

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Joint Select Committee.

THE slow progress of the Joint Select Committee on the White Paper was apparently the cause of much dissatisfaction among the Indian delegates. Though the Indian delegates have been more than eight weeks in England attending to the work of the Committee, it cannot yet be said to have come to close grips with the problems before it. This is contrary to the plans which some of the more important delegates had prepared for themselves, presumably on the strength of information officially supplied to them prior to their departure for England. Indeed it is well known that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had told the Viceroy that his arrangements would not enable him to stay in England later than the early part of July. To him and to many others their unexpectedly long sojourn in England was a source of much inconvenience. It is obviously to meet their wishes that the new sub-committee procedure was devised, to which Parliament has since signified its approval. Under this the recording of evidence will be done not by the whole Committee but by a small sub-committee told off for the purpose. The new arrangement is to be welcomed as doing something to accelerate the despatch of business by the Committee so that Indian delegates may be free to leave a fortnight or so later than the time fixed by them for their return journey. The examination of the Secretary of State for India which has already begun will be followed by that of witnesses from India so as to obviate the necessity of their idle stay in England during the Parliamentary autumn adjournment. The consultations between the British and Indian wings of the Committee which are to take place within the next few days will really constitute an important formative stage and should give the delegates from this country some general idea as to how far the British

Government is prepared to go to meet either the Indian view or the opposition led by Mr. Churchill. Nobody need be surprised if these confabulations betray a desire on the part of the British Government to placate the latter in preference to the former.

Provincial Autonomy at Greek Kalends!

THE special opportunities enjoyed by the European Association for influencing Government decisions invest the evidence tendered before the Joint Select Committee on its behalf with much significance. A cabled summary of its evidence shows that the Association would insist upon the fulfilment of three conditions before even provincial governments are made responsible to their legislature. These are: (1) satisfactory financial settlement, (2) full protection for the services and (3) the promise of a measure of co-operation which would ensure a stable government. The conditions are so vaguely worded that it is difficult to make out what is really intended to be conveyed by them. Is the first one to be understood to imply that unless the finances of a province are in a satisfactory condition it should not be made autonomous? If so, insistence upon satisfactory finance as a pre-requisite of provincial autonomy instead of leaving the autonomous provinces to devise the best means of overcoming their financial difficulties virtually amounts to delaying the advent of full responsibility in many Indian provinces for some years to come. For, as can be easily understood, financial satisfaction is largely dependent upon world economic conditions which, so far as can be seen, hold out no immediate promise of improvement. While the Association's solicitude for the welfare of the services is natural, it would have done well if it had definitely told us what it thought of the provisions made in the White Paper for their protection. The Association cannot be unaware of the fact that these have received such unmeasured and universal condemnation that Mr. Sastri was constrained to remark at the last session of the Conference of the Indian Liberal Party that even if the White Paper were otherwise satisfactory he would reject it simply because of the inclusion in it of such reactionary Service safeguards. In these circumstances, the question is: Does the Association want them to be stiffened still further? In that case the White Paper constitution will command the allegiance of only an infinitesimally small section of politically-minded India, so that the non-fulfilment of the Association's third condition follows as a matter of course. It is of course very far from our intentions to suggest that the Association is bent upon prejudicing the successful working of the new constitution. But if it had set its heart on doing so, we are sure it could not have chosen more effective means of achieving its object than by laying down the conditions the satisfaction of which alone will lead to provincial autonomy.

The Princes' Sacrifice.

"THE Princes contribute nothing to the federation, neither revenue, nor authority," observed Col. Wedgwood to the Joint Select Committee. Confirmation of this was indirectly obtained by Lord Rankeilour from Mr. Panikkar. The former asked: "If you give over certain powers and responsibilities to the Federal Government, that would to some extent relieve your own expenses, would it not, obviously?" thus suggesting that the States ought to be prepared to bear their share of the burden of direct taxes. Mr. Panikkar however was compelled to answer that the States would not be relieved of the expenses of administering any subjects that would be made over to the Federation. For "most of the subjects which you have now federated are under the administration of the Government of India. . . . Therefore, we are not saving any money by handing over these subjects to the Federal Government." Taking up this thread, Mr. Morgan Jones asked: "So that practically you are making no contribution in coming into the federation?" And Mr. Panikkar's answer was: "We are transferring the right, because the right does not belong at the present time to the Government." That is to say, the Princes will now be divested *de jure* of the powers of which they have long been divested *de facto*. This is all that the federation purports to do.

* * *

Leading Questions.

SCHOOLBOYS are often asked if they know what is meant by "leading questions," and they are often puzzled for an answer. The following will perhaps serve as very good illustrations of such questions, and the Government may well circulate them to all the schools for the benefit of the children. The questions were put by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, the editor of the *Hindu*, and the answers were given by the States' delegation.

Q.—You have stated that the advent of Indian States' representatives nominated by the Princes would introduce an element of stability and responsibility. This does not arise from the fact that there are no democratic or representative institutions in any of the States?

A.—No.

Q.—And, therefore, the argument that you will act as a brake on the democracy of India by coming in, owing to the absence of democracy in Indian States, is an unsound statement, is it?

A.—Yes.

* * *

Indian Women's University.

THIS University, founded by Professor D. K. Karve, is still under the cloud that has been overhanging it since last year, when the executors of the late Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey's will stopped the payment of an annual grant of Rs. 52,500. The cloud has not yet lifted, and the serious difficulties which the University encounters on account of the source being closed which supplied so far more than two-thirds of the expenditure can easily be imagined. The dispute between the University and the late donor's trustees will happily no longer be a dispute between the parties, since the administration of the endowment is being looked into by Government itself. It is to be earnestly hoped that the inquiry will soon be completed and that it will result in an amicable settlement enabling the University to carry on its work on an undiminished scale. Anyhow, the promoters of the University are determined to keep it up. As Professor Karve said at the prize distribution ceremony of the University's Poona College last week, they had not expected the

windfall of Sir Vithaldas's donation when they started work, and would not allow it to suffer if the donation was no longer available. It is heartening to receive such an assurance, for women's education would receive a serious blow if the unique work being done there could not be continued and extended. The University is making good progress in point of numbers of those who receive education at its hands, and every well-wisher of the University must do his or her level best to give it financial support. The Chief of Jamkhandi, who presided at the annual celebration of the Poona College, made a very encouraging speech on the occasion, and promised to extend monetary help to it, and it is to be hoped that he will endow this women's college in memory of his mother even as he endowed the S. P. College (mainly a men's college) in memory of his father.

* * *

Municipalities in C. P.

IT would appear from the latest resolution of the C. P. Government on the working of municipalities that a proposal to set up municipalities in some rural places with a population of 10,000 and more had to be abandoned owing to the opposition of the people concerned based on their unwillingness to bear additional taxation. This, though regrettable, cannot be said to be a peculiar characteristic of the people of those provinces. Unreadiness to bear taxation is a human weakness; but it is also true that better amenities of life cannot be provided in the absence of requisite funds. If the residents of the areas concerned are anxious for added conveniences, it is up to them to combine in order to find the additional funds. It is time there was a general recognition of the fact that amenities cannot be provided out of nothing.

Deficient civic conscience seems to have been largely responsible for the considerable number of municipal meetings which had to be adjourned for want of quorum. The scandal of the members of municipalities themselves being defaulters in regard to municipal dues was also found to exist in some municipalities. It is hoped that the passage of the Bill which seeks to disqualify defaulting office-bearers and members from office will lead to its stoppage before very long. Collection of municipal taxes appears to have been unsatisfactory throughout the province with the result that not a single municipality was able to collect 95 per cent. of its demand with a view to its being placed in A class. The collection seems to have varied between 23 and 90 per cent. and was much handicapped by the unwillingness of the municipal authorities to face the unpleasantness of putting the coercive processes of law into operation.

It is a matter for satisfaction that though financial stringency necessitated a further reduction of the Government's educational grants to municipalities from 10 to 20 per cent. with the consequent decrease in the number of teachers' posts and their salaries, there was a rise of over 5,500 in the number of boys reading in primary schools. It is a puzzle to us why the resolution fails to give similar information as regards girls. Is it to be supposed that the number of girl students showed a decline? Compulsory education made hardly any headway, having been introduced in two more municipalities and abandoned in one. According to the resolution, the number of municipalities which have enforced compulsion in regard to primary education was 23. But, it is added, not all of them achieved efficiency and in one the scheme proved a failure. This discloses a state of things which calls for urgent attention on the part of the authorities concerned.

Factories in the Punjab.

REVIEWING the provincial report on factories for 1932, the Punjab Government strongly animadverts upon the slackness on the part of factory inspectors and district magistrates in the matter of inspection of industrial concerns. Though the total number of inspections rose from 532 in the preceding year to 580 during the year under report, that of inspections by night dropped from 62 to 42. Inspections by district magistrates also declined from 40 to 24. That occasional nightly visits by factory inspectors are valuable is shown by the fact that the offence of working labour over-time was detected in 12 factories as a result of such visits. It does not speak well for the sense of duty of district magistrates that the district magistrates of only eight districts, and those too of little industrial importance, were found to have taken their duties in regard to factories seriously, no inspections whatever being carried out in the more important towns of the province. This laxity on the part of the inspecting authorities is held by the Government to be absolutely unjustifiable; and it is to be hoped that the strong strictures passed by the Government on their conduct will serve as an eye-opener and spur them on to greater activity.

Before going on to examine the statistics about industrial accidents it is well to understand the technical meaning of the word. All cases in which the injured persons are unable to return to work within 48 hours of the occurrence are accidents for the purposes of the Factories Act; while an accident must have disabled a person for work for at least ten days in order to enable him to qualify for the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The number of accidents of the former kind in the Punjab was 1,091 as against 1,142 in 1931, while that of the latter variety 504 as against 571 in the previous year. The information furnished in the report points to a marked improvement in the promptness with which claims for compensation for injuries were settled. In 1931 out of 12 fatal accidents compensation was paid only on two claims before the close of the year; while the corresponding figures for the year under report were 6 and 3, in two more cases the amount of compensation having been deposited with the Commissioner. Similarly, out of 26 claims for compensation owing to permanent disablements, 22 were paid off during the year as against 18 out of 39 during the previous year. The promptness in the settlement of such claims is greatly to be welcomed, for, as observed by the Punjab Government, it greatly adds to the value of the compensation.

Articles.

SAVING THE LONDON CONFERENCE.

COMMENTING on the prospects of the World Economic Conference we had stated a few weeks ago that it would be unreasonable to suppose that the American President and the British Prime Minister would consent to the convening of the Conference unless they were agreed upon the essentials of a working programme. Recent publication of the correspondence that has passed between the two Governments on the subject of British debt instalment to America, which fell in on the 15th of June last, shows that the very unreasonable 'supposition' answers the 'facts' quite adequately. Disorganised exchanges, unsound currencies, restrictive tariff walls, and disastrously low prices are the salient

economic ills from which the world is at present suffering. And it is clear that a beginning towards their removal cannot be made unless the octopus of non-commercial inter-state obligations is finally removed. Indeed this preliminary step had during the last few months, particularly since the Lausanne Conference, assumed such an axiomatic position that no statesman could justify his claims to a sense of responsibility who would promote a world conference for economic recovery without a previous understanding on this all-important question. Many people expected that within a few hours after the official opening of the Conference on the 12th June an unmistakable indication of its favourable attitude towards cancellation, if not a formal declaration, would be forthcoming from America. Nothing of this sort, however, except the statement of President Roosevelt that the part payment from Britain is not in his personal opinion tantamount to a default, has been vouchsafed by the American Government. The failure of the American executive to rise to the needs of the occasion has helped to strengthen all the reactionary forces in Europe and to-day the World Economic Conference is as near an ignominious end as it can be.

It avails nothing for a weary and exasperated world to be told that any declaration of what in practice amounts to a cancellation of foreign states' debts to America can be made only with the consent of the Congress, and that the Congress is not in a mood to hear anything of such a proposal. The difficulties of the President were obvious even when the British Prime Minister visited the United States and unless reasonable hopes were then entertained of overcoming them in the near future there was no justification for convening the fateful Conference. This is, moreover, no new experience for the American President. President Wilson's failure to carry the legislature with him in the momentous issue of the League of Nations was an adequate warning to the present occupant of the White House. If the World Economic Conference fails on account of the internal difficulties of the American Government it will be well-nigh impossible in the future to persuade other nations to take the words of American Presidents at their face value. We feel that the occasion is sufficiently important for President Roosevelt to take a bold step. As the confirmation by the Congress is necessary to any legislative cancellation of debts, the consent of the President is essential to any positive retaliation proposed by that body. The presidential veto can be countered only by a two-thirds majority in both the houses of the legislature. As in both the houses of the Congress the supporters of Mr. Roosevelt muster in larger numbers than the minimum one-third thus required to make good his veto a way out of the constitutional difficulty can be easily indicated. Mr. Roosevelt should declare that he and his party are in favour of cancellation under given conditions. If these conditions are agreeable to the other nations they might be permitted to stop payments with the explicit approval of the President. If the legislature in America

attempts to sabotage this agreement by opposing the will of the President he should use his supporters for a counter resistance. If Mr. Roosevelt is really convinced of the desirability of giving up the claims for war debts the difficulties of the constitution must not be allowed to stand in the way of world recovery. If he does not approve of the cancellation there is no prospect of an agreed solution of the problem. International defaults and a shattered world credit would then be the only end.

Action taken by the United States with regard to a direct attack on the price level by a process of 'reflation' has been resented in the gold standard countries, particularly in France. The deliberate, and what many consider an avoidable, abandonment of the Gold Standard and the depreciation of the dollar have further stiffened the backs of the French and Italian representatives. Tariffs have never been a field of agreement among the politicians. Unlike the last Economic Conference, which unanimously condemned tariffs, the present one is inclined to go no further than place on record its disapproval of excessive tariffs. This would not mean anything in practice. It would be most regrettable if the London Conference were to disperse without achieving substantial and real agreement on the fundamental problems with which the world is today confronted. In almost all countries forces of desperation and disorder are getting more and more restive. Unless the

statesmen of the various nations assembled in London rise above petty national and factious prejudices not only the prosperity but even the peace of the world would be endangered. It would be an exaggeration to say that the cancellation of war debts would by itself solve the world economic problem. But without such a clearing of the decks the capitalistic ship will be destined to meet extremely foul weather. The key of the situation rests with President Roosevelt. If he is a man of that much courage, with which his supporters credited him at the time of the last presidential campaign, he will see to it that the great gesture of goodwill is forthcoming, even though it might mean a straining of his constitutional position. With its own bona fides proved beyond a doubt, America can play a successful role of an arbitrator in resolving the other differences which threaten to block the progress of negotiations. Mr. MacDonald seems to have reserved himself to the last for the great effort of which he is known to be capable. It is also reported that President Roosevelt has telegraphed to the effect that the Conference must not fail on account of anything that the American delegation does. Is it too much to hope, in the interests of world peace, that the heads of the two Anglo-Saxon Governments, who were mainly responsible for convening an admittedly difficult conference, will take the only course which can save it from a deplorable end.

THE MAHATMA AND FEDERATION.

NO part of Col. Wedgwood's evidence before the Joint Select Committee will excite keener and wider interest in this country than his statement that he found, from his conversation in London in 1930, that Mahatma Gandhi's view of federation was "exactly similar to his own." Now, we know what Col. Wedgwood thinks of federation. "I would prefer the centre unchanged," he says, "rather than the finality and abdication of the White Paper, with an Assembly chosen as there laid down." To allow the States' representatives to be nominated is, in his opinion, nothing short of "putting India (permanently) under the control of non-representative Princes." "Once they are in, they will be the power and the Government of the whole of British India." And Col. Wedgwood feels sure that "there will be nobody more pleased than Mr. Gandhi when you drop that White Paper and take up something more democratic" such as his own alternative scheme.

One dare not question the truth of Col. Wedgwood's statement about Mahatma Gandhi, of course; but the people of this country will find it a little difficult to accept it without some amount of reserve. The proposal in the White Paper that the Princes should themselves determine how the States' representatives would be selected (a proposal which is mainly responsible for making the constitution undemocratic) is not now made for the first time. It was made at the first Round Table Conference and was repeated at the second, when Mahatma Gandhi raised no objection to it. He was agreeable to let

the Princes nominate the whole block if they so chose. He did not even dare to mention election and was certainly not prepared to press for a statutory provision laying it down as the only method open to them for selecting their representatives. The element of autoocracy and oligarchy that there is in the White Paper was therefore to be found in the Round Table Conference scheme too, that was placed before Mahatma Gandhi for consideration, and, what is more, this part of the scheme met with his approval. On the question of placing self-government before democracy, there was no difference whatever between radical and moderate politicians from British India. All alike were prepared to accept an undemocratic Central Government, provided they obtained thereby some kind of self-government. Mahatma Gandhi too showed himself at the time to be a nationalist first and a democrat by a long interval thereafter. It is a trifle too much therefore to believe that he would at that time have preferred to go without self-government at all at the centre if the self-government to be conceded contained anti-democratic features like that of princely nomination.

But it is very likely, and indeed certain, that Mahatma Gandhi (assuming that, as a result of the Congress Conference held this week, he will at all consider the White Paper on its merits) will reject the White Paper, and federation along with it, in favour of a scheme like that of Col. Wedgwood; that is to say, he will much rather have a good deal less self-government combined with a little more democracy

than accept a kind of self-government wholly devoid of, and in fact opposed to, democracy. The reasons for it are two. First, the quantum of self-government that appeared to be within reach in 1930 has since very much shrunk. It is now so attenuated that even confirmed moderates have begun to ask themselves whether the reforms are worth bothering about at all. Second, the defects in the constitution, if once allowed, will be of a permanent character. Mahatma Gandhi, when he agreed to nomination by the Princes at the second Round Table Conference, must have entertained a hope of being able at a reasonable date in the future to get the constitution amended so that all the States will be required to send all their representatives to the federal legislature by popular election.

This hope is now dashed to the ground. Because it has now become perfectly plain that in all such matters the constitution will be unalterable except with the Princes' consent. Col. Wedgwood put the finger on the right spot when he said, "My chief objection to the White Paper is its finality." But he too, we are afraid, does not fully realise how absolute the finality is. He said to the Select Committee on 19th June: "Any further reform depends not upon the Houses of Parliament, not upon England, but upon the new Assembly which you are setting up." Col. Wedgwood seems to think that since the Assembly in India will be dominated by a reactionary element, it will inevitably turn down all proposals for a further liberalization of the constitution. But the constitution is not unamendable in this sense alone. All our nationalist politicians are asking for is that the Assembly (and the Senate together) should be placed in a position of amending the constitution without reference to the British Parliament. They will be completely satisfied if they are able to get what Col. Wedgwood regards as an extremely reactionary provision. **BUT THE FACT IS THAT NEITHER THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE, NOR THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, NOR THE TWO TOGETHER WILL OF THEMSELVES HAVE THE POWER EVEN BY A SPECIAL MAJORITY TO AMEND THE WHITE PAPER CONSTITUTION. WHERE THE STATES ARE CONCERNED, THE PRINCES MUST AGREE TO THE AMENDMENT PROPOSED. IN NO STATE WILL THE AMENDMENT TAKE EFFECT WHOSE RULER DOES NOT AGREE.** Mahatma Gandhi therefore cannot console himself any longer with the thought that if he has to put up with nomination now he can have election later. He will have election only when the Princes themselves want it. That time may well be the Greek Kalends. At any rate at no time in future will it be possible for the Indian Legislature to say that there shall be no nominated element in it. We therefore cannot help feeling that, however deplorable Mahatma Gandhi's attitude may have been in 1930, it will be very different in 1933. For we cannot imagine that the Mahatma can bring himself to accept nomination when the hope of substituting election for it is completely shut out.

This unamendability of the constitution does not affect merely those who are keen on democracy;

it also affects those who are keen on mere self-government, even if such self-government be of an oligarchic kind. It was fondly believed by many persons that the Princes would be able to interpose their veto only when questions like nomination of the States' representatives were raised; but that they would not have to be consulted where it was a question of transferring to the legislature control over subjects now to be reserved to the Governor-General. That is to say, while the Princes would be a permanent obstacle in the way of democratising the Government of India, they would be powerless to obstruct any possible enlargement of the sphere of self-government in the Government of India. But it has now become clear from the evidence given by the States' delegation before the Select Committee that the Princes claim the right of saying "no" to His Majesty's Government if the latter should perchance be inclined to transfer, say the Army, to the federation. The theory upon which this claim is based is perfectly simple; it is no other than that which was advanced by Sir Leslie Scott, viz. that the relations of the States are with the Crown direct, and that the Crown must not, without their consent, entrust to an agency not under its control the discharge of any obligations undertaken by it on their behalf. Many British Indian politicians had persuaded themselves that the States waived the application of this doctrine when they declared themselves to be in favour of federation. And the only advantage to which they could point as distinctly traceable to federation was that the States, by the mere fact of agreeing to come into the federation, had impliedly given for once and all their consent to the transfer of control over the army, and that the British Government would no longer be able to use the treaties with the States as a cover for their own unwillingness to make the transfer.

These politicians now realise how badly they were fooled. Mr. Panikkar placed the following as the Princes' view before the Joint Committee on 27th June:-

The question whether the States are prepared to transfer those obligations (like the obligation for defence) to the Federation must be determined by them. It is not a thing which British India can decide for them, whether they are prepared to accept the obligations which the Federal Government no doubt will be prepared to undertake, but which the States will not be prepared to entrust. I have no doubt when the time comes they will decide in a suitable manner, but the question whether their safety can be best given by the Crown or by the Federal Government is a matter that they alone can settle.

The word "alone" in the above quotation is very significant. It was an answer to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's question: "That would mean that you would be the determining factor?" Sir Tej at any rate cannot complain that the Princes' answer is not clear.

It is no use blaming the States' delegation for taking up such an attitude on this occasion. For the Princes have never taken up any other. And it is implicit in the theory accepted by the first Round Table Conference that "in regard to all matters not ceded by them (the States) to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the

agency of the Viceroy." There is a passage in the Report of the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference too which ought to have saved our politicians from self-delusion on this question. After declaring that the defence of India will eventually be transferred to the Indian legislature, the Sub-Committee says :—

A view was expressed that an addition should be made to these resolutions to the effect that the Sub-Committee recognised that no action should be taken so as to prejudice in any way the power of the Crown to fulfil military obligations arising out of treaties with particular Indian States. It was ruled, however, and accepted by the Sub-Committee that such a specific declaration was unnecessary, the Chairman giving an undertaking that neither this Sub-Committee nor any other Committee could in any way abrogate treaty obligations and engagements that were in operation.

There was thus no reason whatsoever for our politicians to persuade themselves, as they did, that if there was no federation the transfer of military control would be impossible without the Princes' consent, but that after federation it would become possible. The one gain which they were hoping to derive from federation has thus proved illusory. If the Princes' consent is required, irrespectively of whether federation is formed or not, then it is obvious that federation does not facilitate in any way control over the army.

Thus the White Paper constitution will be unalterable without the consent of the Princes not only in so far as it affects nomination and such other things, but also in so far as it affects reserved subjects. The Princes have the power of blocking not only introduction of democracy but development of self-government. And in fact their power is larger in respect to the latter than in respect to the former. For if

some States decide to introduce election within their borders it will at once come into effect in these States, whatever other States may do ; but if even one State insists upon the British Crown fulfilling its obligation for defence the consent of all the other States to entrusting the obligation to the federal Government will have no effect. It is possible to have nomination in one State and election in another ; but the army cannot be in the charge of the Crown and the federal Government at the same time. IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR ALL THE STATES WITHOUT A SINGLE EXCEPTION TO GIVE THEIR CONSENT BEFORE CONTROL OVER THE ARMY CAN BE TRANSFERRED. While therefore in respect of nomination the constitution can be altered in any State by its own individual consent, in respect of military control, for instance, it can be altered only by the consent of all the States, whether they be in the federation or outside. The unamendability of the constitution ought therefore to concern the swarajists even more profoundly than the democrats.

Mahatma Gandhi may be, as Col. Wedgwood believes, as good a democrat as a nationalist ; but even if he be, as we were led to believe at the second Round Table Conference, far more a nationalist than a democrat, even then we feel certain that he will be unable to accept a constitution, which, when it is once accepted in its present form, it will be almost impossible to modify later, either in the direction of extending self-government or in that of establishing popular government. We are therefore disposed to agree with Col. Wedgwood that now at any rate Mahatma Gandhi will be quite willing and in fact eager "to drop the White Paper."

OBSERVER.

MAHARASHTRA UNIVERSITY.

THERE was held during the last week-end at Poona a Conference composed mainly of Principals of various Colleges in the Presidency and other educationists to discuss the question of the reorganisation of the University of Bombay. The Conference arose out of a representation made to H. E. the Governor of Bombay last April by a deputation led by Mr. Jayakar for the establishment of a Maharashtra University at Poona and for the utilisation of the buildings, equipment and other resources of the Deccan College for that purpose. His Excellency pointed out to the deputation that the establishment of a Maharashtra University involved the consideration of a problem which was essentially an all-Presidency one and that the first step to be taken in this matter was necessarily the determination of the future policy regarding the reorganisation of the University of Bombay. The Conference held in Poona a few days ago was intended originally to help Government in coming to a decision on this question. With this end in view the agenda as framed for the Conference contemplated the consideration of the following questions in order :—(i) Whether regional universities should be established

in the Presidency. (ii) If so, what should be the final position and scope of the University of Bombay. (iii) Which should be the first new university to be established and (iv) What steps should be taken to maintain a uniformity of standards as between the various universities in the Presidency.

All these questions, among others, had been referred to the Bombay University Reform Committee of 1924-25. That Committee, after taking evidence from educationists and others all over the Presidency had unanimously arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to establish additional universities in the Presidency and that these universities should be on the regional basis. The Senate of the University of Bombay had also endorsed this decision of the Reform Committee. The Government of the day however, took action only on one set of recommendations of this Committee—those dealing with the constitution of the various University authorities—and took no action on others. The establishment of additional universities, the Reform Committee looked upon as an extremely important part of its scheme of organic reform. This question, however, was not considered at all by Government ; at least no pronoun-

cement regarding it was made on its behalf at the time of the passing of the new University Act or at any other time.

The problems of the University of Bombay are not so much problems of unwieldiness as of heterogeneity. The numbers appearing at the different examinations do not exceed the numbers at the examinations of the universities of Calcutta or the Punjab. But the differences among the various parts of the Presidency and, therefore, of the university are enormous. This could be illustrated by what happens when the mother-tongue is allowed to be made use of when answering question papers at the Matriculation examination. When this is done at the other big universities only one language is really extensively used, Urdu in the Punjab and Bengali in Bengal. In the Bombay Presidency, however, we have five Indian vernaculars so used, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Kanarese and Urdu, quite apart from those largely resident in the City of Bombay who either profess to have no Indian vernacular as their mother-tongue or professing one do not care to cultivate it. If the vernacular is widely used in answering papers at the Matriculation examination that examination ceases to be a single examination with a uniform standard; it becomes under conditions like those obtaining in the Bombay University a series of separate examinations. The educational progress in the various parts of the Presidency is not uniform and there is considerable difference in the attitude of the people in the different regions towards important problems of university education. The result of this has been that important questions such as that of the modification of the curriculum at all university examinations have been under contemplation for the last ten years and no progress has been achieved yet with regard to them. There have also been complaints that because of the purely affiliating character of the Bombay University large educational opportunities in centres like Poona have been allowed to run to waste.

Last week's Conference was called, presumably, to consider these large problems and to opine whether or not the solution of regional universities offered by the Bombay University Reform Committee was proper. Various circumstances, however, contributed to defeat this end and make the Conference abortive. The first circumstance was the peculiar composition of the Conference. It was intended to be a purely educationists' conference in the first instance; it turned out, however, that a number of M.L.C.'s and M.L.A.'s had also been invited to it. This imported into, what should have been a discussion purely of educational policy, a political element which did a great deal to confound the issues. The invitations to members of legislative bodies would not have mattered if the invitations had been issued impartially to selected members of all political parties hailing from all parts of the Presidency. As it was, the legislators invited were only those from Maharashtra and only those belonging to the same political party as the Minister for Education. It is difficult to see on what grounds the inclusion

in a university conference of a single political element of this character could be justified. Secondly, the Senate of the University of Bombay which really does represent fully the various educational elements in the Presidency was never called upon to reconsider the decision it had arrived at in 1926. So long as this decision has not been reconsidered the presumption is that the Senate still holds to its old opinion. The Syndicate representatives at the Conference, however, showed themselves as violently opposed to the establishment of new universities in the Presidency. The lack of a clearly expressed university opinion acted as a great handicap to the Conference. Finally, though the agenda was clearly drawn up, the Chairman of the Conference by a ruling at the very outset made it impossible for the Conference to arrive at any useful results. This ruling was that as the various items on the agenda were closely interrelated they would not be taken up seriatim, but that debate should proceed on all of them simultaneously. Thus we had a roving discussion all over the subject and sometimes even beyond it, and nobody was the wiser for it at the end. A good many debating points were made, but as no clear-cut issues were framed and discussion definitely held down to them it cannot be said that the Conference gave any clear indication of opinion on anything. In fact it seemed as if the Education Minister who presided was specially anxious to see that this did not happen. For, when on the first day it seemed that a large volume of opinion in favour of additional teaching universities may emerge out of the discussion, the Minister who had at the outset said that he would allow discussion to stray even beyond the agenda specifically ruled the teaching universities out of the discussion at the beginning of the second day.

It must be admitted that among the speeches delivered at the Conference a large number were definitely against the idea of the establishment of new regional universities. The opposition was based on a number of different grounds. For some it was chiefly the fear of breeding narrowness and parochialism that prompted the opposition. This, however, is a matter on which theory does not necessarily square with the facts. It has been maintained, for example, that when two or three differing elements have been forced into combination the result has often been bitter feelings instead of a widening of outlook and the creation of good-will. The Bombay University syndics who attended the Conference grounded their violent opposition to the idea on the very narrow ground of its effects on the finances of the Bombay University. Theirs was hardly a helpful attitude and in face of the general outcry against the present administration of the University it is difficult to maintain, as they tried to do, that all is well with that body. Then, the numerous representatives of the non-Brahmin party in the Conference raised the cry of the danger of Brahmans dominating the proposed Maharashtra University. This, even if true, is a purely local danger and would not affect the regional Universities of Sind, Gujarat or Karnatak. It was thus no argument against the acceptance of the regional

principle as such. Even in the case of Maharashtra, however, the deputation, it should be remembered, was led by Mr. Jayakar and included among its members Rao Bahadur P. C. Patil, ex-Principal of the Poona Agricultural College and Dr. R. K. Naidoo. But it is some index of the spirit that dominated the Conference that R. B. Patil who has held for many years the foremost place among Maratha educationists was not invited to the Conference, presumably because of his association with some who are not looked on with favour by the Minister. The fate of the Conference was really sealed when those who called it made up their mind to make it serve the ends of a political party.

Another notable point about the Conference was that the demand for regional universities was not voiced as strongly from other regions this time, as it was before the University Reform Committee. The reason for this, however, is obvious. In Gujarat the colleges are with a single exception either Government or States' institutions, and with no representatives of the public present in the Conference the demand for a regional university could not be properly voiced from that quarter, though public meetings at Ahmedabad and Baroda just before the Conference was held gave some indication of the direction in which the wind blew. What was true of Gujarat held good also in some respects in the case of Sind and Karnatak. Finally, we may comment on one extraordinary feature of the Conference—the way it was conducted by the Chairman. From the first he acted as an extreme partisan and not as an impartial chairman wanting to listen patiently to all views. He tried from one speaker by frequent interruptions to establish the fact that the Maharashtra element in the Bombay Senate was opposed to allowing the study of vernaculars as optional to the classical language. For the Minister evidently thought that if this were established it followed that that element did not care for the vernaculars! It is as if one should say that all the dons at Oxford who voted for compulsory Greek despised the English tongue!! The interruptions and the partisan spirit were most noticeable on the second day when, as a newspaper correspondent—reported, one speaker could hardly complete two sentences without an interruption from the Minister of Education!!

D. R. GADGIL.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, June 30.

THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

AT the Joint Select Committee this week Colonel Wedgwood has completed the somewhat eccentric evidence that he began some days ago. I much doubt whether it has carried any weight with the Committee. It certainly has carried none with the Indian delegation who contrast his present re-

actionary views with the generous sentiments expressed in 1921 and also during the time when he was an honoured member of the first Labour Government. His change of opinion is attributed among friends to increasing years and ill-health, which have prevented him from maintaining his former close touch with the Indian situation. Evidence on behalf of the Chamber of Princes was completed by Mir Maqbul Mahmood, Dr. P. K. Sen, and Mr. K. N. Panikkar. They created a state of confusion in the minds of the Committee, and it is believed that the views that they expressed did not meet with the appreciation of the Ministers belonging to the States' section of the Indian delegation, who had intimated to the members of the Committee that these are matters which they can better elucidate together. Too serious notice need not be taken of the exaggerated messages that have apparently gone out to India.

The evidence of the reactionary elements here is virtually finished, though it is possible that Sir George Jacob may be heard. This reactionary evidence has been so grossly exaggerated and over-emphasised, and it has been so severely riddled from various parts of the Committee room that the sting has been largely taken out of it already. Last week Sir Patrio Fagan was compelled to eat humble pie to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the three ex-Viceroy's for a general allegation of nepotism and favouritism. This week something similar happened to a wild allegation of corruption among Indian District Officers in the Punjab since the reforms. Mr. Zafrullah Khan hotly contested Sir Michael's allegation and Sir Samuel Hoare declared that the India Office knew nothing whatever about it. Among the most effective cross-examiners of Sir Michael was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, by his quiet but remorseless questions, forced Sir Michael's arguments into a perspective that enabled the Committee to appreciate how entirely disproportionate to the facts they were. One very interesting episode yesterday was the confrontation that Sir Tej Bahadur forced upon Sir Michael with the well-known views of Sir Michael's successors at the head of the Punjab Government, and of the many recently retired officials of high standing, who hold views diametrically opposed to those of Sir Michael, and the Committee beheld the spectacle of the latter floundering with the group of ex-civilians of an older growth who cannot imagine that anything has happened or could have happened to awaken the Indian masses to a perception of their social, economic and political needs since the days when they left India. Sir Louis Stuart fared no better than Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and as the more modern ex-officials led by Sir Charles Innes will be giving their counter-evidence in favour of the White Paper scheme early next week, it is not expected that the views of the reactionaries will prevail in the Committee, though they may still maintain a dilapidated existence among Tory old ladies in the constituencies.

On the 11th July, or thereabouts, it is expected that the Secretary of State assisted by his expert advisers will tender evidence on behalf of the India Office. Thereafter it is anticipated that the Committee will, for the time being, take no further evidence, but will open discussions with the Indian delegation on certain main features of the White Paper policy, with a view, if possible, to the eliciting of opinion on the British side. I learn that, upon the outcome of these discussions, may turn the attitude of certain members of the Indian delegation, who are dissatisfied with the results likely to be achieved by the methods adopted, and who may reconsider, within the next few weeks, the question of their further usefulness. The present proceedings of the Select Committee will be brought to an end.

on the 28th July, and if any further evidence is to be taken, as a result of the report of the Evidence Sub-Committee that has been set up to consider the memoranda sent in by various individuals and organisations, it will be taken when the Committee resumes in October, with the assistance of such Indian delegates as may then be available.

In the meanwhile, to-day, it is stated that an important official memorandum dealing with the questions of finance involved in the proposed changes came up for consideration in the Committee. It is rumoured that this memorandum is of a very disquieting character and of far-reaching importance, owing to the question of how and in what circumstances the scheme can be set going, if at all, and even whether Provincial Autonomy can be brought into existence in the present state of Indian finances. The memorandum will presumably be subjected to minute examination and careful analysis in an endeavour to discover the extent to which the premises upon which its main arguments are based are valid.

THE TORIES AND INDIA.

Mr. Churchill shot his bolt on Wednesday at the special meeting of Tory organisations held at Friends House, and as he himself had anticipated, he and his friends were hopelessly outvoted, in the proportion of 70 to 30. The *Manchester Guardian* is right in entering a caveat against too rosy a view being taken of the Party machine's success, though it does not endorse the Churchill faction's view that a Pyrrhic victory alone was gained by the Government. In fact, Mr. Churchill was at his very worst, and he personally has come rather badly out of Wednesday's affair, whilst Mr. Baldwin's personal prestige, enhanced as it was last night by his courageous speech at Manchester, was considerably increased. But the Government have not been willing to take their courage in both hands and stand firmly by the White Paper, and challenge a straight vote of the Party on the official policy. There has been far too much of apology and there have been far too many soft words on the Government side. As the *Manchester Guardian* predicts, the rebels will be encouraged to organise their opposition which, when the terms of the report of the Joint Select Committee are known, and the time comes for Mr. Baldwin again to meet the party organisations in consultation, will have become perceptibly stronger, though it may not succeed ultimately in defeating the Government's programme. Much, however, will depend upon the circumstances existing at the time a Bill has to be prepared for presentation to Parliament, probably early next year. Many of the Government supporters on Wednesday voted merely against Mr. Churchill and in favour of Mr. Baldwin on their respective merits as political advisers. Others voted for delay of consideration. A situation, however, may arise when, in order to avoid a Party split both of the Tory factions may feel obliged to compromise. On the other hand, world events of supreme importance may render it in the highest degree dangerous to challenge the authority of the National Government. Taking things, however, at their best there seems no sign in any quarter that any more liberal constitution can be obtained from Parliament than that implicit in the White Paper proposals.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

It is difficult to find anything useful or fruitful to say about the Economic and Monetary Conference now being held in London in the presence of the delegates and representatives of some sixty-six countries. In a World Conference such as this is described to be it would be difficult to find even two men with a world outlook, and that I think is its

principal malady. Every country has sent its representatives to this Conference to seek its own advantages, and the nations have not emancipated themselves from the concept that one nation's gain must be another's loss. We have not yet attained to the height of believing that we are members one of another, and that nothing can happen to injure the hand or the eye without all the members of the world body being affected by the injury. And yet the compulsion of world events is obliging thoughtful people, of whom fortunately there are still some to be found, to a realisation that unless some world solution of the problems now affecting so intimately all mankind is speedily found, with perhaps special local applications and adaptations, a collapse of civilisation can hardly be avoided and the things of value that men have, during the centuries, built up, preserved and cherished will run the most serious risk of destruction. It does not need a very wise man to know that the problem itself is of vast and complex character, but as with most complexities even these can be resolved into comparatively easy simplicity. Men have not yet learnt to trust each other in national groups. The war mentality was perhaps never more pronounced than it is over large parts of the world to-day. The Disarmament Conference has all but failed. It has at any rate been postponed until October because of the preoccupations of statesmen in matters affecting the financial solvency of myriads of people, and Mr. Henderson is undertaking a summer's tour of the European capitals in the hope of achieving minimum agreement. Mr. Spender thinks this postponement advantageous, as it may give time for the tension at present existing between Nazi Germany and France to relax, and for arguments based upon reason rather than upon an appeal to the lower passions and to deep rooted prejudice to prevail. Anyhow until the war mentality gives way to reason mutual confidence will not be restored, and it will not be possible to concentrate upon the improvement of those processes of distribution, upon which human production, whether of raw materials or of manufactured products, and human well-being, depends. Meanwhile the crisis is said to have been reached between America, on the one hand, with her deflationist and price-raising policy, and, on the other, the viewpoint of the Gold Standard countries. Britain stands between the two policies, and their respective advocates are seeking to win over this country to one side or the other. It is well within the realm of probability that having regard to the situation at present prevailing in the United States and the incompatibility of two strongly divergent policies this Conference may end infructuously. That, however, would not necessarily imply its total failure, nor would it render the less necessary the existence of some international means of dealing with the great outstanding problems which the Conference is now facing and, to quote Mr. Spender again, it may be necessary to bring into existence an international economic body, to which would have to be relegated, under the auspices of the National Government, the consideration of particular economic problems as they arose and the application of such methods for their solution as the circumstances of the time might require.

INDIA AND THE CONFERENCE.

A number of Committees and Commissions have been set up by the Conference to deal with various matters under its consideration. Among these are the Economic Commission and the Sub-Committee on the Commercial Policy, to whom the Indian delegation have submitted a Memorandum, stating the Indian attitude on the question of tariff reductions and tariff policy. The evils which arise from excessive tariffs are universally admitted, but opinion is

divided on the question of what measures should now be taken to deal with them. It is understood that the Memorandum points out that the Indian tariff has been set up and raised from time to time primarily on financial grounds, for the purpose of securing revenue in a country where the heads of revenue are few, owing to economic conditions in India: secondly, under the policy of discriminating protection for the purpose of assisting and building up, under stated conditions, suitable indigenous industries; and thirdly, in order to safeguard the efficient indigenous producer against an abnormal flow of imports at prices which to him are unremunerative, whatever the cause of these low prices may be. It is understood that the views of the Indian delegation may be summarised as follows. India would be prepared to join in any declaration which might be adopted by the Conference emphasising the desirability of reducing customs tariffs, and expressing the intentions of the signatory Governments to take action in that direction at the earliest date when circumstances make this possible. But in their view for practical reasons of a financial kind, the date and the extent of the reduction must be left to the decision of each of the Governments concerned, and it must be open to each Government to indicate the limits within which it holds itself free to act, having regard to the tariff policy it has adopted. So far as India is concerned, this would involve reservations as regards the Indian protective duties. Turning from the reduction of existing duties to the question of future policy, the delegation do not think that pledges can be given which would have the effect of debarring a country from pursuing a tariff policy deliberately adopted, or would prevent them from taking appropriate tariff action to meet grave emergencies. But they would welcome a declaration from the Conference laying stress on the importance of shaping tariff policy in such a way that protection is not accorded to industries the continued existence of which must always be dependent on the grant of special assistance, and of providing safeguards against the danger of raising protective duties to a level which shelters the inefficient producer. Finally, as regards the exercise of powers to meet special emergencies by tariff enhancements, the Indian delegation would be prepared to agree that, when possible, such action might be preceded by negotiation between the countries concerned, in the hope of devising means by which the difficulties might be overcome without having recourse to the tariff weapon. Such preliminary negotiations may not always be possible but would undoubtedly be useful if they can be undertaken.

Reviews.

RUSSIAN NATIONALISM.

NATIONALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION. BY HANS KOHN. (Routledge). 1933. 20cm. 164p. 7/6.

SEVERAL books have been written on Russia but the way in which the Soviet Union grappled with the problem of nationalism has not been given much attention in any of them. The author tells us in the Preface that "what the book aims at is the presentation of the mentality of the Soviet citizen, of the communist theology and the way in which it has tried to make its peace with the theology of nationalism that dominates the world of today". Communism and western civilisation appear as if they are divergent conceptions of the meaning of life and of human value. But the author points out that in reality they are not divergent, that both of them are

stages on the road to the future world-wide ordering of society—based on the dignity and liberty of the individual.

In the first chapter entitled "East and West," he points out that, before the war, Russia was culturally and economically an "Eastern" country. It was apathetic to progress on "Western" lines. The policy of the Soviet Union is to bring the country forward economically, technically and culturally.

The second chapter on "The Pillars of the New Order," points out how the South and the Proletariat form the "vanguard" of the Soviet society. They had no contact with and no part in the old culture. They point a new way for the world. "Labour shall become Lord of the world." They are only concerned with the world they live in. Religion has no hold on them. But yet the Communist has a faith similar to that of the men of the middle age, that through Communism, an age of universalism and peace will come.

The third chapter explains this "New Faith." "It claims absoluteness as mediaeval faith. It does not permit liberty of thought and opinion." "The communist party is in spirit a kingdom of priests." "The opponent is always wrong; the Communist is always right, for he is contending for God's word." "He who is not with me is against me." The goal is the liberation of humanity from the sufferings of years and only the goal matters, and the individual rights of each human life, of each generation are ruthlessly sacrificed to it. While nationalism stands for a society embracing all classes, communism stands for a classless society. The nation and the national state do not form the life-giving force according to communists.

The next chapter entitled "Bolshevism and Nationalism: the situation and the plan of action" is the central chapter of the book. The Russian Empire, at the time of its collapse, was inhabited by many nationalities but only the Russian nation, which was the dominating one, was officially acknowledged. The Russians formed only 43% of the population and yet, Russian was the language of the administration, the courts and the schools. This process of Russification met with a rebuff, in the beginning of the 20th century and the world-war accentuated the situation by its slogans of self-determination.

What was the attitude of Lenin to this question of Nationality? "For him the question of nationality had no independent existence; it was a subsidiary problem of the social revolution." His goal was not the division of the world into warring nationalities but the union of all oppressed peoples. This could only be effected by the recognition of nationality. Lenin was a realist. Nationalism to him was not an end by itself but a means to a higher end, viz. Socialism.

Lenin and his follower Stalin had this policy in mind and it was embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia in November 1917. Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to self-determination and free development of national minorities were proclaimed by that declaration. The result of this policy has been the recognition of the constitutional, social, economic and cultural equality of all the peoples in the Soviet Union.

The next chapter is entitled "Nationalism and the Proletariat". Here is an ethnological survey of the 185 peoples of the Soviet Union, speaking 147 languages. Among many of these, there was neither a Proletariat nor Communism. While recognising the principle of self-determination, a unified work-

ing class and a unified Communist Party were insisted upon. Such a unity can be attained only by a standardised education and a uniform social and cultural revolution. By this means, a Proletariat is being created in all those parts of Russia that never had a Proletariat.

The last chapter is entitled "Language and Culture." The author explains how the Soviet State, being a supra-national state, is free from every attempt at cultural or lingual oppression or subordination of the smaller peoples or minorities in its territory. It aims at the creation of supra-national, Proletarian, Communist culture through the languages of the various peoples. Language will be only a means of expression and not an instrument of policy. The aim of the Soviet Union is to make Nationalism the servant of a supra-national idea. How far has communism in Russia succeeded in this aim? Not far enough. Stalin in July 1930 admitted that nationalist forces were growing in strength. "Pan-Russian Chauvinism" is for a uniform centralism and is equally opposed to national autonomies. So the struggle continues between the forces of Communism and Nationalism. Whether the forces of Nationalism fall into the background and give place to the forces of Communism and Socialism, depends upon a new transformation of human values. Such a transformation has not taken place outside Russia. Even in Russia it falls far short of the ideal.

X. Y. Z.

CONCEPTIONS OF PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

THROUGH WONDERLANDS OF THE UNIVERSE. By R. K. GOLIKERE. (Taraporewalla.) 1933. 22cm. 400p. Rs. 6-4.

NOWADAYS there is a tendency on the part of scientists to write books for the use of non-scientific readers. Sir James Jeans and Sir Arthur Eddington have brought out a number of books on modern conceptions of the physical universe. But such books deal more or less with the theoretical aspect in a popular manner. There has been no book so far giving detailed information about various things and phenomena in the physical universe. This long-felt want has been removed by the book written by Mr. Golikere, which is like a small encyclopædia of knowledge. The author starts with the earth, gives interesting information regarding its surface and interior explaining by the way some geological terms for the use of the ordinary reader. He then traverses the hydrosphere—the water cover of the earth—setting forth before us the marine life, the troposphere—the region of the clouds—giving records of the various balloon flights and experiments carried out at a high altitude. Later he goes on to the stratosphere—the upper region of ionised particles—where aurora is produced and meteors flash, the Heaviside layer which reflects the radio-waves, the Appleton-layer which turns back the shortest waves and lastly, the extreme regions of the atmosphere. The information regarding the atmosphere and its upper regions is not usually possessed by the average science student although that about the stellar region is known to many. The notes given are very copious. Here to the reader is explained the very interesting phenomenon that while the temperature falls as we go higher up in the atmosphere there is a region above where the reverse is the case. This warm layer prevents the sound waves from penetrating it. Having placed before us full information

about the earth and its atmosphere the author proceeds to unfold the world of planets, satellites, comets, stars, nebulae, etc. One is wonderstruck to know the enormous distances and sizes of stellar bodies and the author tells us that our universe, though very big and unbounded, is still finite and has a definite radius of curvature.

In the end, he deals with the ancient Hindu concepts about the universe and the Hindu ideas of cosmogony which completes the whole picture. The treatment everywhere is lucid. The beauty and the usefulness of the book cannot be overestimated. The book is thus a valuable addition to current scientific literature.

R. N. JOSHI.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

A HISTORY OF INDIA—PART III—BRITISH INDIA. By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI and M. S. RAMASWAMI AYYANGAR. (Srinivasa Vardachari & Co., Madras.) 1932. 22cm. 472p. Rs. 3-8-0.

THIS is not a history of India but a history of the rise of the British Power in India. The authors have treated the subject in dynastic compartments rather than take a period of years and treat the incidents therein as a whole. They have divided the history of India into the Mogul, the Mahratta and the British periods. Such a system, however convenient for the sake of simplicity in elementary text-books, lacks the scientific efficiency which is expected of a book that is 'midway between a text-book and a reference book.' The treatment of the subject is often not decisive enough. The authors are not certain about the details of the Black Hole incident and do not clearly state both the sides of the question. The Rohilla War is, in their opinion, only an error of judgment which was further vitiated on its financial side. The Nundakumar episode also suffers from a similar half-hearted treatment, which lacks both the close scrutiny and courage of conviction on the part of the authors. In treating the later portion of the history i. e. "India Under the Crown" portions are passed over that require vigorous exposition. The removal of import duties on foreign cloth to which Lord Northbrook refused to submit and which was accomplished by a Parliamentary Statute under Lord Lytton is quietly passed over and the authors quote without comment the remarks of a "recent Mohamedan authority" that "Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty has as yet received but scant justice!" The various currency commissions of 1893, 1898, 1913, 1920 and 1926 do not find mention in the book and consequently that subject is perfunctorily dealt with.

The book has, however, one merit. It is a continuous narrative and the reader will be able to have an idea not only of the main incidents of the history of the British Power in India but also of the points where greater investigation and closer study are required. For judgment over such debatable points it is safer for the readers to depend upon their personal study rather than on the remarks made by the authors. The book has no index and no bibliography, although the authors sometimes do well to quote the authorities in the body of the book.

R. V. OTURKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

JINJIVAS OR CHATRAPATI RAJARAM MAHARAJ. (2nd Edition.) By VISHNU LAXMAN KALE. (Author, Shahapur, Belgaum.) 1933. 20cm. 144p. As. 12/-

RAJARAM, the gentle 'Nestor' whose adventures, at the most critical times in Maratha history, are described in this little book, will ever be remembered by Maharashtrians as a martyr. He was as much a martyr to the political idealism of the Marathas as his elder brother, Sambhaji, was to the religious loyalty of the Hindus. Upon young Rajaram, who was yet in his teens, devolved the heavy responsibility of keeping alive and protecting the most cherished traditions of Maratha independence and Maratha 'Swaraj' after Shivaji's sudden death and Sambhaji's inhuman murder. The hardships Rajaram willingly underwent along with his trusted followers, on his way from Rayagad to Jinji and during his stay there, till he returned under precarious circumstances to his country, afford a glorious example of the limitless sacrifices of the Maratha patriots. And we remember that Mr. Kale's narrative, in Marathi, on this subject, was widely appreciated. We wonder if the same interest would be roused especially in English readers. "Jinjiwas" was first composed in the early nineties. It cannot be recommended for its faultless history, as it requires to be much revised in the light of researches made during the thirty-seven years that have elapsed between the first and this second edition of its English version. The present edition is almost a copy of the first, only a very few changes in the last chapters and the addition of a few foot-notes being made.

D. V. K.

THE INDIAN AND THE ENGLISH VILLAGE.
By F. L. BRAYNE. (Oxford University Press.)
1933. 17cm. 43p. 1/6.

THIS booklet by the well-known rural worker stresses the need on the part of Indian rural workers of a proper study of the rural work done in England. Rural conditions in these two countries differ very much, so much so that even rural England is far more urbanised than urban India. Even so a study of both official and non-official work carried on in England will be of some use to the Indian rural worker. The poor, illiterate, conservative Indian peasant no doubt presents a heart-breaking problem, but simple remedies, patiently and persistently administered, will certainly go a long way to solve his difficulties. The Community Councils and Rural Development Associations in England are looking after the rural sanitation and agricultural development in England. Again, Sunday schools, Religious studygroups, folk dancing, Community Singing, the Dramatic Society, the Library, Ambulance and Red Cross classes, the Village Band, Woman's Institute, Sports clubs, charitable clubs and the wireless study are some of the rural organisations which work for improving the life of the rural dwellers. A close study of their methods of work will certainly be helpful.

The study of English village work and training in the Indian Village Worker's Association, though good in itself, will, in my opinion, be of no great help to the Indian worker. He has to study condi-

tions in India and has to plan his work to suit local conditions. Thus the proper place to train oneself for Indian village work is India itself and not England, as Mr. Brayne would have it.

N. S. S.

THOUGHTS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE. (Macmillan, Bombay.) 1933. 20cm. 207p. 1/-

THE fragrance of Tagore's works has been wafted over the whole of the civilised world through the exertions of enterprising publishers. And it was a good idea of Messrs. Macmillan that resulted in this collection of a part of it which otherwise would have wasted itself in the desert air. A label showing the basis of selection and division would have been a welcome addition to their work.

We are living in an age of transition and, for that reason, of confusion. A familiar light and simple formulas which the common folks can comprehend will, in these days of gloom, do more good than nostrums for world reconstruction. Tagore has the genius for putting even ordinary thoughts in a grand manner. His message is clear and his light never falters. In his presence, the warring creeds withdraw and the voices of worry fall into silence.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON.

ISLAM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY. By M. HUSSAIN. (Modern Book Agency, Calcutta.) 20cm. 232 p. Rs. 2/8.

THIS is another of the "Drain Inspector's Report" type of book like Miss Mayo's "Mother India." By the way those who were prudishly shocked at 'Mother India' and did not care to read "Uncle Sham" ought to read this book which can be named "The Blustering Briton" or the "Envious European." For the sum total of the book is the exposure of the vices of the West.

We will not deal with the part about Islam both because one can make a better case for it than the author has made, and also because space forbids such a course. To follow Mahatmaji's advice we would urge all European Christians and Christian Missionaries to read this book and to take note of it. Muslims in particular and Indians in general we would like to read and forget it.

SWAMI YESUDAS, C. S. S.

JUST OUT.

SUGAR INDUSTRY AND LABOUR IN U. P.,

By R. D. AGARWALA, M. A., B. Com.

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