

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### The Press Act Again.

WE cannot congratulate the Government of India on their political wisdom in promulgating the Ordinance reviving the new defunct Press Act. Far be it from us to suggest that the Government have no cause to take some such action: the provocation is there: no Government, either foreign or indigenous, can look on with folded hands while a virulent campaign to subvert it is being carried on. But we are unable to share the Government's hope that by the promulgation of the Press Ordinance they will succeed in coping with the situation. They are just playing into the hands of Mr. Gandhi and a more his followers. The Press Ordinance will provide the civil resisters with a another and more welcome and handy method of defying the Government and courting jail. It will be remembered that Mr. Gandhi had to do some hard thinking for some weeks to pitch upon the salt tax for civil resistance: he would not have had to keep those sleepless vigils if the Press Act or some substitute for it were there; he would have at once selected it, may be in preference to salt tax. Government's latest action will only provoke the civil resisters to bring out all kinds of sheets just to defy the Press Ordinance. If the salt tax served the tactical purposes of Mr. Gandhi well, the Press Ordinance will suit him better, and the world will be told that the British Government in India had to muzzle the Press, had to fetter the freedom of the Press, in order to carry on their government! Mr. Gandhi could not have wished for a more

welcome windfall. There can be no greater moral defeat for the Government than that they have had to have recourse to such powers. If the civil resisters were not deterred by the terrors of the law and the might of the Government from defying the salt laws, they are not likely to be cowed down by the Press Ordinance. While we are at one with Government in "resisting the forces of anarchy and leading the country back into the paths of peace and orderly progress," we have no hesitation in telling the Government that the methods they are following for the purpose are not calculated to achieve it, and that the Government will be wiser to expedite that "search for more far-reaching remedies" to which the Viceroy made reference.

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### Mr. Patel's Resignation.

MR. V. J. PATEL, who has just resigned his Presidentship of the Legislative Assembly, is among the most astute and clever of Indian politicians. During his first term of office as President of the Assembly it was unanimously granted that Mr. Patel maintained the high traditions of judicial impartiality and independence; but during his second term of office, he was not quite successful in restraining his political leanings from influencing his conduct in the Chair. As he himself says, he gave no quarter to the bureaucracy. Mr. Patel conceived his duty to be not merely the working of the Government of India Act but of enlarging, to the extent to which he could by stretching the constitution, the powers of the non-officials in the Assembly. He was thinking of the Speakers of the House of Commons in the days of the Stuarts who sought to enlarge the powers of the House at the expense of those of the Crown. A written constitution, like the one embodied in the Government of India Act, does not easily lend itself to such a process.

Mr. Patel played another role besides. As his second letter to the Viceroy shows, he has been taking a very active part in advising the Viceroy on the political situation in India and the means by which a peaceful settlement could be secured. It is a matter of regret that the Viceroy did not chose to be guided more by Mr. Patel's sound advice.

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### Patiala.

IT is some weeks since the Committee of the States' People's Conference published its report of its investigations of the alleged gross misrule in Patiala and requested the Paramount Power to institute an open enquiry into the allegations. So far the Paramount Power has made no sign that it means to move in the matter. And the delay in causing bitter disappointment and even resentment among the subjects of the Indian States and their friends in British India. The Maharaja of Patiala has in the meanwhile taken the

public into his confidence to the extent of informing them that he proposed to take some action: he has refrained from saying more. We would remind the Paramount Power that in the present instance it is not only the good name of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes that is concerned but that of the Paramount Power itself. And the suspicion is growing and spreading that the Paramount Power is shielding the Prince, against whom the gravest and most scandalous allegations have been made by a body of most responsible publicists, in order to rally the Princes to its side in the present struggle between the Government and the non-cooperators; and that the Paramount Government itself has no clean record and a clear conscience in the matter. We solemnly warn the Government that failure or undue delay in setting up a commission, a strong and impartial commission, to make a public enquiry into the allegations will deepen the suspicions into convictions, and that forebodes no good to the Government. We ask for nothing less and nothing else than an open, public enquiry by a competent and impartial commission, and that is not asking for much. We ask for it not only in the interests of the subjects of the States but of the Maharaja of Patiala and the Paramount Power.

#### Mistaken and Misleading.

The Muslims have been active during last few weeks holding meetings to discuss, among other things, the Muslim claims. Presiding over the first session of the U. P. Muslim Conference the Raja of Salempur is reported to have held out the threat that if "their cherished rights" of separate electorate were done away with, Muslims would withdraw co-operation with the Government. The Raja Sahib was evidently misleading people when he said that "the system of minority representation has been incorporated in at least ten constitutions of Europe" and argued from it that "it is absolutely logical, practical and expedient that separate electorates which are now the law of the land should be retained in the future constitution of the country." It is utterly untrue that any of the ten constitutions in Europe provided for separate electorates. Mr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, who makes a religion of separate electorates, and who made a special study of minority safeguards in Europe, could only claim in his book on the Rights of the Muslim minority in India that separate electorates existed only in Austria Hungary and in Kenya, Cyprus and Palestine. Austria-Hungary is extinct. In Kenya, all Indians, including Muslims, are bitterly opposed to separate electorates.

#### Bargaining without Scruple.

Moulana Muhammad Ali and some other Muslims were reported to have said that they did not intend to join the Gandhi campaign because the claims of Muslims were not conceded by the Congress. Does it mean that they are prepared to join the Mahatma if they are promised their demands? "In this trial of strength between the Hindu Maha Sabha and the alien bureaucracy we can take no part on either side. But we cannot afford to be idle either. Let us unite and demand from both what is our due." Does it follow that whoever promises them their "due" will have them as an ally? For sheer opportunism and barefaced bargaining these Muslim leaders are hard to beat.

#### Suspicious Zeal.

Considering the thoroughly communal outlook of Moulana Muhammad Ali, and his past record over

the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements, his very zeal for a settlement for the Hindu-Muslim question prior to the publication of the Simon Report and before the Round Table Conference meets, is open to suspicion that he is out to exploit the zeal of the All-Parties Conference to arrive at a settlement in order to drive a hard bargain. The rank communalists shrink from advancing their preposterous claims at the Round Table Conference in London in the presence of British statesmen. They would like to bargain here and now and face London with a *fait accompli* and throw on the Britishers the responsibility of rejecting an agreed settlement. It will be recalled that Mr. Montagu was opposed to separate electorates but shrank from upsetting the Lucknow compact.

#### The Indian Merchants' Chamber on the present Situation.

AS usual there was a good deal of outspoken criticism of Government measures at the quarterly general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber held on Saturday last. The vice President of the Chamber warned the Government against adding anything to the present taxation since we had reached the upward limit of the taxable capacity of the people. He recommended the abolition of the salt tax in view of the strong feeling in the country against the taxation of a prime necessary of life. He declared that there was no hope of any reduction in taxation or direction of funds to the nation building activities as long as the military octopus was allowed to be there. He described the system under which land revenue was collected as old and antediluvian and recommended the amendment of the Land Revenue Code so as to bring it into conformity with the spirit of the times. It is satisfactory to note that while admitting the benefits of protection, he urged on the millowners the necessity of organizing the industry; one of his suggestions is the inauguration of a central laboratory for all the mills in order to carry on researches in connection with the industry. We strongly commend this suggestion to the attention of the Millowners' Association. Mr. Hooseinbhai Lalji, M. L. C., President of the Chamber, referring to the serious economic condition in the country, justified the outspoken letter addressed by the Chamber to the Government of India in February last. In that letter the currency policy of the Government was severely criticised. While emphasizing the fact that the Indian Commercial community has always stood for the maintenance of law and order Mr. Hooseinbhai appealed to the Government to read the signs of the times aright and recognize the impossibility of reconciling Indians to any system other than the administration of India by Indians in the interests of Indians. He further made an eloquent appeal for communal unity and urged that the best interests of the country should not be sacrificed owing to communal considerations on the side of Hindus or Muslims. We are glad to note that while appreciating the encouragement of indigenous industries he expressed strong disapproval of the boycott of Exchange Banks, the Imperial Bank and British houses as calculated to do harm to our trade and industries rather than benefit them; he also expressed a strong disapproval of the recent outbursts of violence as being ruinous to the best interests of the country. Finally he pleaded for a gesture of conciliation on the part of the statesmen and politicians of Great Britain.

#### Economic Tendencies in India.

A lecture recently delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club by Mr. R. W. Brock, Editor of the *Capital*

has brought out some of the crucial points in India's economic development and with the weight of his economic authority behind it deserves to be carefully thought over. Mr. Brock stressed the interdependence of India and Great Britain and said that no country would benefit more than Great Britain if India developed her resources and raised her standard of living. He attributed the present trade depression in India principally to the worldwide fall in commodity prices and he rightly bewailed the increasing imports of foreign foodstuffs and raw materials which we ought to produce from our own soil, with the aid of a more scientific system. While welcoming the new industries of steel, tinplates and cement Mr. Brock thinks that the stimulus of tariffs is an artificial one and regards it as a mixed blessing; in this we find it difficult to agree with him since for years to come India cannot do without this artificial stimulus. The most convincing explanation of the failure of the tariffs to yield a more rapid expansion of Indian industries is in his opinion the very slow rise in the purchasing power of the rural population; consequently he recommends greater concentration on increasing the income of the agriculturist in order to create a greater demand for factory products. Mr. Brock specially emphasized the fact that the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture is increasing instead of diminishing and unless the consumers' average income increased nothing could be hoped in the way of the development of urban industries; in fact mass production must be matched by mass consumption. So far as the development of industries is concerned he suggested that along with fiscal assistance by means of tariffs, scientific research, technical and commercial education, improvement of transport facilities and development of electric power should be more vigorously pursued. While agreeing with him in the main, we believe that Mr. Brock has gone too far in belittling the assistance of protective tariffs in India with its peculiar economic situation. Believing as he does in the vast potentialities of rural reconstruction he has suggested the formation of 'crop committees' modelled on the Central Cotton Committee and the adoption of other measures for facilitating the growth of larger and better crops.

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#### Women's Indian Association.

It is evident from the Annual Report of the Women's Indian Association for 1929-30 that the institution is doing a great deal for the self development and education of women. The aims and ideals of work of the association are on a non-sectarian basis and include among them the securing of the abolition of child marriage and the raising of the age of consent for married girls to sixteen. The Association has at present 72 branches and 4000 members all over India and the outstanding position in public service now held by its members is an indication of its growing influence. The Association has by its efforts secured the inclusion of girls in the scheme for compulsory primary education in Madras City. The primary responsibility for arranging the All-India Women's Conferences has devolved upon the Women's Indian Association and similarly the annual conferences in the constituent areas have been largely indebted to the hard work of the local branches of the Association. Owing to the efforts of the Vice President of the Association the Madras Government was persuaded to make provision for a Woman Assistant Director of Public Health to look after the health of women. The Association has made representations to H. E. the Viceroy protesting against any attempt to weaken the Child Marriage Restraint Act. Two Vice Presidents of the Asso-

ciation, Dr. Muthulakshmi and Mrs. Jinarajadasa, have worked strenuously for success of the Bill for the suppression of Immoral Traffic which was recently passed into law. The Association also canvassed vigorously for the support of the members of the Madras Council for the Devadasi Bill. The work of the Bombay and Madras branches in cooperation with vigilance societies has been valuable in securing legislation for the abolition of brothels and the establishment of rescue homes. It is to be noted that a large majority of the women members of various legislative councils are members of the Association. The Association conducts a monthly magazine which fills an international need for authentic information about women's interests in India. The Association sent a delegation to the Berlin Congress of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, which took an active part in its deliberations.

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#### The Signing of the Naval Pact.

AFTER repeated oscillations between hope and despair the Naval Treaty was signed at last on April 22nd by the delegates of the five Powers assembled in conference for inaugurating naval disarmament. Two months ago he would have been a bold man who predicted the successful termination of the Naval Conference. What with the machinations of the "Big Navy" group in the United States, insistence upon parity with France by Italy, insistence on 'absolute need' even by Great Britain, every one had nearly despaired of achieving any substantial results by common agreement. Fortunately for the world the spirit of give and take replaced the insistence on guarantees of security by individual powers, which had very nearly wrecked the Conference and the result is a brilliant achievement in the form of a Five Power Naval treaty, which has laid the foundations of world peace through progressive disarmament. The British Empire, U. S. A. and Japan agree by this Treaty to scrap five, three and one battleships respectively; none of the signatories are to construct aircraft-carrier of 10,000 tons or more mounting guns above six-inch. Excepting a maximum number of three submarines not exceeding 2,800 tons and carrying guns not above 6.1 inch calibre, no Power is to construct submarines exceeding 2,000 tons, with guns above 5.1 inch calibre; in addition completed tonnage in cruiser, destroyer and submarine categories is fixed for each of the three Powers, the British Commonwealth, U. S. A. and Japan. The last is a notable achievement and constitutes an important landmark. For humanizing submarine warfare several rules are imposed which prevent merchant ships being sunk except in cases of persistent refusal to stop or submit to a search and without having placed the passengers in a place of safety. The Treaty is to remain in force till the end of 1936, and another conference is to be convened in 1935 to carry forward the purposes of the present agreement. In future the success of disarmament will depend upon the resolution to achieve by treaty the security for which upto now nations have relied on armaments. As Mr. MacDonld in his address said, they must continue strengthening the mentality of peace. Sceptics may say that reduction is not disarmament but there is no gainsaying that it is the right step towards it and nothing but harm will result by indulging in cheap cynicism about the Treaty. It is to be regretted that the battleship has not been abolished but we hope that this would be accomplished by the conference which is to meet five years hence.

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## Articles.

### TESTING TIME FOR STATESMANSHIP.

IT is one the greatest tragedies of modern times that two such persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, both lovers of peace and goodwill, both of whom command more than ordinary respect and trust of the people both here and in Britain, both striving for the political freedom of India, should, by an unhappy turn of events, be ranged on either side as opponents, and that, after coming very near each other after the Viceroy's statement of November last, they should have drifted so far apart since, and that between them they should have landed the country in an ugly mess. Each is being driven by the other in turn to more desperate courses of action. The apostle of nonviolence is indulging in the most violent stirring up of passions which inevitably provokes, in spite of his protestation to the contrary, outbursts of physical violence to person and property. The guardian of law and order is attempting to preserve respect for law and for the Government by suspending the freedom of the press and of person.

There is no getting away from the fact, however deplorable, that Mr. Gandhi is gaining strength. Though his campaign made immediate appeal to the youth of the land, latterly many of those, who at first opposed him, have gone over to his camp, Mr. V. J. Patel, who resigned the Presidentship of the Assembly, being the latest recruit. There is no reason to suppose that they have all changed their mind about the wisdom and expediency of civil disobedience or that they have not realised the evil effects of the campaign on the country generally. Personal loyalty to the Mahatma turned the scale with some: they fought the Mahatma while yet there was hope of restraining him but when against all advice and entreaty he took the plunge, they felt that they could not let him down. Others were prompted by the thought that, however unwise it was for Mr. Gandhito have started civil disobedience, his defeat would mean the triumph of the bureaucracy and the greater humiliation and enslavement of India, yet another victory of the West over the East, and the defeat of Indian spiritualism before the materialism of the West. The battle being joined, he is a traitor who holds back.

There is yet another group which is convinced of the urgent necessity of ending as speedily as possible this disastrous civil war, which at best, if at all, can give the popular party but a Pyrric victory. If non-violence should succeed in saving the people from physical damage and devastation, the cult of civil disobedience will have played terrible havoc with the law-abiding instincts of the people, a devastation no less damaging and harmful. This group is determined to stop the rot before it spreads any further. They love emancipation as much as respect for law. When these two are at cross purposes, when the one leads to revolution and the other to repression, they have to make a choice.

They can join the Government, give their moral support to them, and thereby hope to end the struggle. But they have no confidence that in helping to crush revolution, they will not also be extinguishing their hopes of political emancipation. On the other hand, they may join the civil resisters, strengthen the Mahatma's hands, impress the world's public opinion and morally isolate the Government. If the moral pressure of their action should compel the Government to come to terms, civil war will be ended and emancipation assured. Balancing the good and evil, they have come to the conclusion that, much as they dislike Mr. Gandhi's revolution, they dislike Government's repression more, and on the whole, it was best to throw in their lot with the Mahatma. No useful purpose is served by standing aloof except to prolong the agony and the mischief, and embarrassing both the Government and the Mahatma. Take a decisive step, join the less objectionable of the two combatants and force a crisis. Such is their argument.

There is a sincere desire even among the civil resisters to bring the unhappy state of things to an end. It is an opportunity and a call for those who have so far held aloof from either of the combatants to make strenuous and sustained efforts to meditate and bring about peace, honourable to all parties. We venture to suggest that that All-Parties Conference, which is to meet in Bombay on the 14th of May, may well consider the subject. It is a matter of opinion whether in the existing state of affairs precedence should not be given to this question in the deliberations of the Conference.

A new offer by the Government is vital to the purpose. The framing of a Dominion constitution, with necessary reservations, should be the basis of the new offer. There are those both in India and in Britain who consider Dominion status premature for India. Let them consider whether the perils of premature responsibility are greater than those that now face the country, and which no amount of repression is likely to stamp out. If the well-being of India is the primary consideration, it will not take long to make a choice between immediate responsibility and civil war. The first alternative will make for friendship with England and her assistance in the early stages will be freely welcomed and entertained. A grateful and contented India will be no inconsiderable asset to England.

It is equally necessary that the offer should be made as soon as possible. The delay in the publication of the Simon Report is most aggravating even to the Government who will naturally not feel free to make any announcement prior to its publication. The announcement may however be made simultaneously with the publication or immediately after.

The date of the Conference is of no less importance. It has been said that the Conference will be held after the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations sessions, about autumn this year. It is unwise and impolitic to create the impression in India that the deepest concerns of India get but a back seat in the counsels of the Commonwealth, that it is only after all other work has been

attended to that India's turn will come. Both for political and climatic reasons, it is best that the Conference is held soon after the Simon Report is published. Apart from considerations of prestige, the Simon Report has no compelling value, and not much time need be allotted for its elaborate study. There will besides be plenty of time between the commencement of the Conference and its conclusion to study the Simon Report.

In the meanwhile it must be impressed on the Government that repression is no cure for the Gandhi revolution, that the latter only batters on it. Technical offences, like test cases, should receive only nominal punishments. Repression as a deterrent has already failed. Government have not been able to arrest and punish all the law-breakers. Mr. Gandhi's movement has to be met by far different methods, and among them, chivalry and sportsmanship.

### PROBLEM OF MINORITIES.

#### III

MR. PAUL'S third suggestion refers to the special care and uplift of the Backward and Depressed Classes, whose needs travel beyond bare justice: they justify generosity. He suggests the constitution of a permanent commission after the model of the Native Affairs Commission in South Africa and recommends that that institution should be studied. The South African Native Affairs Commission was constituted under the Native Affairs Act of 1920. Its members are appointed by the Governor General, and it is presided over by the Minister of Native Affairs. The members of the Commission, though in receipt of salaries, are free to be members of either House of Parliament. The functions of the Commission are advisory, but should the Minister reject its recommendations, it is entitled to have access to the Cabinet and Parliament. When the first Commission was constituted it defined its policy as follows: it was the friend of the native peoples, and as such took a sympathetic view of their aims and aspirations. It, therefore, aimed at winning the confidence of the natives. It also set before itself the task of educating public opinion so as to bring about mutual understanding and harmonious relations between the whites and the natives. The Commissioners travel widely, meet natives both formally and informally and keep in touch with their sentiments.

It appears that when first the constitution of such a commission was mooted in 1917, it was planned somewhat differently. The "South African Outlook", a missionary magazine dealing with Native problems and published at Lovedale in South Africa, has the following passage in its issue of February last in commenting on the recent change in the personnel of the Commission: "When the National Convention approved the appointing of a permanent Native Affairs Commission the duty of the Commission was unquestionably intended to be the defence of the Native peoples, it was to fill the role of the *tribuni plebis* of Rome at its best. So it was then rightly sought to confer on the Commissioners the status and security of tenure granted to judges; but when the

proposal failed to be carried, the next best alternative had to be accepted to make the appointments for such a period as might in a measure protect its membership from changes of Government. That safeguard, however, such as it was, the last South African Party Government, to its own discredit, reduced, thereby rendering it possible practically always to constitute the Commission as a Party instrument. If that was the consummation aimed at when the change was made it now seems to be effectively attained."

The "South African Outlook" is none too pleased with the new set of Commissioners recently appointed by Gen. Hertzog's Government nor with some of the policies of the Commission. "We offer no judgment on the fitness of the new Commissioners to "defend" Native interests. We would only remark that as defenders of Native rights and promoters of the "reasonable aspirations" of the Natives, they are unknown to the public." With regards the education policy of the previous Commission, which included Dr. C. T. Loram, the "South African Outlook" complains, "Here again we see that the Native Affairs Commission, the very body that should have been going all out for Native advance and should have been pressing on all points for a larger share of the direct taxation was the limiting factor in this case."

Dr. Edger H. Brookes, in his classic, "History of Native Policy in South Africa", refers to the Native Affairs Commission thus: "The brightest feature of the Act, however, is the Native Affairs Commission. Its scope is restricted, and its independence limited, in comparison with the Commission contemplated by the 1917 Bill, and unfortunately it does not seem to have entirely succeeded in capturing Native confidence. But to the impartial observer its work since 1921 has been of the utmost value. Had it power commensurate with its wisdom and goodwill, it would be better for South Africa." (p. 145).

Gen. Hertzog's Native Bills will test the Native Affairs Commission. The Natives not only in the Cape Province but also in the three other provinces of the Union are unanimously and vehemently opposed to the proposals of the Premier to take away the existing Native franchise rights in the Cape. It remains to be seen if the Native Affairs Commission, as the "friend" and "defender of the reasonable aspirations" of the Natives has stood by them.

It is worth noting that the Native Affairs Commission is composed entirely of whites, and the Natives have no place on it. Secondly, Natives have to pay a special poll tax of a pound a head, and this goes to the Native Development Fund. One fifth of the Native poll tax is earmarked for Native education. The latter point is of some interest because some time ago the Madras Government asked its Labour Commissioner to undertake the economic uplift of the depressed classes in that Presidency and gave him the assistance of some deputy collectors. A conscientious and vigorous discharge of their responsibilities brought them up against the Madras

Legislative Council, which promptly cut out the budget demand for their salaries! If the annual grants for the uplift of the backward classes are to depend on the goodwill of the legislature, the Backward Classes Commission, contemplated by Mr. Paul, may soon flounder for want of finance. The experience of South Africa and of Madras points to the desirability of endowing the Backward Classes Commissioners with the status and security of judges of the High Courts and to earmark adequate funds for their work, which shall not be subject to annual grants by the legislature, unless it be to supplement them.

Mr. Paul does not say how long this special treatment for the benefit of the Backward classes is to continue. The South African Native Affairs Commission has not been conceived with the idea that one day it should become superfluous; it is meant to deal with a static situation, not a dynamic one. South Africa does not envisage the political and economic assimilation of white and black: segregation of the Natives and the rule of the whites over the Natives are accepted as fundamental axioms; the Natives, except to a limited extent in one province, have no political influence. In India things are different. The gulf that divides the Depressed classes and the higher castes is not so great as that between the whites and the Natives in South Africa; the policy during the last some decades has been the political and economic, and even social, assimilation of the backward classes with the higher castes; the backward classes have the same franchise rights as others; they are represented, by nomination, if not by election, in the legislatures and the local bodies. Under these circumstances, it is open to doubt if an arrangement adopted in South Africa will be a suitable model for India to copy. At any rate, it cannot be conceived of as a permanent institution in India. And if it is only to be transitional, when and under what circumstances should the arrangement cease? Or is it more likely that these special arrangements, once set up, will tend to create vested interests and perpetuate themselves?

BHISHMA.

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## Our European Letter.

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### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

MR. BALDWIN, speaking at Manchester the other day on unemployment, safeguarding, and Empire trade, made the following allusion to India:—

India comes nearly home to Lancashire, and Lancashire is not feeling very happy about the Indian tariffs. I think many of us, looking back, may feel some regret that those preferences advocated in 1903 failed to find favour with the electors of this country, and the chance which existed then of preferences in India was lost. I am not one to give up hope that there may yet be preferences in that great country. You all know how, since the War, Indian opinion has been stirred by the prospect of one day ranking in the Empire with the great Dominions of our own people. You cannot take equal rank with our

Dominions unless you are prepared to accept the responsibility and the duties as well as the rights and status.

Our own people have shown us that they are prepared to deal with us in business and to offer us reciprocal advantages. I cannot doubt, myself, that with the great Indian Empire the day will come, and may not be far distant, when the meeting of our industrialists may be as fruitful as our meeting with the Dominions; and that it may be possible there to find preferences for our goods, as against the goods of the rest of the world, such as we should be prepared to give any goods that come from India to the country.

"Our own people have shown us that they are prepared to deal with us in business and to offer us reciprocal advantages," says Mr. Baldwin, and Lord Beaverbrook (who, it is rumoured, wishes to make another start with his Empire campaign) has also said lately that the resistance to the fiscal unity of the Empire did not come from the Dominions. And yet, only last week the Government of Australia issued a proclamation enumerating the articles of which the import, according to the recent decision of the Government, is to be either prohibited or rationed. Of this, the *Times* commented: "That British trade will be adversely affected goes without saying. Several important British industries will be hard hit. By the prohibition of the import of structural iron and steel, for example, a trade worth nearly half a million a year will be lost . . . The set-back must be accepted philosophically and with the hope that the emergency measures which Australia has been compelled to adopt may speedily achieve their object and enable normal trading to be resumed."

The difficulties of Imperial preference, so well illustrated in this case, are real and fundamentally economic in their nature. They may have been political at one time, but that phase has passed. As Mr. Baldwin himself recognized in his speech at Manchester the Dominions are fast becoming exporting countries and have to consider their foreign trade. The Conservatives may claim, as indeed Lord Melchett claimed in an interview on his return from South Africa not long ago, that it is precisely to this aspect of the question they are addressing themselves. Great Britain, they say, is not asking for special considerations on sentimental grounds, but is only seeking to promote the rationalization of the politico-economic structure of the Empire.

Any such claim implies, of course, that the competitive power of Britain remains unimpaired, and she would be able to give adequate returns to the Dominions for the advantages she may derive from them. Even admitting this position, however, the Conservative cure for unemployment envisages a period of rationalization during which time unemployment must increase or show no improvement. Or, according to that graduated process of rationalization or safeguarding which is Mr. Baldwin's solution, wages will remain stationary and the social services programme will have to be severely curtailed if not altogether suspended. None of these courses could contribute to the advancement of Labour Party as a political force. In the existing conditions in England with a democracy exercising complete franchise, any policy calculated to put the

Labour Party into shade is foredoomed. By its very nature that party alone completely represents, and will continue to represent for a long time, the democracy of England newly come to power.

For some years to come unemployment will make and unmake Governments in England, and perhaps very soon not in England only. It has been calculated that for the owning classes, and even for the economy of the country generally, higher taxation and dole would be cheaper than special measures for more employment owing to the returns from foreign investments. Consequently, the Labour Party's cure for unemployment is, so far from forcing the competitive power of the country, increasing the demand for goods, even artificially. Relaxation of the gold standard, easy credit, institution of special workes at home, a check on capital exported abroad, higher wages and greater purchasing power of the worker; these are the items in their policy. They too are for rationalization, not of industries only but of the entire economic structure of the nation on a definite and well-thought out basis.

Such a programme is attractive, but it can be successful only when the present competitive basis of international life has been replaced by cooperation. That is not a matter of immediate politics, and even though it may be admitted that the Socialist scheme is far-reaching and perhaps even inevitable in the long run in the conditions of the modern world, it cannot be realized at one blow. Not certainly in England, where in the present uncertain political conditions the outcome of this battle of theories cannot be predicted. But it would appear that neither the Tory nor the Labour Parties are likely to have it all their own way. The former would probably soon discover that the present cry of Empire unity is a good political slogan and no more, and the latter that anti-Imperialism is very much more than a generous gesture.

R. RAGHUNATHA ROW.

Geneva,  
10th April.

## Reviews.

### DOMINION STATUS.

**THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.** By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (Macmillan, London.) 1929. 22cm. 524p. 18/-

WHAT is meant by Dominion Status and what restrictions are implied by it upon the freedom of the Dominions are questions which have risen to prominence in Indian political discussion at the present time. Till recently, Dominion Status was declared by Indian politicians to be the goal of their aspirations. The declaration of Lord Irwin in October last recognised that this was the goal to the attainment of which by India the British Parliament had pledged itself. The Indian National Congress during its session at Lahore last December changed the creed of the Congress and declared independence to be its goal. There has since been a sharp cleavage of opinion between those who have adopted the new Congress creed and others who still adhere to the

goal of Dominion Status. Independence in the sense of a severance of the British connection is no doubt easily understood, but the exact significance of Dominions Status and its implications are not generally realised. People do not understand how much of autonomy is implied in Dominion Status or how there are hardly any disadvantages incidental to such status which render it worth while to forego the benefits conferred by membership of the most powerful empire in the world. Those who require an answer to the questions we have indicated will find ample enlightenment in Professor Keith's latest book on the "Sovereignty of the British Dominions". The very fact that the term 'sovereignty' is used in connection with the status of the Dominions is significant of the change which has come about in the relations between the Dominions and the United Kingdom. The fact that 500 pages are required for the full exposition of Dominion Status shows clearly the difficulty of explaining in a few sentences what Dominion Status exactly means. There is no social or political organisation which supplies any parallels. One may think of a partnership, or of a joint family the members of which have gone forth to different parts of the world to seek their fortunes, or, in the political sphere, of a federation or confederacy of States. But all these analogies are hopelessly wide of the mark. There has been nothing like the British Commonwealth of Nations before now in the world. With the gradual relaxation of control over the Dominions by the United Kingdom and with the ever increasing assertion of individuality and freedom by the Dominions, critics have begun to ask whether the British Empire has not broken up and whether the British Commonwealth can be regarded as a single entity for any purpose. Changes in the mutual relations of the Dominions and the United Kingdom are taking place so rapidly that before a book describing the relations at any moment can get printed, fresh changes take place and render a revision of the book necessary. Professor Keith's preface to his book was written in August 1926, but the report which has since appeared of the Dominion Laws Conference marks a considerable change in the relations described in the book.

The main theme of the book is two-fold: the development of the sovereignty reached by the Dominions and the extent and limits of such sovereignty. To those who are familiar with the earlier works of Professor Keith on 'Responsible Government in the Dominions' and 'Imperial Unity in the Dominions' a great deal of the matter of this book will be found to cover familiar ground. The chief interest of the book consists in the account of the developments which have since taken place in the relations between the members of the Commonwealth and the discussion of some of the questions to which these developments have given rise.

The internal sovereignty of the Dominions may be said to have been completely achieved by the consensus of the members of the Dominion Laws Conference. Professor Keith tenaciously clings to some of the vestiges of control exercised by the Imperial Parliament in legislative and administrative matters and tries to make out that the internal sovereignty of the Dominions is still subject to certain restrictions and falls short of the omnipotence of the British Parliament. Even before the date of the Dominion Laws Conference, it could be safely affirmed that the restrictions on the legislative and administrative freedom of the Dominions were legal and technical rather than actual. But anyone who knows the growth of British constitutional law by conventions rather than statutory enactments must readily admit that what really matters is convention and usage and not the

presence or absence of statutory authority. And no one knows this better than Professor Keith himself. The Imperial Conferences which have been held from time to time may not be a source of new rights and powers, but they are nevertheless a periodical record of the yearly changing conventions and usages. The resolutions of every successive conference form a fresh starting point and, as Professor Keith remarks, "accord sanction to further development" on the same lines. The question whether the conclusions of the Conference of 1926 are a record of existing facts or amount to the creation of a new status is of no practical value. It may be safely presumed that all resolutions of the Conference un-animously arrived at will govern the subsequent dealings of the members of the Commonwealth with each other. The report of the Conference of 1926 declared that the Dominions were autonomous communities within the British Empire equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Among the marks of imperial control relied upon by Professor Keith in support of his thesis are the powers of disallowance and reservation of Dominion legislation, the legal power of the Imperial Parliament to affect the Dominions by its own legislation and the fact that it is ordinarily incompetent for the Dominion Parliaments to give an extra-territorial operation to their legislation. The Dominion Laws Conference has recommended, among other things, the abolition of the power of disallowance, if it is desired by the Dominion Governments. They are also in favour of abolishing the power of reservation and the removal by the British Parliament of any constitutional limitations on the extra-territorial operation of laws passed by the Dominion legislatures. They recommend also that no Act of the British Parliament should hereafter be deemed to extend to a Dominion, unless it is expressly stated in the Act that the Dominion has requested and consented to its enactment. In these and various other ways the report of the Dominion Laws Conference makes a distinct advance and records a development of the position reached by the Imperial Conference of 1926. According to the present position it is not open to the Imperial Government to give any instructions to the Governor-General of any Dominion to act otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his ministers. It will thus be seen that the freedom enjoyed by the Dominions in internal matters has steadily and rapidly expanded and if the recommendations of the Dominion Laws Conference are acted upon, there will hardly be a semblance even of any imperial control over the legislation or administration of the Dominions.

Even in matters of external policy the Dominions have attained the largest possible measure of freedom. They can enter into commercial negotiations and treaties with foreign powers; they can be represented by their own ministers in foreign countries; and they cannot be involved in active participation in any war entered into by the United Kingdom, unless such participation has been assented to by their own Parliaments. The question whether it is possible for a Dominion to occupy a position of absolute neutrality in wars in which the United Kingdom is involved is an intricate one, and we must agree with Professor Keith that the maintenance of neutrality is not possible.

Among the many interesting questions discussed by Professor Keith, we may refer to the question whether the link that binds the members of the Commonwealth together is a mere personal union or anything more and the question whether it is possible

for a member of the Commonwealth to secede from membership. However slender may be the ties which bind together the members of the Commonwealth to each other and to the United Kingdom, they are more than a mere personal link with the Crown. Professor Keith points out the difficulties involved in the idea of a mere personal union. The bond is based upon the historical allegiance to the British Crown, the continuing desire for free co-operation among the members and the appreciation of the advantages of a partnership and union on equal terms. The Commonwealth has not risen out of any voluntary agreement or pact, though it may continue to hold together as the result not of coercion but of an allegiance rendered as a matter of unfettered choice. The question whether a Dominion has a right to secede from the Commonwealth is discussed by Professor Keith at considerable length and he comes to the conclusion that there is no such right under the constitution. Even if the association of the members of the Commonwealth originated in an agreement, it would not follow therefrom that a member-State has a right to withdraw from it at its own will and pleasure. He is right in holding that there is no legal right to secede from the union. It is possible to conceive of a Dominion feeling a desire to separate, though it is a most improbable contingency. But should there be such a desire on the part of any Dominion, it cannot be carried out except by agreement with the other members of the Commonwealth or by hostile action against them. There is no legal right to secede any more than there is a legal right on the part of a State or province to revolt against a federation and withdraw from it. The advantages to be derived from membership of the Commonwealth are so obvious that no Dominion will ever desire to withdraw from the Union, more especially when there are no disadvantages incidental to membership except the remote contingency of being treated as non-neutral by foreign powers with whom the United Kingdom may be involved in war.

Professor Keith's book is full of interest to the Indian politician and its appearance at the present juncture is very opportune.

P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.

## THE NEW FAITH.

**A PREFACE TO MORALS.** By WALTER LIPP-  
MAN. (Allen and Unwin, London) 1929. 23cm.  
348p. 10/—

THE achievements of the West in the fields of science and industries are so impressive and its present position in the world so dominating that hardly any thought is bestowed on the grave moral issues western civilization has raised. Nevertheless these are not lost sight of by western observers themselves, though the number who ponder over them is very small. Walter Lippman is one of the very few. He has with his usual clarity and precision analysed the various factors involved in modernism and their bearing on religious beliefs.

The modern man is no longer in tune with his religious inheritances from a remote past. He 'lives in a revolutionary society and inherits a protestant tradition'. The central ideas of the religion of his forefathers are therefore repudiated by him, for they involve belief in the universal dominance of God so irreconcilable with a psychology which is republican. Religion, compelled to recede from the whole field of human endeavour, is threatened with dis-possession from even the small field which is legitimately its own.

The attempts to bring back modern man to religion have failed and are likely to fail. The



higher criticism of the Bible and the reinterpretation of God in terms which would be more in tune with his beliefs and disposition have not met with any success and they are not likely to succeed for so many of his activities are self-regulated that the inclination to surrender his judgment in any field is no longer there.

But while beliefs have been destroyed, the need to believe is still there. The modern man needs support but cannot find one. According to Lippman, in a situation like this Humanism is the only religion that is likely to prove useful. Humanism rejects as fiction the belief that the world is a theocracy. It interprets human experience and human psychology. To become detached from one's passions and to understand them is to release oneself from their sway. A disinterested mind makes for better adjustment with itself and with reality. Detachment, understanding and disinterestedness in the presence of reality are the principles of humanism. A religion of this description does not demand obedience or conformity to a super-human power and therefore, may prove more congenial to the modern man. This is the essence of Lippman's book

To an Indian who has believed in disinterestedness and detachment as the main principles of human endeavour this conclusion of so famous a writer cannot but be of very great interest. He will instinctively enquire whether they are in harmony with the governing principles of western society, for without that harmony there is no chance of their wide acceptance. In a society governed by the joint family and the limited competition of caste, the repression of self and detachment are not difficult to cultivate, but in a competitive society, where self-interest is the prime motive of individual action, detachment, understanding and disinterestedness are difficult of achievement. But society as a whole is changing in the west; and one hopes that, with the change, the religion which Lippman has expounded with such skill will find more congenial soil for it to thrive in. The book is worthy of all praise for the skill of its analysis and logic of the wide range of facts it gives and will prove of very great interest to Indian readers.

K. KUNHI KANNAN.

#### FRONTIER PROBLEM.

**THE CHECKMATED LION. AFGHANISTAN AND THE N. W. FRONTIER. A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE STUDY.** By SHRIPAD R. TIKEKAR. (Ganesh Ramchandra Tikekar, Barsi Town.) 1930. 19cm. 350p. Rs. 2/-.

THIS is the first book of its kind published in Marathi on Afghanistan and the North-Western Frontier. It is both a history and a geography of that region of very vital interest to India. From the time of Alexander down to date the problem of the defence of India by land has lain in those dreary mountains and valleys in the North-Western corner of the country. Down till the time of Aurangzeb Afghanistan was politically a part of India, and down to the death of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, in 1839, the independent Sikhs knew how to deal with the turbulent tribes beyond the Indus. It is only during the last three-quarters of a century that a feeling akin to helplessness seems to have taken root in the Indian mind viz., that the North-West frontier can only be defended by expending crores of rupees on the maintenance of non-Indian troops in various strategic centres there and still more crores in frequent punitive expeditions into the tribal territory and occasional wars with Afghanistan. If the unbearable military expenditure of India is to be reduced and money found

for the arts of peace, the politically-minded people must study the problems of the North-Western frontier and of Afghanistan in their social, economic, political and military aspects. The book under review would be an excellent introduction to such a study as it gives in a very interesting manner the necessary historical and geographical background. It naturally lays greater stress on the more modern period, viz., that of British relationships with Afghanistan during the last hundred years. The régimes of Amirs Abdur Rahman, Habibullah and particularly that of Amanullah have been fully dealt with, and the story brought right up to the accession of Nadir Shah to the throne. The character of the numerous tribes inhabiting Afghanistan and the No-man's Land between Afghanistan and India is painted with real insight by the author and the hard economic conditions of life influencing that character have also been clearly brought out. On reading all this, one finds it hard to believe that the author did not visit Afghanistan himself, though he went to Mesopotamia and Persia.

But the book is by no means merely descriptive. In fact, its special merit is the effort at independent critical judgment on the events of the last fifty years both of internal and external importance to Afghanistan and consequently to India. The author has studied a large amount of available literature on the subject—of course mostly written from the British point of view. Whether one does or does not agree with the author in the views he has expressed, e. g., on the possible influence of Russian Communism on the Afghan mind, there is plenty of material in the book to set one thinking on the possible lines of peaceful solution of the frontier problem. The greater importance latterly attached to the economic and social aspects of the question after the failure of the purely military and political efforts does seem to point the way.

The author is certainly to be congratulated on this, his first, effort. The time for the second edition of the book ought soon to arrive—the Marathi-reading people all over the country must see to that. It is to be hoped that before publishing the second edition, the author will take an opportunity of visiting Afghanistan and that he will then publish also an English version of his revised book.

R. M. J.

#### NIGERIA.

**HISTORY OF NIGERIA.** A. C. BURNS. (Allen and Unwin) 1929. 22cm. 360 p. 15/-

THIS is a very interesting history of Nigeria written by one who has served the country since the year 1912. The point of view is that "the British must govern, as they have governed in the past, for the benefit of the people of Nigeria."

The historical review gives the reader an adequate knowledge of the development which has taken place in the country. Nigeria is four times the size of Great Britain and has a population of 18,500,000. The rate of mortality is high. At one time the country was known as the 'white man's grave'. Even among the people of the country the death-rate is high. There are numerous tribes speaking different languages and worshipping various gods.

The period of unrestricted slave-trade came to an end in 1808 when the British Government by an Act of Parliament prohibited any slaves being carried in a British ship or landed in a British colony. In 1804 the United States of America declared themselves against the importation of slaves and in 1802 the Danish Government made slave trade illegal. During this period 'the cruelties

practised by white men in this trade are almost unbelievable." Here is the author's description—"Men and women were flogged to compel them to eat, and hot irons were occasionally used to force them to open their mouths and swallow the food which they were too sick at heart to eat willingly."

Detailed description of the present form of administration is given in four chapters. In the conclusion the author justifies the assumption of the government by the British. Though force had to be used, Mr. Burns maintains that good government and material prosperity have been made possible. The people of Nigeria are contented for the 'doubtful advantages of modern civilisation' have not been forced on them. The absence of European settlers has very greatly simplified the problem which arises when the settlers find the climatic conditions favourable.

The author has certain strong statements to make about the incursion of 'immature politicians' and warns the administrators against 'careless words and gestures' which may engender 'resentment and hatred.'

H. C. BALASUNDARAM.

### INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION.

**THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND. A SURVEY OF INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION.** By K. T. SHAH. (Taraporewalla, Bombay) 1930. 21 cm. 236p. Rs.30/—

'THE Splendour that was 'Ind', a presentation in outline of the manifold achievements and glories of ancient, mediæval and Muhammadan India, has developed out of a series of University Extension Lectures delivered by Prof. K. T. Shah in 1928. In the course of the 225 pages of a large-sized book, adorned with over 350 illustrations, some of them in colour, the author has introduced his readers to some of the peculiar geographical, historical, and social features and literary, artistic and industrial achievements of India. The author has proposed to himself the presentation of only the broadest and the most prominent features without going into details or entering upon controversial questions and has fairly succeeded in offering a connected view of the most permanent trends in India's social life throughout the known periods of history.

Divided in ten neat chapters, the book neglects no important department of India's achievements. The author has made use of all available material on the several aspects therein treated, both the serious and the lighter sides which go to make up the cultural legacy of India. Though the first four chapters are only descriptive from the nature of the subjects they deal with, the remaining chapters afford ample evidence of the author's comprehensive study and intimate knowledge of the various subjects requiring specialised study. The book has, of course, both the defects and merits of the briefness of the survey but the author very well deserves the credit of having popularised knowledge about historic India, and both he and his publishers are to be congratulated on the publication.

The illustrations are selected from a vast store of existing material and are sufficiently representative, though it is not always clear why a particular picture appears in the volume. Topical photographs do not seem to be specially taken for this volume, and hence the defects of the original selection are allowed to remain and are patent in plates like XX.

The get-up of the book is excellent and the publishers deserve special commendation on their superb production.

D. V. APTE.

### THE NEW OUT-LOOK ON CHILDREN.

**PARENTS AND CHILDREN.** By ERNEST R. GROVES & GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES. (Lippincott, London) 1928. 21cm. 196 p. 9/—

THIS book tells us about the relationship that should subsist between parents and children. To old-fashioned parents accustomed to the liberal use of the cane in order to coerce a child into unquestioning submission, the book will serve as a great eye-opener. Modern thought on the subject of childup-bringing, as is well known, taboos the cane as a means of enforcing the parents' will on the child. Nay more: it enjoins upon them the duty of making its early life as happy as possible. It must also be borne in mind by all parents wishing their children to grow as self-respecting persons that their relations with the children must be based on mutual love and respect. This does not mean absolute want of supervision on the part of the parents. While this will be required in the child's earlier years, it "must gradually be transferred to his own hands." It is a very common experience that elderly persons are in the habit of conjuring up some bogey before children in order to silence them or to put them to sleep. The authors warn us against this kind of "fear-training" which "is one of the most dangerous avenues of approach to adult life." (p. 57)

Normal children are bound to be curious about every happening which they may witness; instead of suppressing their curiosity as some old-fashioned parents are sometimes in the habit of doing, every effort should be made to satisfy their thirst for knowledge. It may be some of their questions are very inconvenient; but a wise parent must always deal with them in a tactful manner rather than give fantastic explanations which never satisfy them.

Should sex education be imparted to children? To this somewhat ticklish question the authors return the following answer:—

"There should be no secrecy about the giving of reproductive information, no suggestion that it is not a proper subject for discussion, as that program would only make the subject matter over dramatic in its appeal, and tend to connect with it a feeling of shame." (p. 107).

The subject of the upbringing of children is so delicate and difficult that the authors' plea for the provision of parenthood training deserves to be widely supported. This training can be given in three ways: (1) by lectures by competent specialists to groups of parents, (2) by study classes and (3) by correspondence. But the authors favour "the giving of preparation either before parenthood occurs or in its earlier period." (p.183.) The subject is of such importance that we would like everybody to make himself familiar with the authors' views at first-hand.

D. V. A.

### Miscellaneous.

#### BOMBAY LIBERALS ON THE SITUATION.

THE Council of the Western India National Liberal Association have issued the following statement on the 25th April, 1930:—

"The Liberal Party made it clear at the session of the Liberal Federation at Madras that they wanted the establishment of Dominion Status for India immediately with such reservations and safeguards as may be necessary for the transition period and welcomed the Round Table Conference and expressed their willingness to participate in it for the above purpose. They also urged upon Government the

extreme desirability of holding the Round Table Conference at an early date, and as regards the composition of the Indian Delegation they considered that it was essential for the success of the Conference that "the progressive elements in the country should have preponderant representation".

Unfortunately Government have taken no action to reassure the public mind by making an announcement of the specific terms of reference to the Round Table Conference and of the date of its meeting. On the contrary various pronouncements by responsible statesmen have created an atmosphere of considerable suspicion as to the real intentions of Government. The main reason why the offer of the Round Table Conference was not accepted by certain sections of the public was a loss of faith and confidence in the intentions of the Government. That situation has been further emphasised by the inaction of Government and their failure promptly to implement the Viceregal pronouncement. This has naturally weakened the position of all the sections of the public who welcomed the Round Table Conference and has reduced considerably their influence and power to induce the public to put their faith in the achievement of the early realisation of the desire of the Indian people to be a self-governing Dominion by constitutional means.

The Liberals firmly hold to their view that the Civil Disobedience Movement will not only fail in bringing us nearer to the early attainment of our national aspirations but will, on the contrary, retard it and plunge the country into violent turmoil and disorder in spite of the determination of those who have inaugurated it to keep it non-violent. This movement has gained accession of strength owing to the economic conditions now obtaining in the country. The commercial, industrial and trading interests in the country have begun to despair of securing under the present regime their rightful claims to unhampered development and progress. They feel that under the present system of administration, their interests are and will always continue to be subordinated to outside interests.

The Liberals repeat what they have often indicated, viz., that the only way to counteract the present disruptive tendencies and to restore faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods is not a policy of repression but courageously make clear that Britain means to establish Dominion Status for India without any delay and that the Round Table Conference will consider and evolve a scheme to that end with the necessary reservations and safeguards for the transition period.

The Liberals strongly disapprove of the severe sentences on some of the Civil Resisters in various places and are of opinion that such uncalled for sentences are calculated further to inflame the public mind.

The Liberals strongly urge upon Government the desirability of instituting a searching enquiry by an independent tribunal into the allegations that have been openly made regarding the mal-treatment of Satyagrahis by the Police in various places.

## Correspondence.

### EDUCATION ABROAD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The recent decision of the British Medical Council gives point to the consideration of the subject of the higher studies of Indian students in western

countries. That it will be necessary, at least for some time to come, for Indian students to proceed to western countries for higher studies in a number of subjects, will be admitted by all right thinking people. That this is an undesirable state of affairs and that India must try to be self-sufficient in this respect has also been the opinion of all educationists in this country. But as long as the present state of things continues, the choice of the country where to pursue the particular branch of higher study is not unimportant.

For students who want to go in for any of the competitive examinations for the different services or for those who want to qualify for the bar, Great Britain is the only possible choice. But for those who want to specialise in purely academic subjects or one of the various applied sciences, there is such a wide range of choice that it is surprising that over 95 per cent. of Indian students proceeding abroad go to England or Scotland.

Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, the Scandinavian Countries, and, of course, the United States of America, all possess excellent universities and technical colleges where training of the highest quality is obtainable. Moreover, stay in European countries, especially France and Germany, means a considerably lower cost for the Indian student. The people of these countries are very friendly to Indians and their presence is always welcomed. All the British universities are crowded and admission is very difficult. Moreover, on account of the excessively large number of Indian students at most of them, there is always the tendency for them to bunch together and segregate themselves from the general social life of the country.

A special organisation (Deutsche Akademische Auslandstelle, Kaitzerstr. 2, Dresden-A, 24) has recently been started in Germany to help the foreign students, and a letter will bring all the necessary information. Student self-help organisations make a number of economies possible, which would be considered impossible in any British university.

The difficulty of learning a new language is really a very small matter. A stay of about four months in the country in question with a moderate amount of regular work every day is all that is necessary. Most universities make special provision for foreign students to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language of the country. Moreover, it is really a blessing in disguise that the student is forced to learn one more modern language and his outlook is decidedly widened. In fact, he gets out of the unconscious opinion that "England is Europe".

Yours etc.

D. D. KARVE.

### LIBERALS AND STATES' SUBJECTS.

TO THE EDITOR, OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The subjects of the Indian States are rather disappointed that, unlike the leaders of the Congress party many of whom have publicly commented on the Patiala Report issued by the Indian States' Subjects' Committee, most of the stalwarts of the Liberal Party have preferred to keep mum, in spite of the fact that Messrs A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, and Mr. G. R. Abhyankar,—both of the Liberal Party,—were members of that Committee. It should, however, be gratefully acknowledged that of the Liberal front-benchers Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer has publicly expressed his opinion, but he too fears that the preoccupations of the Government with the civil disobedience movement would leave them no

time to undertake an enquiry into the Patiala affair. Alone among the Liberal papers, the *Servant of India* has boldly demanded that the Maharaja of Patiala should be put on his trial.

The subjects of the Indian States were never to sanguine about the championship of their cause by the Liberals in India; and the latter's impressive conspiracy of silence over the Patiala affair does not tend to dissipate their doubts and misgivings. Misgivings deepen into distrust when we are informed that several of the Liberal leaders, who also happen to be eminent lawyers, have been retained by the Maharaja of Patiala on liberal fees, and that one of them is also on a committee of Princes, including the Maharaja of Patiala, and British Indian representatives, to consider the future relations between the States and British India. It may be contended that these Liberal leaders are so eminent, and so full of experience and political wisdom that they can successfully discriminate between their legal services to the Maharaja of Patiala and their political responsibilities towards the future of the Indian States in relation to British India: it may even be granted that the intimate knowledge of the real state of affairs of Patiala which they will obtain in their capacity of legal advisers may be of material value to them in arriving at sounder views on the nature of the administrations in the States; all this may be true. Nevertheless, their conduct is not calculated to inspire confidence in the subjects of the States who fear that by accepting the retainers, the Liberal leaders have estopped themselves from supporting publicly the demand for an enquiry into the Patiala affair and that they have imposed upon themselves a self-gagging ordinance with Patiala gold.

Are you surprised, Mr. Editor, that notwithstanding that the subjects of Indian States have more in common with the Liberals in India, they are being alienated from that Party and are being driven to seek hope in the Congress Camp?

Yours, etc.,  
"DISILLUSIONED."

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- A HISTORY OF INDIA. Part II.—Muhammadan India.** By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI AND M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR. (Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras.) 1929. 21cm. 366p. Rs. 3.
- YEAR BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION 1930.** ED. BY THE HORACE PLUNKETT FOUNDATION, LONDON. (Routledge, London.) 1930. 21cm. 576p. 10/6.
- AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** By MARGARET DIGBY. (Routledge, London.) 1930. 21cm. pp. 274-369. 3/-
- THE RISEN SUN: IMPRESSIONS IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA.** By C. C. MARTINDALE. (Sheed and Ward, London.) 1929. 20cm. 288p. 7/6.
- MUSSOLINI AND THE NEW ITALY.** (2nd Edn.) By ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. (Allenson, London.) 1929. 20cm. 177p. 7/6.
- MAN'S SOCIAL DESTINY IN THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE.** By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. (Student Christian Movement Press, London.) 1930. 20cm. 219p. 5/-
- AN INDIAN COMMENTARY.** By G. T. GARRATT. (Cape, London.) 1928. 20cm. 335p. 7/6.
- ST. AUGUSTINE. A STUDY IN HIS PERSONAL RELIGION.** By ELEANOR McDougall. (Student Christian Movement Press, London.) 1929. 19cm. 125p. 3/6.
- INDIA IN THE DARK WOOD.** By NICOL MACNICOL. (Edinburgh House Press, London.) 1930. 19cm. 224p. 2/6

- WORKMEN'S FARE.** By KATHLEEN GIBBERD. (Student Christian Movement Press, London.) 1930. 19cm. 128p. 3/6.
- FRANCIS XAVIER: KNIGHTERRANT OF THE CROSS, 1506-1558.** By EDITH ANNE ROBERTSON. (Student Christian Movement Press, London.) 1930. 19cm. 207p. 5/-
- WITH MICHAEL COLLINS IN THE FIGHT FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE.** By BATT O'CONNOR. (Peter Davies, London.) 1929. 19cm. 195p. 6/-
- LABOUR'S PATH TO POWER.** By ALFRED PLUMMER (Richards, London.) 1929. 19cm. 152p. 3/6.
- OUTLINES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE IRISH FREE STATE.** (8th Edn.) By JOHN J. CLARKE. (Pitman, London.) 1930. 19cm. 222p. 5/-
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