

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### East African Policy.

THE Government of India has now published the dispatch which it sent to the Secretary of State in November last, containing its views on the White Paper on this subject. The White Paper is so completely satisfactory in every respect that the Government of India had only to say ditto to what His Majesty's Government proposes to do. This it has done, for which many thanks. Merely to say ditto was not quite an easy thing, for it had before said ditto to something entirely contrary. The 1923 White Paper first laid down a policy. The Government of India accepted it. Then Mr. Amery issued a new White Paper overthrowing the policy of 1923. The Government of India accepted this again. And now Lord Passfield issues a third White Paper reaffirming the 1923 policy and overthrowing the policy of Mr. Amery, and our Government of India accepts this as well. A Government more anxious to preserve consistency might have hesitated at one stage or another to give its adherence to two mutually contradictory policies, but our Government does not. Since just now it has done what we would like it to do, we need not quarrel with it for its inconsistency, though we should have very much liked it to fight the policy of “association of immigrant communities in native trusteeship” when it was laid down because it would have enabled the Government of India now to give its support with more conviction and greater weight to the policy of the present Government of keeping the substance of power in its own hands till the natives of Africa are in a position to share in such power equally with Europeans and Indians. Indian residents in East Africa perhaps

do not realise it but their interests will in the end be safeguarded if they help to safeguard the natives'.

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### Exhibition of Vindictiveness.

The decision of the Bombay Government announced a few days ago in regard to prisoners under the martial law at Sholapur last year gives proof of a queer mixture of magnanimity and petty-mindedness bordering on vindictiveness. That they should of their own accord be prepared to remit the unexpired portion of the sentences of these prisoners shows that they are permeated with the spirit of good-will and conciliation which made the Gandhi-Irwin agreement possible. At the same time their refusal to release Mr. R. S. Rajwade, Editor, *Karmayogi*, gives proof of bureaucratic small-mindedness. What was Mr. Rajwade's offence that it should be visited with such serious displeasure of the Government? In the *communique* in question he is described as having been guilty of publishing “entirely false statements” “with the deliberate intention and with the result of intensifying the excitement and ill-feeling which then prevailed in the city.” Actually he did nothing more than giving publicity, clearly in the public interest, to cases of indiscriminate firing and other police excesses. It may be the Government resent the exposure of the utterly indefensible conduct of some of their subordinates which Mr. Rajwade was instrumental in bringing about owing to the publicity he gave to it, but Mr. Rajwade as a responsible journalist only did his duty in publishing the misdeeds of the police in the apparent belief that the light of publicity drawn on them would make any repetition of such excesses impossible. The publication took place before the introduction of martial law and it is doubtful if it was covered by the martial law regulations which were issued two days later. Yet he was tried by a military court and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 10,000! Be it remembered that the sentence does not mean that his statements were judicially proved to have been baseless. In this connection it is of interest to note that his journal has republished in one of its recent issues! the offending passages and has thrown out a challenge to Government to prove them to be baseless in a law court. It remains to be seen if the challenge will be accepted. Even supposing, however, that Mr. Rajwade published what appear to Government “entirely false statements” the punishment meted out to him is certainly disproportionate to his so-called offence. And if Mr. Rajwade was guilty, other journals in the province which reproduced his statements in question, were equally guilty with him. But they have not been similarly dealt with. In these circumstances to refuse to set him at liberty, as the Bombay Government propose to do, is to give a sorry exhibition of a spirit of vindictiveness. What public opinion thinks of the Government's action

will by now have been clear to them by the proceedings of public meetings that are being held in different parts of the presidency to demand his release and by writings in the public press. These have unanimously condemned the Government for not allowing the benefit of clemency to extend to Mr. Rajwade's case. In the light of such decisive expression of public opinion it behoves Government to restore Mr. Rajwade to liberty.

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#### Indian Medical Problems.

IN his well thought-out presidential address to the All-India Medical Conference recently assembled at Poona in its seventh session, Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta dealt with a number of highly important problems bearing on medical relief and medical education in India. But we single out for notice here his remarks about the I. M. S. In the first place, he voiced Indian opinion correctly when he insisted that the I. M. S. "must remain a purely military service, and that its civil side must be lopped off entirely." He, and for that matter any patriotic Indian, cannot understand the insistence on English qualifications as a condition precedent to admission to it. In common with general Indian opinion Dr. Mehta took strong objection to the present method of recruitment to the service. The recruitment should really be by an open competitive examination, but since 1915 no such examination is held with the result that Europeans, "whatever their qualifications," find easy entry into it on very favourable terms, while the Indians are taken only on a temporary basis! This preference for non-Indians would be understandable if suitable Indian candidates were not available. But it was not so. As pointed out by Dr. Mehta with the aid of telling statistics, the proportion of qualified Indian nominees during all these years has been greater than that of Europeans. Even if the test of post-graduate qualifications were applied, the proportion of Indian recruits in possession of them would be found to be double that of Britishers. And yet from 1923 to 1928 out of a total of 102 recruits, only 19 were Indians! Was anything else needed to bring out the racial considerations which play such an important part in the recruitment to the I.M.S.? There can be no doubt that with the increased facilities for medical education now available in this country, there would be no paucity of candidates for such an examination, were it revived and held in India. Not only that, but its revival would go a great way in inducing existing medical institutions to raise the standard of instruction imparted by them and to make themselves more efficient and up-to-date by the provision of suitable post-graduate teaching. In this connection the suggestion made by Dr. Mehta for the establishment of an Army Medical College in India for the subsequent training of Army Medical Officers deserves to be seriously considered. Looking to the close connection between army Indianisation and the I. M. S., Dr. Mehta's insistence upon the inclusion of a representative of the Indian Medical Association in the Committee to be shortly set up for the purpose of formulating a scheme for the establishment of a Sandhurst in this country can by no means be said to be misplaced.

The demand for complete Indianisation of the I. M. S. is generally resisted on the ground that a certain percentage of I. M. S. officers would be needed in order to minister to the medical wants of British officers in India, so that it is in vain to look forward to the complete Indianisation of the I. M. S. until the last British officer had left Indian shores. If it is a fact that British civilians and police officers do not

like to be treated by Indian doctors, what will happen, asked Dr. Mehta very pertinently, to the British merchant after the services have been completely Indianised? In the absence of British I. M. S. doctors will he leave the capital he has sunk here to take care of itself and follow the last British civilian out of this country? No sensible person can return an affirmative answer. If treatment by British members of the I. M. S. is not quite indispensable in the case of the British non-official in India, why should it be considered indispensable in that of the British members of the security services alone? If it is not a question of securing a few highly lucrative jobs for members of the ruling class, we fail to see what else it is.

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#### Sample of Kenya Justice.

We have heard of the offence of unlicensed driving of conveyances being punished with fine, but never with any kind of corporal punishment. Kenya has provided us with that shock. We see from the Kenya papers to hand by last mail that a young Gujerati boy of 13 who rode a motor-cycle on the 15th March was hauled up before the local magistrate on three charges: (1) Driving unlicensed motor cycle; (2) No driving license; and (3) Inefficient silencer. The boy was convicted on each of the three counts, the punishment being four strokes with a cane for each count! The whipping was duly administered to the boy in question and a European doctor who examined him later testified to "a considerable amount of energy having been applied in administering the 12 strokes." It is said that the boy's father begged to be allowed to pay any fine the magistrate may choose to inflict for his son's offence; but apparently his entreaties remained unheeded and the punishment was carried into effect much to the boy's unhappiness. It is also said that the report about the father offering to pay the fine was baseless. Even supposing it were so, one finds it difficult to appreciate the reasons which induced the magistrate to see this harsh physical punishment being inflicted upon the Indian lad. If, as alleged, the father was unwilling to pay the fine the same might have been recovered by auctioning the motor-cycle itself if there were no other means of collecting it. Some explanation is due as to why this was not done in this case. A doubt or two crosses one's mind in this connection. Does the Kenya Penal Code leave no option to the magistrate in the matter of punishing such offences by simple fines? If not, we should like to know how many European lads have been similarly dealt with in the Colony for like offences. If the Code allows the magistrate no alternative in such matters, it is a matter which should be looked into by the Government of India with a view to getting this lacuna filled in at an early date.

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#### India & I. L. P.

THE proceedings of the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party which met early this month in England are not without interest to India. The Party's official report described the situation in India as "more hopeful". As everyone in this country knows, that description tallied with facts, but was objected to by the more extreme elements in the Party. These counselled watchfulness and strenuous opposition to Imperialism and urged the I.L.P. "to demand absolute freedom for India." People in India know with what vigour the I.L.P. champions their cause and look upon this piece of advice as uncalled-for. But it is just as well that it was given. As pointed out by Mr. Brookway, however, to

say that the Indian situation was more hopeful than about a year ago was far from saying that it was altogether free from difficulties. And he earned the gratitude of Indians by making it clear to all concerned that "if there is to be any settlement of the Indian problem our Government and Parliament must be prepared to go very much further than they were prepared to go at the Round Table Conference in London." That correctly represents general opinion in India, as, to mention the latest instance, the resolutions of the Indian Liberal Party executive printed elsewhere in this issue will show. Whether the Labour Government and Parliament act upon Mr. Brockway's advice remains to be seen; but there is no doubt that much will depend upon how soon the Hindus and Mahomedans succeed in settling their differences. It is true the Labour Government being a minority Government cannot have things its own way but it is also equally true that even the best-intentioned and the strongest Government in England can do but little for India in the absence of any agreement between these two great communities. Apart from this, Mr. Brockway is not sure that the present Parliament will show special disposition to go out of its way to meet Indian demands.

Another point of interest to Indians in the proceedings of the Conference was the references made thereat to the Meerut trial. Its protracted nature was the subject of much adverse comment at the Conference as it has frequently been in the I.L.P. press, Mr. Brockway himself characterising it as "the most disgraceful political trial in modern times, as disgraceful as the Dreyfus trial in France, or the Sacco-Vanzetti trial in the United States." Stronger epithets were used by other speakers, but Mr. Brockway's characterisation seemed to represent the general feeling at the Conference.

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#### Protector of Backward Classes.

THE Bombay Government are to be congratulated on their decision to appoint a Backward Classes Officer, as recommended by the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee. The first officer is to be Mr. Starte, who as chairman of the Committee showed himself genuinely sympathetic to the welfare of the depressed classes. Mr. Starte is expected to undertake this new job in addition to his duties as the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, so that the effectuation of the Committee's recommendation does not involve much additional expenditure. In Madras the Labour Commissioner looks after the interests of the depressed classes and has done much to promote their well-being in the social and economic sphere. We have no doubt Mr. Starte will also be able to give an equally good account of his stewardship. We welcome such an appointment because it creates an officer whom the Depressed Classes may go to in case of need. As it is, there may be numerous hardships from which they may be suffering, not knowing in what way to secure redress. Hereafter all that they have to do in case they are oppressed or in case any discrimination is practised to their disadvantage is to place the matter in the hands of the Backward Classes Officer who would be something like a protector to them. That is far from saying that they would be left without any grievance. That will happen only when public opinion becomes too sensitive to tolerate any injustice to anybody. The proposed Backward Classes Officer can help considerably in bringing about such a desirable change in public feeling.

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## Articles.

### "A PRINCES' CAUCUS."

A VIGOROUS and comprehensive condemnation of the federal scheme as outlined by the Sankey Committee is contained in Mr. D. V. Gundappa's brochure, "The States and their People in the Indian Constitution" published by the Karnataka Publishing House (Basavangudi P. O., Bangalore City, @ Rs. 2). The brochure fully lives up to the reputation of Mr. Gundappa as an independent and penetrating critic of affairs in Indian States, thoroughly at home not only in the fairly large amount of current literature on the subject, but in the larger and more important field of political science in general. The monograph, thoughtful and scholarly as it is, gains in weight and strength from the studied restraint of language used and the scrupulous care taken throughout to give the Princes and their representatives credit wherever it could possibly be given. Mr. Gundappa is as far as possible from being an impatient idealist; on the contrary he seems to have an unshakable belief in the inevitability of gradualness. Both his criticism of the Sankey Report and his own constructive suggestions throw this quality of his mind into strong relief. His judicious nature and conservative temper make Mr. Gundappa an entirely safe guide, ever unlikely to mislead the reader into an attitude of unreasonable and irreconcilable hostility to the Princes.

Mr. Gundappa's approach to the consideration of the question of federation is shown by the very title of his pamphlet; he considers it from the point of view of the people in the States, and his broad conclusion is that the Sankey Report "leaves the people of the States just where they have all along been—*i. e.* nowhere in the Constitution." Indeed, he thinks that the people's position, "under the kind of Constitution now sketched by the (Round Table) Conference, will be more pitiable than it is at present." "It was plainly not to the advantage of the Princes to allow questions relating to what is due to their subjects to be brought within the ambit of the Conference." This is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that the British Imperialists should have ignored the State's people's question. But Mr. Gundappa expresses surprise that the British Indian delegates should have "acquiesced in the manoeuvres of the Princes." This can only be explained, he says, by "their anxiety to return with some sort of a new Constitution" to India. He reserves leaders of the Liberal party in India for special censure on this account, because, we suppose, he expected them to be more solicitous of popular interests than the leaders of other parties and therefore sustained a keener disappointment in their case. Much is made of the willingness shown by the Princes to enter the federation, and several British Indian delegates claim to have effected their conversion by the use of skilful strategy. Mr. Gundappa however does not believe that there was any room for the conversion of the Princes. The latter had already persuaded themselves to join.

the federation and annex as large a share of the resulting power as possible. "They were really anxious," he says, "not to be left out in this general reshuffling of powers and charges." Did the Princes undergo any sacrifice by offering to throw in their lot in the federation? Mr. Gundappa does not believe that they did, and all the hallelujahs of some of the British Indian delegates on this score seem to him to be out of place. "Far from the Princes having sacrificed or surrendered anything, they have succeeded in securing for themselves a place of unexpected and unprecedented importance in the all-India polity."

The Princes certainly will secure much accession to their power as a result of federation. But "additions made to the powers of the Princes are not necessarily a gain to their subjects." It may indeed be just the reverse; the Princes' gain often is the people's loss; for "the interests of the Princes and those of their subjects are far from being identical with each other." The proposed federation therefore will not be "a people's federation," as it should be, but only "a Princes' caucus." To such a federation Mr. Gundappa will offer immutable opposition, even if the opposition should result in both British India and the Indian States going without any kind of Constitution. But he does not fear that that will be the result. The participation of Mahatma Gandhi inspires him with a confident hope that the scheme of federation as shaped in London would be so altered as to convert a Princes' caucus into a genuine People's Federation, which will endow the people of the States with "a status or a standard of rights and powers" not a whit "inferior in any degree or any respect to that available to the subjects of British India."

Mr. Gundappa asks in short for the establishment of popular government in Indian States. Not so however, in one leap or bound, but in stages and instalments. A real federation, according to him, cannot take place unless British India and Indian States reach internally the same stage of constitutional development; but he does not want to hold up federation till this consummation is attained. If the present is the psychological moment for bringing about federation, he is willing to let it take place immediately. The States will be allowed to enter federation even when most of them are autocratically organised. But their entry, says Mr. Gundappa, must be conditional. They must transform their internal system of government within ten years after federation. This period, if necessity arose, he would extend to fifteen years. But after this period any States that may have been admitted to the privilege of federation will be expelled from it if they are not placed in the meanwhile under a responsible form of government. However, the Princes must immediately introduce election in the States for the return of the States' representatives in the lower chamber of the federal legislature. In this connexion he has quoted an extract from an article by Earl Winterton which deserves wider notice than it has attracted so far. "One difficulty," says Earl Winterton, "is undoubtedly presented here (with regard to the composition of the federal legislature). The British

Indian members would speak on behalf of Provinces having almost complete autonomy and elected in most cases. . . . In the case of the members from the States, on the contrary, at first at any rate, they would have to be selected or nominated by the ruler. . . . This difficulty is not insurmountable if the Princes, as a whole, frankly realize the need for a gradual approach towards self-government for the States—States' subjects' autonomy, as it might be called. If they do not adopt this attitude, I must frankly say that I think Parliament may show some hesitation in sanctioning a permanent anomaly"—the anomaly of a union between a constitutionally governed State and autocratically governed States, and the anomaly of a proportion of federal representatives being elected by the people and a proportion nominated by the rulers. Mr. Gundappa however does not insist upon similarity of the method of representation in the upper chamber in the two parts of India. According to him, "representatives of the States in the upper house will, in the early years, be persons deputed by the constitutional bodies of the States or nominated by their governments" "in accordance with each State's own constitution and rules." He is also willing to allow weightage to the States in the upper chamber as a special concession "limited in the first instance, to a period of ten years in the beginning."

British Indian expediency may demand that the States' people should look on uncomplainingly while the Princes' caucus is being formed; but all these apple-carts of British Indian leaders may be upset if the people in the States refuse any longer to suffer self-suppression.

#### BARODA IN 1929-30.

IN opening the last session of the Chamber of Princes Lord Irwin tried to impress on their Highnesses the need of their personal expenditure being as moderate as possible. The emphasis he laid on the point can by no means be said to be superfluous, for, barring a few honourable exceptions, the generality of rulers of Indian States is in the habit of drawing unlimitedly on their State revenues for their personal expenses rather than trying to limit their expenses themselves. Let us take Baroda, whose administration report for 1929-30 has recently reached us, as an example. In this report the Palace (Khangri) expenses are shown as Rs. 27.32 lakhs as against Rs. 24.51 lakhs for the preceding year, so that in one year the ruler's personal expenses have gone up by nearly Rs. 2¾ lakhs or by 11 per cent. without any explanation forthcoming as to the reasons for this sudden rise. Other increases or decreases in the different items in the accounts statement of the State are suitably explained; but there is not a word of explanation why His Highness thought it necessary to make this somewhat heavy addition to his personal expenses. His Highness has always enjoyed the reputation of being an enlightened and progressive ruler; but even he does not apparently regard himself responsible to anybody, so far as his palace expenses are concerned.

It would however be wrong to suppose that the expenses on the ruling family did not actually exceed the above figure. There is an item of Rs. 2.28 lakhs on account of Raj Pautra Pratap Singh's expenditure, which shows a reduction of Rs. 27,000 for which the report gives some explanation. Moreover, Huzur Rajyakarbhar has been responsible for an expenditure of Rs. 9.45 lakhs as against Rs. 9.28 for 1928-29. Nor is this all. Under Public Works, we find that the Palace Division swallowed Rs. 20.84 lakhs as against Rs. 7.24 lakhs for the previous year, and the Delhi mansion Rs. 1.89 as against Rs. 72,000 for the previous year. The unduly heavy increase under Palace Division is accounted for by an adjustment of nearly Rs. 10½ lakhs for the Paris property and that of nearly Rs. 3¼ lakhs for Shankarbag mansion. If all these items are totalled up, it will be found that actual expenses on the ruler and his family are nearly double the amount shown as Palace expenses. In short it can be asserted without exaggeration that the expenses on the ruling family alone exceeded the expenditure on the nation-building departments such as education, medical help, sanitation, agriculture, commerce, etc. In other words, these constitute somewhere about 20 per cent. of the revenue for the year, which will be generally admitted to be an exceedingly high percentage. We are prepared to believe that this is not the worst example of its kind; but His Highness's antecedents lead the public to expect much better things of him. It is to be hoped therefore that Lord Irwin's advice to the Princely order to see that their personal expenses are moderate will not be lost upon His Highness and that he will soon take steps to set a limit to his privy purse.

It might perhaps be said that the expenses on account of Huzur Rajyakarbhar cannot fairly be included in His Highness's Khangi expenses. Our suspicion is that these expenses stand at the present figure because of His Highness's prolonged yearly sojourns in Europe, necessitating the retention of his personal staff there presumably on increased allowances. If His Highness spent most of his time in India instead of visiting it as a bird of passage, as he does at present, these expenses would doubtless be reduced to some extent. But even granting the force of the contention, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the proportion which the expenses on account of His Highness and the ruling family bear to the total revenue is unduly high.

Another point to which attention may be drawn here is that with all his reputation as a progressive ruler, His Highness of Baroda has been very niggardly in granting political rights to his subjects. Even in the year of grace 1931 the Baroda legislative council does not consist of an elective nonofficial majority nor indeed of a simple nonofficial one. As for local bodies, most of them do not enjoy the right to elect their own presidents! It is high time His Highness thought of introducing a large element of democratisation both in the Baroda legislature and local bodies like municipalities and local boards.

But the legislature even in its present unsatis-

factory form has, it must be said to its credit, turned out some very valuable social legislation, with the result that Baroda has already got its own Sarda Act, and, what is more, very soon promises to have even a Divorce Act. There is also a law which prohibits unequal marriages. This is something which British India might copy with benefit; and upon which the Baroda legislative council may be complimented. It is interesting to observe in this connection the working of the law intended to prevent early marriages. For this purpose figures for only two years are available. But they bring out a distinct tendency for the proportion of marriages below age to the total number to decrease, which is as it should be. For 1928-29 this proportion stood at 33½ per cent, while during the year under report it came down to 25½. To avoid the penalties of this law, some Baroda subjects resort to the questionable device of celebrating the marriages of their wards in foreign territories. But the State has apparently taken powers to deal even with such cases, for we read that sanction to prosecute such people was asked for in 386 cases and was rejected only in 70.

A reference here to two schemes of considerable benefit to the rural population, with which the name of Sir Abbas Ali Baig is associated, may not be out of place. One of his schemes aims at the provision of increased irrigation facilities by encouraging the digging of more wells. This is done by advancing loans at 4 per cent. for this purpose, the condition attached to the loan being that the borrower has to grow at least 10 trees for every well dug out of the loan. The other scheme is known as the rural uplift scheme and tries to emulate Gurgaon. Under this scheme, rural uplift committees were formed in every village throughout the State to serve as connecting links between the villagers and the State officials charged with the duty of rural uplift. It is satisfactory to note that the rural uplift work does not take the form of mere propaganda, as it does very often, but that earnest attempts are made to give practical shape to the ideas about improvements in the villagers' life. Thus one finds that during the year rural uplift officials did not merely content themselves with impressing on the villagers the benefits of good ventilation, but induced them to have more doors and windows to their dark and dingy dwellings. The consolidation of small and scattered holdings, a matter of great economic importance to the agriculturist, also engaged the attention of the authorities, for which purpose 11 co-operative societies were started during the year.

Coming to education, we find that though it is more widespread than in British India one cannot say that among Indian States Baroda occupies the first place. The number of scholars increased by 9000 and as much as 83.1 per cent. of the total school-age population was at school. But during recent years the State authorities are concerned not so much with expansion as with consolidation, though it must be admitted that in 1929-30 they did not altogether neglect the former. Indeed a part of the increase in

the number of pupils must be attributed to their efforts to get more pupils into schools. With a view to improve the quality of primary education we are told every effort is being made to eliminate the one-teacher school. This is all to the good. But we are not sure that the State cannot do more than it is already doing to promote literacy among the depressed classes, and hope the matter will receive the attention that its importance from the nation-building point of view deserves.

## Reviews.

### DEFENCE OF BRITAIN'S INDIAN POLICY.

DAWN IN INDIA. BRITISH PURPOSE AND INDIAN ASPIRATION, BY Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. (Murray.) 1930. 22cm. 331 p. 10/6

THIS book does for the Canadian what Dr. Thompson's did for Uncle Sam. Attempting a defence of British policy in India they correct and supplement each other in spirit and outlook; and together stand out saliently from the spate of literature from English hands limning the Indian dawn. While Dr. Thompson in his anxiety to be fair to the Indian side of the case but succeeds in forging a style that sways between condescension and special pleading, Sir Francis, without taking thought and discoursing in an effortless fireside manner, gives us evidence, at every turn, of quick sympathy, transparent sincerity and refreshing insight. Half a century of experience as Political Agent in several Indian States—two of them, Hunza and Chitral, as wild in its inhabitants as any State can be—has not soured the temper of one who has kept his youthful heart resilient by revolving on old loyalties and genial memories. His dedication of the book, therefore, "to the memory of my father, the wisest friend of India I have met" has the ring of pure gold. To Indians Sir Francis Younghusband is better known as a Himalayan explorer and as author of *Wonders of the Himalaya* than as a 'political'; and perhaps that is his greatest title to recognition for he has not only sought to explore the mysteries of the Himalays but also those of religion. The memory of the dawn breaking over Kanchenjunga has been with him so vivid that he could bethink himself of no better title for his book. But his inner quest all through his life has been for the breaking of the auroral light of God—of the Light that is never on sea or land—on individual human souls.

Sir Francis is convinced that India at heart is a profoundly spiritual country possessing elements that Indians, if they will, can purify and enrich so as to make their country a beacon to the rest of the world. In the more interesting second part of the book he examines the life and teachings of four present-day Indians—Tagore, Gandhi, Radhakrishnan, Sadhu Sundar Singh—from east, west, south and north of India, "all well-known in Europe and America", who "have done more than any act of Parliament could ever do to raise the status of India in the world." And by including in his *tableaux vivants* Ramakrishna, Dayanand Saraswati, and Ghulam Ahmad (the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement) the author all but boxes the compass of his theme. The gospel and life-work of each—poet, philosopher, mystic, hero and prophet—are elucidated with the ease and mastery that come of intuition. Withal, there is astute criticism: "Dayanand inveigh-

ed against idolatry. But he himself made an idol of the Vedas." The chapter on Tagore is difficult to overpraise. In a magnificent simile he is compared to a candle-flame quiveringly sensitive to the lightest breath, liable to be put out by a passing gust, yet always in need of the open air, agonized by the winds and always struggling to regain its position and burn upward to the zenith of beauty and goodness:

And just as men turn from the glare of the blatant electric arc to the mellow light of the candle, so do they turn to this gentle Eastern poet and delight in his charm. In the rough tempests of life they may need a hardier guidance. But in the quiet of the inner chamber the soft beams he sheds from him may be soothing to the soul.

Let us hope Sir Francis Younghusband's reading of India's heart will become truer with the years and that her spiritual renaissance will be seen less in superstition and ceremonialism, less in caste tyrannies and taboos, and more in a quickened desire to clasp in love the hand of the Panchama and raise him to human self-respect and dignity.

The snapshots of "nation-builders" in chapter III—Naoraji, Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Arabindo Ghose, Lajpat Rai—reveal beneath their breezy off-handedness the author's portraying hand and eye for subtle lineaments. The contrast between Gokhale and Tilak is a clincher. These are sketches an Indian brush might fill out but not improve upon.

The chapters that follow, dealing with the evolution of British dominion in India and her constitutional advance, if marked by the authors' characteristic poise, seem to have been unconsciously governed by the notion that everything has been for the best that has taken place in this best of all possible worlds—Jalianwala bagh's, crawling orders and repressions. The graph traced by India's constitutional advance has been the ideal one compatible with her progressive fitness. Its *tempo* is neither too slow nor too fast but the talismanic middle! No pledges have been broken, no fulfilments postponed to Greek Calends. And the epilogue to this saga of British stewardship is sung in the pages dealing with intellectual and material progress. India is—or ought to be—grateful, but not for the melancholy fact: "India is poor. What is not true is that India has become poorer." God be thanked she has not. By way of a triumphant smasher we are asked to contemplate the increase of India's exports from Rs. 60 millions in 1875 to Rs. 4000 millions in 1925 and of her imports from Rs. 40 millions to Rs. 3000, and register her advance during the dozen years preceding 1925 from the sixth to the fifth rank among the trading nations of the world. Well, between 1922 and 1926 the balance of trade in favour of India touched the apex figure of Rs. 150 crores. But as more than Rs. 90 crores are drained away annually from India, in the shape of home charges, interest on foreign capital registered in India, payments on account of banking commissions, insurance and shipping services and profits of foreign business and professional men in India, her balance during the last two decades has been one of debit and not of credit. Nothing can distort facts so much as wrong statistics. It is honest ignorance, nevertheless *suppressio veri*.

But there is ample amends in the chapter on 'Emasculation.' Putting down the atrophy of Indian virility to British rule the author strikes a note rare among English writers on India:

But in the army no Indian has risen higher than captain. In consequence, the whole advance of India towards full responsible government is held up. This is not creditable. We could hardly have expected India to have raised Indian officered regiments fit to fight against Germans in France. But it most certainly should have

been possible in the last eighty years to have created an Indian Army capable of holding the frontier against an invasion by Afghans and frontier tribes. There are only ten million Afghans and perhaps a million independent tribesmen. And the three hundred and twenty million inhabitants of India ought to be able to cope with these.

He censures the preposterous 'Eight Unit Scheme' and remarks with candour how an Indian National Army could be created in a surprisingly short time if only the mighty force of Indian national spirit might be harnessed.

Of absorbing interest is the chapter recounting the author's experiences in the early nineties in the States with which he had to deal as Agent or Resident. We read of the Mir of Hunza (a trans-Himalayan State) who had "come to the throne a few years previously by poisoning his father and throwing his two brothers over a precipice": "And the Chief considered his people were his own absolute property, like sheep or goats. When he asked that my Gurkha escort should have shots at a man on the opposite side of the valley and I objected, he merely replied, 'Why not? The man is my own.'" In another border State, Chitral, when the Mehtar (chief) died in 1891 his seventeen sons scrambling for the throne killed each other like Kilkenny cats, only four remaining to tell the tale. The eldest of these, installed on the throne by the British, was continually murdering nobles who, he thought, might cause him trouble.

Why are not the subjects of Indian States "as discontented with the less efficient rule as their kinsmen in British India might expect them to be"? We have for answer an analysis of the psychology of discontentment made with delicious irony:

The people like the sight of a ruler of their own. And they love the pomp and pageantry of Indian rule. They have to pay for it indeed. *And the percentage of the revenue which an Indian ruler arbitrarily appropriates for "Palace Expenditure" is quite scandalous.* Still, the people do get something for their money in the way of a Chief decked with gorgeous jewellery seated on a richly caparisoned elephant with a scarcely less brilliantly attired nobleman sitting behind him whisking off flies with a yak tail." (The italics are ours.)

The book enshrines the mellow wisdom born of varied experiences of men and scenes that have not only swelled the diapason of a rich nature sensitive to the whispers of the soul, but creates an undying faith in the vision of India and England walking hand in hand as comrades up the spiral of evolution.

R. SADASIWA AIYAP.

## POST-WAR EUROPE.

**NEWEST EUROPE.** By MARTIN MACLAUGHLIN.  
(Longmans.) 1931. 20 cm. 214 p. 6/-

It is very rarely that one comes across a book dealing authoritatively with the conditions, currents and cross-currents in the political world of post-War Europe. The face of Europe has changed very considerably as a result of the Versailles Treaty and many new countries have been carved out of the ruins of old ones. Not only were political boundaries reconstructed and reconstituted, but the political forces operating in the various countries have very greatly altered in their complexion. While Democracy has apparently been safeguarded, the real swing of the political pendulum has been in the direction of a type of government known as dictatorship, military or economic.

It is these changes that Mr. MacLaughlin sketches in his book, and he deals with them in a very understanding and informed way. And it is

all the more interesting in view of the fact that while the outside public hears certainly a good deal about the bigger nations of Europe like France, Germany and Italy, which occupy an outstanding place in the political canvas of Europe, it does hear very little of the lesser and the smaller European states that have sprung into existence as a result of the cataclysm of the war—the Baltic and the Balkan States, the former representing in a more or less degree the heart of Europe and the latter constituting the stormy petrels of the continent.

Mr. MacLaughlin has some good and appreciative words to say of Fascism in Italy, which is ordinarily and by some other writers depicted as a dictatorship of an extreme type, suppressing all individual freedom in spite of its success in other matters. And he counts amongst the outstanding achievements of Fascism firstly, a regenerate Italy and secondly, the solution of the economic problem without resort to Socialism. It has set Italy on a sound footing in regard to her manufacturing and agricultural industries, while at the same time securing the prosperity of the Labour population.

Speaking of Germany, the author says that the most remarkable examples of German recuperation after the trials and tribulations of the Great War were the reorganization of German industry on the basis of Rationalization—a movement which originated in Germany itself and the emergence of a virile youth movement, to which must be ascribed the change in outlook to be found today in Germany which had made that country moderate and pacific in outlook, at any rate so far as western Europe is concerned. Religion is beginning to find a warm corner in men's hearts and there is a revulsion from the agnostic realism of men like Bertrand Russell and the school of liberal atheists—a point which must be of interest to Eastern and Indian readers. In Germany every political party has its youth wing. The German constitution which was during the Kaiserean regime saturated with the spirit of monarchism and autocracy has now become a democratic one and the State which has now more power than it had before the Revolution, uses it for promoting democratic ends.

About Russia, the author says that the real reason for its present exclusiveness from the European political system is to be found in the fact that the Russian is really an Asiatic, at one time or another influenced by western civilization but always oriental in outlook and today more than ever eager to escape from the ideas of London, Paris and the rest. The real danger to the Bolshevik regime, which is for the present securely established and kept up by the stern hand of the Dictator Stalin, is the discontent of the peasantry which is often neglected and left uncared for in the anxiety of the ruling class to pander to the tastes of the urban workers; and unless the land question is satisfactorily solved, Communism has to face the danger of being overthrown. Speaking of the aims of Bolshevism, Mr. MacLaughlin says that the Bolshevik is the enemy of individualism. His aim is to produce mass development; but his methods of reaching his aim are often and in many cases stern and to a large extent unscrupulous. Naturally enough the ruling class and the dictator are forced to live always on edge in fear of a reaction and to undertake certain measures which are calculated to stave off discontent and lull their adversaries into a sense of security. The Five-Year-Plan now in operation is Stalin's answer to the problem of Russian poverty and discontent: it is a colossal scheme which is intended at one and the same time to magnify the output and to develop a collectivist spirit throughout the Soviet Union.

The Baltic states—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania—with which is also coupled Poland are all

popular Republics with a contented peasantry, constitutional forms of Government,—hardy, intelligent people, especially those of Finland and Lithuania, who can be expected to carry on the democratic experiment with success and hold their own against hostile forces. It is not too much to say that they form the backbone of Europe, the most effective bulwarks against war, in so far as their size and opportunities enable them to be so and the enemies of such movements as Bolshevism and Fascism. Poland also is included by the author amongst the Baltic States; and regarding it he writes that she got uncommonly favourable terms in the Peace Treaty from the Allies. She has slowly but steadily consolidated her position under the direction of a Dictator. The period between 1919 and 1924 was a time of constitution-making. The Poles are essentially a Conservative people and dread of the encroachment of Russia which means the encroachment of the Communistic doctrines, has only aggravated the fears felt about a democratic system.

Writing of Central Europe, Mr. Maclaughlin says that the distribution of the territories of the Dual Hapsburg monarchy into a number of small states has only intensified the sense of insecurity of the peace of Europe and made the situation only more dangerous than before. He says that a Federation between the different central European states offers a suitable solution to the problems of the hydra-headed demon whose heads are only too ready to live upon one another. He deals separately with the political forces operating in Austria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia all of whom are enemies of Communism and strive to make their constitutions enduring and stable.

Lastly, the author deals with the Balkan States—Roumania, Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia,—which are still Europe's political volcano. These states are still in the process of reconstruction and reorganization; but here, as in the central European States, the chief obstacle to permanent and lasting peace is the existence of racial minorities, placed under one political system or other for which they have no love or liking.

In conclusion, it has to be stated that the book under review offers a very interesting and rapid survey of the problems of the European continent. Its value would have been enhanced if an attempt had been made to give greater details of the constitutional principles on which the various countries have established their political systems.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

## INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

### THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

BY VERA ANSTEY. (Longmans, London.) 1929.  
22cm. 561p. 25/-

MRS. Anstey wrote this treatise in order to supply "a general survey of the economic development and position of modern India" and we have no hesitation in saying that she has performed the task in an admirable manner. All the main problems of Indian economic life have been studied with great care; as the following list of some of the headings of chapters will indicate:—Economic organization, agricultural and allied problems, financial system, banking and currency, transport and communications, prosperity of the people. The volume is throughout amply documented and every important statement has been verified by reference to standard authorities.

The author attaches great importance to public health as a factor vitally affecting economic prosperity and has given a very reliable survey of the public health movement in India. While the Govern-

ment must do the larger part of the work she is convinced that to produce far-reaching results—voluntary efforts at stimulating interest in the subject and spreading a knowledge of the elementary laws of health are absolutely essential—a good warning to those who expect everything from the paternal Government as an omnipotent Providence. The author has blessed the railway policy of Government and has credited the railways with the lion's share in the promotion of India's economic progress since 1853; while the latter statement may be accepted, we cannot share the high praise she bestows on the railway policy of the State and the over-optimistic picture she has drawn of the financial condition of the railways in future.

With regard to cooperation the author has emphasized what has been repeatedly said by champions of the movement viz. that further progress depends not so much on official support but non-official activities and the improvement of general education; but it may be asked how the latter is to come about with successive bankrupt budgets of Provincial Governments.

About the industrial outlook, the author has expressed sane views. Her suggestion that financial aid should be given for making investigations, for technical training and for assisting intensive propaganda for the promotion of improved methods of production among workers of all grades is for the State in India to carry out. It is comforting to learn that the author is in favour of conceding full fiscal autonomy to India so as to remove the apprehension that policy is dictated in order to perpetuate economic domination of India by Great Britain. Very few Indians however would agree with her that Indian industries have not reached a stage at which protection will give the necessary impetus to carry them over the period of adolescence.

We are constrained to say that there is very little that is stimulating in the chapter on Financial Developments; much of what is said is trite and leaves one cold. On the whole the author takes a roseate view of Indian finance and very few Indian economists can go into the same lobby with her. Her views on the currency system also are opposed to the best Indian opinion; for example, she does not think that the rise of pre-War prices in India was due to excess of currency. She also believes on the strength of her study of prices and the cost of living that there has been marked progress between 1900 and now. There is hardly any one who would fail to look upon this statement with dismay.

A number of statistical tables have made the book extremely useful to students of Indian Economics, and the Indian reading public will welcome this volume written with great care by a Britisher who has spent nearly a decade in contact with Indian conditions and has evinced throughout a marked sympathy with Indian thought and feeling.

V. N. GODBOLE.

## BISMARCK'S LAST YEARS.

KAISER AND CHANCELLOR. By KARL FRIEDRICH NOWAK. Trs. by E. W. DICKES.  
(Putnam, London.) 1930. 22cm. 301 p. 21/-

THIS is a detailed history of the last years of Prince Bismarck as the Chancellor and the first two years of the reign of William II, the Emperor of Germany. The writer has certainly an unrivalled knowledge of facts and events of the period. He had access to the documents in the possession of the ex-Kaiser, and eventually showed him the manuscript before publishing it. This might make his narrative authentic, though it



lays him open to an accusation of having presented only one side of the picture. This was actually done by Prince Otto Bismarck, the son of the Chancellor, with the result that a referee was appointed who endorsed the views of the author. On the whole the book is a valuable contribution to the existing scanty knowledge of the relations between the aged Chancellor and his young Imperial master.

The old Emperor William I had given Bismarck the virtual control of the whole administration of the State for over thirty years. During this period, the Chancellor created the modern Germany by two successful wars in 1865 and 1870. He was a wizard in European politics. In his first war he cleverly managed to keep the whole of Europe, and especially France, neutral. They all looked on when Austria-Hungary, the biggest power of central Europe, was humbled. In his second adventure against France, he managed to keep England and Russia out of the conflict. Thus he built Germany. The whole of Europe testified to his greatness by gathering round him at the Congress of Berlin. Henceforth this structure had to be maintained intact somehow. He was the only man to accomplish this object, and was left in power for such a long time by William I. Things might have changed at his death in 1888, as the Emperor Fredrick had liberal views. He died of a malady of the throat within ninety days of the death of his father. The two Emperors followed one another to the grave in such rapid succession, that the nation naturally looked anxiously to the next one on the stage.

William II's bringing up had been very austere. His mother never cared for him and his father always considered him vain and conceited. His education had been limited to few subjects and he did not know even the history of Prussia when he came to the throne. Only his military education had been thorough. His youth and liveliness appealed to the public. They acclaimed and applauded him. This went to his head like strong wine. From the very first he was full of ambition, wanting to rule as well as govern. The young Emperor must emulate Fredrick the Great having a divine mission to perform, as the keeper of the welfare of millions of Germans. Therefore he considered that, "The Monarch was inviolate, he stood above party, above his people and his interests were not earthly interests." Soon he was intoxicated with his own importance. He would never do the expected lest he should be considered an ordinary mortal. As an individual, "he had the love of magnificence, the will to power and the tendency to autocracy." His self-confidence amounted to self-conceit, which was fanned into action by the military officers that surrounded him. He came to look on himself as God's special chosen one, to perform a certain mission. As Kaiser he must have absolutely a free hand.

The only obstacle in the realisation of these ambitions was the existence of the old Chancellor. He was certainly a nuisance. During his grandfather's reign, he had treated him rather badly. He was old and his views were out of date. He was not and could not be in sympathy with the spirit of the times. The Kaiser wanted to ameliorate the condition of the German worker, who was to fill the ranks of the German Army. The Chancellor opposed it, because he was a reactionary. In the strikes of the workers, he saw a dangerous movement of the Social Democrats and regarded them as enemies of the State and a menace to the Monarchy. Thus the Emperor had come to the conclusion that his notions of serving the country and uplifting the Monarchy could not be effective as long as the Chancellor was

there. The military officers surrounding the Emperor agreed with his views. When he was on the stage, there was no room for anyone else. Bismarck knew that, "and had made it his duty to introduce a great deal of reserve into his relations with the Monarch and avoid everything that might be calculated to make perceptible to the Emperor the pressure of his individuality grown over-powerful by virtue of his national gifts, of a rare measure of good fortune and of events that have made world history." But this would not satisfy the Emperor. He wanted to be his own chancellor, as had been predicted by Bismarck.

The Kaiser soon realised that the Chancellor was a national hero, who threw himself in the background. He had full control over the administration of the State. All the ministers looked up to him for direction and guidance. By a law of 1852 they must do so. This frustrated and checkmated the Kaiser's plans. Like Louis XIV he wanted to be able to say, "*L'etat C'est moi*" and even more that "*Je suis L'etat*." Now it meant "*L'etat C'est nous*" and "*nous somme L'etat*." This must not be. The Chancellor must be a tool of the Emperor; he must bow to him or go. Prince Bismarck was not the man to do so. His greatness lay in his courage and independence. Now he was asked to give up his control of the ministers, which the Chancellor had exercised since 1852. Under the Kaiser's scheme of things, the Chancellor was to be reduced to the position of an ordinary member of the Cabinet, from that of the Prime Minister. The Chancellor took his stand on this constitutional issue and refused to repeal this statute when asked and eventually commanded by the Emperor to do so. Therefore he was dismissed. Thus fell the greatest man that Germany had produced since Fredrick the Great.

History relates the rest. The young and self-confident Emperor made a mess of the affairs of the State. His father and grand-father had warned him to take care of Russia. Bismarck had also sounded a note to the same effect, when he said that Russia would in future be leaning on France. The Kaiser and his war party assumed an arrogant attitude towards that country, which threw her into the arms of France. Thus was laid the foundation of the Triple Alliance, which undid the work of Bismarck. The Kaiser could not keep intact for thirty years, what Bismarck had taken forty years to build.

M. S. CHEEMA.

#### A EUROPEAN'S INDIAN EXPERIENCES.

PERFUMED TIGERS. ADVENTURES IN THE LAND OF THE MAHARAJAHS. BY MAURICE DEKOBRA. (Cassell.) 1931. 22cm. 248p. 10/6.

THE sub-title is a misnomer, for the book does not describe many incidents which can be termed "adventures." Indeed, so far as one can see, there is only one occasion—the tiger hunt—which can at all be said to give rise to anything like a thrill. But with the information vouchsafed by the author himself that the hunt was improvised for the edification of an American lady and that the tiger to be bagged by her was borrowed from a Maharajah's Zoo, the incident loses any excitement it might otherwise have occasioned. For the rest it is merely a record of the author's Indian experiences which do not materially differ from similar records, and also suffer from slight mistakes, as such records very often do, due to want of authoritative information as regards the manners, customs and traditions of the people. As in the case of all such tourists, the author was also accompanied by a "boy" who followed him like his "turbaned" shadow on three rupees a

day and with whose help the author covered 8,400 miles of Indian railways. He speaks highly of the genial behaviour of station-masters, but does not give much evidence of human sympathy when in describing the *punkha* coolie attached to retiring rooms at railway stations he says: "If he forgets to pull the cord, a light tap with your slipper on his neck reminds him of his duties." Why could he not have done this tapping with his hands in stead of his slipper is what we do not understand. Does he mean to say that the coolie requires occasional thrashing with one's slipper to make him alive to his duty? His opinion of railway cuisine is that it is "really execrable". "English cooking as interpreted by Hindu *chefs* is truthfully nothing less than attempted assassination." Nor does he think that in this respect there is much to choose between Railway restaurants and the majority of the hotels. This is something of which the Railway Board and the keepers of English hotels in India should take due note. The author is no exception to the generality of Europeans who cannot understand the Indian reverence for "Her Majesty the Cow." In his description of the prevalence of the practice of child marriage among Indians and the disfavour with which the birth of a female child is, or rather used to be, regarded in India, the author approximates nearly to Miss Mayo but differs from her in this respect that he does not try to make it appear as if India had the sole monopoly in the matter of sexual immorality. Indeed he treats us to a description of how illicit love affairs develop in the European society in this country, which shows that Europeans are certainly not the paragons of virtue they are sometimes painted to be.

The opinion in Anglo-Indian circles about rulers of Indian States which is quoted by the author on p. 171 does not seem to differ very much from that held by their subjects:

You will see... the Indian princes do not bother about the well-being of their subjects... Five hundred millions' worth of pearls in their coffers, fifty Rolls-Royces in their garages and famine among their peasants.

His experience of prisons in Indian states strikes one as somewhat exceptional, for he seems to regard them as the veritable "Eden". But we do not propose to follow him in all his descriptions except to point out one or two inaccuracies in his descriptions. The Club in Bombay referred to on p. 22 is obviously not the Wellington, but the Willingdon Club named after an ex-Governor of Bombay and the present Viceroy. On p. 35 the author makes the god Siva ride a cow. This ought, we think, to be a bull. Apart from such misstatements the book is readable.

G. K. H.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE AND WORKING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.** By C. HOWARD-ELLIS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 24 cm. 528 p. 21/-

THIS volume is the first of a series of three, planned by the author and intended to describe the evolution of international relations from chaos to world polity. As the author justly remarks, there is really no big book about the League of Nations and his intention is to supply a text-book for the Universities, comprehensive, thorough and detailed. He has spared no pains to ensure the accuracy of his presentation of facts. While the author is a firm believer in the potentialities of the League and its necessity as an organisation for the promotion of world-peace and international co-operation, he has no desire to turn a blind eye to its weaknesses or to its

failure at times to fulfil the expectations entertained about its work. Nor is he blind to the selfish, aggressive or imperialistic motives which have often led the powers to embark upon foreign policies, regardless of the claims of justice and of the rights of weaker nations. The book displays a noteworthy spirit of fairness, impartiality and dispassionate criticism. By way of illustration, I may refer to his treatment of the Kellogg Pact. The book is an encyclopædic treatise on the League of Nations. There is no topic that one can think of in connection with the League which is not dealt with in the book and upon which it fails to supply valuable information and illuminating criticism. The book is attractively written and is an indispensable handbook to everyone who wishes to learn anything about the League. The aims which the author has set before himself in writing the book have been splendidly carried out and we may hope that the second and third volumes of his treatise will sustain the high promise of the first.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

**CHRISTIAN DHYANA.** BY VERRIER ELWIN. (S. P. C. K., London.) 1930. 20 m. 74 p. As 12.

IT is held, and not without some force, that Christian missionaries should, for its better appreciation, interpret the teaching of their religion in terms which the people among whom they live and work could recognise as expressions of familiar import. *Christian Dhyana* is Father Elwin's attempt, on this principle, to interpret Christian mysticism in terms of ancient Hindu thought. It is an attempt, if we may say so, to pour the wine of Christian thought into the bottles of old Hindu ideas in order to increase its taste and value for the Hindus. *Christian Dhyana* is an interesting analysis and exposition of the main ideas in the *Cloud of Unknowing*, a fourteenth century work of an English mystic whose identity scholars have not been able to fix even to this day. Father Elwin throughout this study tries to establish a close resemblance between the teaching of the *Cloud* and that of the Yoga Philosophy of the ancient Hindus. The parallel, the author draws between the methods, preached in the *Cloud*, of penetrating the cloud of unknowing and reaching the Reality beyond and the methods advocated by Patanjali in the system of Yoga Philosophy of reaching the ultimate Reality cannot fail to strike one's imagination. These attempts serve a useful purpose in that they illustrate the truth that human mind is everywhere the same and responds in more or less similar modes of thought and action to its environment. These attempts, however, are also likely sometimes to lead to results not quite desirable particularly in countries circumstanced as India is at this time. They are likely to be used by the reactionary elements to bolster up worn-out and ancient ideas which, though valuable in their own time, the present-day progressive Indians would have labelled and placed on the shelves of museums. In commending the book therefore to our readers, which we do without hesitation, we should like to express the hope that while appreciating its value they will not lose their perspective and draw false conclusions from the striking parallels the author has drawn between ancient Hindu ideas and some of the aspects of Christian teaching.

V. K. JOAG.

**NORTH INDIA.** By MARY P. WESTERN. (S. P. G. F. P., London.) 1930. 18 cm. 96 p. 1/-

THE author deals with the progress of the Protestant Church in Northern India. She gives a brief sketch of the life and customs of the Hindus and

Mohammedans and narrates the difficulties undergone by them in the way of expanding their religion. They have erected many educational institutions and hospitals to help the untouchables and the depressed. The book is well illustrated and contains many useful appendices. Concluding, the author strikes the right note when she says that "All India would soon be won for Christ if only Christians were more Christ-like."

N. S. S.

**CHRISTA SEVA SANGHA.** By JACK C. WINSLOW. (S. P. G. F., London.) 1930. 20cm. 62p. 1/—

THE history of the Christa-Seva-Sangha of Poona is a shining example of religion not only professed but lived from day to day. It seeks to make Christianity Indian. To achieve this the Christa Seva Sangha has rightly adopted Indian ways of worship and prayer. It has seen that an Indian may accept Christ, but not Christianity. He finds the church alien, the service foreign and the way of worship strange. It is divorced from "his own splendid heritage of spiritual truth." So a Sangha, where Indians and Europeans will come in common worship to Christ and will develop "the true Indian expression of Christian life and worship," was found a necessity.

The Sangha, the author believes, "was not the fruit of men's planning or men's wisdom. It came by revelation of God". The present Acharya was visited with a vision of it in the garden of a quiet country vicarage in England. The complete picture rose before his mind and true to that the Sangha is growing from day to day. It was started on St. Barnabas' day, 1922 and it has the same saint "The Son of Consolation who sold his land", as its patron, "to whom at a later date was added St. Francis, the little poor man of Assisi, who for Christ's sake espoused the Lady Poverty".

The Christa Seva Sangha, like all missionary enterprises, devotes itself to social uplift, but unlike them its members live the life of the Indian masses, thus creating a common bond between high religion and low humanity. They have accepted the *Bhajan* and *Kirtan* and the Indian prayers and the Indian ascetic's dress. It bears remarkable resemblance to Mahatma Gandhi's "Phoenix" farm in South Africa, with the same rigid faith in poverty. In this little booklet Acharya Winslow has drawn a graphic picture of the life, work and purpose of the Sangha. The language is wonderfully simple and catching—a rare combination. Such institutions are a standing challenge to materialism and cynicism.

M. D. SHAHANE.

**THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.** (G. A.

Natesan & Co., Madras.) 19 cm. 342 p. Rs. 2.

THIS is a very timely publication and Indian politicians have every reason to be grateful to the publishers for making available in a handy form all the speeches delivered at the plenary sessions of the Round Table Conference. On the last day of the Conference some speeches which were left undelivered for want of time were merely handed in for inclusion in the Conference proceedings. These have also been reproduced in this publication. The Viceroy's statement of November 1, 1929 explaining the genesis of the Conference also finds a place in the publication, which undoubtedly adds to its utility. This would have still further increased if the publishers had seen their way to print in extenso the Commons debate on the Conference which took place on the 26th January in stead of the very inadequate summary given by them. All the same the book is

exceedingly useful to all students of the problem of Indian constitutional reforms.

G. V. J.

## Miscellaneous.

### TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN EGYPT.

In the course of a letter to Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai said recently: "In my opinion, the attitude of the Hindus here should be what Zaghlul's was in Egypt, i. e. they should sign blindfolded the demands of the minority." Mr. S. D. Nadkarni of Karwar requests us to reproduce what we wrote on August 15, 1929, when commenting upon a similar statement made by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola in the TIMES OF INDIA. As the quotation appears to us to be apposite, we give it below:—

IN pleading for a generous treatment to be meted out by the majority community to minority communities, he (Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola) cites the example of what Saad Pasha Zaghloul did to the Christians in Egypt. He appears to think that Zaghloul's sensitive regard for the rights and interests of the Copts persuaded the latter to accept the rule of the Moslems. The facts however are just the contrary. It is the throwing in by the Copts of their lot unreservedly with the nationalists in Egypt that has persuaded the Moslems to treat them so liberally as they have done. The Copts were not entirely free from persecution before. The Coptic Congress of Assiut had to pass resolutions demanding, among other things, equality of treatment for applicants for public posts, candidates to be chosen according to their merits. For statistics were published at the time showing, e. g. that in the Ministry of the Interior 1,908 Moslems received £ E. 18,881 a year, and 3,643 Copts received only £ E. 19,447; or roughly £ E. 10 a month on the average for Moslem employees and half that amount for Copts. How did the majority community treat this and the other resolutions? The Moslem Congress held two months later at Heliopolis declared that the religion of the state was the Moslem religion, which alone should be taught in the schools. "An excellent resolution was proposed demanding that Government posts should be accorded on the merits of candidates after examination but when passed, a rider was added to the effect that when two or more candidates were of equal merit, preference should be given to the Moslem." Their position has now improved, but the improvement was solely due to the fact that they were not only not hostile or indifferent to the national campaign for freedom, but took a very prominent part in the Wafd. This was a very wise policy for the Coptic community to follow, to which they owe the inclusion of Copts in the Ministry. Their attitude has really a moral for the minority communities in India. If they will only join the national movement and give up their separatist tendencies they will receive better treatment than reliance on the British Government will ever secure. But Sir Ibrahim draws from it a moral to which history gives a flat contradiction. Did the Copts in Egypt insist upon a dismemberment of the country in such a way that they would be in a majority in some provinces? Did they demand a proportionate share in the Cabinets, as the Moslems are now doing, thus destroying the very basis on which joint responsibility of the Cabinet ministers could be established? On the contrary, they of their own initiative offered to do without any special constitutional guarantees for their own sake, know-

ing as they did that whole-hearted participation in the national struggle would be a more effectual safeguard than any reservation of seats in Parliament and such-like measures could possibly be.

### R. T. C. RESERVATIONS AND SAFEGUARDS.

#### INDIAN LIBERAL PARTY'S VIEW.

*The following is the text of the resolutions passed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India at their meeting held at Bombay on April 18 last:—*

#### ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND IRWIN-GANDHI AGREEMENT.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of satisfaction at the success so far achieved by the Round Table Conference and in particular, at the Declaration made by the Prime Minister on behalf of His Majesty's Government "that responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial".

The Council is further gratified by the Irwin-Gandhi settlement which terminated a period of unprecedented trouble in India and trusts that representatives of the Indian National Congress will take part in the future deliberations of the Round Table Conference.

#### RESUMPTION OF CONFERENCE WORK.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation invites the attention of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the new Viceroy and Governor-General to the unanimous decision of the Conference that "arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged", and urges the necessity of such resumption without any more delay.

#### PROTEST AGAINST SECRETARY OF STATE'S STATEMENT.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation regrets that while the Round Table Conference only "received and noted" the reports of the sub-committees and the recorded notes attached to them and was not asked to take any decision on them, and although the report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee specifically recorded that any agreement arrived at was 'provisional' and that "every member of the Sub-Committee reserves to himself the right of modifying his opinions" a declaration has since been made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that there can be 'no abatement' of 'reservations and safeguards'. The Council must strongly urge that all the conclusions of the Sub-Committees of the Conference must, as it was declared that they would, be treated as being open to further discussion, reconsideration and settlement.

#### BURMA.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation is constrained to express its regret and surprise at the statement by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government have already decided upon the separation of Burma while the proceedings of the Round Table Conference clearly show that such separation is still an open question.

#### THE ARMY.

While the Council accepts the necessity of a period of transition during which the complete responsibility for the administration of the subject of Defence would not be placed in the hands of a Government responsible to the Legislature, it is strong-

ly of opinion that the Government of India should have power to accelerate the Indianisation of the Army so as to replace the present British army by a Dominion army and that the Legislature should have full power of discussion of the Army Estimates and the right to vote when supplies in excess of the non-votable grant fixed from time to time by a Committee representative of experts and the legislature are asked for.

#### FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS.

The Council cannot agree to any financial safeguards curtailing the control of the Indian Legislature and the Government over Currency and Exchange operations or as to any other matters except external loans in which case provisions similar to those contained in other Dominion Constitutions may be embodied in the Indian Constitution.

#### TRANSITORY PERIOD.

The Council feels very strongly that all constitutional provisions as to safeguards and transitional arrangements should be coupled with provisions ensuring the termination of each one of them in the shortest possible period so as to lead to the early realisation of full responsible government.

#### FEDERATION.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation welcomes the support given by the Indian princes to the idea of 'Federation' and it expresses the earnest hope that proposals equitable to both the provinces and the states will be agreed to at the next session of the Conference in respect of the quantum and the method of representation in both houses of the federal legislature and the responsibility of the federal executive to the federal legislature.

#### THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation regrets that until now it has not been found possible by the communities concerned to reach a settlement by consent of what is known as the communal question. The Council makes an earnest appeal to them to approach the consideration of the problem from the standpoint of the national interests of India as a whole and to arrive at decisions which will promote national unity while adequately protecting the interests of minorities. It appeals to all communities to accept joint electorates with such legitimate reservations and weightage as will be conducive to peace and harmony amongst the communities concerned.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY OF GREAT BRITAIN. (The British Electrical and Allied Industries Association, Inc. London.) 1929. 30 cm. 233 p. £2/2/-
- THE NEW J. L. AND OTHER STORIES. By M. E. M. YOUNG. (Burns Oates.) 20 cm. 180 p. 5/-
- PASSING THROUGH GERMANY. (7th Edn.) Ed. By KARL KIESEL. (Terramare Office, Wilhelmstrasse 23, Berlin SW. 48, Germany.) 1930. 19 cm. 225 p.

#### Protection of Minorities in India.

A limited number of copies of two pamphlets on the problem of the 'Protection of Minorities in India' written by the late Mr. K. T. Paul and Prof. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D. are available for the public. Any person who wants the pamphlets for study can get them by sending postage stamps of five annas to cover postage and part of the cost of printing etc. to the Secretary, Servants of India Society, 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.