

# Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

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## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	269
ARTICLES :—	
Don't Throw Stones at Them ! ... ..	272
The Breakdown Clause. ... ..	273
REVIEWS :—	
British Monetary Standard. By Prof. D. G. Karve, M. A. ... ..	274
A Survey of Contemporary Affairs. By M. V. Subrahmanyam, M. A., L. T. ... ..	275
Cooperation in Italy. By S. Gopalaswamy. ... ..	275
Indian Railway System. By K. S. V. ... ..	276
Missionary Activities in East Indies. By S. A. Waiz. ... ..	277
SHORT NOTICES ... ..	277
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Sir O. H. Setalvad Condemns the Bill. ... ..	278
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	280

## Topics of the Week.

### "The Last Straw."

THE attempt made by the die-hard section of the Tory Party to add to the excluded and partially excluded areas mentioned in the Sixth Schedule of the India Bill has been defeated for the moment, the Government having withdrawn the Schedule and undertaken to bring up the subject later in an Order-in-Council. The Bill, as drafted, treated as backward only those areas which the present Act treats as backward. Even to this there would be objection, for surely some of the areas, one would think, must have earned in the intervening period of fifteen years the right to be regarded as sufficiently forward to be taken out of the Schedule; but the die-hard amendment sought to add to the existing twelve areas about sixty other areas involving twenty-five million people.

IF the amendment had passed, all these tracts would continue to remain under the provisions of the present constitution and would be denied the benefit of such "provincial autonomy" as is promised under the new constitution. The tracts affected would be "nearly half the Central Provinces; large parts of the Bombay Presidency, including West Khandesh, the Satpura Hills and East Khandesh, the Surat and Thana districts, and the Dohad and Jhalod talukas of the Panch Mahals; certain districts of the United Provinces; most of the Mymensingh district of Bengal; the hilly areas in Madras and Assam; and sections of Bihar and Orissa."

THE Government of India and the Provincial Governments are said to be greatly agitated about

this and inspired propaganda is being done with a view to prevent an extension of the list of areas to be removed from the operation of the new Act. The *Times of India* says: "It is essential Sir Samuel Hoare should also know that the authorities have behind them the full weight of public opinion in this country. We have suffered enough from the complete failure of His Majesty's Government to liberalise the details of the new constitution, and from their unfortunate tendency to tighten up restrictions. The British Government should plainly be told that Major Cadogan's proposal is the last straw, and that India is not prepared to tolerate any more nonsense of the kind." But public opinion in India has long ceased to be indifferent to the whole business of reforms. If it notes the reactionary changes, it is only with a view to stiffen the country's opposition to the Bill, not to seek any improvement in it. So far as this particular matter is concerned, Indian politicians will care to give little support to the Governments in India, for they want the whole of India to be treated as an excluded area and would not much mind if the Sixth Schedule be enlarged as was proposed in Major Cadogan's amendment.

THE *Times of India* says bravely that India will not stand this nonsense. Supposing Sir Samuel Hoare asks it what India would do if the Schedule were extended, what would the *Times* say in reply? Would it not say some such thing as Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has been saying about obstruction and boycott, and would not Sir Samuel Hoare regard the *Times'* warnings just as the *Times* treats Sir Chimanlal's warnings—as pure bluff? For India the last straw came quite a long time ago, and we would only beg the *Times of India* to believe that India would do all—and more—that it wants to say to Sir Samuel Hoare she would do if Major Cadogan's amendment be adopted.

### Alwar and Congress.

THE *Free Press Journal* learns that, in view of the reported unwillingness of the Government of India to allow the Maharaja of Alwar to return to his State from his exile until the administration is completely overhauled, a leading Congressman from Bombay is paying visits to Delhi and Simla and using all his arts of secret diplomacy with a view to propitiate the gods there. We cannot vouch for the truth of this news item, but judging from the general attitude of the Congress leaders towards Rajas and Maharajas, there is nothing improbable in it. We for our part do not wish to see His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's banishment to be prolonged more than is necessary even by a day, but we would beg leave to point out that the only consideration which should guide the people in British India or the paramount power in this matter is the interests of the people in Alwar. Has the Congress politician in question consulted them? No doubt some Jagirdars and notabi-

ities of Alwar have been trying to raise the wind recently in favour of the Maharaja, but does the Congress identify such persons who depend upon the Maharaja's favour with the masses of people, for whom the Congress is supposed to stand? Will it agree to the Government of India ordering affairs in British India according to the representations of landed and commercial magnates here? If not, even in the States the common people living there may be given a hearing. Do they want the Maharaja back or would they prefer the State to be for some time longer under the direct management of the paramount power?

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THE Congress policy towards the States is, we are told, one of non-interference. Is it consistent with this policy to agitate, though secretly, for the return of a Prince exiled by the paramount power? Or is the Congress to follow a policy of non-interference only when the subjects of a ruler cry out against his misdeeds and a policy of interference where it is a question of supporting a ruler against his subjects? Do the grievances of the princely order alone appeal to the Congress, but not those of the Princes' subjects? It would be a strange kind of moral sympathy to show towards the States' people and a strange kind of non-interference to practise which leads the Congress to turn its deaf ear to the oppression and misrule that go on in the States but be feverishly active in securing the paramount power's indulgence towards the Princes who are guilty of oppression and misrule. If, in this particular instance, the Congress is not to be charged with a partiality for the oppressor rather than the oppressed, it must prove that it is working in the interest of the Maharaja of Alwar only because the people in Alwar State desire it to do so, and that their interests are identical with those of the Maharaja. The original interference on the part of the Government of India was obviously motivated by the welfare of the people. Is the Congress sure that the welfare of the people now demands cessation of this interference? No other consideration would be relevant or consistent with the professions of the Congress.

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#### Advice to the Princes.

NO political party in India has presented such a stern front to the unreasonable demands of the Princes as the Liberal Party, and the Congress attitude is particularly weak in this matter. We therefore note with very great pleasure and pride that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, following the resolution of the Liberal Federation, has, in his recent interview, protested against the nominated bloc of the States in the federal legislature. He also reminds the Princes of the condition on which they had offered to come into the federation, namely, that the federal government which they will help to bring into being will be a responsible government. This condition, he points out, has been grossly violated in the federal scheme embodied in the Bill. It being so, he advises the Princes to say to His Majesty's Government that "it is not worth while to join federation." "They are surrendering," he adds, "part of their sovereignty with no adequate return for that sacrifice in the shape of genuine responsible government of India." It will be remembered that the Maharaja of Patiala in the Chamber of Princes asked a point blank question of British Indian leaders as to whether the States should come into the federation or stay away. British India's equally straightforward answer, as given by Sir Chimanlal, is that, in their own interests as well as British India's, they should stay away. Considering the fact that it rests in the hands of the

Princes alone at this time to prevent federation from coming into existence, we wish that the answer which Sir Chimanlal gave were given immediately after the asking of the question. But the answer given is welcome all the same, and the Princes should remember while considering it that it is given by one who is actuated by the utmost friendliness towards the States. Will they profit by the advice?

\* \* \*

#### Ludicrous.

THE action of the Bengal Government in banning the publication of news relating to the observance of the detenu-day fixed by the Congress president for Sunday last is reminiscent of repressive methods adopted in Czarist Russia. To lock up without an open judicial trial hundreds of persons for unspecified periods, which in some cases have by now run into years, on mere suspicion of complicity in revolutionary crime is barbarous enough in all conscience. But to prohibit publicity to any expression of sympathy with them is far worse. If the object was to harden the hearts of the public against the detenus, we are afraid no more effective means of frustrating it could have been devised. The ban is bound, if anything, to cause a revulsion of public feeling against the Government and in favour of those whose liberties have been so callously and so long restrained.

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BUT apart from the expediency or otherwise of the ban, it also appears to be tinged by an element of the ludicrous. To prevent the Bengalee public from knowing how widespread is the sympathy felt for the detenus must obviously have been its aim. To this end it was really necessary not only to prohibit such publication by newspapers in Bengal which alone are affected by the ban but to forbid the entry into the province of any newspapers published in other parts of India where the writ of the Bengal Government does not run and where therefore such publication is not tabooed. These newspapers have given wide currency to proceedings of public meetings sympathising with the detenus and demanding their restoration to liberty, which in Bengal would be a crime. If Bengal newspapers are not to publish such information, equally essential was it to stop such news penetrating into Bengal through outside newspapers. In the absence of such a comprehensive ban the present action will strike all normally-minded persons as childish and petulant. If, as the local Government believes, the publication of such news would undo the improvement in the terrorist situation brought about by relentless repression of the last five years, one wonders whether the "improvement" is really worth having. If it is unable to stand the strain of expression of public sympathy with the detenus, it must be said to be more imaginary than real.

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#### Broadbasing Indian Army Recruitment.

ON the motion of Mr. Sapru a question of considerable moment to the future of the Indian Army was recently discussed in the Council of State with the usual fate that overtakes all popular demands—it was defeated. Mr. Sapru wanted to press on Government's attention the national view that recruitment to the Indian Army should be more broadbased instead of being confined to certain classes and provinces. As can be easily imagined, this has the effect of concentrating military power in the hands of classes which Government choose to look upon as martial and which are, they seem to maintain, to be found only in certain parts of the country. If the present basis of recruitment were not changed, it bodes ill to the success of responsible government to which India aspires with all her heart.

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THE fiction of martial and non-martial classes, sedulously and interestedly fostered by the Government, has been exploded on numberless occasions in the past by non-official speakers. It was similarly dealt with by Mr. Sapru too. It is possible to transmit diseases hereditarily, he pointed out; but it was more than doubtful if moral qualities could be so transmitted.

THE broadening of the basis of recruitment was desirable from another point of view as well. With the federal constitution in operation, all provinces contributing to the cost of national defence were sure to ask for their due share of recruitment to the ranks of the Indian army. Is it not prudent, asked Mr. Sapru in effect, to anticipate that demand and satisfy it before it becomes irresistible? As it is, a number of provinces like Assam, Bengal, etc. are not allowed opportunities of contributing their man-power to the country's defence. It is but right that this unfair arrangement should cease as soon as possible.

THE Commander-in-Chief's attitude towards Mr. Sapru's motion was unhelpful. He no doubt expressed considerable sympathy with Mr. Sapru's demands; but it turned out to be nothing more than lip sympathy. The principal demand about the basis of recruitment being widened he brushed aside on the ground of administrative difficulties, which he conveniently omitted to explain at any length. He seemed to fear that should the resolution be given effect to, the field for selection would be widened too much, so much so that only 1 in 1000 would get a chance of entering the army. We do not see how this can be used as an argument for non-acceptance of the resolution. Rather it is a recommendation in its favour. Will not the widened basis of recruitment make for the selection of better material? And would that be a calamity or a blessing? Sir Philip Chetwode obviously regards it as a calamity to be avoided at all costs. He has been long enough in the country to realise that his view is very far from being shared by Indian opinion in general.

Jamkhandi in 1933-34.

EDUCATION in Jamkhandi State is free in the primary and secondary stages. This is described as "unique" in its administration report for 1933-34 which has recently reached us. Whether unique or otherwise, it does not seem to have led to any very widespread diffusion of education. So far as the year under report goes, it witnessed the closing of one primary school on the ground apparently of want of demand for it (vide p. 47)—a fact which, by the way, is not found reflected in the educational table on p. 111, which shows the same number of schools for the year under report as for its predecessor, viz. 59. With a decrease of one in the number of educational institutions, the number of pupils fell from 5,008 to 4,767, though in the primary stage the diminution was to the extent of 189. The total number, it may be mentioned, represents not more than a third of the school-age population, so that the ground to be covered is twice as much as that already traversed. It is time it was realised by the State authorities that no amount of merely free education would enable them to reach the ideal of universal literacy in a short time unless education is also made compulsory. May we hope that the young ruler will take an early decision to introduce compulsion in regard to primary education so as to hasten the advent of the universalisation of literacy?

THE palace expenses which came to a little less than Rs. 1½ lakhs continue to be high in comparison

to the revenue of the State, which was a little in excess of Rs. 9 lakhs, their proportion to revenue being nearly 15 per cent. But does this exhaust all the expenditure that had to be incurred on keeping the ruler's family in comfort or has part of it been included in other items of State expenditure so as to prevent the palace expense appearing alarmingly excessive, as is the practice with rulers of many States? Such a suspicion is not altogether unwarranted in view of the fact that nearly two-thirds of the total expenditure by the P. W. D. of about Rs. 49,000 on buildings had to be incurred on keeping "State Buildings" in repairs. The suspicion receives confirmation by the observations on p. 40 in regard to the palace building. Anyway we would like future reports to show separately how much of the P. W. D. expenditure was for the benefit of the ruler's family and how much for that of the general public. To go back to the point about palace expenses. If all such surreptitious items of what really is palace expenditure are added to what are shown as "domestic charges" in the State accounts, the proportion of the palace expenses to the State revenue will not be 15 per cent, as already stated but still higher. Even without such additions, the palace expenses eat up, roughly speaking, as much as is spent on education, medical relief and pensions put together.

South African Indians and Old Age Pensions.

THE Cape Town agreement bound the Union Government to make no distinction between one section and another of its permanent population, in the matter of provision for its upliftment. And yet Indians permanently settled in the Union have been deliberately excluded from the benefits of the new old age pension scheme. This is greatly to be deplored. The discrimination is all the more galling in view of the fact that the scheme benefits not only Europeans but also the coloured (mixed races) people. It was well therefore that the South African Indian Congress did not take the thing lying down in a spirit of pessimism but submitted a well-reasoned representation to the Union Government, strongly protesting against such exclusion and asking for the application of the scheme to the Indian community.

ACCORDING to this, during 1932-33, 32,296 Europeans received £319,804 and the coloured people £151,000 in the way of old age pensions. While the percentage of Europeans eligible to the benefits of the scheme, i. e. those over 65, was 1½ and that of the coloured 2½, the corresponding proportion for the Indian community was not believed to be higher than 1¼. It is a truism that much of South Africa's present prosperity is due to the labour and industry of those early Indians who were specially induced to go there by the South African Government. Having passed four generations there, and having lost touch with their relations in India, they naturally look upon South Africa as their mother-country and have no temptation to flee to India.

IT is strange that this section of the South African population, whose record is at least as creditable as that of the Europeans, should be thus discriminated against. To expect old and aged people over 65, whatever their race or colour, to work for their subsistence, especially in a country where an old age pension scheme is in operation, is, to put it at the lowest, unkind. It is disheartening that the Congress representation has elicited a negative reply from Government, though the Government of Natal is going to be consulted as to whether some relief cannot be granted in necessitous cases.

## DON'T THROW STONES AT THEM !

**W**E knew that it would come and it has come. Every denunciation of the reforms scheme by the Liberal leaders is followed by a persistent inquiry in the Congress journals as to what the Liberal Party would do if the British Government forced the scheme, as is now clear, upon the country. "It is easy," they say, "to issue grave warnings. What is the Party going to do to implement them? Will it now merge itself into the Congress to make a united effort in defeating the scheme? Its willingness to do so would be the sole test that the country would apply in judging of its sincerity in this matter. If it still maintains its separate existence in face of the impending disaster we would all conclude that its brave words count for nothing, that they are only intended to avert unpopularity from itself, and that it would soon reconcile itself to the new regime, however ruinous it may be to the national interests." Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has, in a recent press interview from Simla, shown the authorities plainly how the progressive worsening of the scheme, originally unsatisfactory, at every succeeding stage has rendered it thoroughly unacceptable—unacceptable to the nth degree—to every shade of Indian opinion. The publication of this interview was the signal once again for Congress journals to shout: "Then why not join the Congress? What possible justification can there now be to keep the Liberal Party any longer in being?"

The question would be quite understandable if the Congress had a ready-made plan which it was prepared to put into execution for compelling the Government to drop the Bill or for frustrating its operation when it passes into law. If it were willing to blaze the trail itself and then invited other parties to take up the trail, it would have some justification for asking politicians outside the Congress fold to come into the fold and carry out the Congress policy. But it has no such policy yet in regard to the reforms. Its election programme was as vague as possible. It sought first to put the Government's reforms scheme out of the way and then to convene a constituent assembly to frame a constitution to the country's liking. But it has not succeeded in killing the Government scheme and is apparently going to do nothing about the constituent assembly. Nor has it any clear ideas as to the circumstances in which the assembly will be convened or the lines on which it will work. Such a simple question as to whether the assembly will include elected representatives of the Indian States or not it is unable to answer either affirmatively or negatively, though a pointed inquiry has been repeatedly made on the subject. The Congress leaders are in fact very much annoyed if anyone reminds them of their promise on this score and would fain like the country to forget all about it.

If the Congress has abandoned the idea of substituting a popularly-made constitution for an officially-made one, has it any settled policy in relation

to the latter? None whatever so far. All that can be predicted with a certain amount of confidence is that boycott of the legislatures by the Congress seems rather unlikely. Most of the prominent politicians in the Congress take it for granted that the reforms will be worked. The only time they become critical of this policy is when the Liberals express what is in their own mind. For instance, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said in the interview to which we have referred above, addressing himself to the Government: "The constitution will no doubt be worked, and worked by all; but that should be no consolation to the Government. For it will not be worked with good-will and with a desire to make a success of it, but with the determination to demonstrate its failure."

One would have thought that the Congress journals at any rate would find nothing gravely objectionable in this. But look at *Forward*, for instance. "What right has Sir Chimanlal," it asks, "to say that the Congress will work the reforms?" On all other occasions it is fighting the advocates of Council boycott and pleading for Council entry, but when the Liberals refer to Council entry—only to warn the Government not to delude themselves into the belief that because the constitution is not boycotted it will be worked in the spirit in which they hope it will be worked—*Forward* becomes suddenly a sort of boycotter and charges Sir Chimanlal Setalvad with playing into the enemy's hands. British politicians are saying, "Let Indian politicians denounce the Bill never so loudly. But they will work the Act alright. What more do we want?" and just at this time—such is *Forward's* complaint—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad comes along and says, "Yes, the Act will be worked." This is surely playing the enemy's game, and *Forward* knows for a certainty that he is deliberately playing the enemy's game in order to get the country to settle down to a working of the reforms. But then what about itself and all other Congress journals and Congress politicians when they say just what Sir Chimanlal has said? Was Mahatma Gandhi, one wonders, bought by the Government when he said, "The parliamentary mentality has come to stay in the Congress," which remark is the sheet-anchor of Congress Parliamentarians?

Nor has the Congress decided what its representatives will do in the legislatures. The question is hurked every time it is raised. Will they follow a policy of perpetual opposition and obstruction with the deliberate object of overthrowing the constitution or will they give an honest trial to the constitution, getting out of it the best they can and for the rest relying upon a peaceful amendment of the Act in good time? Will they accept ministerial posts, and if so, will they use these posts to do constructive work or to bring about deadlocks? All these questions were asked in the recent Conferences, but those in authority could say nothing

more than that the Congress executive had not yet considered these questions, and that they must wait patiently till it decided them. There is no doubt that a goodly number of the prominent Congressmen who belong to the parliamentary wing, being career politicians, are for accepting office and working the reforms honestly for what they are worth, but whether that view will prevail in the end is more than one can say. For the present, however, the indications are that, whether the Congress representatives in the legislatures follow an obstructionist policy or not, they will not accept office, and that this in itself will create an impasse in the provinces. Anyhow, when the Congress is so undecided in regard to its future programme, is there any sense in the Congress politicians bidding politicians belonging to other parties to wind up their respective organisations and join the Congress? If the Congress had a lead to give and were to ask other parties to amalgamate with itself on the basis of a clearly defined policy, these parties could consider the proposal. But what the Congressmen are now saying is: "We have not yet decided what to do; but come into the Congress first and then we shall all put our heads together and evolve a national programme. You can leave afterwards if no such programme seems practicable." It is obvious that on this basis no unity is possible.

We are not inclined to blame the Congress for not being able to formulate a cut and dried plan for doing parliamentary work which will be acceptable to the country. For it is a most difficult question to decide. On every side there are tremendous difficulties, and no plan that one can think of looks promising, not to say that no plan is assured of success.

Direct action has been tried and is found unavailing. Obstruction will be clearly infructuous in the central legislature, whatever may be its potentialities in the provincial legislatures. Boycott of the legislature at the centre is foredoomed to failure for the reason for which obstruction is. Normal working of the constitution will yield no results worth speaking of in the provinces and particularly at the centre. Future amendment of the constitution is effectively blocked. The prospect is as bleak as it can be. This does not mean that no way out will be found eventually. A desperate situation itself sometimes provides the remedy. So it turned out in the case of Germany in economic and financial matters. In India too a seemingly impossible position may furnish a solution politically. But the solution does not yet appear to our vision—neither to the vision of Congressmen nor of others. In a situation of such unparalleled difficulty all parties must consult together and work out a programme, which is at once feasible and capable of leading us to success. Goodness knows how hard the task is, but the most effective way of smashing all chances of united action is to indulge in recrimination. It is particularly inappropriate for Congressmen, who are themselves unable to lead the way, to point a finger of scorn at the Liberal and other parties and say, "They only talk but do nothing," especially when these parties show themselves desirous of following a strong policy. What is wanted now is constructive thinking. Let Congressmen bring as much of it as they can into the common pool. But the least they should do is to remember that they are themselves living, like everybody else at the present time, in glass houses, and that this is not the best position from which to throw stones at others.

## THE BREAKDOWN CLAUSE.

THE Committee stage of the India Bill has been finished, and at the Report stage it is expected that Sir Samuel Hoare will formulate some proposal to meet the objections the States have taken to Clause 45, which is to come into operation when the federal machinery for some reason or other breaks down. The Clause provides that in such an event the Governor-General may by proclamation suspend the federal part of the constitution and take to himself the powers of the Federal Government. Ordinarily the period during which such a proclamation will remain in force will not exceed six months, but if the emergency outlasts this period Parliament may by an affirmative resolution authorise the Governor-General to continue the suspension longer, in which case the continuation will be for an indefinite period. The drastic character of this Clause was brought home to Sir Samuel Hoare in Committee, and he agreed to soften its provisions to this extent, viz. the proclamation would be in force every time it is renewed for another six months at the outside and the total duration of the emergency would not be longer than, say, three years.

The question is, what is to happen after three years? It is true that in most cases the breakdown

will not last for so long as this and the continuance of the emergency beyond this period is, as Sir Samuel Hoare says in his memorandum on the States' objections, "only a theoretical possibility." But even such a possibility must be considered and provided for. How does Sir Samuel Hoare propose to provide for it? He contemplates that after three years are over (supposing this is the limit of time ultimately fixed) the Act now being passed will come into operation once again, and then, if necessary, an amending Act would be passed. Now both these alternatives appear to us to be impracticable. How can we revert to the new Act if the federal machinery, *ex hypothesi*, has broken down and has not yet been repaired? The emergency consisted in the fact that the Federal Government could not be carried on. How can we meet such a situation merely by saying that the Federal Government shall be set going as before? The second alternative too is not easy, because no amendment of the federal provisions can be effected without the consent of the States—and of all the States. Sir Samuel Hoare is aware of the position of the States in regard to constitutional amendment, for in his memorandum he mentions the fact. He says, "Before the expiry of this time limit

either the normal provisions of the constitution would have resumed their operation or an amending Act would have been passed subject to the safeguards for the States provided by Schedule II." The safeguards referred to here consist mainly of the right given to the States to regard their accession to federation to have ceased to be operative if the federal part of the constitution is altered without their consent. This safeguard is of so sweeping a nature as to make the constitution almost unamendable. Thus neither of the alternatives contemplated by the Secretary of State really affords the solution.

The possibility of an indefinite suspension of the constitution is thus not at all obviated, and indefinite suspension of the constitution, as the Committee of the States' Ministers says, "would also involve the indefinite elimination of the powers and jurisdiction of the States which were delegated to the federation." The States therefore, maintain that if an emergency continued for more than a brief period, which is to be specified, then the powers ceded by them to the federation should revert to them. In support of this contention, they say, very cogently, "It must be observed that these powers were being made over to the Crown as a trustee for their delegation to the federation, to be jointly exercised by British India and Indian States. It was thus understood that, in the event of a breakdown of the federal constitution or an amendment without the consent of the States beyond such minor changes in respect of which previous consultation may not be necessary by agreement, the trust would be determined and the powers transferred would revert to the States. It need hardly be added that when such a reversion has occurred, the existing relations between the Crown and the States would be again revived." This means that the federation would come to an end, and if an All-India federation is again to be formed the consent of each individual State will again have to be secured.

To us the chief interest in the consideration of this problem lies in the fact that the Secretary of State would perhaps by this means be made to apprehend the enormous power that is being given to the States in providing that for an amendment of any federal Clause concerning a State its consent will be required. So far the veto power given to the Princes was felt only by the Indian people, because they regard the constitution as thoroughly retrograde and desire that at least it should be open to easy amendment in future. The British Government made light of this power, but in this Clause they will themselves come up against the difficulty experienced by the people. The breakdown of the constitution lasts, let us say, for a year—and we do not think that the Princes will agree to a longer period, during which the Governor-General will exercise all the powers of the Federal Government. The constitution, as it is, cannot be worked. Then the only solution is for the British Government and the States together to amend the constitution in a way acceptable to all. If the constitution cannot be so amended, then the federation, supposed to be indissoluble, will be dis-

solved, all the federating States having got back the powers transferred by them to the federation. In order to avert the break-up of federation, the process of constitutional amendment must be made easy. It is possible that Sir Samuel Hoare may now be persuaded to impose some restrictions upon the power, given to each State to require that its consent be taken for, any amendment of the constitution to come into effect.

If reasonable restrictions in this sense are not imposed, may it not be that British Indian politicians who have a profound loathing for this constitution will make it the one aim of their activities in future to continue the emergency for more than the stated period, a year or three years? We are afraid that that will be the inevitable result of making constitutional amendment difficult. British Indian politicians may succeed or may fail in creating prolonged deadlocks, but seeing that the constitution cannot be amended by any other means which are not revolutionary, they will constantly be trying deliberately to cause a breakdown of the federal constitution in some way or other in order to put an end to the constitution. If breakdowns—"organised"—breakdowns as Mr. Churchill said—are to be avoided, constitutional amendment must be made easy. Will Sir Samuel Hoare realise the need for it before he puts forward proposals at the Report stage?

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## Reviews.

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### BRITISH MONETARY STANDARD.

**A CRITICAL STUDY OF GOLD RESERVES AND THE MONETARY STANDARD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POSITION OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.** By D. S. EDWARDS. (King.) 1933. 20cm. 448p. 5/-

THIS book was written before the meeting of the last World Economic Conference and was designed to influence its decision on the subject of currency stabilisation. Owing to disagreements among leading nations as to the opportuneness of the time and the suitability of the level of stabilisation the Conference broke up before it reached any conclusions on this matter. Mr. Edwards' book, however, contains some features which are of permanent importance.

He has critically presented the history of the evolution of the banking policy of the Bank of England and has conclusively proved that only in recent years had it been characterised by a national outlook on its responsibilities and a greater use of the bank rate and open market operations. Mr. Edwards proposes that in future the control of currency and credit policy should be taken out of the hands of the present directorate of the Bank and it should be vested in a new institution called the British Currency Board. Writers belonging to diverse political and economic persuasion have latterly supported the now familiar idea of establishing national control over national currency policy, and Mr. Edwards' view in this matter has the support of an increasing number of currency and banking reformers.

The special contribution of Mr. Edwards to the discussion of the currency and banking problem

might be summarised in the phrase 'a rationalised gold standard.' The rationalisation proposed is twofold. Silver monometallism, bimetalism, symmetallism and inconvertible paper are alternative systems of currency with which as a sound and practical man Mr. Edwards will have nothing to do. A link with gold in some form is considered to be essential. This insistence is only proper, but the form suggested is rather interesting. Mr. Edwards' idea is to have two sets of countries in relation to whom the currency authority will have a differing obligation. Countries which agree to play the gold standard game according to the authorised rules will be within the area of free gold movement. The currency authority will be prepared to buy gold at appropriate rates from all, but it will sell gold at the corresponding rate only for movement within these countries. Of course the reserve ratios will be lower in future than in the past and perhaps the gold contents of standard coins will also be lowered as an initial reform. But thenceforward a gold bullion standard is to operate within the limits of this group. For countries outside the group the bullion standard will not operate, that is, the currency authority will not be prepared to sell or earmark gold on their account.

There are several serious difficulties in the way of this division of the currency authorities of the world into naughty and well-behaved boys. Everybody is agreed that the 'other boy' is at fault and consequently no agreement, not even within the family of the British Commonwealth, as to this classification is going to be possible. In the second place it would appear that as between countries having some sort of currency agreement the movement of gold in support of exchange would be much less called for than between countries whose relations are at the mercy of unchecked economic and political factors. The prospects of diversion and smuggling would also be a serious factor.

Another part of the rationalisation suggested by Mr. Edwards is more encouraging. If the British currency policy is to affect the position of countries whose currencies are linked with sterling these latter must have a share in shaping the common policy. This is conceded by Mr. Edwards in his composition of the British Currency Board which will consist of eight British and nine overseas members. It is easy to find fault with the particular distribution or composition suggested by Mr. Edwards, but all must appreciate the inherent justification of his proposal that the currency authority should be representative of all the interests involved and that expert and impartial opinion should be adequately represented. To students of the evolution and prospects of the gold standard Mr. Edwards' book will make a very strong appeal.

D. G. KARVE.

#### A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS.

#### A BRIEF HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES.

By RAMSAY MUIR. (George Philip.) 1934. 22cm. 396p. 5/-.

THIS is probably the best book that has been written on contemporary events. It is no disparagement to this scholarly production, which is a model for similar undertakings, to say that its first 174 pages are a reprint of the concluding chapters of the learned author's 'History of the British Commonwealth' Vol. II, and that pages 175 to 197 are reproduced from the learned author's 'British History'. As the author's object is to give a correct historical background to contemporary events he begins his narrative from the eighties, as almost all the important contemporary events like Imperialism, Socialism, the

Irish problem and the Indian Nationalist aspirations had their origin then.

The chapter on the 'Great War' which is reprinted from the author's 'British History' is brilliant. With the aid of maps and with a perfect command over details, the learned author has laid bare military and naval tactics and strategy so as to be intelligible to the ordinary reader. We need hardly say that the chapter will be found extremely useful by anyone who wants to understand the complicated military and naval operations in the different theatres of the Great War.

We consider chapters V to IX of Part II as the best part of the book, for herein we have a brief and yet a brilliant survey of post-war problems. The author's treatment of the post-war settlement is impartial. He rightly points out how the statesmen at the Peace Table paid only lip homage to disarmament and that they did not follow up the compulsory disarmament of Germany and other defeated countries, by voluntarily reducing their armaments. He also points out how the Allied statesmen might reasonably have imposed upon the new states on the old territory of the Russian and Austrian Empires a limitation of their armaments; but this was not even suggested. The injustice of the Treaty of Versailles and the humiliation of Germany are pointed out from page 205 to 208 and the author rightly says on page 205, "The contrast between the penalties inflicted upon France in 1815, after she had kept Europe in turmoil for twenty-two years, and those inflicted upon Germany in 1919, was all to the credit of the statesmen of 1815, who realised that France and the rest of Europe had to live together." Thus according to the author the Allied statesmen did not realise the economic interdependence of the modern world and, by the penal clauses of the Treaty, caused the world economic distress.

The author is a very fair critic of the Peace Settlement. He attacks the penal clauses, but he draws the attention of the reader to two outstanding features of the Peace Settlement. The first was that territorial adjustments were mainly made in accordance with the principle of nationality and the second was the establishment of the League of Nations.

The author's summary of the course of British politics since the war, the effects of the war upon the Empire and the causes, nature and course of the economic blizzard leaves nothing to be desired.

We may venture, however, to point out two chronological mistakes in the book. On p. 223 the author says that in October, 1921 Mussolini organised a Fascist march on Rome, "to seize the reins of power." It should be corrected to *October 1922*. Again on p. 274 the author says that in "1926 the British Government decided to send out a parliamentary commission under Sir John Simon, to study the whole problem." We may point out that it was in November, 1927 that Lord Birkenhead announced the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon.

We congratulate Professor Ramsay Muir on his brilliant book. No one, we are sure, can close this volume without feeling sincere respect for the vast erudition, the strict impartiality, and the lucid exposition of the author.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

#### CO-OPERATION IN ITALY.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN FASCIST ITALY. BY FREPPEL COTTA. (King.) 1935. 22cm. 148p. 7/6.

THE progressive ruralisation of our country has

been a source of great concern to our leaders and consequently great emphasis is being laid upon the rapid industrialization of the country with a view to achieve a balanced economy. Simultaneously, the reorganisation of our agriculture on economic lines demands attention. How best to do it, is the question of questions. While looking round for an answer, co-operation stands out prominently as an effective means of reaching the desired goal. Tried co-operators with western outlook and training but Indian sympathies have held out hope in that direction. Events in the past also have moved that way. Denmark, Ireland and other European countries are pointed to as examples to be followed. Led by co-operators like Darling and Strickland great interest is being evinced in the development of agricultural co-operation in the western countries.

The present work therefore will be welcomed as a valuable addition to the list of books on European co-operation. It has other attractions to add. The subject is of vital concern to our country. The author happens to be an Indian—a Goanese gentleman. Besides, the country about which he writes is one which has a regime of political Dictatorship under which co-operation is said to have suffered, at least in the beginning.

The author in the true spirit of a student set about enquiring with an open mind. Wading through a mass of literature, conversing with leaders and officials of the movement and observing co-operative establishments at work, he has laid before us an elaborate picture of agricultural co-operation in its various aspects as it exists in Italy to-day. It must be recognised that he has done his work pretty thoroughly and the value of this descriptive position is heightened by the fact that wherever possible he compares and contrasts the institutions and methods with those of other countries including India, Ireland and Denmark, England and France, India and U. S. A.—these, besides others, have been referred to while reviewing co-operation in Italy.

The author is of the opinion that co-operation under the Fascist regime has considerably developed and improved on the foundations laid by Buffoli and Luzzati and Wollemborg. But in the beginning there were excesses on both sides until there was clearer understanding. If co-operation was said to have been attacked in the beginning of the Fascist regime, it was because a section of the co-operators had definitely allied themselves with the Socialist political party and when by the force of circumstances the Fascists and the Socialists were at open war, the co-operators had in many cases to bear the brunt of the attack.

Judging by the results, the author concludes that co-operation in Italy "is not only not being differentiated against but it is actually being favoured." The progress is based upon two fundamental principles. Firstly, the unity of the movement in the Fascist sense—the voluntary character of which does not exclude efficient co-ordination. Secondly, the supremacy of the state to regulate and supervise the development of co-operation. In justifying these, an elaborate review of the movement in Italy in the setting of the fundamental principles of co-operation—such as formed an important subject at the recent International Co-operative Congress at London—is attempted. These are days of national planning, says the author, and so far as the State regulation is concerned, Italy is going only to the same extent as countries like Poland, Russia and Catalonia have gone. He quotes the authority of the International Co-operative Alliance when it recognises that throughout the world the *laissez-faire* policy is giving place to 'planned economy.' "In these circum-

stances, in order to fit in co-operation with a modern necessity, there is no serious inequality involved to the co-operative movement being included in a scheme of national planning provided always that co-operation was not subjected to any differential treatment."

This should not lead to the inference that the International Co-operative Alliance endorses this conclusion. In the preface the Chairman of the Horace Plunkett Foundation notes a warning that the endorsement of the recommendation of the work does not signify any "loss of faith in the principles of democracy to which the membership of the International Co-operative Alliance remains faithful."

If co-operation is to be a real all-embracing international force, the author concludes, it behoves co-operators to study the movements of other nations objectively and to judge them dispassionately. While this is a truism, it is also a matter for dispassionate thought whether a movement essentially free and voluntary in character can be expected to transcend the national limits when the free growth of the higher ideals of internationalism is impeded by the barriers of narrow, though brilliant, nationalism. Regulation may be helpful and sometimes necessary also. But this should never be at the cost of the fondly cherished and steadfastly pursued ideals by that galaxy of international co-operators who, while clinging to them, have found the principles thoroughly efficient in practice also.

S. GOPALASWAMY.

## INDIAN RAILWAY SYSTEM.

**DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS.** By NALINAKSHA SANYAL. (University of Calcutta.) 25cm. 397p.

THIS book embodies the thesis submitted by the author which was approved by the University of London for the degree of Ph. D. in Economics. As such it must be really valuable.

Out of the confusion of policies and principles that governed the development of railways in India that Dr. Sanyal can give a clear and connected account of the rise and development of railways and their problems is by no means an insignificant performance. He has crammed his book with facts and figures without making the subject dull and uninteresting. He approaches the various problems of railway policy and management, rates and fares, financial administration and results, etc. without political bias. The author does not seek to avoid the politics of the railway problems, nor shirk discussions on controversial topics. He is critical yet constructive. Regarding the question of the state *vs.* company management he suggests the adoption of the system in Germany which is a combination of both. He considers the present convention regarding the separation of the railway finance unsatisfactory as it excites the jealousy of the Legislature and the Finance Department. Questions regarding railway law, gauge and alignments, working and traffic results, and rates, fares and recent reforms and improvements are dealt with impartially. He condemns the present policy of drift and pleads that "the time has arrived for a comprehensive view of India's demand for transportation as a whole and our future railway policy and development should be judiciously co-ordinated with the possibilities of road motor, inland and coastal water vessels, and commercial air transport. The machinery for securing such co-ordination should be set up without delay". The importance of this plea can hardly be exaggerated. The present



policy of railway development which, perhaps, was suitable to the pre-industrial era can no longer satisfy our present or future needs. It must be thoroughly revised taking into consideration the prospects of agricultural and industrial development in this country. From this point of view a comprehensive transport survey is very urgent. The subject of line gauges, to take an instance, shows nothing but drift, drift and drift. "Uniformity of gauge," as the author rightly emphasises, "on the broad standard should be our objective and this must be secured within a reasonable period through the conversion of the more congested narrow gauges into the broad standard and by the encouragement of road motor services as substitutes for the lines with light traffic". Instances of constructive suggestions can be multiplied but the limits of review may not permit. The book is no doubt a very valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject. And with Dr. Sanyal occupying the chair in the economics of transport we need have no misgivings that the problem will be disregarded by economists in India.

K. S. V.

### MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN EAST INDIES.

**ISLAND INDIA GOES TO SCHOOL.** By EDWIN R. EMBREE, MARGARET SARGENT SIMON and W. BRYANT MUMFORD. (The University of Chicago Press.) 1934. 23cm. 120p. 9/-.

THIS illustrated book gives an account of the educational activities of the Christian Missions and of the Dutch Colonial Government in the East Indies—Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes and other Islands. It also gives a short account of the Indian influences in the history of these Islands. About the beginning of the Christian era, Indian traders and settlers reached Java and Sumatra, bringing with them their religion and statecraft. They found no powerful states to subdue; each village or locality was independent under its local headman. Under such conditions it was easy for the invaders to set up petty courts which later were merged into powerful states. By the middle of the 6th century, they were in complete control of the east coast of Sumatra and the Island of Java.

During the period from 600 to 1400 A. D. the greatest Hindu influence was exerted. Powerful kingdoms were established with bizarre and costly courts, glittering with gold and precious stones and splendidly dressed royalty. The courts were the scenes of gaiety and dance and song. The hero stories of India, as portrayed by Wayang dances and shadow plays, made a permanent place for themselves in Javanese life. The Hindu religion was forced on the populace and thousands of hands produced, under Hindu leadership, such stupendous architectural feats as the Borobodur and the Prambanan.

Perhaps the most spectacular of the kingdoms in the height of its rise and the depth of its fall and certainly the kingdom which had the most influence on the outlying islands, was Majapahit. It was the last of the powerful Hindu states to come into being, its first king taking the throne in 1294. During this and succeeding reigns, the power of the state overflowed into Borneo, Bali, Timor, Flores, and Sumatra.

Java to-day is officially Mohamedan. The people observe the fast, the proper articles are excluded from their diet, and they worship dutifully at the mosques. But Mohammedanism has had no share in the enrichment of the art, the dance or the folk lore. These remain the gift of Continental India to Island India.

The authors say that the two main objectives that the Colonial educators had were to translate the native peoples into Europeans and to train them so that they would be efficient workers for western exploitation. They continue:

"By force of completely superior arms, Europe easily took possession of the East. With blithe arrogance the West assumed that since she was so far superior in arms and organisation and mechanics, she was also superior in all other qualities. She took for granted that her religion, her social and political forms, her family organisation, her economic systems, were better than anything which other people had built up for themselves. Christianity and capitalism, clothes and monogamy came in for a share of the awe-struck reverence which was really inspired by the omnipotence of European warships and the efficiency of Western organization."

The survey was suggested by the Institute of Pacific Relations and was undertaken on an invitation from the Dutch Government of the East Indies.

It is a very sympathetic study of the peoples of the East Indies.

S. A. WAIZ.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**WORLD AFFAIRS.** BY ROTH ALLIM. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1934. 20cm. 152p. Rs. 4/-

THE publication under review is a loosely strung book of eleven chapters which purports to be a study of contemporary international events. The chapter headings, "Roosevelt's Economic Revolution," "The Supremacy of Japan in Manchuria," "The Future of the League of Nations," "The World Economic Crisis," etc., indicate the nature of the subjects dealt with in the book. While the author has been ambitious in the selection of subjects, his treatment of them is most deplorable. The method seems to have been to make an indiscriminate collection of facts on the chosen subject from various sources, to string them up together without any attempt at sequential treatment or logical development, and to try to round that off with a number of airy conclusions. Irritation is added to boredom by the jerky, non-chalant style which the author affects, as also by the numerous grammatical mistakes and misprints which disfigure the book.

K. E. MATTHEW.

**LORD READING AND HIS CASES.** By DERET WALKER SMITH. (Chapman & Hall.) 1934. 21cm. 400p. 15/-

THE story of Lord Reading's rise from obscurity is unfolded in this book. From a cabin boy on a small ship to the Viceroy of India—the transformation is too palpably strange even for a boys' fiction book and yet in Lord Reading's case it has not only been true in life but seems natural and inevitable. There has been no accident, no miracle, but a steady and carefully planned and conscious progress all throughout.

Success in the legal profession depends upon a happy combination of several qualities. Industry, scholarship, oratory, logic, keen insight into human character and affairs, politeness, quickness of perception, adaptability,—not all of these but certainly many of these have to be present before a man can hope to succeed with judges and litigants. Lord Reading possessed so many of these and so eminently that looking back now on his career it seems that his success was inevitable.

Some peculiarities of his mental equipment deserve to be noted. A peculiar detachment of outlook

enabled him to maintain his balance and dignity on all occasions. It also enabled him to arrive at a right decision in difficult situations. Another peculiarity, and a very rare one at that, which one notices in his conduct of cases was to antagonise the opponent as little as possible.

The book is engrossing enough to be recommended to every reader who enjoys unravelling of criminal motive and detection, but to those of the legal profession the book will have a peculiar value, and we heartily recommend it to all as a notable book that would enrich any library.

B. R. D.

**THE WORK OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE MYSORE STATE AND BRITISH INDIA.** By G. RUDRAPPA. (The Author "Shankaravilas", North Road, Basvangudi P. O., Bangalore.) 1935. 10cm. 49p. As. 4.

THIS booklet is a reprint of a lecture delivered by Mr. Rudrappa on the International Co-operators' Day at Bangalore. The immediate problems, according to the lecturer, are: (1) How to dispel the appalling ignorance and illiteracy of the masses, (2) How to improve the material conditions, and (3) How to prevent further increase of population. With facts and figures and with various references he makes out a strong case. He suggests remedies too, wherein he counts too much on the voluntary effort of rural India. Not that he has not the instinct, but he has not the time and the means for any of these things. Existing village organisations have amply proved that the effective man power to run them is not found in the villages.

N. S. S.

**GWALIOR OF TO-DAY.** (Publicity Department, Government of Gwalior.) 1935 26cm. 234 + viii p. SO few, if any, are the official publications available to the public regarding Indian States, that we have no hesitation in welcoming 'Gwalior of To-day', the official publication of the Home Member of the State, written with a view to acquaint the "stranger amongst us with all the activities of our Departments and other institutions existing in Gwalior of to-day." Fairly exhaustive, it deals in a short compass with the varied aspects of every day administration, such as education, public health, municipalities, Finance, Land Revenue, the Army, Agri-

culture, etc., to name only a few among the many topics dealt with in the book. A frank admission, if not quite a pleasing reflection, is at page 162: "Finance of an Indian State is a different affair from that of say a British Province. It is more akin to an individual's finance and rather remote from public finance... At one extreme end the two (the Privy Purse and State Treasury) may be identical! The other extreme end has been more or less approximated according to the ideas of the Ruler, and, it may be added, the capacity of the ruled." The omission of a chapter dealing with the condition of the ryot in Gwalior is perhaps accidental. A geographical and a road map of Gwalior would indeed be valuable additions, while a little attention to grammar and diction will be a tonic to the reader.

S. KUPPUSWAMI.

**THE LIVING TEACHING OF VEDANTA.**

By K. C. VARDACHARI. (The Modern Book Mart, Madras.) 1934. 16cm. 48p. As. 12.

IN this small booklet the author seeks to determine "what is living and what is dead" in the teaching of Vedanta, understood in a wider sense, and not merely as Advaita, reminding us of Croce's similarly-worded inquiry: "What is Living and what is dead in Hegel's philosophy?" He finds that the integral nature of the individual self is the main doctrine of Advaita. This integral self requires a body for its expression. The body is the necessary instrument of the spirit. The teaching of Advaita is supplemented by the element of universalism in the doctrine of Ramanuja who emphasises the reality of the Divine and the need on the part of the individual, of attaining the Divine. It is complained that the Dvaita of Madhva is the most neglected and misunderstood doctrine. The author interprets Dharma in a markedly social aspect and finds in Dharma so understood, a convenient transition from the individual to society. The uniqueness, the archetypal character of the individual self is the speciality of Madhva's philosophy. The Lila doctrine is specially stressed as bringing out the Divine harmony in human life. It is the goal of man's life to help in the harmonising activity of the Divine. It will be clear from the above that the book tackles only one problem, viz. that of the goal of life to the exclusion of all the deeper, metaphysical issues.

D. G. LONDHE.

## SIR C. H. SETALVAD CONDEMNS THE BILL.

*In a statement to the press Sir Chimanlal Setalvad subjects the Government of India Bill under discussion in Parliament to a critical examination. He says:*

THE Committee stage of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons, is nearing completion and it is time to take a broad view of the situation and consider its probable reactions in this country. The White Paper contained proposals which went back on the repeated assurances of British statesmen; the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report was still more reactionary; the India Bill went further in the wrong direction; and now the House of Commons has worsened it in respect of a number of vital points.

In fact, whereas several suggestions of a reactionary character have been accepted, not one of the suggestions made by the Joint Memorandum of the British Indian Delegates or by political bodies in India has been given the slightest consideration.

It is clear, therefore, that the Bill, as it will emerge from Parliament, will be entirely out of tune with the political aspirations of the people of India and, on the other hand, will betray utter distrust of India.

Take, for instance, the provisions with regard to the Services. Recruitment and conditions of service are put indefinitely in the hands of the Secretary of State. Even posting, promotion or censure are not to be in the hands of Ministers, who must obtain concurrence of the Governor or Governor-General, as the case may be, and the Governor and Governor-General will for the purpose be under the direct orders of the Secretary of State. Even the Governor-General is not to be trusted in the matter of recruitment and conditions of service. The House of Commons has gone still further in

substituting for the Orders in Council, as provided in the Bill, the express approval of Parliament, in respect of any future alteration of service conditions. Unduly liberal privileges of retirement on proportionate pensions are conceded. The wholesome rule that has obtained for 150 years, excluding the I.C.S. from Chief Justiceship has been abolished, and this change has been made, in spite of the united voice against it in India, both of Indians and Europeans. In order to placate the services they have not hesitated even to strike at the root of the great confidence and prestige the High Courts have enjoyed in the public mind.

Look next at the safeguards about commercial discrimination. The powers at present enjoyed by the Indian Legislatures are taken away. Hereafter, any British company, at present incorporated in England or hereafter to be incorporated, shall be deemed to have fulfilled any conditions that the Indian Legislature may lay down with regard to capital, personnel of the Directors, etc. The British shipping companies cannot be touched and even if the Governor-General approves of any enactment designed to secure the coastal shipping trade to Indian nationals—that cannot be done. The latest move with regard to British professional men makes the purpose in this direction too patent.

They have done away with direct elections to the Assembly, which the country has been enjoying for the last fourteen years and in doing so they have unceremoniously cast aside the deliberate advice of the Government of India presided over by the present Viceroy, a man who, with the long experience of sixteen years' service in India, knows Indian conditions infinitely better than some of the British politicians dealing with this matter and whose vision is warped by party considerations.

The net result is that what with the stringent safeguards and other reactionary provisions, the so-called responsible government does not possess much responsibility. It is curious that on the one hand Britain is appealing for the good-will of India and on the other hand is enacting the most stringent safeguards which must destroy good-will. If Britain thinks that these safeguards will preserve her trade for any considerable time, she is very much mistaken. The only result, in the course of time, will be that, with India disgruntled, there will be a strong swadeshi movement and British trade will dwindle. Britain cannot keep both political power and trade. Political power she cannot keep for ever, but her present policy may make her lose both trade and political power.

As regards Federation, the situation, when squarely viewed, is this. The Central Legislature, weighed with a considerable number of States' representatives, nominated by Rulers, will give the States a direct voice and control in purely British Indian affairs, whereas the Indian Legislature is strictly excluded from any interference in the internal administration of the States. This is a purely one-sided arrangement. The suggestion made that the Indian States' representatives should not vote on purely British Indian questions has not been accepted.

It will be remembered that at the first Round Table Conference, the Indian Rulers asserted that they offered to come into Federation in order that India may secure responsible government at the centre. If they really compare the responsible government that was asked for at the first Round Table Conference and what is proposed to be given now under the Bill, the Princes should say that their whole object in offering to federate, in order to secure real responsible government for India, has been largely frustrat-

ed and that, therefore, it is not worth their while to join federation. They are surrendering parts of their sovereignty, with no adequate return for that sacrifice in the shape of genuine responsible government for India.

If, as a condition of their joining the federation, they had insisted upon the constitution being so liberalised as to remove its ugly features, they would have lived up to the standard of patriotism they gave expression to when they first declared themselves ready to bring into existence an All-India federation. Instead, all the time they have been persistent in trying to secure their own position and safeguarding their own rights and privileges when they join the Federation.

Perhaps, all this is a cry in the wilderness. The authorities in England have not the least intention of respecting Indian opinion, and they are determined to impose on India a constitution which has evoked a strong and universal disapprobation. The new constitution will, therefore, come into operation under the most unfavourable conditions. The 1921 constitution had its strong and sincere supporters in India; the present constitution has none. Worked it must be, and it will be worked by all parties, but the temptation will be irresistible to so work it as to expose its shortcomings and deficiencies and to create situations which may force the hands of the British people to enact another constitution acceptable to the people of India.

Added to this grave handicap with which the new constitution by its demerits; will start is the situation created by the Indian authorities. The Congress, having realised the futility of its methods of direct action, adopted the constitutional and Parliamentary mentality and came into the legislature. The Viceroy and the Home Member acted wisely in welcoming them, but later counsels of the Government of India have completely swept aside the earlier view and the Government has launched on a campaign of rubbing the Congress in the wrong way. In fact, the Government has done everything it can to make the Congress doubt whether their changed attitude would lead to any fruitful result and has strengthened the hands of the Socialists in condemning that policy. So far as one can observe, the Congress leaders in the Assembly behaved with considerable restraint and Parliamentary decorum. They were, however, met by bitter attacks and abuse in some instances. And at the end of the last session, the Finance Member, Sir James Grigg, enunciated the attitude of the Government which showed an utter lack of political wisdom. He in effect said that because Congress tactics, according to him, were those of obstruction the Government will adopt the same attitude and would not go to the maximum extent it could, to meet the Opposition, which it would have done, had there been another kind of Opposition.

How unfair this attitude was even to the non-Congress groups is apparent, for no vote was carried in the Assembly without the support of Independents or Muslims or Europeans. This attitude of Government has had the inevitable result of driving into the Congress lobby even those who would otherwise have stood by the side of Government. I must say that the Government is ill-advised and unfortunately led.

The Congress is bound to have successes in some Provinces at least. Now this being the case, it is the part of wisdom to help these politicians to strengthen their belief in constitutional methods of work, and not constantly to irritate them by telling them they are inconsistent or to feed communism and terrorism. The only result of such tactics is to put the Congressmen on their mettle and drive them to hug

once again their old heroics, so that when they capture the new constitutional machinery, they will be pledged more to indulge in political stunts than actual administrative and political work. I feel that the result of this treatment of the Congress Opposition is going to be very detrimental both to this country and to the Government. The last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee is a warning, for their various motions of a communistic character sponsored by the Socialist Party were defeated only by small majorities. It is not safe to assume the self-complaisant attitude that Jubbulpore showed that Congress was a divided house; it showed that the Socialist credit was rising and that if they captured the Congress machine, it would be a bad day for Government and India.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- MONEY-LENDING IN GREAT BRITAIN.** By DOROTHY JOHNSON ORCHARD and GEOFFREY MAY. (Small Loan Series.) (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1933. 23cm. 185p. \$2.00.
- LECTURES AND ADDRESSES BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.** By ANTHONY X. SOABES. (Macmillan, Bombay.) 1928. 20cm. 160p. Re. 1.
- GWALIOR OF TO-DAY.** (Publicity Department, Government of Gwalior.) 25cm. 234p.
- LAND PROBLEMS OF INDIA.** (Calcutta University Readership Lectures.) By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. (Longmans, and Cambridge University Press.) 1933. 25cm. 369p. 9/-

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