

# Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Harmonious Working.

THE Viceroy, in his address to the Central Legislature, exhorted Indians to take the fullest advantage of the great gain which the new constitution confers upon India, and assured them that, if only they were not actuated by a spirit of mere destruction, there would follow in due season tremendous constitutional development. Even if merely destructive tactics are abandoned, one can confidently prophesy that there will be no harmonious working of the constitution. The constitution inaugurates an era of bitter conflict, and the hope for harmony is only placed by the Government in the calculation that the legislatures under the new regime would be filled by men of the calibre of the Independents who did not join in the opposition to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the present Assembly. It is felt that men of this type would be in the new legislatures in such large numbers that they would then show courage openly to support measures like the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. This forms the whole basis of the constitution. It is a pity that H. E. Lord Willingdon will not be at the helm of affairs in India to see his apple-cart upset. But he will hear of it soon after the inauguration of the new constitution.

### Work the Reforms for What We are Worth.

MR. C. R. REDDY, in his speech as President of the Tinnevely District Political Conference which met at Tuticorin on the 8th inst., put in a strong plea for entering the Councils and working the reforms. The method of working contemplated by him naturally differs fundamentally from that contemplated by Sir Homi Mody or Mr. Jayakar. We should not go into the Councils, Mr. Reddy said, "to work them for what they are worth. We must work

them for what we are worth." There is all the difference in the world between the two methods.

MR. REDDY is also for acceptance of office by the Congress. Nor would he like Congressmen to take office "with the deliberate idea of wrecking the constitution." The constitution, he thinks, would in all likelihood be wrecked, but he would like to see it wrecked by the weight of its own inherent drawbacks rather than by one-pointed obstruction from within as well as from without. In fact, he thinks, the former process very much easier than the latter. In addition it would have the advantage that if any ameliorative policies could be carried through the Councils, the people would be benefitted to that extent, and if they could not be carried through that experience itself would prepare the people to wreck the constitution. Just at present the people were not prepared.

IN counselling the Congress against wholesale obstruction with a view to wrecking, he said :

Not that I am averse to wrecking but (I give this advice) because I feel that a direct attack is bound to be more or less ineffective, especially when so many new groups and interests avid for position and power will be in the field. If in the course of our attempt at realising our policies for mass uplift and economic reconstruction, the constitution breaks down under stress of large concrete issues, it will create a situation which even the British Government will not find it possible to ignore. The constitution will die, as it were, a natural death. It will perish as being unequal to the task and British statesmanship and Indian statesmanship will be compelled to confer on the situation created by such force of circumstances and the determined will of the masses, and devise a constitutional remedy or else wind up the show of responsible government.

For instance I would make a solution of the agrarian problem in all its branches the first duty of the Congress. (What particular solution will come to be adopted one cannot say.) But any policy of real amelioration must result in a heavy fall of governmental income. How is this deficit to be met? Nobody will agree to fresh taxation until retrenchment has been tried, and will not His Excellency have a big say on the subject? If Congress wins the election and initiates a policy of this nature, involving many correlative changes, either it will be carried through and we will give needed relief to the masses or we shall be thwarted and there will be resignation or dismissal of the Ministry followed by a dissolution of the Council. If we again come in a majority the crisis will reach an acute stage and some solution will have to be found as much in the interest of the Imperial Government as of Indian nationalism. And the revision of the land revenue policy is only one, though an important one, of many big policies we can pursue, necessitating a general reconstruction of

our system, without deliberately aiming at wrecking the constitution straightaway. If the constitution cannot stand the load, the engineers will have to be blamed.

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### Special Tariff Board.

A SPECIAL Tariff Board has been constituted to consider the question of the level of duties necessary to grant adequate protection to the Indian cotton textile industry against imports from the United Kingdom. The period for which protection was granted to the cotton textile industry is not yet over and the level of duties as against non-British goods is not to be considered by the Tariff Board. At the time of the Mody-Lees agreement the British contention was that the level of duties against British goods was unduly high and a promise was then given that the Tariff Board would after a suitable interval go into the question. The enquiry of this Tariff Board would, therefore, be directed towards the possibility of increasing the preference at present granted to British imports. What calls for comment, however, in the new Tariff Board is not its terms of reference, but its composition.

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THE idea of the Tariff Board has its origin in the report of the Indian Fiscal Commission and the composition of it has hitherto been modelled mostly on the recommendation made in the majority report of that body. The majority definitely laid down that the selection of the personnel of the Tariff Board should depend on wide general attainments rather than on specialised or expert knowledge. "It is essential that all the members should be men of ability, of integrity and of impartiality, and other desirable qualifications are a knowledge of economics and a practical acquaintance with business affairs." They definitely preferred the U. S. A. Board where the chairman was a professor of economics and the other members "for the most part men who have distinguished themselves in law or in politics" to the Australian Board where the chairman was the Deputy Comptroller of Customs and one member was connected with various industrial companies and the other had commercial interests. They say: "What is required of the Tariff Board is a perfectly impartial consideration and review of the various interests, and we therefore think it essential that the Board should not be constituted in any way to represent the interests which will appeal to it for judgment."

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THESE considerations have hitherto been largely borne in mind in forming the Tariff Board. The usual composition of the Board has been one experienced Civil Servant like Sir George Rainy, Sir F. Noyce, Mr. Mathias or Mr. Wiles; an economist like Profs. Kale, Subba Rao, Matthai or Batheja and a man of public affairs such as Sir P. P. Ginwalla or Mr. Natesan. No direct representative of business or industrial interests was nominated to the Board and the Board seemed to work well and enjoyed public confidence. The appointment of Mr. Fazal Rahimtullah was the only one which might have been objected to on the ground of his direct connection with industry and commerce. In the composition of the new Board all the old conventions have been overthrown. There is neither a superior Government official nor an economist on the Board. So the guarantee that the consumer's claims or general interests will be adequately considered and economic considerations will be properly weighed no longer exists. And the majority of the Board is composed of persons connected, if not directly, at least indirectly in a fairly close manner, with the interests

which will appeal to the Board for judgment. It is curious that such a departure from healthy traditions should take place so soon after Sir James Grigg had emphasised the dangers of indiscriminating protection at Bombay. Perhaps the special Board being strictly limited in its scope of work may not be objected to very strongly. But it definitely sets up a bad precedent against which we deem it our duty to protest emphatically.

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### Well Done!

THE Assembly is to be warmly congratulated on its refusal to consider the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Civil disobedience being given up, renewal of the ordinance legislation was sought to be justified by the existence of communism, terrorism and most curious of all, of communal dissensions. The plea naturally failed to carry conviction. It was not pretended even by Government spokesmen that the first of these cults had yet assumed dangerous proportions. As a matter of fact the Home Member had the fairness to admit that "it would not be dangerous for some time to come." As for terrorism, the evil is confined to Bengal and as such does not call for action on an all-India basis. The poison of communalism has doubtless spread to all parts of India but must be regarded as an unavoidable, though very unpleasant, feature of Indian polity. Its birth can be traced to the emergence of communal electorates and so long as these form part of our electoral arrangements so long will it be impossible to eradicate this poison from the body politic. The Home Member's desire to rid India of this canker is no doubt very laudable. But the remedy proposed by him is obviously a wrong one. It does not lie in coercion but in the removal of the root cause, viz. communal electorates. This may not be a matter of practical politics at present; but to hope to put down communalism by highly coercive methods placed permanently on the statute book is surely to go about the business in the wrong way. Thus there appears to be nothing in the present situation which can be said to afford even a semblance of justification for the proposed coercive piece of legislation.

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THE defeat inflicted on the Government on the present occasion was quite decisive. Out of the 61 who voted in favour of the Bill, 25 were officials, 12 nominated non-officials and 8 Europeans who in such matters always side with the Government. 15 elected Indian members are found to have walked into the Government lobby, but it is important to remember that 12 of them were Muslims. However, it would be wrong to infer from this that Muslim opinion is in favour of it. For if 12 Muslims voted for the renewal of the special powers, 17 voted with the Opposition. The 71 who voted down the Bill were all elected members with the exception of Mr. N. M. Joshi, who, though a nominated member, strongly opposed the measure both by speech and vote. In face of these facts, can it be maintained with any show of reason that public opinion is behind the Government in its demand for being armed without any limit of time with these specially drastic powers?

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### Mr. Joshi on the Cr. L. A. Bill.

MR. K. T. SHAH, in the course of his remarks on the Assembly debate on the Criminal Law Amend-

ment Bill, writes as follows on Mr. Joshi's speech :

Mr. N. M. Joshi's was the best speech of the week-long debate on this Bill. Brief and to the point, Mr. Joshi made unanswerable pleas for the right of Labour to strike and to picket ; the right of the people to oppose an unjust law. He spoke up with wisdom and sympathy, not in admiration of the terrorists or the communists, but in vindication of the common people's right to put down these unwelcome developments of our capitalistic and imperialistic system. He denounced the fetters on the Press, and ridiculed the Midnapore Marvel's arrogant suggestion that the Press should not be in the hands of "men of straw" who could not deposit even a 1,000 rupees in security. "Have not the poor people the right to voice their grievances through their press"? He asked in tones of real grandeur that went straight to the heart of his hearers. He advised Government to drop the Bill, or else hoped it would be defeated. Thoughtful and forceful, logical and emotional, Mr. Joshi's was a climax, which no other speaker could attain.

#### Fiji.

THE Indian situation in Fiji is stated to figure in the agenda of the next meeting of the Standing Emigration Committee. Any consideration bestowed by the Committee at the present stage on the recent troubles of our countrymen settled in that colony will be more than a day after the fair, as it will be of no practical good. The proposal to replace election by nomination as a method of representation in the municipalities there is being publicly canvassed for more than six months. If the Committee had expressed its views with regard to it while the matter was yet in a formative stage, it might have been hoped that its representations might not have passed absolutely unheeded. But the matter is now long past that stage, when any expression of opinion by the Committee can have interest for none but the historical researcher of the future. The public is certainly entitled to know why the Government delayed taking notice of the matter so long.

READERS of these columns will have little difficulty in recalling the fact that the Fiji legislature has already carried a resolution favouring the substitution of election by nomination in the municipalities in the colony. The matter has since progressed a stage further. The Colonial Office has now decided to hand over the management of the Suva municipality to a board consisting of nominated members from the beginning of next year. A similar change has already been carried out in the other municipality of Lekuva. Whereas the affairs of these municipalities used so far to be managed by elected members, they will hereafter be administered by a board consisting of nominated ones. That such an important change should have failed to draw even a mild protest from the Government of India during all these months is regrettable. But even more regrettable is the fact that authoritative information relating to the change should not have been officially available to the Indian public to this day.

#### Unwise and Intolerant.

IT is greatly to be deplored that the Government in their wisdom thought fit to adopt an intolerant attitude towards the inquiry into the working of repressive laws in Bengal which the Congress party in the Assembly was desirous of undertaking. By doing so they have provided the public with a reason to suspect their bona fides. No end of assu-

rances are officially given that the operation of repressive laws in relation to suspected terrorists in that province is humane and just. Why then should Government have boycotted this inquiry? If their dealings with the terrorists had been fair and just, they had nothing to fear but everything to gain from it.

HAVING banned the inquiry, they could of course not be expected to afford any facilities for it. But they even went the length of hurriedly bundling Mr. Saxena, M.L.A., who was to collect the information, out of the danger zone, as if his presence there constituted a grave menace to public peace. If they entertained the fear that Mr. Saxena's inquiry would be one-sided, there was nothing to prevent them from offering their co-operation to Mr. Saxena in his self-imposed task. As a matter of fact, though late, he did seek their co-operation and would have highly appreciated it; but their reply was an order served on Mr. Saxena asking him to leave at once the area where he would have gathered valuable information,

BUT this is not all. The Bengal Government were perhaps afraid that though Mr. Saxena's personal inquiries had been made impossible the collection of information required by him might be done by correspondence. And in order not to leave anything to chance, letters from Bengal are now not allowed to reach Mr. Saxena! And, to crown all, a gentleman who was suspected of helping him in his mission was recently arrested. It can easily be seen that under such heavy odds, Mr. Saxena had to abandon an inquiry which would have brought to light much information of great public interest. The conduct of the Government in this affair is such as to deserve public censure. And if a debate on the matter had not been disallowed by the intervention of the Governor-General, we have little doubt the Assembly would have visited the Government with such censure.

#### Universal Education in Shanghai.

*The People's Tribune* of Shanghai writes :

The beginning of free universal education in China has been made with the opening of 320 mass educational schools throughout the Municipality of Greater Shanghai on July 1. This is one of the most genuinely revolutionary innovations which have been made in China. 430,000 illiterates in Shanghai are to be taught how to read and write—a privilege heretofore available, in the main, only to those children with parents or patrons who could pay for it.

This present move is only a beginning, but it is a great beginning. Throughout the Chinese areas of Shanghai, the greatest city of China, illiteracy will soon be stamped out—among a population the majority of which is now unable to read and write. All illiterates of teachable age are being enrolled, with time schedules arranged so as not to interfere with the various occupations of the students. Instead of payment for education, there will be fines assessed (ranging from 20 cents to five dollars) for failure to attend classes. 6 classes of 50 minutes per class per day, accommodating 300 students, will provide for 66,000 persons. A term lasts two months, at the end of which the students will know over 600 basic and most commonly-used Chinese characters—a solid basis for further study. In a year, some 400,000 students will have passed through this elementary course.

## A FARRAGO OF DELUSION.

IT would be interesting to speculate what the attitude of our public men like Mr. Jayakar and Sir Homi Mody would be under the new constitution to a Bill like the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which met with flat rejection at the hands of the Assembly last week and again this week. Mr. Jayakar and Sir Homi Mody say that their attempt would be, when the reforms come into operation, so to work them as to reduce the reserve powers of the Governor and the Governor-General to a dead letter. The reserve powers are meant to protect British and Indian vested interests from attack, and the plan of the Jayakar-Mody group is not to attack these interests at any time so that occasion will never arise for the intervention of the Governor or the Governor-General. If a policy of compromise is steadily pursued the reserve powers would never be invoked and would remain on paper, only to mock the unbalanced critics who say that the new constitution is even worse than the present. The reforms, to judge by the strict letter of the law, no doubt give a restricted measure of self-government, but by skilful working, the Jayakar-Mody politicians think, they can be made to yield in practice almost all the advantages of full self-government.

In order to apply a practical test to this plan it would be best to take a concrete instance. Let us therefore consider what Mr. Jayakar or Sir Homi Mody would do in the presence of a Bill like the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. It is certain that the Bill, rejected by the Assembly, will be certified by the Governor-General and be given the effect of law, and it may be assumed that its life would again be limited to three years. Then the question of protecting the lives of law-abiding and peaceful citizens from the activities of the terrorists would face the new Assembly in the very first year. Let us assume that Mr. Jayakar will be the Prime Minister under the new regime, and let us assume further that he is opposed to renewing the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Then the Governor-General would probably urge him to renew the Act. Mr. Jayakar will of course try to persuade him to the view that the country can be governed without recourse to repressive legislation. He may even argue, in order to flatter the Governor-General, that so widespread is the satisfaction with the new constitution that even the terrorists will henceforward give up their criminal tendencies and take to peaceful activities. It is hardly likely, however, that the Governor-General will be persuaded by these arguments. He will insist upon the revival of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Mr. Jayakar may have bound himself to a policy of compromise, but Lord Linlithgow is not known to have done so. The latter would point to the special responsibility imposed upon him by the constitution for "the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof." The constitution gives the Governor-General the power, in fulfilling this responsibility, to "exercise his individual judgment as to the action

taken." The Governor-General will very much value the support of Mr. Jayakar and his Cabinet for such a measure, and in order to obtain it may even give way on one or two points and make it a little less drastic than it would otherwise have been. But upon passing the Act he will be adamant. Mr. Jayakar will then be on the horns of a dilemma. He must either consent to introduce the Bill himself and undertake to carry it through, or let Lord Linlithgow have a Governor-General's Act under section 44.

In a situation like this what will Mr. Jayakar do? If he lives up to the policy of compromise that he has indicated in his speech, he will argue thus to himself. "It is true that an Act like this is unnecessary. At any rate maintenance of internal peace is the Cabinet's responsibility, and the Governor-General ought to be guided by the Cabinet's advice. But he is very unreasonable. If the Cabinet resigns, a new Cabinet amenable to the Governor-General can be easily picked up. It will only show that the present Cabinet has no popular support behind it. But, what is worse, it will also show that the new constitution is a very halting measure of reform unable to stand even the first test of opposition by the Governor-General. If the Governor-General is once allowed to interfere, he will feel less compunction in interfering later even when he has less justification for doing so. The whole constitution is thus likely to topple down on account of one false step, on account of one misdeed, in the initial stage. This must be prevented at all costs. It is true that the Cabinet will be ridiculed everywhere for timidity and inconsistency, but in the larger interests of the country, and with a view to making the best of the reforms the Cabinet must face popular ridicule and cheerfully submit to the Governor-General—only for this once. As the Cabinet gets into its stride, it may be possible to show a firmer front to the Governor-General. And, after all, even if it is not possible to do so, is it not the part of wisdom to recognise the limitations under which we live and act accordingly? Let us first of all keep the constitution alive, preserve it from the hands of wreckers, in the hope that time may come when it can be used to better purpose." (If the certified Act is a permanent measure then the question of its repeal will arise in the new Assembly, and Mr. Jayakar will be placed in the same sort of dilemma, from which his only escape will be by not pressing for repeal.)

We have pointed it out before, but we would again, even at the risk of wearying the reader, give below extracts from a remarkable article by J. L. Garvin in which he argues against imposing sanctions upon Italy as Mr. Jayakar would argue against putting up a strong opposition to the Government. The resemblance is very striking. Mr. Garvin says:

The Covenant provides for unanimity among members of the Council other than a party or parties to the dispute. That unanimity is not possible in this case. The means of setting coercive machinery in motion under the Covenant do not exist... What remains? A vote of censure involving Italy's secession would be impotent for good and

fertile for evil. Only three great Powers out of seven would then belong to the League. It could have no further shadow of a claim to predominant jurisdiction or influence.

Signor Mussolini is not bluffing. He would not shrink from the excommunications of Geneva. He will be found grimly prepared for them if they come. They would enable him to rouse Italy from end to end. They would . . . extinguish the League as a practical force.

It is urged, however, that if no further good can be expected from the League it would be better for it to die nobly by *hara-kiri*. This is hysterical madness . . . The supreme purpose at this moment is to keep the League alive. It is diminished and enfeebled enough. Statesmen ought to make up their minds to admit present weaknesses, limitations and embarrassments to warn all concerned against plunging from bad to worse . . . Let British statesmen see to it that they strive to localise and not universalise the mischief. European civilisation and the League can survive another local war. They could not survive another general war.

"Keep the League of Nations alive and save it from this impossible ordeal," is what Mr. Garvin says. Mr. Jayakar would say: "Keep the constitution alive; don't destroy it by taking too firm a stand against the Governor-General."

It should be noticed that we have taken an instance which is most favourable for a policy of strong opposition. The Princes' bloc will not vote; a proportion of the representatives of the minority communities and special interests are likely to be in favour, the question being one of nationalism rather than of internal social policy. There will always be greater unanimity among Indians in wresting power from the Britishers than in righting the wrongs done to certain classes of Indians themselves. Even so Mr. Jayakar will find that there will be no means open to him for resisting the imposition of repressive legislation upon India. The only course for him is to submit to the legislation, and that is of course the course that Mr. Jayakar recommends to our country by his policy of compromise and his plan of a Pact with the Governor and the Governor-General. The constitution can be successfully worked only by a fixed resolve to yield on every important point of conflict. To think that the constitution can be successful in any other way is, in the phrase used by Mr. Garvin in the article from which passages are quoted above, "a farrago of delusion."

## CO-OPERATIVE SHARING OF THE WORLD.

**I**N the discussion of questions of international politics at the present time one thing stands out clearly above all others. There is a wide recognition now of the fact that if respect for international law is to be secured, international law itself must be founded upon justice. It is impossible for an essentially unjust solution being maintained for any but a short time, however drastic may be the sanctions that can be imposed upon the law-breaking country. A flagrantly inequitable treaty of peace was forced upon Germany, and in order to prevent her future growth she was disarmed. The disarmament of other countries was to follow Germany's disarmament. That was part of the understanding; but other countries refused to disarm. In fact their armaments increased. Germany, however, was expected faithfully to observe the terms of the treaty to which she was made to agree under duress. It was also felt that the weight of reparations imposed upon her would in any case prevent her from re-arming. But what was the result? It is now admitted that the victorious countries exacted the last half-penny from her, and then had to give her up as hopeless. Germany, however, in spite of her weak economic condition, has been re-arming at a furious rate, notwithstanding her pledge at Versailles not to do so. There was, of course, hot indignation expressed against her in every country, and the League Council met and solemnly passed a resolution condemning unilateral repudiation of international obligations on her part and threatened economic and financial sanctions. But it was, as Mr. Lloyd George put it, only "a fatuous piece of bluster," for only three months after this England goes—and does what? Employ sanctions against Germany? No, but condone and even extol Germany's breach of the treaty. For England, without consulting France and Italy as she was

bound to do under the agreement of the Stresa Conference, entered into a side deal with Germany, in which she agreed that Germany might build the vessels she was prohibited from building under the Versailles Treaty, only asking that she should not build more than up to a certain percentage (35) of England's own naval strength. England thus "nullified and stultified the League of Nations' condemnation of treaty breaking in respect of armaments" (to use Mr. Churchill's phrase) and in fact permitted her to have larger armaments than she now has. Consequently Sir Samuel Hoare was subjected to severe criticism on this account in Parliament. Sir Samuel, however, took a commonsense view of the matter. He said in effect: Germany cannot be stopped from re-arming. That is too much to hope for. It is no use complaining of the breach of the treaty. All that can be done in the circumstances is to recognise the rearmament that has already taken place and then try to put a limit on her future advance in that direction. England is only restricting by her naval agreement with Germany the latter's future rearmament.

In the case of Italy too Sir Samuel Hoare seems to realise that it is hopeless to bind down that powerful country for all time to her tiny empire in Africa when England herself has such an extensive empire. Mussolini's seizure of Abyssinia would be clearly against the League principles as Germany's rearmament was, and although the employment of sanctions may prevent Italy from conquest and occupation of Abyssinia, Italy's attempts at expansion cannot be permanently checked. Means must be found for satisfying Italy's ambitions if necessary by other Powers sharing some of their possessions with her. British statesmen are not thinking of course of redistributing their colonial empire and actually hand-

ing over any substantial territory to Italy. Without, however, dividing their territorial possessions, they are thinking of giving Italy economic advantages which such possessions give to the Powers that have vast empires. Sir Samuel Hoare is thus speaking of giving Italy substantial economic concessions. He is applying to Italy the same sort of solution that he has applied to Germany. He realises that Italy's expansion cannot be permanently stopped as German rearmament could not be stopped. He is therefore trying to buy off Italy, as he has bought off Germany, by giving her something to which she is not entitled by the strict letter of the law but which it is necessary to give if the law is at all to be respected. What he professes to give is merely the right to an exploitation of the economic resources of Abyssinia. Abyssinia, according to his scheme, would be placed under a mandate, but the mandate would be administered not by Italy alone, from which she has so much to fear, but by the League, which in effect means by England, France and Italy together. Sir Samuel Hoare generously adds that England would not take much active part in actual exploitation, as in fact she has undertaken not to do by previous agreements and hopes that France too would leave the work of exploitation very much to Italy. But England and France will see to it that Abyssinia does not come under Italy's political domination. Everyone knows, however, that this is a myth. The contention of Italy that economic concessions will be of no value except under a military protectorate over the whole country has much force in it, and the *Temps* is quite right in saying that the offer of England and France to Italy is really the offer of "an opportunity to make something very like another Morocco of Abyssinia." The economic concessions offered to Italy are therefore not economic concessions alone, but concessions screened behind military domination. But the fact remains that even Sir Samuel Hoare realises that it is no use standing on law in this matter, and that it is necessary to consider Italy's grievances.

Other statesmen, however, possessed of wider vision see clearly that nothing short of a wholesale redistribution of economic resources will provide a permanent solution of this and other similar problems that have already arisen and will arise in the future. Germany, Italy and Japan are the great Powers which are dissatisfied with their present territorial possessions. They cannot be held in check, taking a long view of the matter, unless the sated Powers are willing to surrender something of their own ill-gotten gains. The Labour Party has this great truth borne in upon it, and, as we said in our last week's issue, Mr. George Lansbury has been propounding this ideal with great moral fervour, and his solution does not consist in robbing poor countries to pay rich ones but in the pooling of the world's resources for the free use of the whole of mankind. He said recently:

Before it is too late our nation should give the lead to the world. They must summon a new World Economic Conference for one purpose only: to discuss and organise plans for a sharing out of raw materials and filling up the wide, open, uninhabited spaces of the world, and by co-operation discover how best they could distribute the

tremendous wealth which the world of man is able to produce.

This country controls large areas, and it is our duty to say to the world: Come and join us in this great task of establishing co-operation. We are willing to share the territories under our flag and the markets we control with the races of the world.

Mr. Lansbury has elaborated this idea with some detail in his book just published: "Labour's Way with the Commonwealth" (Methuen, 2/6). He has dealt with the subject in this book with reference only to the British Empire, but he wants all the countries to do what he urges upon England. Having put her own house in order, England should go to the other countries, Mr. Lansbury pleads, and say "Let us all share the good world in the spirit of brotherhood." We give below a few extracts from his book to show what his ideas are.

The Labour Party is as desirous as any other section of our people of retaining and strengthening the ties which at present bind the Dominions, Colonies, India and Great Britain together. The vast expanse of unoccupied land, the incalculable natural wealth, at present unused, which these territories possess are recognized by us as a reason for ever-increasing economic and political co-operation. Only in a world governed by economic lunacy could it be possible, as is now the case, for many millions of people to live lives of semi-starvation because Governments will not organize access to the natural means of life. The Labour movements at home and abroad have no faith in the older methods of emigration, but also have no belief in the arrangements by which people in the Dominions and Colonies, and others here at home, should be kept in semi-starvation and idleness while thousands of miles of the world's surface lie waiting to be tackled by man's labour and give in return untold wealth. We do not share the opinion of those who contend that Britain should use its power to keep others out of these unoccupied, undeveloped territories. If white people will not fill up and use these wide open spaces, it is certain others will.

I have never accepted the view that emigration to other parts of the Dominions is finished. Any new scheme, however, must be one scientifically organized on a national and co-operative basis and not undertaken in opposition to other Powers. There are portions of the world suitable for those born in the tropics, and others more suitable for us who are born in more temperate climes. A settlement of these and kindred questions will only be reached when we cease to talk to each other as nationalists and treat each other, no matter where we are born, as of equal value. No real Christian, Socialist, or indeed, any progressive-minded person, can accept as reasonable the doctrine that the white races, being superior to coloured people, have the moral right to invade other lands and refuse admittance into their own. It is, of course, obvious that the white races must protect their standards of living, but let us never lose sight of the fact that it is we who go to other lands, it is the white men who supply machinery and finance to enable these coloured races to enter the markets of the world, and we who by the goods produced, under terribly low standards, to compete white people out of the markets. Therefore, I do not accept the theory which finds expression in some quarters that Great Britain, the Domi-

nions, India and the Colonies should be an economic unit within which only those living within the British possessions should be allowed equal trading and other rights. We are all for unity as between ourselves, but the unity we hope to achieve is one which will inevitably lead on to the union and federation of the world.

We are International Socialists, not because we are what is described as 'Little Englanders,' but because we are quite certain that the day is past and gone, if ever it existed, when the British or any other confederation of peoples can live alone apart from the rest of the world. All peoples are far more dependent upon one another than they were a hundred years ago. The coming into the modern world of the industry, finance and commerce of such nations as the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, the rapid expansion which is taking place in the Colonies that are at present controlled from London, together with similar happenings in lands under the sway of other Powers, prove this. The rise of Soviet Russia as an industrial and, so far as the world outside Russia is concerned, a capitalist force, must be reckoned with. These rapid economic developments have for ever changed international relationships.

America is following suit; huge armadas of warships and other armaments are manoeuvring in the Pacific. Japan has been building and preparing for war for years past. The Soviet Government has no liking for the present situation and, we are told, that, though unwillingly, she is preparing to resist all attacks.

Ordinary people living in these countries cannot understand why there should be any danger of war, seeing that no European nation can possibly be considered over-populated; and, even in America, there still remain thousands of square miles of land and millions of pounds' worth of mineral oil and other natural wealth, just waiting development.

This is an urgent problem which, when British Labour comes to power, must be dealt with. We are all strongly opposed to war and cannot contemplate an armaments race in the Pacific as a means of settling what 'place in the sun' is to be ours, America's or Japan's. We cannot either accept the view that Britain must ally herself with Japan against America or America against Japan. Our policy is neither pro-Japan nor pro-Europe. The British Commonwealth of nations must find a more excellent way. There is no sense in giving up the balance of power theory in Europe to re-establish it in the Pacific. The first thing to be done is to make up our minds to secure a friendly India. If you look at the map you will see what a huge country this is, and you will find when reading the chapter on India that here you have a population largely dominated by principles of co-operation and peace; but it is, so far as its spokesmen tell us, proud and conscious of the past history of its peoples, and desires to be treated on terms of equality by those who desire to have trade and political relationships. I should, therefore, expect a Labour Government to do everything possible to remove every cause of friction, and help to establish a self-governing India as a partner and friend in the British Commonwealth to bring before the League of Nations the situation in the Pacific.

I do not believe the economic problem is insoluble. White people do not want to reside in China, Japan and India except for short periods.

All they need is trade. The unsupplied needs of China, India and Russia are simply colossal; so, also, are the needs of the white races in Australia, America, Britain and Europe. Why then fight and destroy more millions of men in insane efforts to establish monopolies against each other? No one thinks our British imperialists are devils incarnate. Neither are the Japanese. They have caught our spirit of economic and political domination and have learned, only too well, our methods of peaceful and forceful penetration. If what we call civilization is to be saved, means must be found by the League of Nations which will teach us all a better way. The raw materials of the world are here in superabundance. Why should not Great Britain and India agree to ask the League Assembly to appoint a Commission to meet in conference forthwith and produce a scheme for co-operative sharing of raw materials and markets? I was asked by a well-known statesman: 'Yes, but what if they all refuse?' I do not believe any would if our people, led by a Labour Government, asked the rest of the world to give up the war mind and instead devote time, energy and wealth to the cause of peace. I wish my readers would think of the possible results if our own Government really turned its mind from war. I do not expect even a Labour Government to go in for unilateral disarmament, but I do expect them to pay more attention to peace than to war; and if we are to secure peace we must be as energetic in our efforts to establish the conditions which will make peace possible as militarists and others say we must, in order to secure victory in war. The British Commonwealth of nations is a great conception and, with India as a free and willing and equal partner, would appear to be a most formidable combination for war and for peace. We who speak for Labour desire this to be used for peace, but used in co-operation with the rest of mankind. The day is past when one empire can impose peace on others, as is said to have been the case in the days of Roman supremacy.

So, while supporting with all our strength the present and future unity of the British Dominions, we do so as a means for leading the world along the way to an international federation, within which the strong nations will cease to exploit the weak, and all will unite in spreading the blessings of peace by sharing with each other the natural resources of the world and co-operating together to bring to the service of all the enormous productive power of mankind. This may sound a dream, but it is something much better, more worth while struggling and sacrificing for than preparing for another and more soul-destroying campaign of universal destruction.

## EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

### III.\*

IN former articles on the subject, we have shown how the system of education in our midst to-day is faulty and why. Granting this, we must beware that the measures we adopt to improve it shall not be such as to prove reactionary in their effect. This is what we fear in the resolution that Rao Bahadur Kale of Satara proposes to move on the subject

\* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of July 25 and August 2.

in the coming sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council. If adopted by the Council and accepted by Government, will that resolution really make for freedom and solid improvement in education? As it is, the Department of Public Instruction does control effectively, through its system of grant-in-aid, its inspection, its exclusive monopoly in the choice of recommended text-books, its withholding of registration, etc., the system of secondary education obtaining at present in this Presidency. The schools that receive grants-in-aid from the Department as well as those registered by it are regulated and governed in their minutest details according to circulars and notices issued from time to time by the Department.

Our primary and secondary education has been in the leading strings of the Education Department for a time longer than we care to count. And yet it has shown no perceptible sign of a new departure or fresh orientation. It has not appreciably improved to keep pace with the needs of the time. Its quantity may have grown a bit, but its quality remains almost the same, if it has not deteriorated. Between 1907 and 1912, it received a bias the fruits of which we are reaping to-day. Since the passing of the University Reforms Act of 1904 in the regime of Lord Curzon and the implementing of that Act to his own reactionary views by Lord Sydenham in Bombay, our education has gone on drifting from bad to worse, showing ever poorer results as time rolls on. Rao Bahadur Kale's invitation to Government, therefore, to overhaul the system through its own Department strikes us as misplaced, if nothing else. The resolution that he has tabled has in view, first, the machinery of education; secondly, the overhauling of the system; thirdly, co-operation with the University authorities; fourthly, bifurcation at some stage in that education; and, lastly, the raising of the matriculation standard side by side with a departmental school-leaving examination to precede it. The result of it all will be, we are afraid, nothing better or wider than this: it will help to minimise the importance of the matriculation, to throttle liberal education, and to leave secondary education as far as its practical and vocational side is concerned, just where it is to-day. For a departmental examination as qualification for service or as a gateway to vocations presupposes openings in the services adequate to absorb all those who receive certificates, and vocational schools varied and sufficient to train pupils for different lines in trade, business and industry. Is the Government prepared to guarantee all this? We think not. And, therefore, the departmental examination before the matriculation may prove nothing better and more useful than the school final examination of old, if not the public service examination of earlier days.

Bifurcation is a catching word. But if you would bifurcate to separate the sheep from the goats in education, you must see to it that you provide nourishment for both. This is not going to be, so long as our Government continues to be what it has been, and so long as its outlook on education and its needs continues to be lop-sided, narrow and pinched.

Students may flock to the new practical courses for the time being, but in these circumstances they will soon discover that the departmental examination is no better than the matriculation on the practical side and distinctly worse than it on the humanistic and intellectual side. You cannot make bricks without straw in this case as in any other. The only sure result of it all will be to cripple the resources of the Bombay University, to lower it still further in prestige and independence, to limit admission of young men to colleges, and thus defeat the aim of liberal education as a training for citizenship for the largest possible number of men who would avail themselves of it through general culture. Thus, in the name of higher standard, breadth would be sacrificed to height, and the height will not be reached at all. It will be repeating over again the recipe and method of Lord Curzon. How that will be so, is writ large in the history of the controversy over the question between 1904 and 1912, that is, from the time of the passing of the University Reforms Act of 1904 to the close of Lord Sydenham's regime in this Presidency. The past may be a bondage but knowledge of the past is liberation. Lest Rao Bahadur Kale may play unwittingly into the hands of officialdom and its henchmen, we wish to invite his attention, briefly, to the history of the question he seeks to tackle.

It begins, as we have said above, with the passing of the University Reforms Act of 1904 by Lord Curzon. By that Act the official element got the upper hand in University affairs, here as elsewhere. It tightened the hold of Government on primary and secondary education as well. This official element in the University enabled Lord Sydenham, in the name of science and specialisation, to ruin the Arts course completely. One who has read the speeches of the late Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council of that date and followed carefully the discussions in our University on the reform proposals of Lord Sydenham, need not be told how reactionary they were and how they have proved detrimental eventually to education all over the field. The graduate, in the name of specialisation, has become a lop-sided individual. He does know his special subject of history, economics, science or languages so well and so deeply as would positively qualify him for further research or to pursue learning for its own sake. Nor does he have anything of liberal education that would enable him to interest himself in the cultural movement of his time. Liberal education has been improved out of existence, and scientific and specialised education has not yet come in. To travesty a phrase used by Lord Lloyd in his first Convocation address, the students have certainly shut their Burke and Mill and their books of English history, but they have not yet qualified themselves to sit at the feet of a Watts and a Stephenson, much less to go to school to a scientist worth the name. And, into the bargain, the discontented B. A. is still with us, with all the efforts of Lord Sydenham and Company to put an end to such a product!



Lord Sydenham sought to ride rough-shod over the University. He tried to abolish the matriculation. He succeeded in removing history and economics from the compulsory courses for the B. A. examination. He made the First Year examination in Arts a college examination. He bifurcated Science and Arts courses from the Intermediate examination upwards, without much gain for the so-called student of science trained in his mill. He practically wasted thirty lakhs of people's money on a huge pile of stones which he named the Royal Institute of Science and in which, for a long time after he had left these shores, were housed institutions that had nothing to do with science. Till but recently the Institute did nothing better than teach students in science reading for their B. Sc. degree. He boasted, or rather others boasted in his behalf, that if he had done nothing for secondary or higher education, he had at least done much for primary education! And he pocketed and loved the compliment so much that he has attached that certificate as an appendix to his autobiography published in 1926. One who knows that he was the very person who ran down Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and thereby practically killed it, cannot help construing the boast and compliment as a mere screen to cover his reactionary policy all round. And when we recall where primary education is to-day, both in quantity and quality, we cannot but declare that he did nothing that was liberal in the field of education, much less in any other field. We have no space here to deal fully with his educational policy, the bitter fruits of which, in spite of the Montagu Reforms of 1919, we are reaping even today.

The Council of the present day is so constituted in calibre, class bias and leadership that it will not, as a whole, be able to grasp to the full the implications of Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution to hand over the task of overhauling secondary education and raising the matriculation standard to the Government Department of Public Instruction. It has, therefore, to be apprised of the controversy on the subject between the University on the one hand and the Government on the other. Though education is now a transferred subject, the policy of the Government has practically remained the same that it was in the days of Lord Sydenham *mutatis mutandis*. It is disinclined to initiate any healthy reform and is prone to starve education in favour of other interests. The coming reforms are not going to improve the situation a bit, except it be like varnish on the surface of things. And, therefore, the Department of Education in the new regime, as under the present one, will continue in the same old rut. It will seek to control, but the control will be exercised more in favour of red-tape than in favour of expansion and reform, freedom and progress.

Let Rao Bahadur Kale think calmly over these facts, let him recall to his mind the history of the whole question, let him weigh the situation as it is at present, before he proposes a remedy which, in the circumstances, may prove worse than the disease. He will do well, in this connection, to go through

the pages of the Sadler Commission Report and read after it the findings thereon of a committee appointed by the Bombay University Senate in 1920. The report of that Committee embodies the scheme of a Joint Board to overhaul the entire system of secondary education in this Presidency and to align it with the matriculation examination at the end of it. The proposal of a Joint Board for the purpose will inaugurate cooperation between the Government and the University authorities much better than the proposal embodied in his own resolution. And it will help to level up education all round, both on its practical and intellectual side. It will secure to the Government and the University independence and initiative in their respective fields. And lastly, it will not jettison the matriculation examination or reduce it to the status of an entrance examination for the colleges.

Rao Bahadur Kale represents the University in the Bombay Legislative Council. He is a fellow of the Bombay University. As such he should act as the spokesman of the University he represents. We wonder if he has consulted the opinion of that body. We know not whether he has taken care to consult other interests as well, which will be vitally affected by the method he would propose. For instance, the heads of schools and teachers as a class. The Department of Public Instruction is not the only body concerned in this business. Therefore to invite the Government to bring about the reform through the agency of the Department is not the right way to go about the business. We have no quarrel with Rao Bahadur Kale. Nor do we deny the need for change and reform. But the reform and change must be in the direction of freedom, expansion and growth, and away from thralldom. Hence this warning, which we trust will be taken in the spirit in which it is given.

V. N. NAIK.

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## Reviews.

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### HISTORY OF THE COLAS.

THE COLAS, VOL. I. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. (University of Madras.) 1935. 25cm. 718p. Rs. 8.

SOUTHERN INDIA is singularly fortunate in its stone and copper-plate documents which with every decade appear in such enormous numbers as to baffle ordinary writers. In the elucidation of the history of the Colas, one of the most powerful dynasties known to the history of India, these epigraphs are of inestimable value. Professor Nilakantha Sastri has made an ample use of them, and has added to their evidence that supplied by the Tamil authors of the early ages. With much industry and care Professor Sastri has placed before us a fair picture of those famous times when Tamil rulers and their generals spread terror through a large part of India extending their arms across the sea to Burma. The author merits our best thanks for thus giving us in a short space the contribution of a great dynasty.

The work itself comprises 358 pages, the rest of it being made up of an appendix of "select inscrip-

tions of the Cōlas and related dynasties (chronologically arranged)" which, while being of some use to those who are unable to go through the originals, add merely to the bulk of the volume. This otherwise interesting study of the Cōlas contains features which call for some comment. Professor Śāstri is one of those who is obsessed with the idea of the antiquity of the group of the Tamil poets of the well-known Sangham age. This is the reason which makes him place Māmulūnār anterior to Aśoka (p. 27), talk of "originally distinct cultures, best described as Tamilian and Aryan" (pp. 73, 75), and assert that the eight Aryan forms of marriage were of Tamil origin (p. 75)! While tackling unsuccessfully the question of the age of the classical Tamil work *Māṃmēkhalai*, Professor Śāstri merely follows Mr. Sūryanāryana Śāstri, and does not analyze the problem with the aid of all available data.

Indeed, this feature of the author, *viz.*, that of not being acquainted with all the available data, is also responsible for the unhistorical statements which he makes in his work. A few examples will suffice. Professor Śāstri asserts boldly that the Kōsars occupied the Tulu country (pp. 27-28). This is a totally groundless statement. He traces the origin of a line of feudatories called the Kōngālvās to the Cēngālvās (p. 204), thereby violating the known facts concerning these two distinct houses. The author maintains that Rājarāja's campaign against the Nōlambas and the Gāngas ended by A. D. 991 (p. 207), but he forgets that Rājarāja established his rule in the Karnāṭaka only in A. D. 997! While discussing the intricate question of the Karnāṭaka-Tamil relations in the eleventh century A. D. (pp. 207-209), Professor Śāstri is ignorant of the fact that it was the Hoysala king Nṛpa Kāma who blocked the Tamilian advance in A. D. 1022 and again in A. D. 1026. The author is likewise unaware that it was in the times of that same Rājarāja that his son Rājendra Cōla conquered Talakād, the Gānga capital, by A. D. 1004! The conquest of that capital is attributed to Āditya (p. 138) on purely imaginary grounds. Equally unhistorical are the statements that Rājarāja annexed *all* the Gānga and Nōlambavādi territories (p. 211), and that the Cōlas were "supreme in the entire Gānga country" for a period of more than one century (p. 208).

In his eagerness to improve upon the views of the late Messrs. Hultzsch, Venkayya, and Kṛṣṇa Śāstri—whose unsurpassed work in the field of south Indian epigraphy has won for them our eternal gratitude—Professor Śāstri evokes our heartfelt sympathy. Coupled with this is the author's failure to utilize the materials found in the numerous stone and copper-plate records discovered in the Karnāṭaka, a study of which is indispensable for any work on the Cōlas.

In pure methodology too the author leaves much to be desired. He damps our curiosity while giving references to well-known authors. Thus I-Tsing, the famous Chinese pilgrim who came to India in A. D. 671-695, we have to look to in Gerini (*Researches into Ptolemy's Geography*) (p. 224, and *ibid.*, n.) when it ought to be in the classical translation by Dr. Takakusu. No page references are given to Mr. Sūryanāryana Śāstri's articles in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (p. 33, n.). Well-known proper names are rechristened Hoysala (p. 9), Balagāme (p. 245), Pulakesin and Aihōle (p. 126) when they ought to be Hoysala, Balligāme, Pulikeśi, and Aihōle.

Nevertheless the work under review is a systematic account to study the achievement of the famous Cōlas who have undoubtedly left a great heritage behind them. And students of Tamil history will be particularly glad that Professor Śāstri has added to

some extent to our knowledge of Cōla culture and political institutions.

B. A. SALETORÉ.

### PEN-LOOSE ABOUT INDIA.

**FOOT-LOOSE IN INDIA.** By GORDON SINCLAIR. (John Murray.) 1933. 370p. 7/6.

THE writer of this book is introduced to us in a short preface as a "news hound" recording a five-month journey in India done at the expense and suggestion of the *Toronto Star*. He enters this "he-man land of adventure" through the (Khyber) Pass of Death, reaches Lahore where he sees people "unwinding their turbans and putting three-cornered caps in their place to show that they were very mad because Mr. Gandhi was still in jail." He then finds himself at Delhi "on a day set aside to honour the feminine biological function called menstruation," interviews Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Willingdon, proceeds to Agra to see Taj and thence to Benares where he spends much of his time in the burning ghats. At Bombay he climbs to the top of the tower where vultures feast on Parsee corpses, witnesses bedlam in the bazar and is knocked down by a holy heifer (his pet horror). Proceeding thence to Calcutta, he has an encounter with monkeys in the train, reaches Calcutta to witness the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes to Kali, and hunts tigers in the Sunderbans. At Bezwada in the South, he is presented with an address of welcome by the disciples of the Rev. R. M. Bennett, B.A., and gets a glimpse of the tribes with whom, he declares, crime is religion. On the way to Madras, he gets his finger jammed in the train by the steel door, reaches that city to get stung by a scorpion, finds nothing to interest him there, and soon leaves for Burma. There he hunts the deadly hamadrayad and the black panther and leaves for Borneo.

A puzzling book this. What to call it is the puzzle. Is it a tissue of lies, as many of our countrymen would perhaps have us persuade ourselves? O! No. Nothing truer than statements like

Native Benares uses the streets for those things that you and I only do behind closed doors, but you get used to it, and don't look.

And nothing better founded in history or travellers' accounts than

Kelly was bossing the job brutally. How he did make the coolies slave! Since we were paying one cent a trip he would make them hoist incredible loads to their shoulders and if they did not act smart about it, he would smash them across the mouth. If we'd had a piano, Kelly would have made one coolie hoist the thing alone.

Once a scrawny little chap objected to something and Kelly clapped him on the jaw so that he went out like a light. This is the white man making them take it and like it. I thought it was bullying but never said anything. (pp. 284, 285.)

This indeed is the white man making us take things and like them. No mistaking. Is then the book a faithful presentation of the truth? O! No. What is more false than

They make pets of pigs, eat cakes made from pressed ants, burn manure and use it for medicine.

Or what more founded on ignorance than

Hindu holy day devoted to Goddess Vishnu.

And who is Vishnu? A virgin god; one of the nine incarnations of Brahma.

It is hard to generalise; as hard to do so about journalists as about any other body of persons. Touching this journalist, one is reminded of Chesterton's famous passage on the journalist reporting Mark Antony's oration over Cæsar's corpse and writing

that the great orator concluded by saying *he would put a wound in every tongue!* Facts are perverted in Gordon Sinclair's report, if ever facts were.

Why, the author himself seems conscious of it. His nervousness about the acceptance of his book by the public is obvious. Look at this: "Well, believe it or not, they offered..." (p. 231) Look again at this: "Write what you *really see* in this impossible country and at once they throw it in the waste paper baskets" (p. 203).

It is therefore not a little consoling that we are warned in the introduction against considering this *Foot-Loose in India* as either "a guide book or a text book". It had better be styled "Pen-Loose about India."

P. A. S.

### SHORT NOTICES.

#### THE MONEY MUDDLE AND THE WAY OUT.

By F. W. PETHICK-LAWRENCE. (Allen and UNWIN.) 1933. 20cm. 79p. 3/6.

THE author believes that the world crisis is the result of the failure "to stabilise the purchasing power of money or even to prevent violent changes in prices," and attempts to construct a workable scheme which would achieve the desired object. (Preface). As a staunch socialist, he feels that "fundamental changes must be made if human society, as we know it, is to survive." Mr. Lawrence's suggestion is to stabilise the price level by linking the monetary unit not to gold but to a "basketful of goods" i.e. to the composite price of a representative group of staple articles of daily and common use e. g. wheat, wool, iron, meat, etc. The control of the central banking policy and, close study of index numbers would stabilise the wholesale and retail prices. The author cites the support of the Labour and the Conservative party resolutions in 1932 in support of his "basketful of goods" idea.

The scheme reminds one of Proudhon's exchange Bank and Owen's Labour Notes so far as the practical possibilities are concerned. Firstly, it is incapable of international application because of the variety of staple commodities representing use and production in different parts of the world. The basket would contain too many goods to be handy. Secondly, it is not a self-sufficient system in so far as it depends as much on world production of these commodities as on Government regulation and the control of the central banking policy. Even for purposes of national recovery the scheme is of doubtful utility because of the close relationship between the price level in one country and that in others and of complications arising from tariff and trade policies all the world over. Mr. Lawrence's scheme is perhaps practicable only under one condition, namely, a socialistic Government. If all the countries were to become either socialistic or act as one without caring for individual gains—an impossible supposition—then even the existing gold standard or any other standard would do as well as the basketful of goods standard.

The author had admirably written the book for the general reader. It is hoped that he will write a larger and a more detailed book for the expert.

M. H. G.

#### POLITICIANS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

THE BRITISH DREYFUS CASE. Edited by A. R. ORAGE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1934. 20cm. 99p. 1/-

THE book is a reprint of certain articles in the *New English Weekly* on the sayings and doings of a

number of individuals who have been connected with an administrative scandal which has come to be popularly known as the "British Dreyfus case". One Miss Douglas Pennant was dismissed from her post as commandant of the Women's Royal Air Force, after only a few weeks subsequent to her taking up the appointment under circumstances which could not be justified. No reason has been given for this step and all efforts to get a reason out of Lord Weir, who was the Air Minister and therefore directly concerned with the dismissal, were unsuccessful. A Douglas Pennant League was formed to secure justice to the lady and to absolve her character from blame. When Sir William Jowitt was the Attorney-General he investigated into the case and prepared a statement for the House of Commons which would have cleared Miss Pennant's character. But before he could do so, he left office and Sir Thomas Inskip who succeeded him could not be persuaded to read his predecessor's statement because it contained a censure on Lord Weir. The compiler of the book brings together the various articles that appeared in the *New English Weekly* from time to time about the case, the procedure followed in tackling it, the injustice done to Miss Pennant in the course of it, and the attempts by the Douglas Pennant Committee to secure justice for the victim. The whole episode makes remarkable reading and shows, if it does nothing else, the extraordinary tenacity of the interests concerned in refusing to expose a scandal which involved the honour of a lady known for her public service and social standing. The book throws fresh light on the subject and to that extent it performs a valuable service.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

#### GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY. Vol. II.

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. (Kitabistan, Allahabad.) 1935. 22cm. 615 to 1569p. Rs. 9.

THIS volume deals, roughly speaking, with the world's history of the last one hundred years ending with 1933. In the first volume we were told of events beginning from historic times up to the close of the Napoleonic cataclysm. The volume under review begins with the Congress of Vienna and ends with "a final look round the world" in 1933. The period covered in this volume was one of phenomenal activity in all branches of human activity.

The growth of British imperialism, the emergence of Japan as a first class power from its age-long seclusion and sleep, the revolutions in China and Russia, the fight for independence in the Phillipines, Ireland and India and the great World War are all described in the author's own inimitable style. In dealing with the course of events in various countries of the world the author incidentally reveals himself as an uncompromising opponent of imperialism and exploitation of all sorts, and as a firm believer in socialism.

Though it is a lengthy book the reader is easily carried through it because of the attractive literary garb in which the author has clothed the important landmarks in the history of each country. This may be called Panditji's *magnum opus*, though like the *Gita Rahasya* and the *Orion* of Tilak it was written in gaol with no literary and other facilities. In many respects it is an interesting book.

S. R. V.

#### A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND OFFICE COMPENDIUM. By T.S. SRIVASTAVA.

(The Author, 71, Molvigani, Lucknow.) 1935. 20cm. 382+126p. Rs. 3.

THE issue of the second edition of this book itself

proves that the manual is greatly in demand. It contains a vast amount of useful information on all subjects of practical and general interest. The book is divided into two parts: the first dealing with chapters on general information, and the second with administration, precis-writing, proof correcting, foreign phrases, latest reforms, etc. As a reference book for a layman it is very useful. Mr. Srivastava is to be congratulated upon the production of so useful and commendable a publication.

L. V. G.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By D. W. BROGAN. (Great Lives Series.) (Duckworth.) 1935. 20cm. 143p. 2/-.
- A HISTORY OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN HYDERABAD STATE. By M. FATHULLA KHAN. (New Hyderabad Press, Secunderabad.) 1935. 21cm. 160p. Rs. 3.

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