslim States. Is that a purpose which the British should promote?

If the Simon Commissioners had had the advantage of listening to the evidence of the nationalist politicians of India, as distinct from the communalists, they would have realised that by "full provincial autonomy" they did not mean the creation of full-fledged states in the provinces, but merely greater devolution of powers to the Provinces and, what was more important, the setting up of responsible governments therein. The integration of all-India is not complete. The process requires quickening and strengthening, and the chief reason for the Indian demand for Swaraj is that the State may take an active share in the process. To break up India into a federation at this stage will undo the work of generations of Indian patriots, and defeat their purpose.

In the eyes of the Simon Commissioners the main justification for federation is the status of the Indian Princes; others are but additional and adventitious reasons. The Indian Princes form the starting-point and the basic consideration of the Commission's conclusions. In the sphere of internal administration the Princes claim full autonomy and freedom from external control, both of the British and of the Dominion Government of India. It must be remembered that there are some 700 States in all, and just a handful of them approximate to France, Germany and Great Britain in size and population, while the vast bulk of them approximate to the Vatican State. Except in half a dozen States at the most, their administrations are unrelieved autocracies, mediaeval in outlook and "feudal" in operation. Most of the Princes, even if they had the will, have not the resources to evolve efficient administration. And between them they rule over 70 million peoples. Their subjects watch their compatriots in British India, with much less misrule to complain of, forging ahead towards responsible government; they catch the infection and agitate for the reform of the administrations in the States. They have the sympathy and support of the people in British India. But as long as the Paramount Power is the present British Indian Government, which is pledged to stand by the Princes and ask no questions and not intervene except when it is convinced of the existence of gross misrule, the subjects of the Indian Princes see no hope of amelioration. They are overawed by the present Paramount Power into submission to the arbitrary rule of the Princes. They wish ardently for a change in the Paramount Power. A Dominion Government of India will, they have every confidence, exert its moral influence not only to eliminate gross abuses in administration but to promote the rule of law and constitutional progress in the States.

For this very reason the Princes are reluctant to submit to the paramountcy of a Dominion Government of India. Their divine right to rule or misrule without let or hindrance may be questioned. Much as they resent the interference of the present British Government in their affairs and the encroachment on their rights, they prefer to acknowledge its paramountcy because they feel that their vested rights will be safer in its hands. They fear a change of masters; they only wish that their present masters would refrain from encroaching on their rights and just hold the ring and overawe their subjects while they continue to administer their States in the traditional manner. This is not a flattering function for the freedom-loving Britisher. In this matter of the Indian States the Simon Commissioners' view was limited to the Princes; they did not look beyond, to their subjects. In order to safeguard and further entrench the rights of these Princes and princelings the Simon Commissioners proposed

to emasculate British India as well. Considering that they did not recommend the setting up of a Dominion Government in India responsible to the people, and that therefore there was no imminent prospect of the Indian Princes having to face a change in the paramount Power, there seems to be not the slightest justification for the form of federal government advocated.

It is important to understand and realize the full implications of federation—in the Simon sense. It would lead to disintegration of India; it cuts up India into Muslim States and non-Muslim States, it entrenches the Indian Princes still more firmly in their internal autonomy and condemns the subjects of the States to suffer the undemocratic rule of the Princes, without hope of amelioration. If it was the high mission of Britain to weld together the divergent elements in India and forge a nation, and to introduce democratic institutions in India, this federation proposal is bound to defeat it irretrievably.

Correspondence.

NO REFLECTION ON NEGOTIATORS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—May I suggest that your editorial paragraph on "The Negotiators" misinterprets the last paragraph in the final letter of the imprisoned Congress leaders. You interpret it as a reflection on the negotiators,—“a discourtesy unworthy of the Mahatma.” I cannot see that it bears that meaning. The relevant sentences are:—“We once more thank you for the great pains you have taken to bring about peace. But we suggest that the time has now arrived when any further peace negotiations should be carried on with those in charge of the Congress organisation. As prisoners we labour under an obvious handicap,” etc.

Surely this last sentence shows, not that the objection is to the use of intermediaries, but to the continuance of discussions with the Congress leaders in prison rather than with those who are out of prison and actually in control of the Congress organisation at the moment.

In other words, the criticism is not of the intermediaries, but rather of the signatories themselves, who feel themselves unfit to decide the issue from the prison cells. Any other interpretation would make a mockery of the first sentence of the paragraph.

Yours etc.,
A.

VILIFICATION OF HINDU RELIGION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—It was one of the most painful surprises when I read a couple of days ago an article on "The religion of Gandhi and his followers" by a Mahomedan gentleman stated to be from Delhi, published in the latest issue of the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*, one of the biggest illustrated papers in Germany. The very first sentence of the article, which ran as follows:—“The present agitation against the British Government is intended to establish a Hindu supremacy in India, after which child marriages and widow-burning will be the order of the day” is sufficient to give an idea of the general tone of the same. It was illustrated by a large number of pictures of Hindu Deities in order to show to the mind of the German reader the utter worthlessness of the Hindu religious ideas. Nobody,

I suppose, will accuse me of being an admirer of the Hindu or any other religion. But this meanness in vilifying a section of one's own countrymen in the eyes of a foreign nation, is without parallel. To reply to such an article in a German paper would not have been very difficult for me, but it would only be equivalent to washing our dirty linen in front of a foreign audience and would not be a very dignified spectacle. I therefore beg others in India, who may have seen that article, to make no attempt to reply to it either in German or other foreign papers.

Berlin-Dahlem,
August 27.

Yours, etc.
D. D. KARVE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

- Proceedings of the International Conference on Treatment of Foreigners. (C. 97. M. 23. 1940. II. 5.) 33cm. 573p.
- Memorandum on Production and Trade, 1923-1928/29. (1930. II. 8.) 27cm. 99p.
- International Statistical Year-book, 1929. (1930. II. 10.) 24cm. 262p.
- Review of the Local Aspects of Industrial Agreements. By M. Henri Decugis and others. (E. 529 (1). 1930. II. 11.) 26cm. 95p.
- Third International Conference for the abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions. (C. 176. M. 81. 1930. II. 13.) 33cm. 60p.
- Principles and Methods of Financial Reconstruction Work undertaken under the auspices of the League of Nations. (1930. II. 16.) 24cm. 73p.
- The Official Vital Statistics of the Dominion of Canada. (C. H. 834. 1930. III. 1.) 24cm. 85p.
- Memorandum relating to the Enquiries into the Causes and Prevention of Still-births and Mortality during the First Year of Life. (C. H. 820. 1930. III. 7.) 24cm. 99p.
- Committee for the Amendment of the Covenant of the League of Nations in order to bring it into harmony with the Pact of Paris—Minutes. (C. 160. M. 69. 1930. V. 10.) 34cm. 126p.
- Permanent Mandates Commission Minutes of the Seventeenth (Extraordinary) Session. Report of Mandatory Power. (C. 355. M. 147. 1930. VI. A. 1.) 33cm. 154p.
- Permanent Mandates Commission. Minutes of the Eighteenth Session. Report of Mandatory Power. (C. 366. M. 154. 1930. VI. A. 2.) 33cm. 213p.
- European Conference on the Transport of Newspapers and Periodicals—Records and Texts. (C. 115. M. 36. 1930. VIII. 1.) 33cm. 60p.
- Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War. (C. 490. M. 155. 1930. IX. 1.) 33cm. 434p.
- Armaments Year-Book. (C. 341. M. 120. 1930. IX. 2.) 24cm. 1133p.
- Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs—Minutes of the Thirteenth Session. (C. 121. M. 39. 1930. XI. 1.) 33cm. 423p.
- Handbook of International Organisations (Associations, Bureaux, Committees, etc.) (1929. XII. B. 1.) 24cm. 348p.

WANTED:—From January 1st, 1931 as Deputy Superintendent and Assistant Secretary, an able man or woman, with good educational qualifications including fluency in written English, and good experience in educational or social work. Salary of Rs. 200 plus furnished quarters offered and acting pay of Rs. 300 during period of Secretary's furlough. Applications to be sent in before November, 1st to:—THE SECRETARY, CHILDREN'S HOME, UMARKHADI, BOMBAY.