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## CONTENTS.

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..                                  | 409  |
| ARTICLES :—  |      |
| Taking Stock of Ottawa—III. ... ..                         | 411  |
| A White Record? ... ..                                     | 412  |
| Broadcasting Problem in India. By A Radio Engineer. ... .. | 413  |
| OUR LONDON LETTER ... ..                                   | 417  |
| REVIEWS :—   |      |
| Rangoon and Indian Labour. By Dr. P. P. Pillai. ... ..     | 418  |
| Evolution of Democracy. By T. K. Krishna Menon. ... ..     | 418  |
| SHORT NOTICES ... ..                                       | 419  |
| MISCELLANEOUS :—   |      |
| Liberals and White Paper. ... ..                           | 420  |
| SUPPLEMENT :—  |      |
| Broadcasting : Map and Charts.                             |      |

## Topics of the Week.

### The Viceregal Utterance.

IN the capacity to indulge in sweet nothings Lord Willingdon is hard to beat. With the White Paper still in the hands of the Joint Select Committee, there was hardly anything of political importance that he could obviously have given out. But his impressions of his visit to England might surely have given us some definite inkling as to the probable date of the publication of the Committee's report. The Viceroy was at some pains to assure the public that after the India Bill is enacted into law, he would personally see to it that its translation into effect suffered no needless delay. We have no doubt the assurance is seriously meant. In fact, according to press reports, steps for implementing it are expected to take the form of the appointment of two Joint Secretaries in the Reforms Department to cope with the extra work necessitated by the present constitutional revision. But what really matters from the popular point of view is not so much how soon the new constitution would be in working order as whether it would be a progressive or reactionary one. But public curiosity on that point remains unsatisfied by the Viceroy's address. It is, however, no use forgetting that such speeches are merely part of the official routine and those who look forward to important pronouncements in them must generally prepare themselves for disappointment.

### Equality on Sufferance.

SO the Indian officer to be turned out by the Dehra Dun military college is not to enjoy the right of command in relation to British soldiers. He may

do so on sufferance, but cannot claim it as a matter of right. This is the upshot of the recent *contretemps* over the bill designed to legalise his existence. The will of the British military authorities has been allowed to prevail and Indian opinion treated as if it was of no consequence and that in a matter vital to Indian interests. The Indian demand, as voiced in the amendment which Sir Abdur Rahim moved to the official bill, was for complete equality of status for the India-trained officer with his British compeer in regard to "opportunities for promotion and power of command, rank and precedence". But with the assistance of the official bloc it was turned down, the Assembly once more writing itself down as thoroughly unrepresentative and reactionary.

THE official defence was somewhat like this. Government intend to create an Indian army on the model of the Dominion armies. Officers in these armies do not automatically receive the right to command British troops who constitute quite a separate service by themselves. And none but those belonging to that service can be granted the right to command those troops. There is therefore no question of including such a provision in the military law. Not that the right is impossible of extension to non-British officers under any circumstances. It can be done by regulation, if His Majesty so chose.

THEN where is the harm in having such a statutory provision instead of expecting the public to be satisfied with mere assurances? asked popular representatives. The point was referred to the British Government and it was brushed aside as "impossible". There were, it was said, legal difficulties in the way even of this limited concession being conferred on the *alumni* of the Indian Sandhurst. Attempts are no doubt being made to meet those difficulties. But at the moment at any rate it is extremely doubtful whether Indian military officers educated at Dehra Dun will ever be in a position to command British regiments. There being at present no Indian officer sufficiently senior to be a commander and none likely to be for another twenty years, the question is not of immediate practical interest, but it is one of principle and its disposal by the British Government in the manner in which it has been disposed of is an indication of their intentions towards this country and constitutes a wholly unmerited disregard of public opinion.

### Excise in C. P.

NOT very long ago C. P. seemed to be within sight of prohibition for some of its districts, so low was the consumption of liquor there. But the pendulum is now apparently swinging quite the other way. For it is observed from the excise administration report of the province for last year that the consumption of country liquor rose by as much as 62

per cent. in a period of twelve months. What is even more disquieting is the fact that the increased consumption was shared in by all districts except one, and this was, be it noted, was not the one marked out by a former Minister for the trial of the prohibition experiment on the ground of its low consumption.

THE increased consumption was also reflected in the receipts from excise which showed a rise of Rs. 26,000, the whole of it coming out of the sale of country liquor. The excise revenue for 1932 is described in the report as being the lowest since 1904-05. So the upward move, in so far as country liquor is concerned, may be said to have started last year. Swadeshi-sts may derive what consolation they can from the fact that while country liquor is getting increasingly popular, foreign liquors are coming into greater disfavour, as shown by their declining consumption. It must however be added that this popular wave in favour of swadeshism was by no means spontaneous, but fostered by active measures officially adopted to that end.

ONE of these was a reduction in the price of country liquor; and we are prepared by the report for more action on the same lines. This measure is advocated on the ground of eliminating the difference in the prices of licit and illicit liquor so as eventually to render the manufacture of illicit liquor economically unattractive. The plea presupposes the existence of the evil of illicit distillation on a huge scale, which will be generally regarded as a needlessly exaggerated view of the situation. And as for the suggested remedy, it may be doubted whether it will indeed not turn out to be even worse than the disease. If the idea behind the reduction in the price of licit liquor is to kill the competition of illicitly manufactured liquor, the former must really be fixed at a ridiculously low level. For, according to the report itself, the cost of distilling a bottle of spirit in some areas is one pice, while in others it varies from one to two annas. If the official plea is to be carried to the logical conclusion, the price of liquor sold by recognised licensees must be kept within the neighbourhood of these figures. Is this what officialdom is seriously driving at? And is there any chance of such a move ever fructifying? The better plan would of course be to tighten up the machinery for the detection of offences against the excise law and to endeavour to secure public co-operation in putting down the evil.

#### Reclamation of Criminals in Bombay.

ACCORDING to the Backward Class Officer's Report for 1933-34, there were 15 criminal settlements and 14 free colonies in the Bombay Presidency with 8,123 and 6,761 inmates respectively. The former record an increase of about 300 and the latter of over 1000. The increased population of free colonies need not cause any misgivings, for it represents the number of reclaimed criminals, who on being released from the settlements are encouraged to lead honourable and independent lives. The free colonies are, it is true, attached to the settlements; but the colonists are largely free from the close supervision and control to which the inmates of the settlements are subjected. As a matter of fact the idea is that when the adjacent settlements are closed, the colonies are to be absorbed in the municipal area, the colonists becoming ordinary citizens.

AS can be easily seen, one of the means of reclaiming criminals is to find employment for them.

Owing to trade depression this part of the Settlement Officers' duties was naturally beset with extraordinary difficulties. But they were able, thanks to the cooperation of local employers of labour, to secure honourable means of livelihood for most of their charges. It is sought to prevent the settlers' children from acquiring the predatory habits of their parents by giving them education. It follows therefore that the observance of any distinction on the ground of sex in the matter of the enforcement of compulsion is out of the question in the settlements. The result is, as the report assures us, that compulsory education is a reality in the settlements, not a make-believe as in some urban and rural areas. As a consequence hardly any children of school age are left uninstructed.

CHILDREN upto 13 are compulsorily made to attend day schools, while boys between 13 and 18 are required to attend night schools maintained on the settlements. This prevents their relapsing into illiteracy and enables proper control to be exercised on their doings at an important period in their lives. It is quite in the fitness of things that the curriculum of the settlement schools should give prominence to manual training. Training in agriculture is also provided for in suitable cases.

THE work of reclaiming criminals carried on under Government auspices in these settlements is undoubtedly of a high nation-building value and all those engaged in it deserve the thanks of the community for their labours. It is particularly pleasing to us that the work of Mr. K. G. Sharangpani, member, Servants of India Society, who is in charge of the Jalgaon settlement, has come in for special mention in the report. If the experiment of handing over the management of settlements to private agencies has in official eyes proved to be a success, we would suggest the organisation of the new settlement proposed to be started at Mundhwa near Poona, to which reference is made in the report, to be entrusted to some experienced non-official from the very start.

#### Indian Education in Fiji.

IT is seen from the report of the Fiji Education department for 1933 that in the 73 registered and recognised schools for Indians no more than about 4,600 children were studying, which represents one-third of the school-age population. Thanks to financial stringency, no addition to the number of Government schools for the benefit of Indians was possible during the year, but one school was enlarged to provide accommodation for an extra 80 pupils. The total number of pupils on the roll of seven Government schools and the assisted schools, whose number increased by 4 to 45 during 1933, was 4,030—3,003 boys and 1,027 girls, a decrease of more than 600. It is regrettable that, beyond mentioning the fact of girls' education making no headway, the report makes no attempt to suggest any remedial measures. The development of girls' education is said to be very much hindered by the absence of qualified female teachers. The fact that a record number of Indian girls appeared for the Teachers' Certificate Examination during the year must therefore be said to be of good augury.

AS in India, most of the strength in schools is to be found in the lower standards, the higher standards boasting of a very small proportion of pupils. In Fiji, nearly three-fourths of the total number of pupils in

the primary schools are enrolled in the first three classes, as much as 42 per cent. being in the lowest standard and not even 2 per cent. shared by the highest standard. These and similar defects cry for urgent action on the part of the Fiji educational authorities. Though on financial grounds compulsory primary education for Indian children is ruled out for the

time being it is a source of some comfort to note from the report that a scheme for the provision of educational facilities in the primary stage to all the Indian children in Fiji is under consideration by the Government. We hope the report for 1934 will tell us something as to the action taken by Government to give it effect.

## TAKING STOCK OF OTTAWA.

### III.

#### COTTON.

WE propose to allude to two more articles of India's export trade. By an altogether unjustifiable insistence on their own sectional interests the Lancashire cotton trade refused to allow any preference to the imports of Indian cotton. As a matter of fact this was the only important export from India in respect of which it had no serious competitors within the Empire but had several such outside. If a preference had been granted to this raw material of a British industry, as was done in the case of several others, the bona fides of the supporters of preference would have been proved and Indian cotton growers would have secured a valuable advantage in the British market. This would have been in no sense a sort of a gift on the part of Lancashire. We in India have granted considerable advantages to the United Kingdom imports of yarn and textiles. These advantages created for England without any *quid pro quo* are in direct contrast with our attitudes towards Japan. We fail to see why we should not insist upon England granting Indian cotton imports the general preference of ten per cent. or, in the alternative, agreeing to a scheme whereby a definite proportion of Indian raw cotton will be taken by Lancashire in exchange for a quota of Indian textile market allowed to it. It is often asserted by official and pro-official protagonists that the Ottawa Trade Agreement is a business deal and not a scheme of imperial preference as such. Had it been so we would not have left the exports of Indian cotton to Lancashire to the good graces of the latter while binding the Japanese to a contractual quota. With all the official and non-official propaganda England has taken in 1933-34 no more than 12 per cent. of our total cotton exports. Under normal trade conditions and in the absence of the present inspired propaganda it remains to be seen how Indian cotton will fare in the British market. There are clear signs that in this most important item of our exports, as in many others of comparatively less importance, we will lose more in Japan and other foreign markets than what we can make up for in England.

#### IRON & STEEL.

Another significant case is that of iron and steel. Even before the Agreement at Ottawa a policy of dividing the Indian market between the Indian and British producers was adopted by the Indian legislature under official persuasion. By a supplementary Agreement this preference granted to the United Kingdom imports was enhanced in the case of goods manufactured from Indian pig iron which was to be

admitted at a preferential rate in England. This supplementary Agreement was devised along right lines, which in fact should have guided the policy in other respects also, such as cotton goods. But the initial assumption that the Indian market was sufficiently big to be divided between the Indian and British producers was by no means fair. Granting that the Tatas do not at present produce enough to meet all Indian needs or that they do not produce those varieties in which England specialises, we do not see why further progress in India along these lines should be forestalled by creating British vested interests. The actual operation of the iron and steel agreement during the last year is not altogether encouraging. In 1933-34 the United Kingdom took 25 per cent. of the total pig iron exports from India as against 35 per cent. that it took in the previous year. Other countries with whom there were no preferential agreements improved their share in our exports of pig iron during the same period by 11 per cent., i. e. from 63 per cent. in 1932-33 to 74 per cent. in 1933-34. It will be clearly seen from these figures that though the preferences and agreements arrived at between official and non-official parties in England and India during the last two years are tending to divert the trend of our exports towards the United Kingdom, the reaction to these artificial stimuli is by no means so vigorous as to lend support to the natural vitality and beneficence of the underlying scheme.

Our view of the Ottawa Agreement, which we had stated in these columns when the Agreement was concluded, might be restated in the form of the following propositions:—

1. The underlying assumption of the Agreement that there is an economic unity of the Empire is wrong.
2. India's resources are well suited to an intensive development of a self-sufficient and balanced economy, and hence any prospects of a complementary trade agreement with U. K. are limited.
3. England is already in possession of all the special advantages that it can desire in the Indian market by the political ties between the two countries.
4. That the real difficulties in the way of a further expansion of British trade in India, apart from the legitimate development of the Indian industries themselves, are: i. comparatively high cost of British products, and ii. absence of goodwill among the consumers owing to the unsatisfactory political relations between the two countries. As compar-

ed with these factors of abiding significance the mere variation of tariff levels will not produce striking or permanent results. But the consequences for India in stunted production, restricted consumption and rising taxation will be serious.

5. Discriminating tariffs between Empire and non-Empire countries are likely to hit India very extensively by the curtailed demand for her products in non-Empire markets, which are her principal customers.

#### IMPORTS.

Enough has been said already with respect to the fortunes of our export trade to prove that nothing that has happened during the first year of the Ottawa Agreement need give us cause to revise these views. With all the direct and indirect encouragements, our exports to England have not considerably improved. The facts of British imports into India are even more directly corroborative of the conclusions above noted. We will take the more important items of British imports into India to show how the preference is operating to the special advantage of U. K. In respect of boots and shoes, though the total imports in 1933-34 were less than those in the previous year, England's share of the imports had increased from 25 to 29 per cent. When it is remembered that England supplied only a few years ago as much as about three-quarters of the total imports in this class a fair idea of future prospects before British boot manufacturers can be easily had. In chemicals the last year saw an improvement of three per cent. in Britain's share in our imports. This brought England very near to the position that she normally holds in this class. In cutlery goods England drew to itself four per cent. more, entirely at the cost of Germany, her principal rival. In drugs and medicines England's share rose from 40 to 53 per cent., that of France and U. S. A. falling proportionately. In hardware England improved her position to 33 per cent., an increase of 4 per cent. over the previous year, the principal sufferer being Germany. In instruments and appliances England's position has slightly improved, yet the specialised character of American and German goods has been a sufficient recommendation for their imports. The imports of machinery from Great Britain actually represented a smaller share than that of Germany, though the value of British imports increased by over two crores.

This experience is significant, as illustrating the tussle between English goods of higher cost and greater preference and German goods of less cost and greater suitability. In paints and colours England's position improved by 6 per cent. and it now stands at the record figure of 68 per cent. of the whole Indian imports. In rubber products England has made phenomenal advance over her previous position. For the three years ending 1929-30, England's share of the total rubber imports into India was 34 per cent. During 1932-33 this percentage was 40. But during the last year the figure has taken a leap, and in 1933-34 out of the total rubber imports into India England supplied no less than 62 per cent. In woollen

manufactures England moved on from 20 to 28 per cent. of total imports. In the import of motor cars England has always experienced great difficulty in meeting the competition of comparatively cheap American products. For the three years ending 1929-30 England supplied only 26 per cent. of the total value of cars imported into India. This figure showed no signs of definite improvement till the last two years 1932-33 and 1933-34, when the figures were 62 and 60 per cent. respectively. For motor buses these figures are 10, 24 and 19 respectively. It would appear that, as in the case of machinery, in that of buses also the cheapness and suitability of non-British products continues to counteract the preferential treatment received by British products. In another type of vehicles, namely cycles, England's share improved from 77 to 81 per cent. of total imports.

It will be obvious from these figures of detailed items of imports into India that the advantages given to the British producers are being definitely and steadily exploited by them. We might expect in years to come a considerable advance in the same direction. On the other hand, as noted in the earlier part of this article, the development of Indian exports to U. K. is by no means convincing. These are disquieting facts in the economic sphere which only reflect the general deterioration in the political field. We hope that popular opinion within and without the legislature will be sufficiently alert in vindicating the principles of economic freedom and national development. In the absence of fuller data regarding the position of U. K. and other countries in our import and export trade, which can be supplied only by the annual Review of the Trade of India, it is not possible to say anything more definite about the first year's working of the Ottawa Agreement.

( *Concluded.* )

#### A WHITE RECORD ?

THE apologists of the Congress think it a good strategy, in defending the neither-accept-nor-reject policy of the Mahatma on the communal award, to assume the offensive against Pandit Malaviya and other Congressmen who oppose this policy from within the Congress. How can Panditji, they argue, oppose an award which was rendered at his own request? Panditji and the other Round Tablers finding it impossible to arrive at an understanding on the question, implored the Prime Minister to intervene and to settle the communal differences. Having done so, they are bound to accept the decision which the Prime Minister chose to give. Gandhiji, on the other hand, declined to join with them in asking for Government's intervention, and he alone has therefore the moral right to question the decision and even to repudiate it.

Now it is a little difficult to understand why those who sought Government's assistance in reaching a just and equitable solution of the communal problem are in honour bound to accept a solution, offered by Government, which is patently unjust and inequitable. If a mere request for an outsider's intervention entails as a necessary consequence the

acceptance of all that the outsider does, the Congress must accept the White Paper *in toto*. For Pandit Motilal Nehru as head of the political section of the Congress asked Government to convene a Round Table Conference for deciding upon the future constitution of India. Government convened it, and, as a result of its deliberations, formulated the proposals for constitutional reform embodied in the White Paper. If the above-mentioned reasoning of Congressmen has a validity, then the Congress is under a moral obligation to accept the Round Table constitution. In fact, some Anglo-Indian journals have been using the very same argument. Those who took part in the Round Table Conference, they say, may suggest some slight modifications in the White Paper proposals, but they cannot wholly reject them. Is this argument acceptable to Congressmen? If not, they must not maintain in their turn that because Pandit Malaviya asked for help from the Prime Minister in straightening out the communal tangle, he must meekly submit even if the Prime Minister entangles it still further. If the Congress is free to reject the White Paper, why should not the Pandit be free to reject the communal award?

Is it true, as the *Indian Express* remarks, that "the one person who can oppose the award with a clear conscience is Gandhiji and the only organisation that can fight it is the Congress?" Is Gandhiji's record quite so spotless? Has he made no commitment to accept communal electorates? The history of the R. T. C. belies this claim completely. It is common knowledge that, when negotiations took place in an unofficial minorities committee of the Conference in London, Mahatma Gandhi offered to give his support, on behalf of the Congress, not only to communal electorates but to any demands that Mahomedans might choose to make. He gave a *carte blanche* to the Moslem community. It is true that he attached certain conditions to the offer. But the conditions that he laid down do not alter the fact that he had no objection of principle to the communal electorates. Mahatma Gandhi views everything, first and last, in its moral aspect. By agreeing to communal electorates if certain political conditions were satisfied he declared to the world that on ethical grounds he had no objection to communal electorates. Those Congressmen who take the high ground that the Congress has a conscientious objection to communal electorates should remember that by doing so they indirectly attribute unscrupulousness and a loose moral sense to Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma accepted not merely communal electorates, but the

division of offices and all other political privileges on communal lines, for the Mahomedan demand included this also. All this proves that if there is any person who lacks moral authority to oppose communal electorates, it is Mahatma Gandhi.

The compromise solution put forward by the Mahatma in London took various forms. Another compromise that he suggested was, from the moral and political standpoint, still more open to objection. The Congress, he said to the Mahomedans, will agree to communal electorates for you, provided you help the Congress in withholding them from Europeans, Indian Christians, depressed classes and other minority communities. The objection to this proposal on political grounds is obvious to any man of common sense but the moral objection outweighs it. Communal electorates are demanded by Mahomedans because, in their opinion, they promote nationality and subserve national interests. How can the Mahomedans, then, ask these for themselves but refuse them to other communities? And for Mahatma Gandhi to suggest that they should do so is to ask them to be selfish for their own community. If communal electorates are morally wrong, how can Mahatma Gandhi keep the depressed classes, for instance, from the evil by plunging the Mahomedans into it? If he feels that communal electorates are so bad that he must at the cost of his own life keep the depressed classes free from their contamination, does he not owe it at least so much to the Mahomedan community that he should refuse to give his consent to their being granted to the Moslems? Does not his conduct in London show that this rigid upholder of Truth at all costs is after all very crudely opportunist? And what after all was the result of the preference he showed of political expediency over moral principle? Only this, that all minority communities banded themselves together and formed a Minority Pact, the most sinister development of recent times.

Not only did Mahatma Gandhi offer to let Mahomedans retain the communal electorates of which they were already in enjoyment, but he offered them to the Sikhs to whom they had not been granted before. The only reason for it, we suppose, is that he considered the Sikhs to be strong enough to exact them, while the depressed classes were too feeble to do so. Which also shows that with the Mahatma might alone is right. After taking all these facts into due consideration, the only conclusion that one can register is that Mahatma Gandhi's record on this question is not any too clean.

## BROADCASTING PROBLEM IN INDIA.

ANY worth-while broadcasting system seeking to serve the mass of the people is inherently a nation-wide and national problem. It cannot be considered in the circumscribed sense of a local or even a provincial question. If there is any single problem in which a genuine national outlook is imperative and which demands well considered nation-wide planning, it is radio broadcasting. In technical services, in administration and finance and in pro-

gramme policy and programme development, every consideration of national economy and social welfare insists upon the whole question being treated as a national problem with the three-fold objective of the instilling of the idea of common Indian citizenship and promotion of social solidarity, the promotion of public health and economic prosperity and the spread of general culture and healthy entertainment.

With these objectives, the organisation of broadcasting has to be on the basis of a national monopoly deriving its moral support and material strength direct from the listener and always consciously striving to serve his best interests. Conceived thus as an instrument of public service of the highest character, private commerce and vested interests of any kind cannot have the slightest voice in the policy and daily conduct of the service in any shape or form.

#### BROADCASTING ABROAD.

Before attempting to visualise the magnitude of the broadcasting problem it is essential to survey briefly the status of broadcasting in a few of the countries where it has developed best.

In Europe, the organisation of broadcasting is mostly in the form of a national monopoly in the sole interests of the community and of the nation as a political unit. Great Britain offers the best example of a highly centralised type, appropriate to its small size and its homogeneous population. Till the advent of Chancellor Hitler, Germany had a federalised monopolist organisation consistent with its bigger area and its more varied population. In these countries, the periodical subscription from the receiver owner is the most important source of revenue. In Russia, the organisation is under the dictatorial control of the people's central commissariat at Moscow; the State looks after the financing of broadcasting and its development from year to year. In the United States of America, on the other hand, broadcasting is in the hands of private enterprise which raises the necessary revenues by radio publicity of goods and services of private commerce. The Federal Radio Commission, a governmental body, was set up to secure equitable development of broadcasting throughout the country and ensure reception without interference. In India, broadcasting started in 1927 as a private commercial monopoly with the licence fee and radio publicity as the two sources of revenue. When, however, this arrangement collapsed, the State took it over and is now responsible for the conduct of the service from the Bombay and Calcutta stations.

Some idea of the popularity of the service in the different countries can be obtained from an examination of the available broadcast facilities and of the number of receiving sets in each. In Germany, there are between 25 and 30 transmitters with a total antenna power of about 600 kw. There are very nearly 5.5 million receivers for a population of 64 millions. Great Britain, which is about half the size of Germany or about one-twentieth of that of India in area, has 15 transmitting stations with a total antenna power of over 500 kw. The number of receivers for a population of 44 millions stands at the very high figure of 6.25 millions. Russia hardly existed on the map of Europe six years ago. At present, this vast and varied country has 75 transmitters with a total antenna power of 1,500 kw.; one of these is the biggest in the world with 500 kw. in the antenna. For a population of 143 millions, there are at present 3 million receivers. Plans for the extension of broadcast facilities during the next few years include the construction of a 1,000 kw. transmitter and the increase in the number of receivers from 3 millions to 20 millions corresponding to 14 receivers for every hundred of the population. In the United States, the absence of any national organisation and a well-considered development plan has burdened the country with about 600 transmitters. There are some 18 million receiving sets in the country corresponding to 15.2 receivers per cent. of the population.

For the world as a whole, it is estimated that there are over 1,500 transmitters with a total antenna

power of roughly 8,000 kw. spread over the inhabited area of 143.7 million square kilometres and about 45 million receivers for a population of some 1,800 millions. This gives a world average of 2.5 receivers per cent. of the population.

With a most varied population 351 millions inhabiting 4.66 million square kilometres, India has a transmitter at Bombay, one at Calcutta, a small one at Madras and a small short wave transmitter at Calcutta, all employing obsolete apparatus. The total antenna power does not exceed 7 or 8 kw. The number of registered listeners does not probably exceed 10,000 corresponding to a receiver for every 35,000 persons of the country. The service is burdened with a small army of radio pirates who enjoy illicit listening.

The programme service lasts for 18 hours a day in the United States, 14 hours in Germany and Great Britain and about 11 hours in Russia, Bombay transmits for about six hours a day and Calcutta an hour longer. Madras transmissions last about two hours in the evening.

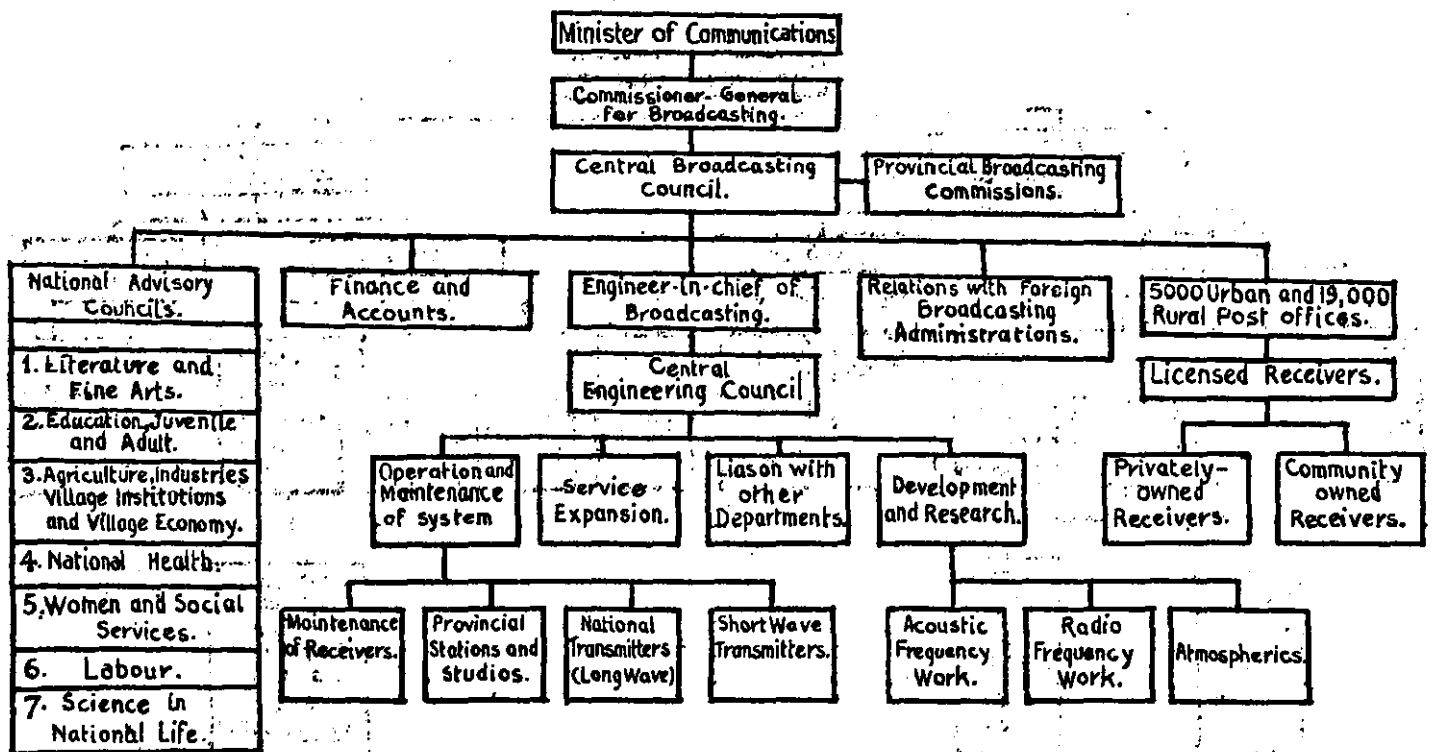
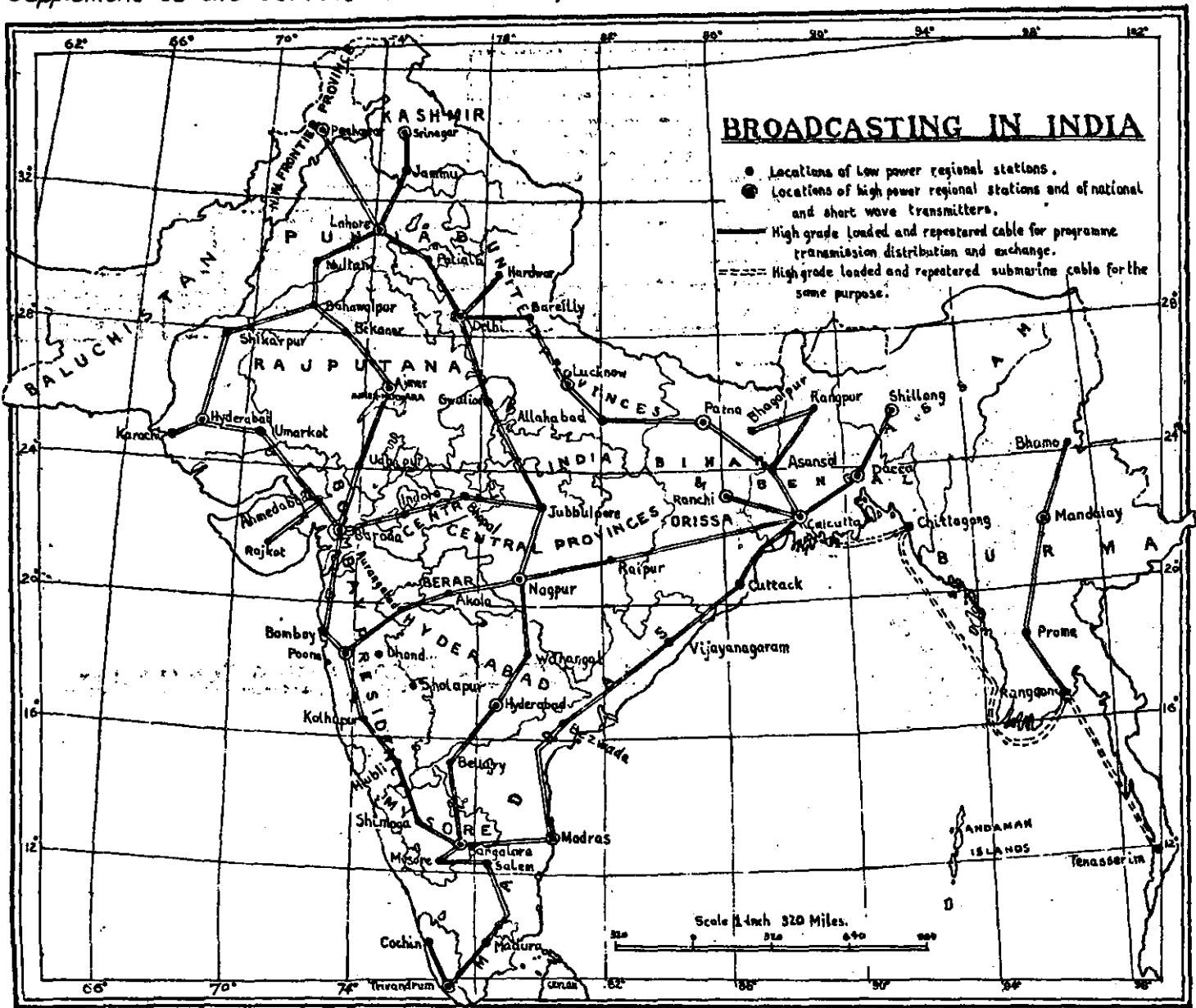
On the financial side, the investment on transmitting equipment in Europe in 1931 was estimated at about Rs. 22.5 crores while that on receiving apparatus was ten times as great. The annual receiver maintenance charges for the same year were estimated to be about Rs. 30.2 crores, while the licence fee realised from the listeners amounted to no less than Rs. 18.9 crores. Electricity consumption for broadcast purposes three years ago stood at about 1,573 million kilowatt hours.

In the matter of programme service, every broadcast organisation in the progressive countries of Europe and America strenuously endeavours to cater to all worth-while and ascertainable needs and requirements of every section of the community in respect of age, sex, cultural level, occupation and economic and social stratification. The permeation of the effects of broadcasting are so real, deep and universal that it has become a powerful living social force affecting and reflecting the daily life and thoughts of the community. Broadcasting is at once the mouthpiece of the community and its most powerful and universal educative organisation.

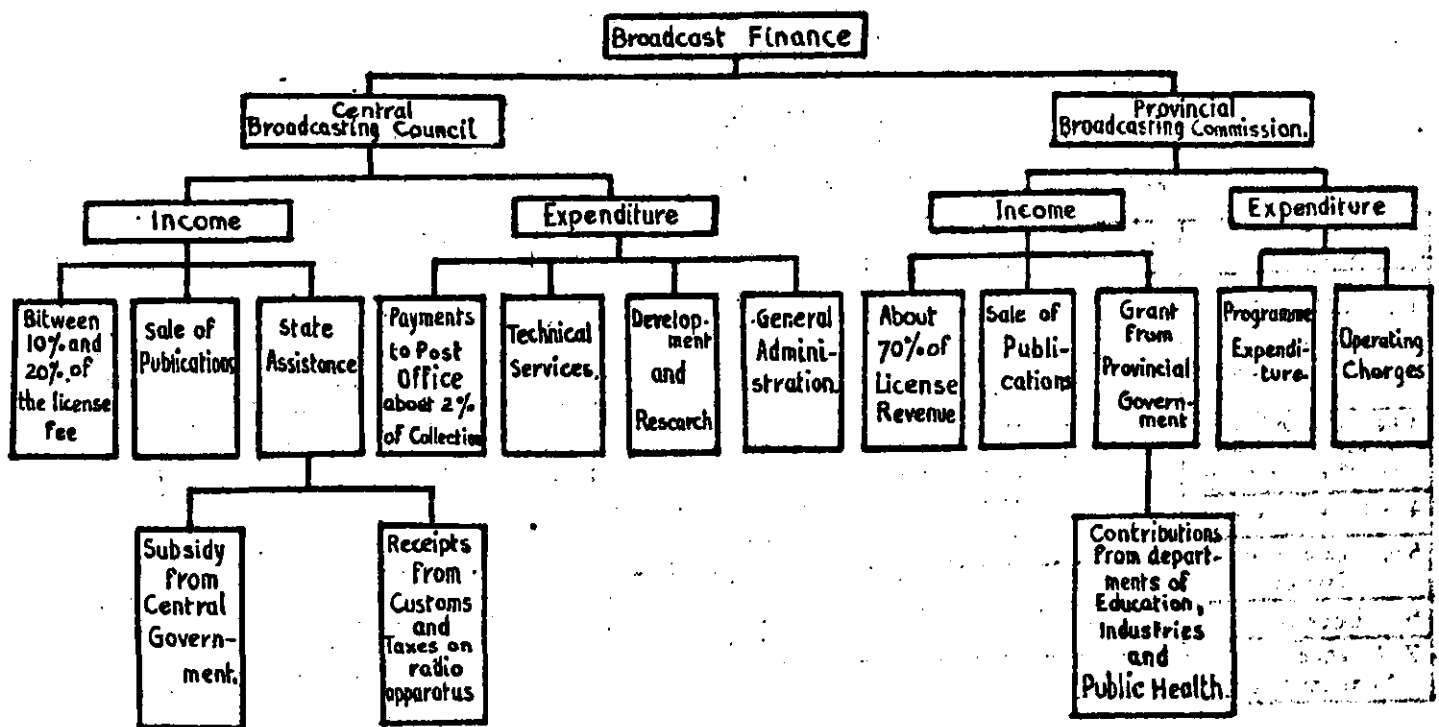
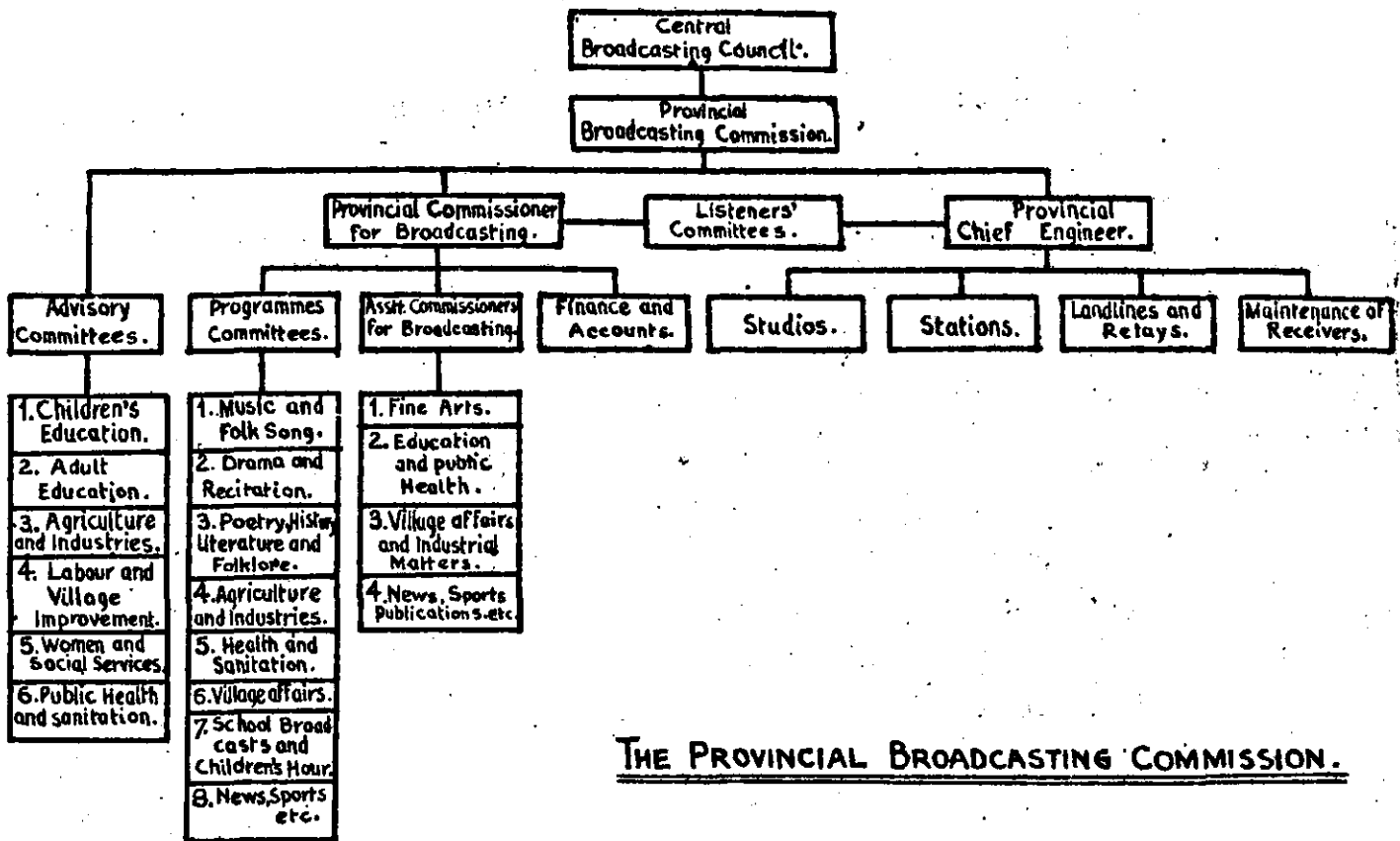
Considered from any standpoint of national interest and social well-being, the service in India is hopelessly poor and inadequate. It may be doubted if it has ever had any well-considered and well-defined objectives and policy. In these days of intense and world-wide moral and intellectual upheaval, involving profound changes in the scale of values of ideas and institutions, broadcasting in India has not made the slightest contribution as a propagandist and educational instrument.

#### PROBLEM OF NATION-WIDE BROADCASTING.

With some idea of the status of broadcasting abroad we can now consider the problem of what constitutes nation-wide broadcasting. On the technical side, we have to consider (a) the number and individual powers of transmitters and their location to secure for the listener throughout the day and all the year round a satisfactory and adequate signal in relation to atmospheric disturbances; (b) the necessary high grade telephone network to interlink the different stations for distribution and interchange of programmes; and (c) the number of receiving sets to ensure that any one desiring to listen to the radio-programme of entertainment and instruction can do so. The organisation should be such as to assure uniformly efficient and economic technical services throughout the land and at the same time guarantee the utmost flexibility to every region in programme-building within the broad confines of a well-considered and well-understood national policy.



THE CENTRAL BROADCASTING COUNCIL.





There is the proposal for the installation of small power stations with service areas of 25 or 50 kilometres radius, so that each locality or district can have its own programme in its own language. This will involve hundreds of stations, all to be accommodated within a strictly limited band of frequencies. Unless unusual precautions are taken regions of interference will be inevitable; it is not certain that except in the neighbourhood of transmitters, atmospheric disturbances will not be troublesome. Difficulties connected with the availability of suitable microphone talent in each locality and of programme expenditure for such a large number of transmitters cannot be exaggerated. Recorded entertainment and voluntary microphone talent can never be sustained in quality and adequate in volume to prevent boredom, monotony and heaviness.

More important than any of these is that such a scheme is a standing invitation for the perpetuation and aggravation of the baneful spirit of provincialism and of the numerous sectional interests which tend to disrupt the community into mutually antagonistic fragments. Everything should be designed with the deliberate aim of promoting social harmony and solidarity in common citizenship.

On the other hand, there are those who suggest the erection of a small number, say, a dozen of super power stations located suitably. It will be urged that besides being very economical and efficient in money and effort, such a scheme will assist powerfully the promotion of social harmony.

While there are no difficulties in putting up very high power stations, such a scheme will involve large wipe-out areas round the transmitters, rapid reduction in intensity with distance, etc. Further, it will be impossible to serve the worth-while and legitimate needs and requirements of the varied population and to preserve and enrich the varied culture of the country.

From every point of view, the most satisfactory arrangement appears to be to develop broadcasting on the basis of the main linguistic divisions of the country. This will give the fullest possible scope for cementing the people together and at the same time assure the preservation and growth of the culture and tradition characteristic of each region.

Taking the ratio of the total antenna power in the different countries to the corresponding area of each, one watt per square kilometre for India appears to be reasonable and satisfactory in view of the nature of the country and the prevalence of atmospheric disturbances. This gives 4,660 kw. of antenna power for the whole of India. The corresponding figures for France, Germany and Great Britain are 0.65, 1.28 and 1.6 watts per square kilometre; and every year sees an increase in them.

Bearing in mind that the most important criterion in the location of each station is the availability of suitable microphone talent in each linguistic area, between 60 and 65 regional stations will probably be adequate to serve all legitimate interests and requirements. On this basis, Hindi and allied languages in the north will have 16 stations; Bengali will have 6, Telugu 5 and so on.

In addition to the 65 stations catering to the regional requirements, five national transmitters located, say, at Lahore, Patna, Nagpur, Bangalore and Rangoon, will put on the air programme matter of national interest. Broad questions relating to international trade, foreign affairs, national defence and economy will come within the purview of these transmitters.

For purposes of long distance international

broadcasting, five short-wave transmitters located, for example, at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and Rangoon will complete the picture. The country will thus have between 70 and 75 stations.

In the matter of power allocation, each of the five national transmitters will have 250 kw. in the antenna and each short-wave transmitter 50 kw. The regional transmitters can be divided into categories; 45 transmitters each with an antenna power of 25 kw. and 20 transmitters each with 75 kw. To take care of inadequately covered areas, there will have to be a number of relay stations, the power of none of which will exceed 0.5 to 1.0 kw.

TELEPHONE LINES.

An adequate system of interconnecting high-grade telephone line network for distribution and interchange of programmes and for national hook-up whenever necessary is indispensable. Europe and America possess extensive networks of this character. They are absolutely essential in our tropical climate with its generous supply of atmospheric disturbances for at least 8 months in the year.

The telephone network suggested here can be divided into (a) the Indus system from Lahore to Karachi; (b) the Western India system from Lahore to Bangalore through Baroda and Bombay; (c) the Mid-India system from Lahore to Travancore through Agra and Nagpur; (d) the Gangetic system from Lahore to Calcutta through Delhi and Allahabad; (e) the East Coast system from Calcutta to Madras; (f) the Bombay-Calcutta system and (g) the Central Burma system.

The above represents in broad outline the picture of the transmitting system.

RECEIVER DISTRIBUTION.

In regard to the distribution of receivers, private family ownership is out of question at least for the present with a per capita income of about Rs. 100. There is no suitable or satisfactory alternative to community ownership of receivers and community listening. The provision of a receiver per cent. of the population giving a total of 3.5 millions for the whole country is a very satisfactory objective. This number for this huge country is quite modest. Even now, for every hundred of the population, Denmark has nearly 14 receivers, Great Britain nearly 13.5 and Germany 8.

CAPITAL OUTLAY.

A broadcast development plan as visualised above will involve an immense amount of money and effort. No pretence to any great accuracy is possible and the estimated figures of cost given here do not claim to be any more than very roughly representative.

Transmitting equipment investment includes the costs of the transmitter, the antenna, land and buildings, studio and office equipment, etc. The total figure naturally increases with the antenna power of the station.

| Category of transmitter. | Antenna power in kilowatts. | No. of stations. | Cost in crores of rupees. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Medium power regional.   | 25                          | 45               | 2.7                       |
| High power regional.     | 75                          | 20               | 3.0                       |
| National.                | 250                         | 5                | 1.5                       |
| Short wave.              | 10                          | 5                | 0.3                       |
|                          |                             |                  | Total 7.5                 |

The cost of a receiver is dependent on a variety of conditions; a simple crystal set with a pair of phones need not cost more than Rs. 15 or 20 exclusive of antenna and earth arrangements; at the other end there are the so-called all-electric, all-wave multi-tube modern receivers housed in excellent-looking cabinets which might cost somewhere between a few hundreds to a couple of thousand rupees to the ordinarily buyer. A community-owned receiver has to be a robust and fool-proof apparatus, simple to operate and capable of accommodating an audience of, say, 200 persons sitting under a tree or in the village meeting place. The average cost of such a receiver inclusive of loudspeaker, antenna and power supply is not likely to be under Rs. 300 even with efficient mass production conditions and direct distribution with the barest minimum of intermediary agencies. On this basis, investment on receivers will be to the tune of Rs. 105 crores. The total capital outlay on transmitting equipment, exclusive of the telephone network will alone be about Rs. 113 crores.

#### ANNUAL CHARGES.

In the first place, we have the maintenance and operation charges inclusive of obsolescence, depreciation, salary and power bill, etc. An American estimate in 1930 of the average for the world gave the figure of Rs. 45 per year per installed watt of antenna power. On the assumption of Rs. 20 under Indian conditions, the running expenditure for 4,000 kw. will be Rs. 8 crores a year.

Receiver maintenance charges per year vary with the type and size of the apparatus and on the average amount roughly to about 25 to 30 p. c. of the initial cost. There is not much to go wrong with the modern all-electric multi-tube receiver nor at the other extreme the simple crystal set. It is the battery-operated set that is the most expensive and troublesome to maintain, particularly in India. On the basis of Rs. 70 per receiver per year, the annual bill will amount to about Rs. 24.5 crores.

But in any progressive broadcast service worth the name, payments to artists and other direct expenditure on programmes should form the major part of the annual budget. Voluntary microphone talent, be it never so patriotic, can never be adequate in volume, sustained in quality and varied in composition to be relied upon for any but the briefest part of the daily programme time. By its very nature, programme expenditure is difficult to estimate, varying as it does with the nature and duration of the programme, local conditions and above all the artist. A minimal figure of Rs. 100 per hour per station will perhaps help to obtain a rough idea of the expenditure on programmes. Assuming a ten-hour day and a year of 365 days, programme expenditure will amount to about Rs. 2.75 crores. Any worth-while programme service will cost much more; it will certainly not be less. Thus the total annual broadcasting bill for the whole nation will be in excess of Rs. 35 crores, excluding the annual maintenance and operation charges on the telephone network.

A nation-wide broadcasting service has to be built up; it cannot be brought into existence by wishing for it. Up-to-date, accurate and comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the status of broadcasting abroad is essential; equally important is it to evolve a well-chalked-out development programme after careful consideration of all circumstances in order to ensure success from the beginning.

#### ORGANISATION.

A word may not be out of place in regard to the nature of the organisation. If broadcasting is to be nation-wide in scope and national in character as in

other countries, there appears to be no alternative to its organisation as a non-political non-sectarian national authority of the autonomous public utility type completely free from the slightest suspicion of any trace of control or influence in any shape or form of private commerce. Secondly, in the matter of programme, composition and expenditure, the organisation should ensure the daily exercise of the utmost possible freedom in each region in order to be responsive to all worth-while ascertainable requirements and tastes of the different regions of the country.

But the engineering and scientific services, equipment and personnel, in regard to every aspect of maintenance, operation, development and expansion should at all times be under the undisputed and undivided control of a central all-India body, to secure from the very outset the inauguration and execution of a well-considered and ordered development programme and to assure the maintenance of the highest standards of excellence and efficiency uniformly throughout the land.

There will therefore have to be a Central Broadcasting Council whose main functions will be the following:—(a) undivided control of all engineering services, development and research throughout the land; (b) laying down broad lines of programme policy in consultation with regional broadcast administration and national advisory councils; (c) collection of license revenue through the network of post offices and their distribution; and (d) regulation of relations with foreign broadcast administrations and the departments of State.

The regional or Provincial Broadcasting Commission should be left completely free to devote all its energies to regional programme construction and its financing in order to provide for the listeners within its region the best possible and varied daily programme of entertainment and instruction. The Provincial Commission will be assisted by a number of consultative committees to advise on policy, and ad hoc programme committees to assist in the composition of the daily programme. The main regional vernaculars will be the principal languages of broadcasting: Hindi as the principal language of India and English for international communication will be the other two languages for each station. Only in this way can broadcasting in India earn and retain the trust, confidence and affection of the population and develop increasingly as probably the most beneficent and universal tool in the service of the community.

Space does not permit even the briefest mention of a whole category of important questions relating to broadcasting, such as financing, programme policy and construction, technical and engineering aspects of nationwide-broadcasting, relations of broadcasting with education, industry and trade, the press, the theatre, the arts and so on.

The first and the only satisfactory starting point is that the Central Government should send out under its authority an inquiry commission consisting of a businessman, an educationist of knowledge and experience, a lawyer statesman and a radio engineer, and, if necessary, one or two more members. They should travel extensively, visit stations, study radio and allied research laboratories, factories, engineering educational institutions; they should discuss the various aspects of the problem with engineers, educationists, broadcast administration authorities, politicians, etc. The State should act on the recommendations of such a commission based on its observation and intensive study of the whole status of broadcasting abroad.

It is hoped that the above will help to create a correct perspective of the vast problem and provoke reasoned discussion on what is inherently a national question. No more extravagant claim is made than that it will offer some concrete basis for such discussion.

A RADIO ENGINEER.

## Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, August 24.

### THE DANGERS OF DELAY.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU has rendered a useful service in reminding the British public of the dangers of delay in bringing into operation the new Constitution for India. He uses as the text of a short letter to the *Spectator* an earlier one by Lord Meston, which contained a similar warning, in which the former Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces expressed the view that "it has always been a reproach that, in the matter of political progress, our gifts to India have come too late. We were certainly too late in recognising the spirit typified by the National Congress. We should not have waited for the War to start the advance embodied in the Act of 1919. If any further avoidable delay in dealing with the White Paper adds a third such error to our record, the result will be sheer calamity." Sir Tej Bahadur points out that that has been the burden of the criticism of thoughtful Indians even from before the time of Mr. Gokhale, and that it was time that some one in Lord Meston's position said publicly something of this kind in England. In endorsing Lord Meston's view, Sir Tej Bahadur deliberately refrains at this stage from commenting upon the trend of events in England or in India about the latter's future. He concludes by expressing the hope that a merciful providence will soon put an end to this trying period of confusion. May be neither Britain nor India deserves the mercy of Providence. There should, however, be an end to the present period of doubt and speculation well within the next three months, by which time the Report of the Joint Select Committee should be in the hands of the public.

It would seem to be clear from the fact that elections to the Assembly are pending, and that the Viceroy will shortly announce the dissolution of that Chamber, that there is no immediate likelihood of delegations coming here for the purpose of seeking to upset, or alternatively to maintain, the Communal Award. Hence it may be presumed that the Report of the Joint Select Committee will not be modified, in the light of the spectacle of disputing groups of Indians earnestly engaged in displaying acute differences among themselves, before the public gaze. It is very earnestly to be hoped that no such spectacle will be contemplated even after the introduction of the Bill in Parliament, and that we may be spared a repetition of the unhappy events of 1931, from the consequences of which India is still suffering.

### MR. KODANDA RAO'S VISIT.

Those who remember Mr. P. Kodanda Rao's quiet and unassuming personality during his former visit to England as personal assistant to Mr. Sastri have welcomed his return here for a few days en route to Yale University, to which he is bound for further studies in matters of racial relations. I can think of no one better qualified than Kodanda Rao for such a course of study, in view of his unique experience in a similar capacity to Mr. Sastri, when

the latter was serving in South Africa as the first Agent of the Government of India in the Union.

Yesterday, with Mr. Polak presiding, a meeting held at Friends' House under the auspices of the Indian Conciliation Group, was addressed by Mr. Kodanda Rao, on the course of recent events in India and the probable turn of events during the next few months. No one who heard him would have derived any very cheerful impression. Indeed, he described a country suffering badly from political fatigue, disillusionment, and sullen submission to the inevitable. In his opinion the difference between Congress and the other parties was no longer one of the method or objective but mainly one of approach. He was one of those in favour of all parties concentrating upon securing the transfer of real power from Whitehall to Delhi, instead of wasting time and opportunity in disputing amongst themselves as to what they should do with power when they had secured it. The only real question to-day was how much power they could get and how soon they could get it. It was the general fear that the proposed Constitution would be so conservative that it would contain within it no scope for constitutional expansion, leaving revolution as the only method remaining to secure political advance. From what they could see there was no means of avoiding having to come back to London for the political changes that were inherent in the sort of Constitution that was now expected. Whilst many people spoke of rejection, they used the phrase in the sense of non-acceptance rather than in that of boycott. It will be remembered that Mrs. Besant in 1918 criticised the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals in much the same sense. The mischief of the present situation, concluded Mr. Kodanda Rao, is that all parties were now committed to a number of things and would remain so committed, of which large numbers of people disapproved but which, because of Indian disunity, manifested in so many ways, and of which the British Government after a period of intensive repression in India had taken the fullest advantage, the country was compelled to accept. Mr. Kodanda Rao's lucid address, though it gave no great encouragement for the future, was received sympathetically by his audience, and he answered with precision a number of questions intended to clear up certain points of doubt in the minds of those present. Among other matters he said that he did not see how a Constituent Assembly, to be convened with the benevolent assistance of Government, could, in the above referred to circumstances, be regarded as a practical proposition.

### ZANZIBAR.

Mr. Beharilal Anantani has an interesting interview in the *Manchester Guardian* on the threatened position of Indians in Zanzibar anticipated from the recent legislation there characterized by the British ex-Attorney-General as part of a deliberate anti-Indian policy extending over the last three years. I am informed that His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, whose subjects form a very large proportion of the Indian population of Zanzibar—indeed Mr. Beharilal himself is one of them—has entered a very strong personal protest to the India Office. He has reminded the authorities here of the pledges given to the Cutch community, when, at the instance and upon the instructions of his predecessor, they collaborated with the British authorities in putting an end to the system of slavery prevalent in the Protectorate up to the first decade of the present century. The history of these events has yet to be written, and it is hoped that an early opportunity will be taken of bringing to light contemporaneous records. I was informed by Sir Robert Hamilton recently that he was the local Law Officer who drafted the

emancipating legislation. Those who, like the present writer, have had any hand in putting an end to any system of slavery or semi-slavery will understand the legitimate pride with which he spoke to me of his bright episode in a distinguished career.

I hear from Sir Maharaj Singh and from Mr. C. F. Andrews (who was fortunately able, on his way to India, to make a personal enquiry into both sides of the Zanzibar controversy) that the former was unable, for reasons of ill-health, to accept the Government of India's invitation to proceed to Zanzibar to investigate the dispute and report to the Government of India. As is now known, Mr. K. P. S. Menon has been delegated by the Government of India to undertake these duties. It is to be hoped, however, that if by that time he is well enough, Sir Maharaj Singh will be deputed by the Government of India to represent them in a conference that, I understand, the British Resident upon his return to Zanzibar at the end of next month proposes to hold of the parties concerned in the present controversy. I am independently informed that Sir Maharaj Singh's recent illness was brought to a head because of his assiduous attention to public duty at a time when he might properly have stayed in bed. In these circumstances one may regret the more the attacks that have been persistently made upon him by *Indian Opinion*.

Recent events in East Africa confirm the view for long held by those familiar with the local conditions, that the Government of India would be wise to appoint a permanent Agent for the East African territories, each of which has its separate problems. It is to be hoped that the new Assembly when elected will encourage that Government to provide the finance necessary for such an appointment, and an adequate staff.

#### THE COLOUR BAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Julius Lewin, a lawyer practising in South Africa, has drawn attention to a recent decision of the Petty Division of the Supreme Court of the Union to the effect that, notwithstanding the absence of express Parliamentary sanction, the Union authorities are entitled on grounds of "convenience and comfort" to take note in any part of South Africa of the general existence of colour prejudice to differentiate between white and coloured persons by administrative methods in such matters as, for example, the provision of postal facilities, post offices being divided into two parts, one for white people and the other for black. Apparently for the white people of the Union of South Africa heaven will not be heaven unless they can segregate themselves even from spiritual contacts with non-whites and non-Europeans. Fortunately all angels and archangels are white and resplendent.

Mr. Polak as Hon. Secretary of the Indians Overseas Association has pointed out in support of Mr. Lewin's letter that the Appellate Court's decision, if given general effect to, in the Union, will become a fresh cause of agitation among South African Indians and a new rock of offence to the Government and people of India, all of whom will regard it as a breach of the agreement reached at the last Cape Town Round Table Conference, by which the Union Government bound themselves to do everything to facilitate and encourage the adoption by South African Indians (where they have not already done so) of European standards of life. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the Government of India's Agent has already made representations to this effect to the Union Ministry of the Interior.

## REVIEWS.

### RANGOON AND INDIAN LABOUR.

INDIAN LABOUR IN RANGOON. By E. J. L. ANDREW. (Oxford Univ. Press.) 1933. 22cm. 300p. Rs. 7/-

THE author, who, in his capacity as Assistant Protector of Immigrants, has had ample opportunities to make an authoritative and first-hand study of the needs and difficulties of the immigrant Indian labour population in Burma, deserves a word of praise for the attention and care he has devoted to the collection of the valuable data contained in the book. It is a tragic picture that the book presents! Indian labour in Burma suffers from all the disadvantages incidental to a short tenure of service in a foreign country where its presence is not exactly welcome; it is unskilled and leaderless and is divided into races that are not likely to combine among themselves and still less likely to combine with Burmese labour; there is no Indian province where industrial workers are less organised than in Burma and the future holds but frail prospects of effective combination. In these depressing and extremely unsatisfactory circumstances, it is not surprising that the immigrant labour population, be they workers in rice-mills, saw-mills, petroleum refineries, docks, or rubber plantations, are subjected to harassments and exactions from more quarters than one. The villain of the piece, however, is the recruiting agent or *maistry*. The chapters of the book devoted to the exposure of the *maistry* which bring out in strong relief the recruiting agent's unconscionable practices, ought to rouse indignation. The subsidiary chapters dealing with conditions of work—wages, prices and cost of living, indebtedness, dietary of the workers, sample budgets, vital statistics, housing and sanitation, and sex relationships—convey a mass of information which no student of Indian labour problems can afford to dispense with.

The future of Indian labour in Burma is beset with many difficulties. The Burmese constitution is in the melting pot and if, as is likely, Burma is to be separated from India, an inevitable result will be increasing insistence on the demand for exclusion of Indians. The author, however, does well to point out that, despite the growing competition between Indian and Burmese labour, Burma can ill afford to dispense with Indian workers for many decades to come. What the situation demands, in the interests of the Burmese, no less than that of the immigrants, is a progressive betterment of the conditions of Indian workers, as the maintenance of a large mass of inadequately protected labour is bound to lower the general standards of life and health in Burma.

P. P. PILLAI.

### EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By J. A. HOBSON. (John Lane the Bodley Head.) 1934. 18cm. 170p. 2/6.

WHAT are the rights covered by the early theory of democracy? According to the French formula, they include liberty, equality and fraternity. But, do they really take in liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness as considered by the American Declaration of Independence? Washington's definition of liberty may mean freedom for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the fruits of his labour; while with

others the same word has meant for some men to do as they pleased with other men and the product of other men's work. There has always been an over-assertion of equality and of individual liberty to the detriment of fraternity which comes in only as a poor third.

The voice of the people is expected to be the basis of popular self-government. But political leadership in democratic countries has generally been in the hands of the upper class; and Talleyrand, in a fit of passionate despair, roundly declares that democracy is an aristocracy of blackguards. These considerations perhaps explain the fact that the impress of democracy upon the course of human history has been brief and short.

Added to these, there is the other defect of the inability of democracy to adequately function during emergencies. It has not been, its detractors say, able, after the great war and the bad peace, to allay the paralysis of the productive powers of every land due to the absence of consumers, nor to furnish to the people a reasonable security against another war. It is no good merely to pronounce a dictum that "Consumption must keep pace with production. Otherwise a periodic blood-letting is the only treatment for economic plethora." The masses do not care for principles and forms of government; but they do stir when unemployment stares them in their face, and when they do not get a fair share from the profits of industries for the rearing of which they toil hard. In this chaos and confusion people lose their way. Any one who can keep order even by brutal ways would then be welcomed by them. Hence the world drifts to Fascism, to Communism and to Dictatorship.

Plato would select his proper guardians by an elaborate system of moral and intellectual tests. But we find a dictator in a momentous day is but the last accident of a series. In Italy, Russia and Germany, exploitation of the mass mind is an integral part in the technique of tyranny. There the mind of the young is moulded into a common standard, and freedom in thought, speech and action is forcibly suppressed. Civilization has been the slow product of human endeavours by processes of co-operation. But the new dictatorships preach force as the right way of life. "Is the last mark then a note of interrogation, the last utterance a cry of despair?"

It is this theme that is ably elaborated in this work by a well-known competent author. The book forms the first in "a new series of books on problems of to-day viewed in the light of the changing ideas and events of modern times."

Organised conscious co-operation, Mr. Hobson says, in national and international spheres, is essential for recovery and future safety. There is, he remarks, a ripening of pacific and co-operative feeling and a new perception of identity of long-range interests that afford a rational hope for the reconstructed democracy. The common sense of the peoples is discernible in two directives: one is the urge to peace, to disarmament, and to the peaceful adjustment of contentious issues; the other is towards a constructive economic planning as the remedy for a wasteful, out-throat competition. And here one outstanding fact has also to be noted, though paradoxical it might at first appear. Those countries which, like Belgium and England, are governed by a system of constitutional monarchy withstood the strain of war and the consequent confusion, so that one is tempted to say with the late Lord Asquith that "a crown is neither a picturesque survival nor an embarrassing anachronism, but an essential part of the machinery of government—so essential that, if it did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it." There the rulers are known for the highest form of public service, for

their sympathy with the common lot and for their devotion to the public weal.

One word more. We believe this is the first time that an Indian is put in charge by an English firm to edit its publications. Mr. Krishna Menon is to be congratulated on this unique honour, and the firm is to be felicitated on getting Mr. Menon to edit this valuable series.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

**TRIFLING WITH WAR.** By RAY DE WETT HERRING. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1934. 20cm. 379p. \$2'00.

AMONG the many books written about the Great War, Mr. Herring's "Trifling with War" deserves a very high place indeed. The brutal, blunt telling of the tale has for its avowed purpose the banishing of the possibility of a similar catastrophe for civilisation. It is, as the author says, an avowed assault on nonsense in war. But whether or not it will attain its object that is another story. This story is a simple one; for the matter of that, there is no story at all. It is an outspoken narration of a small unit of the American Expeditionary Force from the time of its start to that of its return to America. The so-called glory of war is thoroughly destroyed by the pitiless exposure of the hard life of the common soldier, who is urged on to death by the politician for a cause he does not comprehend and to an end he does not covet. "The Knight of La Mancha never fought so futilely and never was he so deceived as to the battle he was waging." This demonstrates the view of the author from the standpoint of the fighting individual. This book will be welcome to all those who have peace for their ideal. But if war there is to be, the author says, "Let wisdom govern our next war, if such a paradox can be. Let intelligence there, as elsewhere, be penalised for error: be memorialised, if need be, behind prison bars. And when the quota of slaughter has been filled, there must be no parades, no show in movie, song or dirge; no hypocritical weeping over the logical culmination of our own decree."

It is a grim picture that is depicted here. But into the sombre background are worked some delightful scenes of French pastoral life and vivid sketches of Rhineland, and an element of naive humour seems to flash its light at frequent intervals.

V. K. BHASKARA MENON.

#### **BUILDERS OF THE INDIAN CHURCH.**

By STEPHEN NEILL. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1934. 20cm. 159 p. 2/-.

THIS is a valuable little book for any who desire to learn in a brief compass the achievements of the Christian Church in India. It is entirely missionary in tone; indeed its archaic evangelical phraseology is strangely at variance with the modernity of its ideas; but its brief accounts of Francis Xavier, Robert de Nobili, Soluvartz, Carey, Duff, Pandita Ramabai and others are excellently done; and Mr. Neill's general attitude on the problems of devolution, education, village work, caste within Christianity and the relation of the Church to communalism, is unexceptional. It would be a good thing if not only all missionaries, but all Englishmen in India, were to take to heart the following sentences:—"There is no room in India today for the man who comes as a ruler, intending to impose his will and his ideas. For the man who comes humbly as a friend, to show the spirit of the gentle and patient Christ the door stands open wide."

V. E.

## Miscellaneous.

### LIBERALS AND WHITE PAPER.

Following is the text of the resolutions passed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India at its meeting held recently in Allahabad :

**T**HE Council of the National Liberal Federation of India authorise and request the President and the general secretaries to publish as and when they deem fit tracts with a view to influence the electorate of the Legislative Assembly on the most important public questions before the electorate. Such tracts will reflect the recorded opinion of the Liberal Federation on issues which the electorate will have to deal with, such as, the utterly unsatisfactory character of the White Paper scheme including the so-called Communal Award and the position of Indians in the army and the all-India services.

The Council desires to lay special emphasis on the following resolutions passed by the 14th session of the National Liberal Federation of India held at Calcutta in April 1933 :

"The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the 'Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform' embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are over-weighted with safeguards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only not 'demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period,' but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Government.

"The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full status and power of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

"While the Federation consents to the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper as they will retain complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It strongly disapproves of the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the army to Indian control at the end of the period of the transition.

"The Federation reiterates the resolution passed at its previous session against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the further perpetuation for the time being of such electorates not only as between Hindus and Mahomedans but also between different classes of the Hindus themselves under arrangements proposed for the new constitution. This Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats with reasonable weightage wherever necessary in joint electorates.

"As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment and control and determining the emolument of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents; and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for

judicial offices, and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for officers of that service."

### STATES' PEOPLE'S DEMANDS.

A telegram from the Secretary of the Dacca States' People's Conference was read. It was resolved that the general secretaries do convey to the Dacca States' People's Conference an assurance of sympathy of the Liberal party for what the States' peoples are striving for, viz. a representative, leading to responsible government.

### ZANZIBAR.

(a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation protest strongly against the recent legislation passed by the Zanzibar Legislative Council which will deprive the Indian community of existing rights and adversely affect Indian interests and place them at a disadvantage as compared with their European commercial rivals and create bitterness between them and the Arab and African communities. The fact that the Land Alienation Decree imposes even on Indians born in Zanzibar disabilities which do not apply to Arabs born in Arabia who are not British subjects clearly shows that the new legislation is aimed against Indians.

(b) The Council urge the Government of India to use every means in their power to prevent injustice to the Indian community who have been settled there for generations and to whom Zanzibar owes much of its present development and view with approval their decision to depute to Zanzibar Mr. Menon, the result of whose mission will be eagerly awaited.

### SOUTH AFRICA.

(a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation strongly disapprove of the report of the Indian Colonization Committee appointed by the Union Government as being most unsatisfactory, and ask the Government of India to refuse, in case their co-operation is sought by the Union Government to give effect to its recommendations, to have anything to do with it.

(b) The Council condemn the attitude of the Union Government who regard the Indian community as an undesirable element. The Council are certain that any attempt to send them to Borneo or other colonies with a view to reducing their numbers will be stoutly opposed by the people of India.

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