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Topics of the Week.

Too Drastic.

THE action of the Bombay Government in ordering forfeiture of the security of Rs. 20,000 deposited with them by the *Free Press Journal* makes us vividly alive to the dangers of investing the executive with control over the press without any judicial check over its actions. The total amount thus exacted from that journal comes to Rs. 46,000, which we doubt not, would seriously strain its finances. But it is not the financial aspect so much as the whole policy of investing the executive with such unlimited and arbitrary powers in relation to the press that, in our opinion, calls for strong condemnation. The order of forfeiture mentions certain writings in the journal concerning the Quetta disaster which have earned for it this condign punishment. If the articles are the only justification for this drastic action of the Government, it must be frankly admitted that it is based on very slender basis. To no unprejudiced reader would the articles appear to merit the wrath of the local Government, at any rate in the manner in which it has expressed itself.

IF the Government action is ill-advised and lacks justification, certainly there were circumstances which could be cited, if not in justification, at least in extenuation of what the paper wrote. The reported official intention to blow up Quetta—a report given currency to even by Anglo-Indian papers believed to be in the know and therefore generally regarded as not altogether groundless—had created consternation everywhere by its savage nature, and in common with the entire Indian press the *Free Press Journal*

did no more than its duty in giving forceful vent to the public abhorrence of it. It had and could have no interest in wantonly blackening the character of the Government.

IF the Government feel that they were subjected to what might at the worst be called unfair criticism, whom else have they to thank but themselves for it? Did they take any steps to prevent newspapers being misled by the rumour until it was too late? Was it not their duty promptly to take the public into its confidence as regards its programme of operations in the 'quake-affected' area? The reasons for their failure so to act are not difficult to imagine. Either there was no plan of campaign duly thought out or their publicity arrangements were woefully defective. Whatever that be, the press can hardly be held blameworthy for representing public feeling, without mincing matters, with regard to reports whose authenticity there was no apparent reason to question. If the *Free Press Journal* is to be penalised for giving credence to the news, it is passing strange that Anglo-Indian papers who were responsible for giving it currency should escape scot free.

Ban on Karachi inquiry.

AN open inquiry under Government auspices into the Karachi firing incident of March 19 last not being instituted so far, as demanded by public opinion, a non-official committee with exclusively Muslim personnel was about to undertake the task. It is difficult to persuade oneself that if the committee had been permitted to go on with its none too easy a task, the public peace would have been seriously affected. Yet that is the view the Government have chosen to take of the matter and they have lost no time in banning the inquiry. The members of the committee have been served with notices forbidding them to enter Sind. Even the Government themselves could not have been under the delusion that their action would meet with public approval and its condemnation of it by the public cannot be in the nature of a surprise to them.

BUT if the ban itself will meet with strong public disapproval, the procedure adopted in issuing it is open to equally serious objection. The prohibition is based on what is popularly known as the Ordinance Act avowedly designed to cope with the civil disobedience movement. When the measure was under discussion in the local legislature, Government spokesmen were never tired of assuring the non-official opposition that the legislation was directed only against the civil disobedience movement and that it would be very sparingly used. Its *raison d'être* was described by the then Home Member to the Bombay Government as "the absolute necessity of

controlling and checking the civil disobedience movement and its dangerous manifestations." Public opinion would naturally wish to know what earthly connection there can be between the proposed non-official inquiry and the movement of civil disobedience associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. In availing themselves of the powers granted to them by the Ordinance Act for stopping the inquiry, Government have been clearly guilty of a serious misuse of those powers. This may not be the first or the only occasion when those powers have been wrongly used by them but that, far from mitigating their offence, only serves to aggravate it.

Quetta.

MARTIAL law is said to have given place to civil control in Quetta. But when it is remembered that the A. G. G. is going to be invested by a special Viceregal Ordinance with very extensive powers in regard to the presence and movements of outsiders in Quetta it is easy to see that the prospective civil rule will not be very distinguishable from martial law. The evacuation of the survivors in Quetta having been completed, it may perhaps be admitted that no work awaits unofficial relief parties there; but what about the surrounding villages? They too have suffered from the ravages of the earthquake and stand in need of attention as badly as Quetta. Where is the harm in allowing representatives of bona-fide philanthropic bodies to proceed to the villages on their benevolent mission? The Congress President has suggested this course of action, which should be speedily followed.

So far as salvaging work in the Quetta area is concerned, no decision seems yet to have been arrived at. This is unfortunate, for a great deal of public anxiety is noticeable as regards the fate of the valuables buried under the debris which, it is feared, would be irretrievably damaged, if not altogether destroyed, by approaching rains. The telegram addressed to the Viceroy by several members of the central legislature emphasising the importance of commencing salvage operations at once is a measure of this anxiety. It is gratifying to note that the registration of claims in regard to property is proceeding apace. Philanthropic bodies can render invaluable assistance to helpless widows and orphans in sending in their claims and in helping to secure official attention for them. But if all these claims are to be effective, it is essential that speedy steps be taken to recover property from the Quetta ruins, and the work of excavation to that end put in hand without delay.

A MOVE to bring together separated relatives will hardly involve any expenditure of money worth mentioning and deserves to be quickly initiated. Owing to the suddenness of the calamity, even very near relatives got separated in their anxiety to reach safety and are ignorant of one another's existence. If full information about the whereabouts of the survivors is collected and made easily available, something will have been done to shorten the period of painful suspense caused by absence of news about one's relatives. We hope such an information bureau will be set up at the earliest opportunity.

THE work of erecting a temporary town is reported to have already commenced at a safe distance from Quetta—safe because of the danger of infection due to decomposed corpses lying buried under the debris. Whether to build another Quetta, and if so, where and at what cost are matters which are said

to be engaging the attention of the authorities. In this connection it would, we think, not be out of place to sound a note of warning. The reconstruction of Quetta will obviously involve a huge outlay of expenditure, and it only stands to reason that it should not be undertaken without the legislature being allowed an opportunity to have its say. We trust this is what is contemplated by the Government themselves.

Reactionary Move in Fiji.

THE Indian community in Fiji is greatly perturbed over the contemplated substitution of nomination for election in the municipalities there. A deputation waited upon the Governor and registered its emphatic protest against the reactionary move. From information recently to hand it appears that the proposed change had the backing of Indian representatives on the local legislature, who are naturally being disowned in the Indian press and on the platform. A largely signed petition too has reached the Governor calling in question their representative character and stressing the fact of their having no mandate to support the system of nominative representation.

IN a recent inspired press message from Simla a laboured attempt was made to make it appear as if the new arrangement was really beneficial to Indian interests. As our readers are aware, there is at present a common electoral roll in force in Fiji, but the franchise is restricted to persons who can read, write and speak the English language. This in effect disenfranchises an overwhelming proportion of our countrymen who have so far not succeeded in returning anyone from amongst themselves to the Suva municipality, within whose jurisdiction alone a considerable number of Indians are to be found.

THERE can be no question that this obvious anomaly cried for urgent remedial measures on the part of the authorities. Three alternatives were open to them: (1) rearrangement of wards; (2) recognition of a well-known Indian vernacular like Hindi, literacy in which should be regarded as a sufficient qualification for electoral purposes; and (3) representation by nomination. It is the last one that has found ready favour with the Fijian authorities but which is qually estronly disliked by the Indian community. Under it the official majority of one will be maintained; but the three communities, Indian, Fijian and European, will be represented in the municipality by two nominated representatives each.

THE Simla message referred to above echoed the official view that while under the status quo Indian interests virtually go unrepresented, under the proposed arrangement they will not only secure representation but equal representation with Europeans. The plea would be tenable if more satisfactory alternatives had not been available. As a matter of fact the second alternative, if accepted, would have brought a large number of Indians on the roll and would have been more in consonance with the spirit of the time. But it seems to have been brushed aside as having failed to meet with general acceptance. The Indian public is entitled to enquire what steps were taken to ascertain local Indian opinion on the subject. In any case the public should be told how the Government of India view the matter.

Marketing Legislation in Kenya.

AT the Poona session of the Indian Liberal Federation the resolution dealing with Indians over-

was demanded, among other things, the publication of Mr. Menon's report on the proposed marketing legislation in Kenya. This report has now been published. The licensing of dealers in specified commodities produced by natives, the fixation of markets to which dealings in such commodities should be limited, the requirement that transactions shall be in cash and the purchased produce stored under prescribed conditions and, finally, that where the encouragement of some new crop is specially desired by the administration, exclusive licences should be issued—these are the main features of the proposed Kenya Bill. Similar legislation has been in force for the last three years in the adjoining territories of Tanganyika and Uganda; and Mr. Menon spent some time there, and closely observed its working there so as to be able to judge how far the contemplated Kenya legislation would adversely affect Indian interests. So far as can be seen from a press summary of his report, Mr. Menon does not seem to have brought to light any instances of glaring racial discrimination against Indians either in Uganda or Tanganyika. This is not surprising, in view of the official assurances conveyed to him about the Government policy not being in favour of treating Indians as a nuisance to be anyhow got rid of. As a matter of fact, the authorities of the two territories seem to have shown an admirable disposition to accommodate Indian opinion by promising redress of Indian grievances, wherever they had been found to have occurred or were likely to occur, as a result of the operation of the marketing legislation.

IT may readily be granted that the situation in Kenya from the Indian standpoint is not equally free from anti-Indian prejudice. Nor could the Government of India, which have recently set up a marketing board here, decently ask that the proposed legislation in Kenya be altogether abandoned because they were apprehensive that it might in some manner injure Indian interests. All that they could do was to examine its provisions with a view to securing improvements designed to eliminate all chance of its operation on racial lines to the detriment of Indian interests. Whether their suggestions to this end have already been forwarded to the Kenya Government is not clear. Nevertheless their assurance to prevent administrative discrimination against Indians in Kenya and to ensure that the proposed legislation will not be permitted to become the thin end of the wedge for racial discrimination in future will be heartily welcomed by Indian opinion both here and in Kenya. The legislation was brought before the Kenya legislature on Wednesday last and Indian opinion desiring modifications in it should lose no time in making itself heard. But even supposing that the legislation is purged of all its objectionable features as a result of the pressure of public opinion, its administration from day to day cannot be a matter of unconcern to Indian interests but must be vigilantly watched so as to prevent Indian interests being unjustly treated. This task, it may be hoped, will be satisfactorily discharged by the Indian Trade Agent for East Africa, to whose appointment Mr. Menon seems to attach special value in his report.

ABOLITION OF THE STATES.

NO part of the platform of the Congress Socialists appears more reckless and irresponsible to orthodox Congress leaders and is more disturbing to them than that which seeks to abolish the Indian States altogether. So long as the Socialist forces were small and unimportant, their campaigning on this matter could be ignored; but now they are gaining important victories over the Congress Party in many places the resolution that they adopt on this subject has to be taken into serious consideration by all Congressmen. Following is the specimen of such a resolution, which was passed by the Karnatak Political Conference at Mangalore last month:

Inasmuch as Indian States constitute political and military support to British Imperialism and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, this Conference declares, in the interests of the Indian National Congress as in those of the people of the Indian States, that the abolition of the rule of the Indian Princes can alone assure complete independence for the whole of India and invites the people of Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in the struggle for independence.

This Conference further feels that the Congress should actively engage itself in organising State subjects on the basis of their immediate democratic demands side by side with developing and intensifying the economic struggle of workers and peasants in States. The immediate democratic demands should include the following:—

(1) A single-chamber legislature elected on adult franchise.

(2) A Ministry elected by and completely responsible to the legislature.

(3) The Royal Family to have access as Privy Purse to not more than five per cent. of the State's revenues.

(4) The religion of the Royal Family to have no influence on the administration of a State.

(5) Freedom of speech, the Press and association.

A similar resolution was passed by the Gujerat and Kathiawad Congress Socialist Conference held last week at Ahmedabad.

Not to speak of the resolution being considered highly dangerous and contrary to the general spirit underlying the activities of the Congress, we do not understand how Congressmen can object to it at all. In fact the Congress Socialists follow in regard to the States the very same policy that orthodox Congressmen follow in regard to British India. What is it that the Congress stands for in British India? For responsible government as an immediate objective and for independence as the final goal. The Congress Socialists have the same aims in regard to the States. Full responsible government in the States is their immediate and independence their ultimate aim. What is there in this to which Congressmen can object? If British Indians can make the severance of the British connexion the goal

of their ambition in British India, why cannot and why should not the people in the States make abolition of the rule of the Princes the goal of their ambition? On what is the objection based? Is it a moral objection? Is it suggested that abolition of the States necessarily involves the use of physical force and must for that reason be tabooed by all people pledged to non-violence? If Princely rule can be ended only by violent means can British rule be ended by purely non-violent means? If it is possible for a person who is non-violent in thought and deed to consecrate his energies to the service of the elimination of British rulers, is it not possible for one similarly to contemplate the elimination of Indian rulers being brought about by non-violent means? Or is it the objection that an agitation for the abolition of the States cannot be carried on without creating hatred? Can an agitation for the abolition of British rule then be conducted without awakening a feeling of intense hatred against the foreigner? What objection can be urged against one course which cannot be urged against the other? In fact, abolition of the States is only a counterpart of the movement for independence in British India, and those who support the latter cannot but support the former.

The case of the Congress Socialists, however, rests on stronger ground. The workers in British India and the Indian States do not work in watertight compartments. They used to do so before, but the Congress itself has thrown down the barrier. It now includes the States' people within its fold; and while admitting them to its ranks it makes them sign the creed of independence. No subject of an Indian State can become a member of the Congress unless he proclaims that complete independence is the goal of his political activities. The States' people were content hitherto to cherish a much humbler aim. They strove for popular government in the States under the aegis of their rulers. They never thought of dislodging the rulers from their *gaddis* either by violent or non-violent means. Their ken did not extend so far. It was the Congress which forced them to give up their former modest objective in favour of the more ambitious one. Not mere responsible government under the shadow of the rulers, but complete independence has become their war-cry now; and this new war-cry was adopted by them at the instigation of the Congress itself. Is this independence, which was inscribed upon their flag by orthodox Congressmen, at all consistent with the maintenance of Princely rule? Not even Mr. Bhulabhai, who has probably the most agile of wits in the Congress, can say so. If the Princes were independent of British rule it could perhaps be argued that the States' people might, without being disloyal to the creed of independence, be loyal to the persons and the *gaddis* of their rulers. But the Princes are not independent of British rule, but are subject, every one of them, to the paramountcy of the British Crown. It is clear, therefore, that no State subject who is a member of the Congress and who is committed to independence can but work for the abolition of the States' rulers who are bound, and eternally bound, to own allegiance to

a foreign government. The States' people are thus not merely free to do away with Princely rule, but are under a moral obligation to do so. They would be unfaithful to their creed if they allowed the Princes' rule to continue for all time.

Nor are the States' people alone involved in this matter. The people in British India are involved just as well. We are confining our attention for the moment, as will be evident from our argument, to Congressmen. National independence is their ultimate goal, whether they come from British India or the Indian States, and if independence, as shown above, necessarily implies elimination of the Princes, British Indians must work for this just as much as the States' people. And federation now brings British Indians and the States' people closer together; they, in fact, become "members one of another." Even if the Congress had not thrown its doors open to the people from the States, as it has done, and had not thereby cast upon British Indians along with the States' people the duty of working for the abolition of the States, now that there is to be a federal union of British India and the States no British Indian member of the Congress can secure complete national independence to which he is sworn unless he does away with British rule and Princely rule together. Before federation he might perhaps have said: "The States' people are included in the Congress no doubt. But they and we live under different political jurisdictions. Our political activities are confined to our territory and theirs to theirs. Our goal of independence extends only to British India. We are bound, when opportunity offers, to throw off British allegiance completely. But we are not bound, merely because the States' people have joined the Congress, to have any concern with the elimination of the Princes, though the States' people, having accepted our goal of independence, must also work for the elimination of the Princes, without which independence cannot be complete for them." But after federation takes place, British Indian Congressmen must, in order to achieve independence of British control for themselves, join with the States' people in eliminating Princes' rule. Independence cannot otherwise be a reality. For if in British India they got rid of the British connexion, they would still be subservient to the British through the Princes, who will form part of the federation just as much as themselves and who will be subject to British paramountcy. The Congress Socialists are, therefore, right in pointing out that, even in the interest of British India alone, the Congress must rid the country of the Princes' rule.

It may be objected that this is politically impracticable; but getting rid of Princely rule is no more impracticable than getting rid of British rule. Whatever reason there may be for being impatient with the Socialist programme in other matters, the Congress must be patient with it in so far as the policy of the Socialists towards the States is concerned. In fact the Congress must adopt this policy — if it is to be true to its creed of independence.

PROTECTION TO GLASS

THE report of the Indian Tariff Board on the glass industry written and presented to Government in 1932 has just been published together with the Government resolution on the recommendations of the Board. Since 1932 the Tariff Board has enquired into the applications of many other industries and in a number of cases suitable legislative action has already been taken on its recommendations. It is thus difficult to see why Government should not at least have published the report of the Board before now. The report, it appears, had actually been printed in the year 1932 and all these years the printed copies had lain in Government depots. When everywhere there is an increasing cry for supplying statistical and other information promptly to the public, Government must be credited in this case with having created a record in the length of the period for which it has been deliberately withheld. The plea that Government had not made up its mind in respect of the recommendations cannot stand close scrutiny. It is, in the first instance, not at all necessary that the report of the Board and the Government resolution thereon should be simultaneously published. Reports of the Tariff Board are documents of the utmost importance to the public and they should always be made speedily available. Quite apart from recommendations regarding Government action they contain information and advice—as in the case of this glass report—which is most valuable to those concerned with the particular industry. And it is surely proper to expect that when a costly inquiry has been conducted at public expense its results should be quickly made available to the general public. It is also not as if the issues in this case were specially complicated. The iron and steel or the cotton textile industries presented problems of much greater complexity. Neither have Government after all this delay arrived at either definite or important conclusions. They have just decided to wait and see if the manufacture of soda ash becomes economically possible in India and one cannot imagine what could have prevented them from promptly arriving at this negative result in 1932. The one measure of positive relief proffered is the rebate of the duty on soda ash; and even Government should have had imagination enough to see that to an industry in difficulties at times of general depression a concession, however small, should be given promptly. It is such cases of unjustifiable delays that support the contention that the Government of India acts suitably and in time only where European or other industrial interests that it wants to placate are concerned.

The whole issue of protection to the glass industry now turns on the question of the domestic production of soda ash. Already in 1927 the Government of India had summarily rejected the claim of the industry to protection on the ground of the absence of such production. The Tariff Board had, therefore, to give considerable attention to this problem. There were two separate issues to be con-

sidered. Firstly, whether soda ash is so overwhelmingly important an ingredient in the manufacture of glass as to make continued dependence on imported supplies a bar to a claim to protection; whether this constitutes a natural disadvantage of such a magnitude as to prevent this claim from falling within the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission. The Tariff Board on an examination of this question find that though soda ash is the most important single item in the production of glass in India, dependence on its imports may be disregarded in view of the availability in the country of such other basic raw materials as sand, limestone, etc. The Tariff Board in recommending the grant of protection were further influenced by the consideration that the manufacture of soda ash seemed on the point of being undertaken in India by the works at Dhrangadhra. The Dhrangadhra works have, however, failed and Government have suspended any action on the proposals of the Tariff Board pending the possible developments of soda ash production at Khewra.

We feel that apart from the inexcusable delay in the publication of the report and in granting the rebate of the duty on the imports of soda ash, Government is in this matter technically in the right. The Tariff Board's arguments seeking to minimise the importance of soda ash in the cost of production do not sound convincing, and so long as this handicap continues the claim to protection of the glass industry cannot be considered as well-grounded. But this consideration itself brings out a fatal weakness in the present protective policy of the Government of India. The Government now acts on the assumption that it is concerned merely with the manipulation of customs duties, and even this it does only on applications received from particular interests. Beyond such manipulation it takes no step—whether positive or negative. The Tariff Board have in this very report on the glass industry devoted a chapter to what they call "supplementary proposals." In putting forward these proposals the Board have been constrained to point to the unwillingness of Government to take any steps other than the grant of protection and to emphasise that "protective duties divorced from the constructive measures proposed in connection with them" may be worse than useless. A notorious example of this result is the working of the protection granted to the cotton textile industry. In this case of glass we would emphasize another aspect of the results of this policy. It is generally agreed that in certain parts of India the conditions are favourable for the economical manufacture of soda ash. There is in the glass industry and in other directions a fair market for this product. Under the circumstances it is ludicrous for Government to adopt the policy of mere "wait and see", especially when the non-development of the product delays or hinders the development of one whole branch of industries. It has been alleged that the failure of the works at Dhrangadhra was itself due to the unsympathetic attitude of the Government of India. Whatever that may be, it is obviously the duty of Government in such contingencies to take more active and constructive measures and fill in the vital gaps in our industrial equipment. This means the formulation of a systematic economic policy, and this our Government has never attempted. In the absence of such policy it is becoming increasingly clear that the protective duties by themselves will not only fail to achieve any substantial results but will also become open to serious abuse.

THE STATES AND THE CONGRESS.

IT is now clear that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Parliamentary wing of the Congress, was not acting merely in his professional capacity when he advised the Princes not to allow a reference to the States' subjects in the India Bill. It was possible to hold that the Princes went to Mr. Bhulabhai and said to him: "We do not wish to part with a jot or tittle of our sovereignty. We are willing to join the federation provided only that legally we continue to be to our subjects, after the federation, the same liege lords as we are at present, and over the entire field of subjects of federal as well as local concern. Will you examine this Bill and tell us what alterations we should propose in it in order to secure that our powers will be undiminished in any respect in future?" One could imagine Mr. Bhulabhai then saying in reply: "I wonder if this can be done at all, but even assuming its practicability, I should deem it my duty to bring it to Your Highness's notice that this attitude is injurious to the country's best interests. The States too ought to give up to the federation, in form as well as in fact, the management of all subjects that are of all-India interest. Any unwillingness on the part of the States to do so would be destructive of any genuine type of federation." The Princes might then have said: "Enough of this preachment to us. We know what is best for the country at least as well as you. We haven't come to you as a politician, but as a lawyer. Will you lend us your legal knowledge for a price and draft for us the amendments we should seek in order to carry out the ideas we have in mind? Take these ideas and give them a legal form. You will have your fee, whatever it is. But, for heaven's sake, while doing our job, please put away from your mind the ideas you seem to have about the requisites of a sound federation." Mr. Bhulabhai might then have weighed his obligation towards the Congress against the freedom which the exercise of the legal profession allows one to work even for a cause in which one has no faith, and might have decided to earn a little bit of money, even if it be at the risk of being regarded by some, and by Mahatma Gandhi in particular, as prostituting his intellect.

But this explanation does not really fit the case. Mr. Bhulabhai, when he gave his legal opinion, spoke both as a politician and a lawyer. He addressed the Mysore Bar Association on the 10th inst. as a leading spokesman of the Congress attitude towards the States' people. In this speech he made a valiant attempt to justify his advice to the Princes to secure the deletion of the words "States' subjects" from the Reforms Bill. He did not tender this advice as a technician recommending the necessary machinery for preserving intact the States' titular sovereignty even under federation because the Princes desired it. But he himself desires as a Congress leader that the States should not surrender any part of their sovereignty to the federal government and puts it forward as a policy sanctioned by the Congress. We have no

knowledge to what extent, if at all, the sanction of the Congress can be claimed for the policy. Some of the leaders of the States' people's movement, on the other hand, maintain that this policy not only has not received the Congress imprimatur, but on the contrary is in flat contradiction to the basic principles on which the Congress is acting and have called upon the Congress authorities to repudiate Mr. Bhulabhai publicly. All that we can say and need say in this connexion is that if the Congress does not in fact support Mr. Bhulabhai's doctrines, they should be promptly disowned by the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad. If these doctrines run counter to the fundamental position of the Congress in the matter of reforms, as maintained by the Congress workers in the All-India States' People's Conference, it is surely unnecessary to wait till the A. I. C. C. or even the Working Committee meets. If no contradiction issues from Rajendra Babu immediately, the inference that the public will draw, and legitimately draw, from his silence is that the Congress too, like Mr. Bhulabhai, wants the rulers of the States to retain in their hands legal sovereignty even over subjects which in their Instruments of Accession they agree to make over to the federation for legislation and administration. The public will therefore watch with great interest what the Congress President does in the matter. For our own part we are unable to come to a decision what the Congress mind really is on this question; as the attitude of the Congress towards the States in general has been extremely dubious in the past.

This much we will admit at once, that if the States' rulers are not to divest themselves of any part of their sovereignty, the best plan would be to omit the mention of the States' subjects altogether from the Bill. For then it would mean that no federal law passed by the federal legislature will be made applicable to the States' people direct, but through the medium of the rulers of the States; that the federal government will not operate immediately in the States but only by reason of the Princes consenting to give effect to the wishes of the federal government. What will happen is that when any legislation passes it will come at once into force in British India in virtue of the federal legislature's inherent powers, but it will come into force in Indian India only when the ruler of a State agrees that it should come into force and even then by the authority of the ruler and not of the federal government. If the Princes undertake in advance to make applicable in their States all the laws passed by the federal legislature it will make little difference in actual practice, but it will make a tremendous difference in theory. For the Princes can argue that the federal laws take effect, not because the federal legislature has passed them, but because they have chosen to adopt them. The federal laws will thus be reduced in form to the status of recommendations of the federal legislature. The Princes' claim that they have not ceded sovereignty even in regard to federal

subjects will then be fully justified. In fact it will make the federation, which has already in it so many ingredients of a confederation, a regular confederation in every respect. Mr. Bhulabhai says that the omission of the words "States' subjects" will not detract from the rights of the States' people any more than the inclusion of the words will confer any rights upon them. If this is so, one may well ask why he is then so anxious to have the words deleted. One can understand him saying: "The Princes seem to be keen on it; let us satisfy their vanity in this matter as we can do so without detriment to our real interests; this is a concession which we can safely make with a view to securing their goodwill." Even so, if in theory we accept a stark confederation we fear there will be many legal and practical difficulties to encounter; but leaving them on one side for the moment, why does Mr. Bhulabhai himself advise the Princes in the name of the Congress not to surrender sovereignty to the federation to any extent? If the surrender of sovereignty in respect to federal subjects will not bring any advantage to the States' people, how will it hurt the States' rulers? Why then does he ask that they should keep their sovereignty undiminished even in the federal sphere?

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai has plenty of advice to give to the States' people too. They should not agitate, he says, against the monarchical form of government that obtains in the States. Is not this advice wholly superfluous? So far as we can judge, all the workers in the cause of the States' people have placed before themselves the objective of responsible government under the aegis of the States' rulers. At any rate this was the summit of their ambition till the Congress itself deflected some of them from it. The Congress persuaded the States' people to enlist under its banner and it allowed them to do so only after they had subscribed to its creed of complete national independence. This creed is really inconsistent with a monarchical form of government in the States, for these "monarchs" being under the paramountcy of the British Government, the achievement of independence for the whole of India will be complete only when they are done away with. The Congress itself is responsible for any legitimate doubt being cast upon the aspirations of some of the workers in the States. This being so, it ill becomes Mr. Bhulabhai as a prominent Congress leader to adjure them not to work against the monarchical form of government. As a matter of fact even Congressmen in the States are not doing so, but they cannot fail to notice the inconsistency between independence to which they are made to swear and the monarchical form of government in which the Princes are subject to the overlordship of the British Government. Mr. Bhulabhai congratulates the people in the States upon their not being burdened with a foreign domination and says that it is easier to win self-government from the Princes in the States than to win it from a foreign government in British India. The people in the States, however, have a different notion of the relative difficulty to be met with in the two processes, and

would gladly ask the Congress to relieve Mr. Bhulabhai for a while from what he considers to be the more difficult task in order that he might devote himself to the easier task. Since the Congress has already pledged its support to the States' people in their struggle for freedom, would it not be wise of it to tell off Mr. Bhulabhai for this job? We suppose he can obtain freedom for them in the twinkling of an eye.

Reviews.

AUSTRALIAN RESERVE BANK

AUSTRALIA'S GOVERNMENT BANK. BY
LESLIE C. JAUNCEY. (Cranley & Day.) 20cm.
1933. 288p. 7/6.

THE Commonwealth Bank of Australia, the central reserve bank of the country, is a unique institution of its kind. Outside Russia it is one of the only State-owned and state-managed central banks. But apart from State-ownership and State-management there would seem to be very little resemblance between the Riksbank of Sweden and the Commonwealth Bank. In respect of its functions the former belongs to the orthodox family of central banks, whilst the latter seems to have thought little of trampling under foot all orthodox considerations.

It is perhaps the only central bank in the world without a capital either subscribed by the State or by the public. The original Commonwealth Bank Act as also the later amendments of it have no doubt provided for the raising of capital by the issue of debenture loan from the State and appropriation of accumulated reserves. Under the 1924 Act, the Bank can thus place itself in possession of, if it so desires, a capital of £20 millions. But the precedent created by Governor Miller, the first Governor of the Bank, seems to have stuck and the Bank today has the unique distinction of owning no capital liability as such.

The Bank has three important departments: General Banking Department, the Issue Department, and the Rural Credits Department. Until September, 1927, there was also a fourth Department, the Savings Bank Department, but that year this was separated from the Bank.

The Bank can acquire, invest in and hold land, can accept interest-bearing fixed deposits, and allow over-drafts to its customers. These are functions which most of the newly established central banks are statutorily prohibited from engaging themselves in and the older ones abstain from them by long established tradition. In 1913 the Bank did underwriting and issuing business to the extent of £3 millions for the Melbourne and Metropolitan Works, and after the war, built for the war-returned soldiers 1,777 houses costing £1.16 millions, purchased for them 5,179 houses valued at £2.87 millions and advanced money for developmental works to local bodies which on June 30, 1923 had totalled £9.36 millions. As if this was not enough to take the breath out of you, the Bank had also provided insurance for war service houses, which covered fire, lightning, flood and tempest. Incidentally, this was the only insurance scheme in the Commonwealth that covered all these risks.

Nevertheless for these manifold activities, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia has been a conspicuous success. Dr. L. C. Jauncey's present excellent monograph is the result of a thesis prepared by him for the Ph. D. degree of the Harvard Univer-

sity. The Bank has proved of inestimable service to the public and to the Government both during the difficult period of the war as also afterwards. Despite its ventures in non-central banking activities, its success has enhanced its prestige, and in respect of its Rural Credits Department at any rate, it has had admirers in this country who pleaded, although with partial success, for the provision of a similar department in the Reserve Bank of India Act.

The State ownership of the Commonwealth Bank has to be viewed with reference to the special circumstances obtaining in the country. The movement in favour of state-ownership may be said to have its genesis in the appearance of the labour party in Australia in 1891. Since then it has steadily gathered in strength until today Australia has far more public ownership than any other English-speaking community in the world. Banking has been classed as a public utility service and the labour party hopes some day to nationalise the banks in the Commonwealth. The State-ownership of the Commonwealth Bank was only a step in this direction.

Until 1924, the Bank was governed by a Governor and a Deputy Governor, both of whom were appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the cabinet. But this had not compromised the independence of the Bank. The Governor was appointed as a permanent servant and could not be removed from office so long as he was of "good behaviour." His behaviour was to be adjudged not by the Government of the day but by the High Court. This gave him the much desired independence and freedom from Governmental interference. Also Governor Miller, before accepting office, laid down as a condition that the Bank should be free from political control.

Mr. Miller died in June 1923. Even before his death, opinion had developed in the Commonwealth in favour of a Board of Directors. But owing to the conspicuous success with which Mr. Miller had managed the Bank the Government did not pay serious attention to the desire for change. On the death of the Governor, however, it was practically certain that a Board of Management would be constituted. Provision was accordingly made for this in the 1924 Act.

Under this Act the management of the Bank was entrusted to a Board of Directors consisting of a Governor and seven Directors one of whom was to be the Secretary of the Treasury. The entire Board was to be nominated by the Governor General and he was to select them in such a manner as to give representation to the agricultural, the commercial, the industrial and the financial interests in the Commonwealth. The members of the Board were to hold office for seven years in the first instance but were to be eligible for re-appointment.

Founded in 1912 by the Act passed in the previous year, the Commonwealth Bank, whatever the intentions of its founders, has gradually assumed the role of a Central Bank. The original act of 1911 has been subjected to a series of amendments, among which may be mentioned those of 1914, 1920, 1924, 1925, 1927, 1929 and 1932.

The Act of 1920 repealed the Australian Notes Acts of 1910 and 1914, and transferred the control of note issue from the Treasury to the Commonwealth Bank. A separate note-issue department was created and its management was entrusted to a Board. This placed in the hands of the Bank an important instrument of credit control. In 1924, the commercial banks were statutorily obliged to make the Commonwealth Bank the settling bank for purposes of clearance. This is perhaps the only instance in the

world of legal enforcement of settlement through the central bank. In the same year the Bank was made to publish weekly discount rates and it was made the Bank of discount and rediscount. In 1929, on the model of a similar Act passed in Great Britain in the previous year, the Bank was authorised to acquire all the commercial gold in the Commonwealth. The separation of the Savings Bank Department in 1927 from the Bank is also to be viewed as a part of the progress towards its development into a Central Bank. It is now banker to the Federal Government and to four of the six States of the Commonwealth.

The Rural Credit Department of the Bank is of particular interest. The Department only extends short term and intermediate credit. The four State Agricultural banks attend to the long-term loan requirements of the farmers. The Commonwealth Bank provides credit to finance the harvesting, the processing and the movement of crops, and their marketing. Advances made are to be repaid within a year and all engaged in the production of primary produce, which term is so defined as to include, wool, grain, butter, cheese, fresh preserved or dried fruits, cotton, sugar, etc., are eligible for the benefit. The Bank does not deal with individuals but only with corporations like agricultural societies or unions. The total of the advances made by the department amounted to £ 45.2 millions by 1932.

The rate of interest charged has varied, between $6\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. and $4\frac{3}{4}$ p. c. The Bank is authorised to issue debentures for the benefit of this department, borrow from the treasury upto £ 3 millions and 25 p. c. of the profit of note issue accrues to the department until the total reaches £ 2 millions. This limit was reached in 1932. Far from involving the bank in losses, this business yielded a profit of £ 350,000, by the end of 1933.

An abstract of the Commonwealth Bank Acts as an appendix to the volume would have added to its value.

B. R. SHENOY.

SCOTLAND YARD.

SCOTLAND YARD AND THE METROPOLITAN POLICE. (2ND EDN). BY JOHN MOYLAN. [Putnam, London.] 1934. 20 cm. 398p. 7/6.

THIS is a volume in the Whitehall Series whose purpose is to supply to the public accurate and authoritative information about the organisation and working of important government departments. Such information is helpful to the citizen as well as to the official. It enables the former to secure the state assistance that is provided by law and to co-operate with the official in making his job a success. The present volume deals generally with the police organisation in England, and particularly with the metropolitan police. Besides the elaborate details of internal organisation which, it is pleasant to note, have been presented in attractive style, the essential principles of police structure in England have been justly emphasised by the author.

The first principles of English police organisation are that policing is a local function and that the constable is a 'community man.' In keeping with these basic features the entire police organisation has been decentralised and excepting for a few special aspects of police work the citizens of each town and county are responsible for their own protection. The police authorities in local areas are based on county and borough council organisations. This integration of civic with police structure has been extremely helpful both to the police and to the public. Unlike

most European countries India had, at any rate in provinces where the village organisation had been well developed, the same healthy tradition of identity of interests and responsibility between the community and the police. The watchmen were village servants who could count upon the assistance of every villager in their common task. The process of centralisation of police functions has, however, gone on for a long while and the very memory of the old Indian tradition is lost. Unless police organisation is decentralised in India, as it has always been in England, both the efficiency and usefulness of the department will continue to be as limited as they are at present.

The second important feature of police organisation in England is the separation of magisterial from police functions. Much of the confidence that is placed by the British public in their police as contrasted with a feeling of extreme mistrust that prevails in France, is due to an assurance that the police will play the game by the alleged offender. Not only courtesy and forbearance but strict neutrality in judicial proceedings characterise British police methods, since the epoch-making decade 1829-1839 when the foundations of the present British police structure were laid. It is well-known that the situation in India approximates in these respects to the French rather than to the British prototype. In the interest of police efficiency as well as of public confidence it is of the utmost urgency that the magisterial functions should be completely separated from the police in India.

Several interesting features of British police organisation such as the placing of a military man at the head of the civilian police, appointment till recently to all positions upto Divisional Superintendships by promotion from the ranks, the introduction of short service in the police on the analogy of the army, and the setting up of a special department for organisational research, have been very exhaustively treated by the author. The intimate acquaintance with police methods which Sir John enjoyed as receiver for the Metropolitan Police District has been utilised by him to interpret to the public the exact significance of several aspects of police work. It is only after a good deal of experience that the British authorities have learnt the wisdom of two propositions: firstly, that in police work prevention is better than cure, and secondly, that certainty of detection has a greater deterrent effect than harassment of suspects or severe punishment of convicts. It was as late as 1933 that the organisation of the detective branch was integrated with general police structure. At present every important police station has a detective staff and as a rule all indictable offences are in charge of the latter. Both in point of organisation and procedure, particularly with regard

to the more serious offences, much further improvement along these lines is necessary in India.

It is curious that several important improvements in English police organisation have been introduced by officers who had secured their first experiences in India. The finger print bureau and the special branch of the C. I. D. were entirely the creation of Indian Police Service officers. If the old tradition is to be upheld greater reorganisation and further experimentation must be taken up here. Not a little of the efficiency and honourable tradition of the entire police force in England is due to the conditions of recruitment and pay. Usually eligible young men from the rural parts are recruited for the police. Several trials and courses both at admission and confirmation are provided. The scale of salaries is liberal. A constable in the Metropolitan force gets a salary of £ 300 per year which compares well with earnings of certain professional classes in England itself. The Divisional Superintendents get from £ 550 to £ 700 per year. These figures are significant. Choose a policeman from a physically and socially healthy area, give him the necessary training and trial and then pay him enough to induce in him not only satisfaction with his lot but also a sense of self-respect—these are the essential considerations which must be followed in every progressive and efficient police organisation. Who can say that we have exhausted the possibilities of reform in these directions in our own country?

In view of the fact that under the new constitution the transference of law and order to the ministers is to be conditioned by several special responsibilities of the Governor it is interesting to follow Sir John Moylan's description of the relations between the Home Secretary and the Commissioner of Police. After a good deal of historical incident, to which the more serious student might refer for himself in the book, it is now recognised that the general policy of the police, which includes the making of police rules and orders, is the function of the Home Minister. The detailed management of the force as also the application of existing rules and orders is the province of the police chief. The legal responsibility of the minister for the conduct of the department under his charge is, however, complete and it cannot be shared with any official. Elaborate precautions are taken by the setting up of disciplinary tribunals and by the provision of appeals to higher authority to secure that the ends both of discipline and fair protection to the police are adequately met.

Sir John Moylan's book will be read with advantage by all students of public administration. It is full of very valuable lessons for police reformers in India.

D. G. KARVE.

STATES AND THE CONGRESS.

MR. BHULABHAI DESAI EXPLAINS RELATIONSHIP

ADDRESSING the Mysore Bar Association on 10th June Mr. Bhulabhai Desai defended his view that Indian States should not part with their sovereignty even to a small extent.

He said the intervention of a foreign power would not improve the lot of States' subjects and advised them to be friendly with the Princes and gradually secure responsible government from them.

Mr. Desai was entertained at tea by the Association in the District Court Hall.

In requesting Mr. Bhulabhai Desai to address the meeting Mr. C. Narasimhaya, President of the

Association, said that a charge had been levelled against the Congress that it was neglecting the interests of States' subjects, and asked Mr. Desai to throw light on the relationship between the Congress and States' subjects.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai observed that the units of a Federation were independent States, whether monarchical or republican. The position of an Indian State, according to international law, was that of a monarchical State where the ruler was a despot in the Greek sense of the word. His will was law. He was the source of all power and authority. He might part with his sovereignty at his own free will.

The State subjects might say that they would depose the King, or the ruler himself might meet the demands of the people half-way. But when the question was examined in the strict legal sense, Mr. Bhulabhai thought, the King, not the State subjects, could represent the unit of Federation inasmuch as the King was the fountain-head of all power and authority. The mention of the word "State subjects" in the India Bill would neither confer on them any political right nor take away from them.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai then defended his view that Indian States should not part with their sovereignty even to a small extent, for the State subjects would then be placed in the unenviable position of having to serve two masters. They would not be well-advised to exchange a struggle within the State to achieve responsible government for a struggle with Great Britain.

It would be a grievous mistake if they thought the intervention of a foreign power would improve their lot. The conception of the abolition of the Princes, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai added, was psychologically wrong.

The Princes were not foreigners, and the abolition of the Princes would merely result in making them allies of Great Britain. Therefore, it would be

wise for State subjects to remain on friendly terms with them and try to secure responsible government from them gradually. The State subjects were not burdened with "a foreign domination." Their only complaint was that power and authority were concentrated in a single hand but their problem was much easier of solution than the problem of winning Swaraj for British India.

The Princes themselves were gradually recognising the value of co-operation from their subjects, for, otherwise, they would be squeezed out between a struggle within the State and the foreigner at the top.

The speaker thought that the pressure of the State subjects and the wisdom of the Princes themselves would be tested in the future.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai disagreed with the contention that the Indian National Congress could interfere with the internal politics of a State, because the State subjects had participated in the non-violent struggle. This was not right in the conditions obtaining in the Indian States. Even a monarchical form of government, Mr. Desai added, was not inconsistent with freedom, even as it was felt by many that a republican form was not always consistent with freedom.—*United Press.*

The Servants of India Society.

REPORT FOR 1934-35.

Following are further comments in some of the newspapers on the Servants of India Society's Report for 1934-35 :

GOKHALE lived ten years to see his society grow and develop traditions. A year before his death, Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa and there was a general expectation that he would be Gokhale's successor. But Gokhale, notwithstanding his great admiration and affection for Gandhiji, had perceived fundamental differences between the ideals of the Society and those of Gandhiji and he would seem to have hinted at some sort of preference for Mr. Srinivasa Sastri to succeed him. Anyhow, the members met after Gokhale's death and, not without much wrestling within themselves, chose Sastri to be their next First Member. In the light of happenings since, it is clear that their choice was guided by an authentic instinct. There was room for both the Servants of India Society and the Sabarmati Ashram and it would have been a distinct loss if the Society had been converted into the Ashram. Sastri's call came with the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The declaration by the National Congress of non-co-operation made it impossible for any member of Gokhale's Society to have a part in it. The Indian Liberals numbering amongst them the cream of political India, formed themselves into the group known as Liberals. After Sastry's resignation of the First Membership on his appointment as the first Agent General of the Government of India in South Africa, G. K. Devadhar, one of the three to whom Gokhale administered the Society's vows with himself, became the First Member. Devadhar does not take much interest in politics. The Seva Sadan Society for training women for useful work is his great achievement. He is also a leader and authority on the Co-operative Movement in all its ramifications. Mr. N. M. Joshi, another senior Member, has pioneered Labour organization and has made his mark as a warm and discriminate supporter of Labour's claims in Geneva. The Society has now thirty members and can easily have many more but for financial stringency. It celebrated its thirtieth anni-

versary last week and received messages of good wishes from far and near.—*The Indian Social Reformer.*

THE Society has now a record of useful service of full thirty years. It was started in 1905 by the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, with himself and three other persons as members. It was on the 12th June, 1905, that Mr. Gokhale himself took the vows and administered them to the other three gentlemen, one of whom is the present President of the Society. Mr. G. K. Devadhar and the other was Mr. A. V. Patvardhan who has been, for some time past, working consistently in the interests of the subjects of the Indian states. Mr. Gokhale had completed his twenty years of educational service in 1902 on behalf of the Deccan Education Society of which he was a life-member. He was now free to devote all his time and attention to the public affairs of his country. He was however convinced that if the national work was to be done properly and efficiently a band of workers must be created, who would have adequate knowledge, sufficient honesty and considerable leisure and opportunity for public work. To this end he thought that a society should be started, which would give requisite training in all these aspects to the workers. The members of the Society were to be like so many political sanyasis to be employed in public work in this country. The Society at present consists of 29 members of whom five are under training. The achievements of the Society very aptly illustrate the fact, that for an organisation to be effective and influential, it is not necessary that the membership should be very large. We have been told that the Fabian Society in England worked far better and exercised greater influence in the country when it consisted of twenty members than when it came to consist of two hundred. Everything depends upon the compactness of the body, and the ability and unselfishness of its workers. No organisation has been so fortunate in the quality of its membership than the Servants of India Society.—*United Bengal.*

... THE tablet erected by the Deccan Education Society at the time of its Golden Jubilee on the hill between the Servants of India Society and the Fergusson College will be one of the inspiring scenes connected with the birth of new India. Unto Mr. Gokhale was given to impart a religious touch to the service of the motherland. Gandhiji, whom all today worship, began his real political career under the inspiration of Mr. Gokhale.

The Society counts only 29; but behind the 29 missionaries stand a large volume of political thought inspired by their work and researches: the example of the life lived by their founder and by the right hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri who succeeded to the headship of the society after Mr. Gokhale.

There is no department of public activity in which these Servants of India do not throw themselves heart and soul and carry on its work in the highest missionary spirit. Flood or earthquake relief? The Servants of India are ready to shoulder their burden in South Arcot in Madras or Monghyr in Bihar. They interest themselves in sanitary welfare leagues, arranging magic lantern lectures; the cause of temperance finds the "Servant of India" busy and sincere. In the Seva Samitis, Criminal tribes settlements, Harijan work—Mr. Thakkar's name is familiar to all—the depressed classes mission, the Poona Seva Sadan, scouting, swadeshi, rural reconstruction, co-operation; local self-government, welfare of Indians abroad, labour amelioration, legislative councils—everywhere the gallant 29 have permeated with their spirit and their activities.

These patriotic *sanyasins* of India derive the only reward from their work: that of seeing a good cause making for the advancement of their fellowmen and their country. They are servants and nothing more. Theirs is to labour. The country will reap the reward.

Mr. Joshi in the Assembly and Mr. Bakhale in the Bombay Council hold aloft the Servants' ideals in the field of labour and allied legislative subjects. The names of Mr. Patvardhan and Mr. Vaze are familiar to the subjects of Indian States struggling to come to their own; Mr. Sharma has taken up municipal reform in the Punjab; Mr. Devadhar is an all-India missionary in the cause of cooperation; Mr. Venkatasubbayya and Mr. Sivaswamy carry on rural reconstruction work; Mr. Nayanar's name rhymes with *swadeshi* in Malbar area, and so is Mr. Bajpai's name with scouting and Seva Samiti work in the United Provinces. It has been a feature of the Society that the bulk of its work is done through other organisations, which its members have helped either to found or to develop. They lay no claim to exclusive credit for the work of these bodies, in which so many others have collaborated.—A Liberal in *Roy's Weekly*.

THE Servants of India Society of Poona deserves to be congratulated on completing another useful year of public service and thirty years of its existence. Founded by the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale with the noble object of serving the country, the Society has been carrying on all these years silent but meritorious work in several directions. Besides the economic, educational and political activities, in which most of its members have been interesting themselves, the Society has been devoting special attention to social work, and during the year under report and for some time past some of its prominent members have been engaged in the work of the elevation of the depressed classes. Mr. Thakkar was the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, while Messrs. Devadhar and Kunzru, the President and Vice-President of the Society, were Presidents

respectively of the Maharashtra and U. P. provincial branches of the Sangh. The Society's finances, never very opulent, have stood in the way of its expansion and we endorse the appeal made on behalf of it for public support in an adequate manner. In our country where organisations engaged in disinterested and unostentatious public work are all too few, the Servants of India Society, which occupies a premier place as such, deserves all the support that the public can give it.—The *Indian Nation*.

Correspondence.

OF SERVICE TO INDIA ABROAD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. U. S. A., is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent and ambitious libraries in the world. It is truly international in its sweep and has literature on every conceivable subject, of every country and of every age. It contains some 5 million books and pamphlets besides maps, manuscripts, etc. Apart from acquisitions by purchase and exchange, the number of publications acquired by gifts from individuals and other unofficial sources numbered over 22,000 in 1932 alone.

Of interest to India is the mention in the Librarian's Report for 1932 that "Two copies of Ernest Wood's work, "An Englishman defends Mother India: a complete, constructive reply to 'Mother India', (2nd Ed., Rev.)" Madras, Ganesh & Co. (1930) were presented by J. Harry Carnes, of this city." While the Slav and Semetic literatures have separate Divisions, India is included with China and Japan, etc., in the Division of Orientalia. The Japanese section has a Japanese expert to look after it.

The Library service is well organised. It is not always necessary to go to Washington for the books in the Library; they can be had under certain circumstances through local Libraries. In that sense the Library is truly national, accessible to all citizens in the U. S. A.

It is hardly necessary to expatiate on the advantages to India, and those to the U. S. A., of India being represented in the Library of Congress. Official publications regarding India, as well as the British Empire as a whole, are readily available in the U. S. A. because the British Government maintains the British Library of Information in New York. Unofficial publications are not so readily available.

It is worthwhile for India to cultivate public opinion in the U. S. A. It may not be possible for unofficial India to maintain a permanent unofficial mission in the U. S. A., or send out occasional missions often enough. The next best thing to do is to make Indian un-official literature available in this country. The Library of Congress is the standard library in this country. And there is every assurance that Indian unofficial publications will be cordially welcomed. Should the accumulation of Indian literature grow large enough, it may justify, and even necessitate, the creation of a separate Indian section, with specialists, and perhaps Indians among them, to take charge of it.

It is very desirable that the publishers of books and periodicals in India, not excluding the Universities and other learned bodies, should put the Library of Congress on their free list and send their publications regularly. That will be a distinct service to India, if to no other. Yours, etc.

P. KODANDA RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

PLOUGHBOY TO PRESIDENT. (LIFE STORY OF V. J. PATEL.) Ed. by R. CHOWDHURY. (Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta.) 1934. 20cm. 222p. Rs. 2/—

Mr. Chowdhury deserves great credit for having brought out this little volume within a year of Mr. Patel's death. It gives us an accurate record of Mr. Patel's twenty years of public life (1913-1933). All the important facts are faithfully recorded. The book however suffers from the lack of that personal touch which makes all biography so interesting and inspiring. The book stimulates our desire to know more about Mr. Vithalbai Patel. We trust Mr. Chowdhury will at some future time satisfy his readers' curiosity in the matter. The printing and the get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired.

A.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III MAHARAJA OF BARODA. VOL. III—1927-34. (The Press, Cambridge) 1934. 25 cm. 521-716 p.

THIS volume comprises the utterances of the Maharaja of Baroda during a period of more than six years from Dec. 1927 to March 1934. The speeches deal with such varied subjects as etiquette, philosophy, music, Marathi literature, etc. and have more than ordinary interest for the public especially in view of the status and position of their author. His speeches at the opening and conclusion of the first R. T. C. which drew flattering attention from the British press at the time also figure in this collection. To those who want to familiarise themselves with the Maharaja's opinions on important public affairs and to others as well the collection is bound to prove attractive and useful. It need hardly be added that the general get-up and printing leave hardly anything to be desired.

C. M. P.

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