

# Servant of India

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OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XV, No. 23. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1932.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 15a.

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## Topics of the Week.

### S. I. S.

THE Servants of India Society's 27th Anniversary was celebrated at its headquarters in Poona for two weeks from the 5th to the 20th inst. All members were present except the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul and Mr. D. V. Ambekar, who were prevented by illness from attending. A summary of the speech delivered by the President, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, in opening the sessions, is given on a later page. The Society reviewed the situation that has arisen at present in respect of constitutional reforms and adopted a few resolutions on the subject in general terms. These resolutions too are given elsewhere. The unfortunate deadlock that now exists between Government and Congress also formed a subject of anxious deliberation, and the Society's view on the way out is set out in the form of a Statement published elsewhere. In concluding the session, the President laid an injunction upon all members to do their level best by educating public opinion to bring peace nearer and to propagate swadeshi. The members of course had to consider several matters of internal administration. Only two of them deserve mention here: the surrender by members of from 9 to 12 per cent of the allowances that they received from the Society and the admissions of three more probationers. These two facts taken together show their determination to expand the sphere of their work though it may involve a larger personal sacrifice on the part of the members already on the roll.

### Rural Service.

THE cause of rural uplift marked another step forward with the holding of the second Rural Uplift Conference last Sunday in Poona under the presidency of the Raja Sahab of Sangli. In a thoughtful address

the Raja Sahab observed among other things that in the matter of rural uplift there were no barriers between British India and the Indian States, and cooperation between the two was all to the good. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, the organiser of the Conference, rightly emphasised how the backwardness of rural India was often exploited to the disadvantage of the political progress of India, and how it was necessary that for political as well as humanitarian and social reasons, those who were favoured with education and culture should share their advantages with those who were less fortunately placed. Among the speakers who gave accounts of their work were several members of the Servants of India Society, particularly those working in the Madras Presidency, who have specialised in rural service. In the afternoon the Conference met at Khed-Shivapur, a village some sixteen miles away from Poona, where resolutions were passed. The holding of the Conference partly in a city and partly in a village is significant of the interrelations between the urban and rural areas. The urban citizens had to be awakened to their duty to their rural brethren and the actual service had to be done in the village: the city in the service of the village.

### Moslems on Lothian Report.

IF Moslems make in respect of franchise and representation demands which are destructive of democracy, it is not for want of knowledge as to what democracy requires. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem Conference adopted on the 9th inst. resolutions deprecating "the creation or perpetuation of special constituencies, as it is firmly convinced that the true and only sound principle on which the new constitution can be based is the organization of territorial constituencies" and also disapproving of weightage for Indian States. All Nationalists would have gladly welcomed these statements of wholly unexceptionable sentiments but for the fact that the obvious motive in issuing them is to appropriate exclusively to their own community the advantages to be derived from special constituencies and weightage. If, e.g., a special labour constituency is formed and a proportion of members returned from territorial constituencies is ear-marked for Moslems, the percentage of seats secured by Mahomedans in the whole legislature would naturally be less than this proportion in case a larger proportion of Hindu representatives is elected by the labour constituency. Similarly, if Indian States are accorded excessive representation, there will be left less for distribution among Mahomedans of British India, and a given proportion of seats set apart for them would yield a smaller number. In order to avoid this they take the very high ground that there shall be no special constituencies and no weightage—except for themselves. If, however, these concessions are to be made, the Moslems demand that they shall be so made that the total number of

seats that they ask for, to be produced by electorates of their own community, shall in no way be diminished. How noble and how unselfish!

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#### Colour Bar.

THE general Quadrennial Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held last month at Atlantic City, N. J. recorded, "Be it provided that no Conference shall hereafter meet except in cities where there is no segregation of special racial groups, no discriminations in hotels, elevators and restaurants and where there have been specific instructions given to all hotel employees to treat the representatives of every race with equality and courtesy," reports the "Indian Witness" of Lucknow. The occasion which called for this important and courageous pronouncement was the discriminating treatment accorded to the coloured Bishops and delegates of the Conference by the fashionable hotels in that popular seaside city, who had consequently to find shelter for themselves in inferior places. The insult and humiliation involved to a dark-skinned man in being refused admission to hotels, restaurants, busses, trains and places of Christian worship was, we thought, the normal feature of social life in the Southern States of the U. S. A. only, but the spread of this virus among the northerners, as evidenced at Atlantic city, seems to make his lot piteously unhappy all over that land. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has been actively engaged in recent years in combating this demon of white colour superiority without much apparent success, we fear. The Western civilisation claimed to be based on Christian principles will not only fall flat on the non-white peoples of the world, if the so-called Christian nations of the west do not soon rise above the colour prejudice, but it may even involve them in serious international entanglements. Because we believe in co-operative efforts of all families of mankind in bringing nearer the era of peace and goodwill among men, we welcome the forward step taken by the American Methodists in ridding their homeland of this narrow, shallow, unchristian conception of white supremacy, and tender our respectful felicitations to the Bishops and delegates assembled at the last Conference, agreeing wholeheartedly with the mover of this historic resolution, Dr. Tittle of Evans-ton, that "if there are not any cities which would entertain the Conference under these conditions, it would be much better for us not to meet at all, and if we do not meet for this reason, we shall be doing the cause of racial equality more good by not meeting than we could by meeting."

\* \* \*

#### St. Andrews Colloge.

THE negotiations under way at present for the National Missionary Society of India to take over the charge of St. Andrews College at Gorakhpur from the Church Missionary Society, will, if successful, gladden our heart; for it will enable the small, scattered and not wealthy community of Indian Christians to try their hands at controlling a first grade teaching institution, and moulding it according to their religious tendencies and traditions. It will also furnish them an opportunity of coming still closer to their non-Christian middle classes in that part of India and of making their own contribution to the common life of the country. We understand that the teaching staff of the Colloge will be engaged on a basis of a brotherhood, whose motto will be a life of simplicity devoted to the self-sacrificing service of their fellow men. The C. M. S. seems to have been hard hit financially of late years and has to withdraw from a number of fields on that score.

On this occasion we extend to them our sympathy and express our appreciation of the great and good work they and other Christian Societies have done in educational, medical, agricultural and many other spheres in India which has largely enriched the national life of the people.

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#### U. P. Administration Report.

THE United Provinces Government administration report for 1930-31 is characteristically gloomy, and accordingly it depicts the political, financial and economic conditions of the province during the year as dismally depressing. The land revenue, which is the mainstay of the provincial finance contributing about Rs. 728 lakhs out of about Rs. 1197 lakhs, suffered a loss of Rs. 75.42 lakhs through remissions in the agricultural year 1338 Fasli and of Rs. 109.41 lakhs in 1339. On the recommendations of a Rent and Revenue Committee, rents in general were brought back to the level of 1901 because prices had fallen to that level. Acting upon this principle, Government remitted Rs. 426 lakhs of rent for the year 1339 Fasli.

Politically the first part of the year was overshadowed by the civil disobedience movement and the latter by preparations for a no-rent campaign. The Congress encouraged the tenants to agitate for remissions of rent. There were 10 communal riots during the year ending Dec. 31, 1930 as compared with 15 in the previous year. The tale of orgy and murder at Cawnpur in March 1931 and at Agra, Benares and Mirzapur will appear in next year's report.

The districts of Gorakhpur (57) and Etawah (54) vied with each other for the top place in the province in committing dacoities. The reputation of District Boards with the Government is not high. Average percentage of attendance has fallen from 59 to 49; members forgot their real functions; party strife was far too prevalent; the boards continued to be hampered by internal intrigues and by communal friction. Financially, some boards are already bankrupt, while others are rapidly approaching this condition. It is a healthy sign that to public opinion is steadily the awakening to the situation. The Director of Industries states that hardly any of the 117 mills in the province did well owing to the reduced purchasing power of the tenantry due to the fall in prices of agricultural products. The fact that there were no labour strikes in the year does not show that labour was contented. The Labour Commission has provided ample material for action by the provincial Government to make the conditions under which labour lives and works at Cawnpur and elsewhere reasonably satisfactory. To-day they are indescribably rotten in most mills. We shall wait with interest to know what steps the Government has taken in the current year to give effect to the Commission's recommendations. Primary education suffered a setback by a fall of about 13,000 pupils from 1,155,142 and 1,142,256 on account of economic depression and laxity of discipline resulting from the civil disobedience movement.

The Dangerous Drugs Act came into force from Feb. 1931. The consumption of country liquor showed a fall of 14.7 p. c. and foreign liquor 7.5 p. c. over figures of last year. The limit of retail sale of opium, ganja and charas was lowered from 3 to 2 tolas. Total excise revenue fell from Rs. 1,29.65 lakhs to Rs. 1,12.44 lakhs.

As the administrative year is not uniform for all the departments of the Government it becomes difficult to form a clear picture of the progress of the province as a whole during a given period. The Government should try to adopt the financial or calendar year as the administrative year for the various departments to follow.

## STATEMENT OF S. I. S. POLICY ON ORDINANCES.

*The following Statement of Policy was adopted by the Servants of India Society at its last annual session :-*

**N**O one who is in touch with the currents and under-currents of public opinion in the country can fail to be impressed by the volume and intensity of the desire that the present dead-lock between the Government and the Congress should be brought to an end and that some way should be found for the restoration of peace and goodwill. The first step in this direction lies with the Government and the opportunity will soon come to them to take it. The Ordinances, which are still in operation, will lapse in the next few days. We earnestly appeal to the Government not to prolong the Ordinance-rule. The renewal of the Bengal Ordinance in a revised form gives room for misgivings that the Government may take the unwise step of renewing the others. It would be a fatal step, fatal to peace, goodwill and good government. It may be urged for the Government that the Ordinances were themselves forced on them by the activities of the terrorists in Bengal, the no-rent campaign in the United Provinces and the situation created by the Red-Shirts in the N. W. F. Province. It is futile to discuss now who took the first step that led to the quarrel. The pertinent question is whether the situation as it stands today justifies the prolongation of Ordinance-raj. The case of Bengal stands on a footing of its own. The terrorist movement there, while it lasts, calls for special action, though it is open to question whether it should be as drastic as is provided for in the new Bengal Ordinance that is now in operation. The Government would have done better if they had taken the Bengal Legislative Council into confidence and passed an act instead of promulgating an ordinance. That step may still be taken and the Ordinance withdrawn.

In the United Provinces the no-rent campaign has died down and there is no likelihood of its immediate revival. The grant of reforms to the N. W. F. Province must go a long way to counteract the activities of the Red-Shirts. If, as Sir Samuel Hoare repeatedly claimed, the Ordinances have achieved their purpose, there is no further justification for prolonging them. If, on the other hand, they have failed, there is no purpose served in prolonging them.

Apart from such considerations, is it really proposed to rule India perpetually by ordinances? For, if the British Government cannot govern India without ordinances now, they will never be able to do so. Ordinance regime has partly suppressed the manifestations of discontent but has not removed it. Considered from any point of view, it is desirable, nay, imperative, that the ordinances should be allowed to lapse, and the reign of law restored.

But that is only the first step. The Government may allow the ordinances to lapse but insist on the prisoners now in jail serving out their sentences. Such a policy may have strong temptations for the Government, for while it will restore the reign of law, it will keep the "law-breakers" under custody. But such a policy will be equally unwise. It will be

remembered that the renewal of civil disobedience in January last was decided on as a protest against the ordinances, and had practically nothing to do with the constitutional or other questions. When the ordinances are no longer in operation, the cause of the conflict will be removed and civil disobedience will also lapse. The Ordinances and civil disobedience are linked together and they will survive or disappear together. There is no cause to fear, therefore, that civil disobedience will survive the ordinances. The release of political prisoners should, therefore, cause no embarrassment to law and order.

There is no serious risk in taking such a step. Should however the Congress be still bent on civil disobedience and pick up another quarrel to justify its renewal, the Government is strong enough to deal with the situation. And it cannot be that the experience of the last six months has been wholly lost on the Congress and that it will be keen on continuing the campaign.

There is a stronger and more important reason why the political prisoners should be released immediately. There is greater danger to law and order if either the settlement of the constitutional questions is indefinitely postponed or the Congressmen were no parties to the making of the constitution. No scheme has much chance of smooth and successful working which is not accepted by the Congress; it can impede and obstruct the new constitution. If, on the other hand, the settlement of the constitutional problem is postponed till the Congress submits to the Government, non-Congressmen also will sympathise with the Congress in an even larger measure and create greater trouble. The Congress must, therefore, be invited to the conference table. Moreover, the Congress, as a party to the making of the constitution, will and can make greater concessions to the intractable facts of the situation than it will as a hostile critic from outside. Every consideration of prudence, self-interest and statesmanship points to the immediate release of the political prisoners.

### THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ABORIGINES

**T**O the man in the street, even to the ordinary newspaper reader, the problem of the aborigines—the question of their welfare and bringing them to the level of even the ordinary rural population of this country—is hardly known. It is studied by very few politicians or even social workers. The numbers of the aborigines are very large in several provinces—notably Bihar, Assam, the C. P., Central India, Rajputana, Bombay and Madras. The Census Commissioner Mr. Marten in 1921 said as follows with regard to their total number in the whole country (vide para. 194 of his report):-

"It is not, therefore, possible to give accurate numbers of the tribal aborigines, but the total number of those tribes who are still, or who have till recently, been considered inhabitants of the hills and jungles, including such tribes as the

Gonds, Santals and Oraons may be roughly put at something over 16 millions of persons."

The total number of course includes those residing in Indian States as well as in British India.

The Franchise Committee, presided over by the Marquess of Lothian, has devoted some attention to the representation of these people, "who live a life entirely apart from the rest of the population in India" and recommended that their interests should be protected by effective representation in the provincial councils, meaning thereby through a separate electorate. Messrs. Tambe, Chintamani and Bakhale, members of the Committee oppose the creation of a separate electorate for the aborigines on the ground that they are strongly opposed to separate electorates for any class or community, and more so to create any fresh caste electorate. The majority of the Committee have answered the argument by frankly saying that they are not prepared to leave the aboriginal tribes to take their chance in general constituencies, as the three gentlemen suggested and have repeated their recommendation that the matter should be examined in detail at a later stage (by local Governments) at the time of the delimitation of the constituencies. Reserving of seats for these in districts, when their numbers justify it, will serve the purpose very well. This is, of course, as regards the Provincial Councils and not with regard to the Federal Legislature, where they will have no representation as heretofore. At least one seat should have been assigned to them to watch their interests in the Federal Assembly.

But it is a happy feature that the Lothian Committee do recognize the necessity of special representation by some method of election (and not nomination) at least in the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, Assam, the C. P., and possibly Madras. The Southborough Franchise Committee of 1919 recognized the need of representation of these tribes only in Bihar and Assam, and that too by nomination. But the Bombay aborigines, whose total population exceeds 13 lacs in the Presidency, excluding Sind, out of a total of 160 lacs, according to the census of 1921, do not come in for any recommendation, by election or nomination, or cooption, and are left out altogether. No explanation is given for this omission.

But what is almost an enigma to us may be clearly stated here. As stated above, the total aboriginal, i. e. forest and hill tribes population in the whole of India was calculated at 16 millions in 1921. This number must have surely grown to 18 millions in 1931, taking into account the greater fecundity of these tribes. Deduction has to be made from this figure for those residing in Indian States, separate figures for which are not given in the census report for 1921. But making a liberal allowance for their numbers resident in the States, a greater deduction than 50% need not be made; thus their number resident in British India cannot be taken as less than 9 millions at the least. But we are now told by the Lothian Committee that their number is a little above only 5 millions, which is a figure much less than 9 millions, which is by itself an underestimated figure. This

requires to be explained by Mr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner for 1931, who is known to be a great well-wisher and lover of the aborigines. But to the ordinary student this abrupt drop in the total aboriginal population is unintelligible.

A. V. THAKKAR.

## INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS INDIAN BUREAU.

WITH the introduction of the Geneva atmosphere into India with the opening of the Office in Bombay, the question is naturally asked, "What are India's connections with Geneva? What can the League of Nations do for India?" Many, in fact, are tempted to ask, "Why should there be any connection at all between India and Geneva?"

The last question arises either out of ignorance of what the League represents, or inability to appreciate its true significance. To understand why India and Geneva should be more closely connected, necessitates therefore understanding first what the League itself stands for.

It is now, of course, commonplace knowledge that the League was not a sudden event in history but merely the culmination of several events each of which had been an attempt to recognise the growing fact that peace through interdependence and co-operation was to be the keynote of the future. This ideal was expressed by the statesmen at Versailles in the Covenant of the League—peace through prevention of war and peace through international co-operation with the vision of a society or family of nations in which the welfare of each should be the concern of all.

In view of the history which led up to the League of Nations, it is not to be wondered at that a good part of its provisions were devoted to the political side of its work and indeed it is hard to underestimate the significance of it. For, politically, the world is being knit ever closer together; the comity of nations is becoming almost daily more of a reality. This side of the League's work in fact has been so prominent, dealing as it does with the more spectacular aspect of its activities, that for this very reason the whole idea of the League has had little appeal in India and consequently roused little interest. India's political consciousness is rapidly awakening and is passing through the inevitable stage of acute nationalism with the usual result—a wary suspiciousness towards anything that savours of internationalism, as being diametrically opposed to the dearest aspirations of the patriotic Indian. It is unfortunate indeed that such an Indian cannot realise that the two movements synchronise; that, to quote the words of Professor Gilbert Murray, "the existence of the League offers India the opportunity of establishing for itself a position of respect among the nations of the world and from a world point of view, even perhaps more important, educating the League in its true mission as an organ devised for the benefit of the whole world and not of Europe alone or even primarily." Apart from this, the more far-seeing will realise that the India of the future will have an overwhelmingly important part to play in international politics. "A country fittingly known as the granary of the East, with a history and civilisation which stand second to none; a country which has for centuries been the political pivot of the Eastern hemisphere, can never recede into the background of world politics. On the contrary, with the increasing intimacy of international contacts, her position is becoming more important than ever, particularly

so in view of the fact that a new orientation of national thought in India is forcing her to find an outlet for her economic and political forces." \*

These advantages, it might be argued, are in the nature of promises for the future, but it can be equally well asserted that politically, India has already reaped some tangible gain. She has made herself better known among the nations of the world and gained a considerable amount of experience in international affairs which will stand her in good stead when she makes her appearance amongst them as an equal. Without moving in an international atmosphere, India's statesmen of the future cannot hope to gain experience in international affairs in which, at some none too distant date, she must be prepared to play a predominant part.

But, contrary to the expectations of the statesmen at Versailles, the political machinery of the League has to a certain extent sunk into insignificance beside the more important economic and social problems it has had to solve. Today, statesmen are mostly occupied with industrial, economical and racial problems—the characteristic of which is, that they cannot be solved by isolated efforts. The last few decades have seen the world experience a rapid shrinking process, forcing unity upon the unwilling and resisting peoples, compelling men to look beyond national boundaries for the explanation and solution of their problems. For instance, today it is a truism that the state of the cotton crop in America regulates the fortunes of hundreds of individuals in London, Bombay and Tokio, and this fact is at present being driven home by an economic depression, world-wide in its scope. It follows from this that the nationalist statesman, if he wants thoroughly to understand his own country's situation, must be at the same time an ardent internationalist and must realise that in international co-operation the interests of all and the interest of each tend to become identified.

In this connection, there are several branches of the League of Nations' work which could include India in their scope, a good example of which is the work of the Social and Humanitarian Section. In its Health Organisation exists a body which could be of immense help to India: on various diseases co-operation between India and Geneva in this direction would achieve results twice as effective as either working by itself could hope to obtain. Other problems—slavery, labour (which promises to occupy the first place in order of importance in the future) drugs, traffic in women and children—all of them will provide ample opportunity for world co-operation in which India will need the help of the League while at the same time being able to offer valuable assistance herself. Already—and despite her rather anomalous position—India has co-operated in League activities and she is already cited in the International Labour Organisation as one of the principal industrial countries in the world. On more occasions than one, she has definitely led world opinion as represented by the League in order to attain the ends the League has in view.

The connection between the League and India is already there. It now only remains for both Geneva and India to strengthen it and get out of it all the benefits that lie waiting for them to reap. But certain it is that both will gain from contact—each with the other—and that the balance, if any, will be on the side of India, if not now, then when she is constitutionally in a position to reap full advantage of her membership.

\*Dr. Lanka Sundaram in Queen's Quarterly.

## Our Paris Letter.

( From Our own Correspondent. )

PARIS, 1st June.

EUROPE is indeed going through a very severe crisis. And at the precise moment when the attention of all countries ought to be focussed on the Disarmament Conference, or on the coming Economic Conference of Lausanne,—which are expected to take decisions of vital importance to peace and economic balance in the whole world,—both France and Germany are undergoing an inner crisis which certainly enhances the uncertainty of the general situation.

The resignation of Mr. Bruening has come as a shock to every one here, since it left an open door to the worst of apprehensions. Mr. von Papen has been asked to constitute the new Cabinet. This choice has come as a surprise or rather as a question mark. What is the tactic behind it? It is generally admitted that Maréchal Hindenburg has been anxious to solve the present crisis in his country through purely constitutional means. He has yielded to the pressure of the right who insisted on Mr. Bruening's resignation, but he managed to secure a transitional period by choosing a man of rather undefined political personality, which will be tolerated by the centre, while enjoying the sympathies of the right. In the same way, the Cabinet is expected not to be composed of very marked political personalities, but it will nevertheless clearly indicate an orientation to the right. Government's evident purpose will be to ensure a transition between the Bruening formula and the future Hitler scheme. All this has been arranged hastily to appease the anxiety manifested in Paris, London and Washington and to avoid a possible postponement of the Lausanne Conference.

The French elections have brought the Radical Socialists on the stage, and Mr. Herriot is the man of the day. His position is, however, very delicate. The question has at once arisen whether collaboration with the Socialists would be possible. Whatever be his personal views on the matter, Mr. Herriot knows well that at the present juncture, he would have the average national opinion against him if he embarked on the reforms which constitute the Socialist credo, namely, unemployment insurance, the nationalisation of insurances, mines, railway and other forms of transport, interdiction of private manufacture and trade of armaments, a very considerable reduction on military expenditure, etc. etc. On the other hand Mr. Herriot certainly realises that the Socialist collaboration should prove a valuable asset. An extensive co-operation of all its democratic forces appears vital to France.

A Socialist Congress has met to examine the condition of participation with the future government. It was expected to be stormy and the forebodings have not proved untrue. After a few incidents and some dramatic dialogues between principal Socialist chiefs, a sub-commission has drafted a "minimum program" which contains the minimum conditions of the Socialist participation in government.

The executive committee of the Radical Socialist party have also conferred to consider the situation. At a plenary meeting of the Radical Socialists yesterday night, Mr. Herriot delivered a decisive speech, embodying his answer to the Socialist draft. The Socialists will consider Mr. Herriot's answer to-day and formulate their final conclusions. The constitution of the new Cabinet will come as a sequel

to this exchange of views. The new Chamber meets to-day.

"At the present time", said Mr. Herriot, "a government conscious of responsibilities, cannot envisage the immediate realisation of most of the reforms contemplated by the Socialists. The test of the future Cabinet is limited by international circumstances, especially by the negotiations carried on at Geneva and which still have to be completed, and by the coming Lausanne Conference, and at home, also by our financial situation . . . . The program which is far above all others at present is that which could enable us, on the one hand to balance our own budget, and as regards international affairs to relieve the existing political tension and to realise an economic 'entente'."

If Mr. Herriot succeeds in this program he will certainly deserve the gratitude of his countrymen.

PARIS, 8th June.

THE new Legislature having met and the Senate and the Chamber both elected their presidents, Mr. Herriot has been formally called upon to form the Cabinet. Thanks to the consultations already carried on previous to these formalities, the Prime Minister has been able to present the complete list of the collaborators without further delay. Collaboration with the Socialists had to be abandoned, since their minimum conditions for participation did not appear acceptable; Mr. Herriot has therefore been reduced to practise Gambetta's formula, and "govern with his party, for his country." But it is understood that even if they are not represented in the Cabinet, a great many members of the Socialist party, will give the present government voting support in Parliament. Mr. Herriot himself will cumulate Foreign Affairs with his Prime Minister's office. Mr. Painlevé is Minister for Aviation, Mr. Sarraut for the Colonies, Mr. Paul Boncour for War, all the while retaining his functions at the League in Geneva, and most of their collaborators are prominent personalities.

Mr. Herriot's ministerial declaration has received on the whole a favourable welcome from the Legislature, where it secured a comfortable majority by 390 votes against 152. Although it does not escape criticism by extreme right and extreme left papers, the press which reflects average public opinion, both in France and in foreign countries, expresses approval of Mr. Herriot's plans and hope in the beneficent consequences of their realisation. A London paper says, with reason, that the new Premier has managed to be both a good Frenchman and a good European. Mr. Herriot's programme has been summed up by himself in three words: Budget, Reparations, Disarmament. Its principal items are: at home, a balanced budget, which is bound to involve severe measures of retrenchment; a number of social reforms concerning unemployment relief, social insurances, the housing problem, children's welfare, secondary education to be open to all children free of charge. As regards foreign policy, Mr. Herriot's outlook is more broadly international than that of his predecessors. He is prepared to do anything in his power to relieve the existing international tension. He advocates moral disarmament and international economic cooperation by a better organisation of production and exchange throughout the world. His government will be prepared to discuss any plan calculated to promote stability and bona-fide reconciliation. Nevertheless, as regards Reparations, he will insist on French rights being respected; these rights rest not only from treaties, but from contractual agreements protected by the honour of signatures. A world which would evade the rule of right, would sooner or

later be replaced under the rule of might, with all its consequences. Defending these principles in the right spirit is not claiming for selfish privileges, but amounts, in fact, to the safeguard of universal interests. France insists on security, not for her own sake, in particular, but for all nations, whether small or great. Mr. Herriot proclaims his allegiance to the League of Nations' ideals, and says his government will favour the largest possible measure of progressive disarmament, and reduction of military expenditure compatible with national security. Disarmament is only possible if it is progressive, simultaneous, and controlled.

The Disarmament Conference and the Lausanne Conference will have to solve these problems if our civilisation is to live. Preliminary to these official debates, it is understood that notes have already been exchanged between the German and the English governments; Mr. MacDonald is coming to Paris tomorrow to exchange views with Mr. Herriot. Provincial solutions are perhaps the only possible ones at the present juncture, but if they are reached in the right spirit, they may prove a very helpful step towards a further stage. The personal friendship which links Mr. Herriot to Mr. MacDonald is expected to be a valuable asset for international co-operation.

Nevertheless, the situation in Europe as a whole is as yet far from being stable and bright, and anxiety is justified by more than one symptomatic fact, such as Signor Grandi's latest speech, the news coming from Chile, and the situation in Germany. For instance, the American government has to face on the one hand millions of unemployed expecting promised indemnities, and on the other, a budgetary deficit which is not covered by 25 milliards of supplementary taxation. Mr. Stimson, in the name of his country, declares himself therefore unable to give up his part of the war debts. But it will be remembered that the Mellon-Berenger agreement was only ratified by the French legislature with the following condition, namely, that we would only pay our war debts inasmuch as we got payments from our own debtors. At present, these payments are under moratorium, and even threatened of being suppressed altogether.

How will the German situation develop? In France, the elections have made the Cabinet. In Germany, the Cabinet is going to manufacture the elections. The contrast is instructive, though it is as yet difficult to foresee the ultimate results. But even now it is certain that we are witnessing the death of a Republic, and that some kind of dictatorial government will probably take its place. President Hindenburg, soon after his election, had dissolved the Hitler troops by decree (13th May). They have been just lately, not merely restored to a legitimate status, but endowed with a brand new uniform complacently described by the press in minute detail, and they will be placed more or less under the control of government, perhaps of the Reichswehr. On the other hand, overthrowing the last pillars of Mr. Bruening's system, von Papen's cabinet, with real military promptitude, has dissolved the Reichstag. The latest speech of Baron von Gayl, the new Home Member, informs us that "Constitutions are not immutable idols," and that "monarchy is the most desirable form of government for a country situated in the heart of Europe." He says, nevertheless, that an immediate restoration is not advisable, and that the present government will endeavour to maintain peace and order in the country in the meanwhile.

Mr. Lucien Romier in a very interesting article contributed to "Paris-Midi", is of the opinion that a German dictatorship is not any more dangerous than

demagogy. Impartial observation of the political evolution of several nations, even if restricted to the post-war period, seems to indicate that liberty is a luxury, generally associated with conditions of growing prosperity. But new needs are created in enormous human masses. Reserves are rapidly exhausted if private and public credit come to fail. And liberty disappears as suddenly as other forms of luxury. Even in America now-a-days, one hears rumours of fascism. Perhaps only in countries with an old liberal tradition, like France and England, has liberty become a deep vital need, sufficiently powerful to react against demagogic movements which generate poverty and dictatorial regimes,

## Our London Letter.

(By Air Mail).

LONDON, 11th JUNE.

### A PIONEER VISIT.

THE visit to England of Her Highness the Junior Maharani of Travancore and her daughter is an event of very considerable social and sociological importance, and it has been duly noticed in the Press. Her Highness is staying in that resort of Royalty, Claridges Hotel, in a comparatively modest suite and with a very small retinue. Her ability and intelligence, as well as her shrewdness of judgment and dignity of carriage, have attracted widespread attention, and her short stay in this country will help people here to realise, as perhaps no other incident attaching to princely visits from India could have done, the immense influence that Indian women will have in the development and reconstruction of the India that is to be. The very fact that extreme Hindu orthodox and the peculiar matriarchal system prevalent in the State of Travancore has produced so efficient a representative of the women's cause as Her Highness is bound to have considerable consequences upon the opinion of the many influential people with whom she will mix during the next few weeks of her stay in this country. There is nothing like a good dose of fact to get rid of a great deal of ignorant theory and foolish prejudice. The fact that an Indian by his merits can be elected unopposed as President of the Cambridge Union, is unique but none the less important. The only other Asiatic to have achieved this distinction was the late Sir James Peiris of Ceylon. Things were easier then when prejudice was not so deep as to-day. The unanimous election of Mr. S. S. Dhawan of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, is therefore of very great significance in inter-racial relationships. Another of the important facts that bring a sense of reality into the claim of racial equality is the fact that an Indian Cricket Team can beat a first class County team in this country on its own grounds. Things like this impress themselves upon the public imagination, and whilst it is true that the human mind is capable, in some peculiar way, of holding simultaneously contradictory concepts, nevertheless it is possible, when events have undoubtedly happened, to point to the record of them in confirmation of the constructive argument. The visit of the Maharani of Travancore is to be added to the list of these helpful events, and we are accordingly grateful for it.

### ANOTHER KIND OF VISIT.

I was in the National Liberal Club the other day to meet a friend from India, when I observed two Indian gentlemen in earnest conversation, and who differed from each other in mental outlook and general viewpoint as though they belonged to different worlds. One was Dr. S. K. Datta, who, I learn, is

going out in the Autumn to assume the Principalship of the Forman Christian College at Lahore. He is over here on a short visit in the course of which he will probably make some important calls upon well-known personages. The other was the venerable looking Mr. V. J. Patel, the former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. He is looking rather more frail than when I saw him at the Club some six months ago. He has been undergoing medical treatment preparatory, I presume, to the trip that I am informed he intends to take to America in order to make the denizens of those backward parts acquainted with the true demands of the Indian people. If it be true that the redoubtable Mr. Shaikat Ali intends to follow after him and stalk him from city to city, as I have heard, is the Muslim leader's intention, Mr. Patel may not have quite the nice easy time that otherwise he may be anticipating and he may find the Maulana an awkward nut to crack. In the meanwhile let it be placed on record that Mr. Patel in Paris last week issued a valiant challenge to the British Government to grant a referendum in India, when it would be found that 90 per cent of the people would vote against the continuance of British rule. He is reported to have added, "We will have none of Dominion Government, and we shall continue our boycott of British goods until freedom is granted to us." I have always thought that freedom was just the one thing people of Mr. Patel's school of thought insisted should never be granted but only taken. Like Mr. De Velara he evidently wants it both ways.

### A GANDHI JOKE.

Whether inside or outside of a prison, Mahatma Gandhi's sense of humour may always be relied upon to stand him in good stead. If he ever comes across the following I can imagine the hearty burst of laughter with which he will receive it. Lord Sankey's recent article in the Nationalist-Labour magazine has evidently travelled far afield, for a Canadian paper quoting from it prints the following. "Gandhi's rigidly non-posthumous attitude was most unfortunate." One cannot wonder that Punch's comment on this brilliant effort should be, "The fact must certainly be faced that he is very 'much alive.'"

### TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS.

I have before me two new publications. One of them is published by East and West, Limited, for the Executive Committee of the Museum for Asiatic Art in London. This Committee which came into existence last October as a result of a great deal of preliminary work culminating in correspondence to the "Times", a leading article thereon and a discussion on the subject held in May at India House, Aldwych, under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Younghusband, consists of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos (whose collection of Chinese ceramics is one of the wonders among private collections in this country), Dr. G. F. Hull, Director of the British Museum, Mr. Eric M. Logen, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Sir Henry Miers, Professor J. L. Myres, Mr. Oscar Raphael, Mr. F. J. B. Richter, the Editor of the Asiatic Review who is the Hon. Secretary of the Committee, Sir Dennison Ross, the Director of the School of Oriental Studies, Professor C. G. Seligman, Mr. John de la Valette, the Vice-President of the India Society Mr. W. Percival Herts, who gave valuable evidence before the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, which strongly recommended such a project as a Museum of Asiatic Art and Antiquities in this country, Sir Francis Younghusband, the Chairman of the Council of the India Society and the Marquis of Zetland its President. The idea of such a Museum was first mooted publicly by Professor A. Upham Hope on the occasion nearly eighteen months ago when Colonel Sir K. N. Haksar read a

paper on behalf of the India Society on Persian Poetry at a meeting held at the house of Mrs. Emile Mond and took the occasion strongly to support Professor Upham Hope's proposal, following this up with the first letter that appeared on the subject in the "Times".

The second of the publications to which I wish to refer is the admirable volume on Akbar contributed by Mr. Lawrence Binyon to the series issued by Peter Davies, Ltd., on great men, which includes already volumes on Voltaire by Andre Maurios, Julius Caesar by John Buchan, Marlborough by the Hon. Sir John Fortescue, Mozart by Sacheverell Sitwell, Lenin by Mr. Maxton, M. P., and St. Paul (a remarkable contrast) by Wilfred Knox. Mr. Binyon, who figures in last week's Honours List as one of the two Companions of Honour, was also among those who have very strongly supported, both by evidence and on the platform, the establishment in London of the Museum of Eastern Art. His book on Akbar is dedicated to Sir William Rothenstein, "a Lover of India, in token of old friendship." It contains a picture of the Great Mogul from a contemporary drawing from the India Office Library. The volume is excellently written and should have a wide public.

#### INDIAN MUSIC.

That cultured hostess of the India Society, Mrs. Emile Mond, again this week gave hospitality to the Society at her beautiful house in Hyde Park Square when M. Phillips Stern of the Musee Guimet, Paris, and of l'Association Francaise des Amis de l'Orient, lectured on "Indian Music and the Conception of the Raga." The lecture was illustrated by gramophone records from music played on the Sitar by Mr. Narayan Das. These records were made for the Musee de la Parole of the University of Paris and were played for the first time in England. The lecturer paid a generous tribute to his Indian musical friends, and especially to Mr. Narayan Das. He explained the elaborate rules of the Raga, the conception of a special scale with a dominant note difference between the ascending and the descending movements, the prescribed ornaments and the sequence of degrees. He pointed out that to the Indian musician all these rules were instinctive and the Raga formed a complete whole linked to a peculiar emotion and a particular time of day. Sir Francis Younghusband presided over a large and representative gathering which included the Chief of Ichalkaranji, the Netherlands Minister, Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Wattal, Mr. Lawrence Binyon, C. H., Mr. Imrey Schwaidner, and Professor Blagden. M. Stern concluded his lecture with gramophone comparisons of Indian music with music played or sung in other parts of the world including Ballet, Cambodia, Siam, North and West Africa, and Madagascar.

#### AN IMPORTANT RESOLUTION.

The following resolution passed by a large International Conference of Women held at Grenoble, France, should be of interest. "The W. L. D. F. which has always proclaimed its faith in the possibility of finding a peaceful solution for political, social and economic conflicts, and also in the right of self-determination of peoples protests strongly against the policy of repression adopted by the British Government in India against the imprisonment of more than fifty thousand Indians, guilty only of desiring independence for their country, and particularly against the imprisonment of those who attempt to attain this by strictly non-violent methods of non-co-operation, urges immediate liberation of all political prisoners not guilty of criminal acts, the withdrawal of the ordinances, and the return of the British Government in India to methods of law. It also

urges the reopening of negotiations with the true representatives of the Indian people now in prison, who alone can prevent the legitimate indignation of their countrymen breaking out into violence, otherwise it is to be feared that a conflagration will be started in India which will spread through the East and because of the Sino-Japanese conflict, will inevitably end in a formidable rising of all the peoples who feel themselves oppressed and in a racial war more destructive to humanity than the great war of 1914."

#### BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

The British Commonwealth League composed of women only in different parts of the British Commonwealth was established several years ago "to secure equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women in the British Commonwealth of Nations." It held its Annual Conference this week under the chairmanship of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and it chose as the subject for consideration "Marriage from the Imperial Standpoint". The proceedings on the second and the third day of the Conference under Mrs. Corbett Ashby's Chairmanship are of most importance to your readers. They included a resolution on children of mixed race proposed by Miss Ruby Rich of the Australian Federation of Women Voters, another resolution proposed by Mrs. MacGregor Ross recommending an inquiry into the position of children of mixed blood, another resolution in favour of the extension of women's suffrage in India under the new constitution proposed by Miss Mehta of the Women's India Association, and a fourth resolution proposed by Miss Chavre Collison and seconded by Mrs. Hannah Sen recommending action in the direction of reconciliation between Britain and India upon the basis of Dr. Tagore's recent appeal. Miss R. M. Fleming, Assistant Editor, Royal Anthropological Institute delivered a most striking address on racial intermixture in which she swept aside most of the stupid prejudices and catchwords that have gathered round the subject. Dr. Harold Moody, a Jamacian Negro and the President of the League of Coloured Peoples who is himself married to an English lady, spoke on inter-racial unions. Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, Chairman of the Joint Council for the promotion of inter-racial understanding in this country read a paper on the legal aspect of Indo-British Unions and this was followed by a discussion on the social aspect of these unions in which Mrs. Lombash, Mrs. Pardhy, Mrs. Aiman, Atya Begum and Mrs. Mabel Palit took part. Those among these ladies who were the participants in such unions spoke of their experience with great delicacy and charm, and they produced a remarkable effect upon a deeply interested audience.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL DISORDERS.

Whilst Mr. De Valera and some of his colleagues have been in conference, both in Dublin and in London with British Ministers, it was clear from today's reports that the negotiations have definitely and apparently completely broken down and there seems nothing for it but another long period of strain between the two countries. It is of interest to note incidentally that Mr. Thomas in the House of Commons has described this country as enjoying relatively to the Irish Free State merely the status of a self-governing dominion under the Statute of Westminster, thereby creating consternation among people of the mentality of Sir Alfred Knox and Earl Winterton.

Mr. Churchill has aroused curiosity by holding a secret meeting of accomplices in the House to hear Lord Lloyd read an important letter that he had apparently received during the week from India.



Sir Samuel Hoare in reply to a question by Sir Charles Oman admitted that the question of transporting certain classes of prisoners to the Andamans is under consideration. Whether he meant the political prisoners (Mr. Edward Villiers has recommended the exile for five years of Mr. Gandhi and his principal colleagues) is uncertain. Mr. Leonard enquired of the Secretary of State very properly whether he would consider the advisability of seeking guidance as to the results of all such repressive measures from a Professor of History. Unfortunately Sir Charles Oman would give very poor guidance on the subject.

It is clear, however, that the Government are making up their minds as to how they are to proceed upon the expiry of the present Ordinances. It seems likely that whilst simplified Ordinances of a general-character will be reimposed, their application to particular provinces, districts or places, will be optional.

As to the reforms no one knows yet what the programme is to be or when the Government will give its decision on the communal question. There may yet be another day for the discussion of Indian affairs in the House. It is quite possible some day next week or the week after occasion will be taken for an official announcement as to procedure in regard to the next steps to be taken in constitutionalism. I

am inclined to doubt whether any announcement will be made on the communal question until the latter part of next month. The prime Minister has an immense volume of work before him on far more emergent questions and is unlikely to be diverted from his immediate tasks.

I understand that since their return to this country Lord Lothian, and particularly Mr. J. C. C. Davidson have been impressing upon the Government and public men interested in Indian affairs the urgency of the problem and the necessity of proceeding with the least possible delay with a single Bill, covering provincial autonomy and federal central responsibility. It may quite well be that a school-of-thought will develop having in view the possibility of delay in fitting the States into the framework of a federation at an early date and accordingly recommending simultaneously with provincial autonomy central responsibility in British India with safeguards. This may be sheer speculation at the moment, but it is a possibility that ought to be borne in mind. It is interesting to note that civilians who have recently retired from India have returned here obsessed with the necessity for immediate and far reaching constitutional action, and are giving their diehard colleagues of an earlier generation like Sir Reginald Craddock a very severe time.

## Servants of India Society : Annual Celebration.

### MR. DEVADHAR'S ADDRESS.

THE anniversary of the Servants of India Society was held as usual on the 12th June. The function was attended by the members, the associates and a few friends and sympathisers of the Society. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, in delivering his address as President of the Society, referred to the losses sustained by it in the deaths of Mr. Keshava Rao, ex-Judge of the Hyderabad High Court, who was one of the oldest associates of the Society, and of Sir Dorab Tata who was a great friend of Mr. Gokhale and of the Society.

He also regretted that some members, including Mr. Sastri, had been prevented by illness from being present. It was a great pity that they could not have Mr. Sastri's help and guidance in their deliberations.

Briefly recounting the work of the members during the past year he pointed out the main activities in which they were engaged. On the political side the part played by Mr. Sastri and Mr. Joshi as members of the R. T. C. was too well-known to need recital. As regards social work he was glad to find that rural reconstruction work, the importance of which he had emphasised last year, was being extended and that it had come to occupy a more important place in their programme. While branches of public service in which the members were engaged were increasing and young men were ready to join the Society the financial condition of the Society gave cause for great anxiety. Notwithstanding the magnificent sum of a lac of rupees bequeathed by the late Rao Bahadur Laxminarayan of Nagpur which is ear-marked for work in the C. P., the accounts showed a heavy deficit, and the real deficit was greater still. Owing to the economic depression the stream of public charity had become thinner, but Mr. Devadhar hoped that, notwithstanding the hard times they were living in, public-spirited men would come forward to help the Society in its hour of need.

Dealing with the outside world, Mr. Devadhar referred to the difficulties of Indians in South

Africa and the untiring exertions of Mr. C. F. Andrews on their behalf. Mr. Sastri was asked at the conclusion of the Indian R. T. C. to render another service to his countrymen by going to South Africa to take part in the South African R. T. C. The Indian delegation led by Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had been able to persuade the South African Government to conclude another agreement with the Government of India and to remove some of the more objectionable features of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill. The Indian community however still needed the vigilance and protection of the Government of India and he hoped that Government would continue to use all their efforts on its behalf.

Speaking of internal affairs Mr. Devadhar deeply regretted that the hopeful atmosphere created by the Irwin-Gandhi pact, which was the result of the success achieved by the first R. T. C. no longer existed and that they were again faced with an anxious situation. He referred briefly to the circumstances in which the second R. T. C. met. The attitude of the Conservative party gave rise to serious misunderstandings not merely among Indians but also in the minds of such men as Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and the shadow of the communal question, which would probably not have assumed such grave proportions as it had done had the Labour Government remained in power, lay on the entire proceedings of the Conference. Owing simply to a change of government, energies which should have been employed in going forward were absorbed by efforts to prevent a set-back and valuable time had been wasted. The second R. T. C. registered scarcely any advance over the first.

Alluding to the developments during the current year Mr. Devadhar condemned the Bengal outrages which did the country nothing but harm. He regretted the starting of the no-rent campaign in the U. P. and the sanction given for the resumption of civil disobedience by the Working Committee of the Congress. At the same time he thought that the Viceroy had made a blunder by arresting Mr. Gandhi before granting him the interview he had asked for. Had

the Labour Government remained in office, in all probability, a different course would have been adopted. Though special powers were needed by Government in some provinces, the ordinances were dangerously wide and tempted the executive to misuse the extraordinary powers with which they invested them. Excesses had been committed in the name of law and order and even women and children had not been spared. Madras and Bombay appeared to have suffered in an unusual degree from a misuse of the powers conferred by the ordinances. By exercising their vast powers Government have undoubtedly suppressed the manifestation of discontent but by thinking only of the present they had created difficulties for the future. Bitterness was growing and belief in the efficacy of constitutional agitation was fast disappearing.

To save the situation two things were essential. In the first place reforms should be pushed forward rapidly. That is the only permanent remedy for the present ills of the body politic. In the second place the thoughts both of Government and the Congress must turn towards peace. No constitution will yield the desired result unless it is the product of the joint efforts of all parties. If Government do not renew the ordinances that will shortly expire, they will have given proof of their desire for conciliation and take the first step on the road to peace. Government must be prepared to take some risks, or negotiations would be impossible. He thought that men of all parties should combine to give expression to this view by issuing a joint manifesto in order to impress Government with the volume and strength of feeling which existed among constitutionalists on this subject.

As regards constitutional reforms, it was necessary that they should concede full power to India subject only to temporary safeguards, which should go no further than was necessary. This could not be said of the safeguards now proposed. Provincial autonomy by itself instead of alleviating discontent would greatly aggravate it. There was widespread suspicion that the existence of internal disharmony might be exploited in order to put off the grant of responsibility at the centre.

As regards the communal problem Mr. Devadhar recognised that the political circumstances of India did not make their solution easy. Indeed, owing to them new difficulties were cropping up, but it was a humiliation to him that Indians had not been able to settle their differences among themselves.

He appealed to the Princes to play a worthy part in building up the India of the future. The interests of both the sections of India lay in a joint government embracing the whole country. Both parties should therefore be prepared to make large sacrifices to bring this about. The Princes need federation as much as the people of British India. But excessive claims, constant endeavours to strengthen their own position at the expense of the federation, unwillingness to surrender any powers which they possessed would endanger the achievement of the common purpose. To adopt such an attitude would be to play into the hands of the enemies of Indian freedom.

Mr. Devadhar finally laid great stress on the importance of Swadeshi. They had always believed in it and had in their humble way always supported it. It was a duty they owed to the hungry millions of India. But the economic development of no country had taken place without State aid. Pointing to the example of England, he asked the Government of India to come forward and initiate a campaign for the production and purchase of Indian

articles. Even before the new constitution came into force let Government show that they could be the true custodians of the people's interests.

## RESOLUTIONS ON R. T. C.

### FEDERATION.

THE nature of political authority exercised in India which divides it into two parts, British India and the Indian States, does not affect its real unity. The people living on either side of the boundary line are connected by ties of race, religion and language and have common cultural and economic interests. The same forces are at work among them and the larger problems relating to the welfare and security of the country are of equal concern to them. India is thus an organic entity. Its highest interest therefore requires the establishment of a federation, consisting of British India and the States, to facilitate its full constitutional development, to bring about greater solidarity and to secure unity of direction and administration in matters of common concern.

(b) The federation will enable British India and the States to achieve freedom by substituting internal for external control and to bring about unity in diversity only if they trust one another sufficiently to feel that the constitution which will be of their own creation will be faithfully observed by each party. The object of establishing a federation will be frustrated if the units ask a third party to guarantee that the constitution which regulates their relations with one another shall not be violated. The support of the demand for Dominion Status by the Princes at the Round Table Conference clearly implied that they wanted their own liberation and that of British India from outside control. It appeared that except in matters relating to paramountcy, which have for the present been excluded from the purview of the federal government, they wish to deal with an authority which they could call their own. The States should therefore rely on the federal government, of which they will form a very important part, for the continuance of their sovereignty and internal autonomy. The resolution unanimously passed by the Chamber of Princes in April 1932, asking the Crown to undertake the responsibility of safeguarding their position in relation to the new constitution, if adhered to, will block further progress and thus deprive federation of its chief value.

(c) The recent meetings of the Princes and their Ministers in Delhi and Bombay have given rise to apprehensions regarding the attitude of the Princes towards federation in other respects also. The Federal Structure Committee recommended that 40 per cent. of the seats in the Upper House should be allotted to the States. The Princes now demand that 50 per cent. of the seats should be reserved for them. Not content with demanding this unjustifiably high price for supporting federation they proposed that at least 51 per cent. of the States which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right and which contain not less than 51 per cent. of the aggregate population in the States should agree to adhere to the federation before it is inaugurated. It has further been publicly stated by persons connected prominently with several States that the idea of a confederation of States is gaining ground and the policy that the States should join the federation collectively as a single unit was accepted in Delhi. It is true that any State that wishes to join the federation in its individual capacity would be at

liberty to do so, but the proposals of the Princes, give the impression that they may delay and even endanger the establishment of a federal government. As the participation of the States in the new constitution will be no less advantageous to the States than to British India it is earnestly to be hoped that they will not insist on conditions which will make federation well-nigh impossible.

(a) The Federal Structure Committee referring to the method of selection of States' representatives in the Federal Assembly said, "it cannot be contended that it is of no concern to the federation as a whole", but it left this matter to the judgment of the States. In order that the federation may have a representative character, it is desirable that the seats assigned to the States in the Federal Assembly should be filled up by popular election. There should also be freedom of movement and residence within the federation. Subjects of Indian States and British Indians should be able freely to enter, reside, own property and carry on any business or profession in any Province or State.

#### ARMY.

In view of the fact that Dominion Status implies full responsibility for self-defence the policy of withdrawing British soldiers from India should be definitely accepted and adequate arrangements should be made for the training of Indians as King's Commissioned Officers so that the Indian army may be officered by Indians at the end of the period of transition. The recommendations of the Chetwood Committee are extremely disappointing and have failed to give satisfaction in any quarter. Pressure ought to be brought to bear on the British Government both by the Princes and British Indians to widen the scheme so as to make it commensurate with the object in view.

#### FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS.

The financial safeguards suggested in the report of the Federal Structure Committee will leave no real power in the hands of the future Finance Minister. The establishment of an Advisory Financial Council, pending the creation of a Reserve Bank, will ensure that the Federal Ministers will shape their policies after a full knowledge of the relevant circumstances, and the Governor-General's powers of veto would be sufficient to prevent measures that are considered imprudent from going through. It should further be borne in mind that more than half the public debt has been incurred in India and that the English investor has lent money to India not because the sterling loans are guaranteed by the Secretary of State for India but because of the financial solvency of the country. The Governor-General should not therefore be given special powers of intervention in regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing.

#### COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION.

While the legitimate interests of non-Indians should be protected India should have the same freedom as the Dominions enjoy to formulate her commercial policy. She should have full power to foster the economic interests of her nationals. As Mr. Sastri said: "It is the right of every people to protect national industries and national enterprises from being killed or weakened by undue competition from non-nationals. That right must be secured in any constitution." The right of the Government of India to give preference to Indians in the development of key industries should not be restricted in any way.

## Review.

### JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN.

By N. MATSUNAMI. (Maruzen & Co., Tokyo.)

1930. 22cm. 358p. 10 yen.

PERSONAL liberty in a modern state is the supreme issue of to-day. A study of the systems of government, therefore, becomes not only urgent but vital; it is also absorbing if laborious. Dr. Matsunami, adopting the Comparative Method—characterized by Bryce as "scientific"—has produced an extremely useful book on the Constitution of Japan.

A close survey of the Japanese Constitution reveals some unique facets of its structure. Japan is ruled by an unbroken dynasty ever since the dawn of its history, in which respect it is "unique among all nations of the world." At the head of the Constitution stands the Emperor—called Mikado (Heavenly Gate) by foreigners and Tenshi (Son of Heaven) or Tenno (Heavenly King) by his own subjects—whose person is "sacred and inviolable" and in whom vests all sovereign power (Art. 3, p. 35). It is now over forty years since the Constitution was promulgated. When, in 1890, Count (afterwards Prince) Ito directed the framing of the Constitution "no incident in Japan's modern career seemed more hazardous than this sudden plunge into parliamentary institutions." The theory underlying every part of the Japanese polity was and is, "Laws might be redrafted, institutions remodelled, systems recast, but amidst all changes and mutations one steady point must be carefully preserved—the Throne." The Japanese Constitution is "a gift from the Throne." It is not a contract between the Emperor and his subjects. Nor is it "a product of extortion by the people from the Throne." (p. 15) A modern constitution embodies the principle of liberty and it "issues from the doctrine that power comes only from the people." Constitutionalism recoils at the theory of Divine Right of Kings. And yet the Japanese Constitution is founded on the dovetailing of these two contradictory conceptions. This rather unfamiliar constitutional mechanism has been described by the chief draftsman of the Japanese Civil Code as "theocratic patriarchal constitutionalism."

The author's aim is to present "a logical and clear exposition of the Constitution." He disclaims any intention of entering into the intricacies of constitutional interpretation. The Constitution is set out article by article. The history, practical application or significance, as the case may be, of the provisions is explained and their implications are further elucidated by a reference to European Constitutions at present in operation. A critical survey of the Constitution or a commentary on its working the book does not claim to be. Chapters dealing with the Promulgation, the Codification, the Contents and the Nature of the Constitution, as also those on the Emperor, the Subjects and the Relation between the Emperor and the Subjects will be read with special interest. The author advances the argument that although, as a basic principle of the Constitution, all sovereign powers are vested and combined in the person of the Emperor, Japan enjoys the benefit of a full and unadulterated democratic government inasmuch as the exercise of these powers is governed by the Constitution and regulated by the formulation of Fundamental Laws and the observance of what are known as the Five Articles of the Imperial Oath (pp. 59-62). The cult of the Imperial Ancestor has been, in the appraisal of the author, successfully harmonized.

with the requirements of Democracy. One wishes the author had dwelt more pointedly and vividly on the forces that preserve this balance in the Constitution. What is it that sustains this unity? Is it a constitutional tradition or an association of constitutional conventions with law, as in England; or, perhaps, a strong sense of nationality, as in France? Or is it solely—as seems to be the author's view (p. 63)—the "patriarchal" conception of government which dominates alike the ruler and the ruled in Japan? The author next details carefully the component parts of the Constitution. Freedom of Religious Belief and the Political Position of Women are dealt with in two informative chapters.

In its treatment of the broad features of the Constitution the book is not exhaustive; in some averments it is not unchallengeable. Nevertheless, it is a reliable study of the structure of the Japanese Constitution. It is, moreover, a valuable work of reference. Of its utility there can be no question. In the General Statement on Modern Constitutions and the texts of the Constitutions of England, America, France, Italy, Germany and Russia—collected in two appendices—the author places at the disposal of the reader a good deal of material otherwise difficult of access. The language of the book, however, stands in need of drastic revision. Awkward Sentences difficult to read mar considerably the readability of the book. Defects of grammar, idiom and punctuation leap to the eye which are not altogether pardonable even in a foreigner, who, in his intense patriotism, may legitimately neglect his English in favour of his Japanese.

Political ideals of a people are coloured deeply by their social and religious ideals since, as has been said, "Politics has its roots in psychology." In order to understand the working of the Japanese Constitution one must grasp some of the native institutions that have a firm hold on the Japanese mind. On the one hand, one obtains the traditional Emperor-Worship, the Stoic ethical Code of Samurai, the cult of Self-immolation for King and Country, on the other, the deep conviction fostered in the Emperor that the traditional "affectionate solicitude" for the well-being of "his beloved children" must be reflected in a government based "not upon force or power, but on the just and equitable principles of nature" (p. 62). There is, thus, much in the Constitution of Japan that affords useful guidance both as to the possibility and impossibility of establishing, in our Indian States, a scheme of government of which "patriarchal-constitutionalism" of Japan will be the dominant note.

M. B. SAMARTH.

### SHORT NOTICE.

**SCIENTIFIC RELIGION, VOL. 11.** By G. N. GOKHALE. (Educational Publishing House, Karachi.) 1932. 20cm. 143p. Rs. 1/4.

PRINCIPAL GOKHALE has written this booklet with a sincere desire to solve the problems of religion with the aid of science, and, we think he has succeeded to a certain extent in doing so. Ultimately he too admits that science cannot solve all the mysteries of this world, and some things have to be accepted by inference and analogy. The fourth, fifth and sixth and the ninth dimensions which he has invoked to visualise the ultimate reality is an instance in point. Very few orthodox scientists will accept his ideas

based on inference. Rather they would prefer to be agnostic or sceptic on the point. But to a man whose mind is saturated with the true Aryan culture and its lofty ideals and its methods of realisation of the Supreme Bliss, the book will certainly be a most useful aid.

V. M. BHAT.

**THE LIFE OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA.** By E. H. BREWSTER. (Kegan Paul, London.) 21cm 243p. 10/6.

**THE LIFE OF BUDDHA AS LEGEND AND HISTORY.** BY EDWARD J. THOMAS. (Kegan Paul, London.) 24cm. 197p. 12/6.

MR. BREWSTER and DR. THOMAS have brought up-to-date the investigation of the historical and legendary matter round the birth and life of Buddha. It is of great interest to find most of the legendary matter growing up after two or three centuries A. D. It has been held by some scholars that Buddhism affected Judaism and Jesus, the Founder of Christianity, but many other scholars, on the other hand, with more historical background, maintain that the legends round Buddha are due to the impact of Christianity. Analogies and similarities are not necessarily due to borrowing but may be the result of prevailing ideas that affected both religions in a natural, unconscious way. This we can say: Christianity has developed along the pathway of Judaism containing mostly Semitic ideas and Buddhism along Hinduism containing mostly Aryan ideas. But Buddhism has since been interpreted in Japan according to Shintoism and in China according to Confucianism, and in Tibet along the lines of Animism, not to say anything of the two schools of thought of Mahayana and Hinayana. These legends, therefore, are very valuable, and Buddhism has much to contribute, in spite of the fact that, at one end, it is atheism, coupled with an intense love for man and, on the other hand, polytheism coupled with superstition.

YESUDAS, C.S.S.

**A HANDBOOK OF HORTICULTURAL PRACTICES.** BY G. B. PATWARDHAN and MR. G. B. DESHMUKH. Rs. 1-12.

THE book deals exhaustively with the practices in horticulture and gives hints for all operations described in it. The processes in the chapters on Budding and Grafting are thorough indeed, as the authors claim, but the description would have appealed the reader to a greater degree had it been accompanied by illustrations.

In the second part the authors deal with potting and other nursery operations in the same detailed manner as in part one. The details given about clogging pots by insects and others are detail observable only by the practical worker. All the chapters are complete to the smallest detail that is usually met with by the practical worker.

In the further chapters other details are given about plants grown for different purposes. The description of Rockeries is certainly charming. At the end an omnibus chapter on horticultural practices as well as a calendar of operations is given which is very useful. In short the book is instructive as well as interesting.

N. G. APTE.