

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Bombay Council in Session.

SINCE Monday last the Bombay Legislative Council has been in session at Poona; and has so far handled two measures of considerable importance. The one aimed at the imposition of a legal ban on the publication in the public press of accounts of offences in which children or young persons are involved. There can be no doubt that such publicity is generally very harmful to the future of the young offender and sometimes mars it for all time. Even as things are, such undesirable publicity is oftentimes avoided by the court appealing to the good sense of the press, which is never slow in responding. But opinion will hardly differ that there can be a more efficacious remedy than a legal prohibition. And we do not think the Council can at all be regarded as unwise or overhasty in allowing such a useful measure to be carried through in all its stages at one sitting.

THE other measure which calls for notice was the one designed to regulate the administration of Hindu trusts created for public purposes. Such a measure has been long overdue and we are sure the Minister of Agriculture who sponsored it will receive the backing of all sections of public opinion, which attach some value to purity in the administration of trust funds, in his attempt to pilot it through the legislature. Almost the first thing successfully attempted by the non-Brahman ministry in Madras under the present reforms was to place on the statute

book a law with a somewhat similar purpose. And it is to us a matter for wonder that though for the last ten years and more the non-Brahmans in this presidency have, owing to the peculiar balance of parties in the Council, occupied a position of great advantage, they failed to utilise it earlier for this purpose. But belated though the attempt is, it is not to be disparaged on that account. So far as the principle underlying the Bill is concerned, it will be generally regarded as unexceptionable. Opinion is bound to differ as to the desirability of excluding from the purview of this measure trusts with an annual gross income of less than Rs. 2,000. In the case of trusts with larger incomes registration will be compulsory involving as a corollary the periodical submission and audit of accounts. Even those who may consider that the measure does not go far enough will have no difficulty in welcoming it as a step in the right direction.

### Quetta.

BOTH the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief recently visited Quetta and though nothing is yet officially known on the point, there is reason for the hope that excavation work will be soon put in hand. Replying to a deputation which waited upon him at Lahore prior to his departure for Quetta and again to another one at Karachi on his return from the earthquake-affected area, Lord Willingdon expressed the hope that after consultation with the local authorities it would be possible to start excavation in the less thickly populated parts of Quetta and the business streets at once. It was not clear from a press summary of his reply how far the deputation's suggestion about salvage operations being conducted under the supervision of a tribunal consisting of a civil judge and two non-officials with power to co-opt leading citizens and representatives from each affected city or town in Sind and the Punjab commended itself to the Viceroy. But it seems every care will be taken to give property-owners concerned timely notice of the authorities' intention to start excavation work, so that they could arrange to be on the spot.

AT the first meeting of the Quetta Central Relief Committee held at Lahore, the lines of non-official relief were definitely laid down. In the present state of the Committee's knowledge about the situation in Quetta, it was decided that the relief should take the form of a grant and not a loan, intended to help the sufferers to restart life. The maximum amount to be so given was fixed at Rs. 250. Provincial sub-committees would be expected to collect information about unemployment among the sufferers and to do their best to secure employment for them. As regards destitute women, an attempt will in the first instance be made to absorb them in existing institutions conducted for the benefit of women. What to do with the balance left over will be a matter which will engage

the Committee's attention when full information is available. Orphans will be sent to existing orphanages, arrangements being seriously contemplated for the restoration of missing children and women to their guardians or relatives or to the representatives of their respective communities. The Committee seemed to be keenly alive to the need of starting an invalid's home for the benefit of those who have been disabled or rendered life-long invalids. But in the absence of reliable information as to the number to be thus catered for, it found itself unable to form any financial estimate of the undertaking and the matter had to be left over for decision on a future date.

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#### Indian Students in England.

FROM the report for 1933-34 of the Education Department of the Indian High Commissioner's office it appears that out of the 600 odd applicants for admission to educational institutions in England, 454 were able to secure admission through the good offices of that department. The remaining applicants either withdrew their applications or did not possess the necessary initial qualifications. The department also made itself useful to the candidates for the I.C.S. by finding tutors for them and 7 out of the 13 who successfully competed at the I. C. S. examination were so helped by the department. Out of the 1325 full time students who included 67 women, in England, 400 were in the medical faculty, whilst nearly 300 were studying engineering and technology, about an equal number arts, nearly 120 economics and commerce, and very nearly the same number science.

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THE Department apparently continues to experience difficulties in securing facilities for practical training in various branches of engineering and technology for Indian young men, though the difficulties do not appear to have been as formidable as a few years ago. During the year under review out of the 236 applicants for such facilities, 125 had their requests favourably considered, while 19 withdrew their applications. In the case of 7, no action was possible for want of possession of the necessary preliminary qualifications on the part of the applicants or due to inability of the firms to pay the desired wages. If 41 cases which were under consideration are left out, it leaves a residue of 20 cases in which the Department found itself powerless to persuade the firms concerned to take in the applicants as apprentices. The number is by no means very large, but we fail to see why the suggestion repeatedly pressed on the attention of the Government that it should be made a condition of the grant of Indian contracts to English engineering firms that they must make provision for suitable practical training facilities for Indian students in their workshops does not yet find acceptance at their hands.

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THE report once more raises the age-old question whether it is desirable or necessary for Indian students to go to foreign lands in such large numbers for purposes of study. If the insinuation is that the voyage is needlessly undertaken in most cases, it cannot be said to be altogether justified. It is undeniable that Indian universities are providing facilities for higher or advanced studies in an ever-increasing measure. Even so it would be too much to say that all the facilities for such study available in foreign lands are at the moment obtainable in India. Moreover it is an equally patent fact that foreign

qualifications still continue to have a special fascination for Government and private employers. Till the angle of vision of the employers making them attach a higher value to a foreign degree or diploma undergoes a change, one cannot see how this exodus of young Indians to foreign lands could be avoided. It incidentally involves a yearly drain of a crore of rupees out of India, on the supposition that there are about 2,000 students studying in foreign lands who spend nearly Rs. 5,000 a year. But how could this economic drain be stopped so long as foreign qualifications make a greater appeal to Government and other employers in this country? It is no good addressing the question to students and their guardians; it must really be addressed to Government and private employers.

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#### Factories in the Punjab.

To judge from the Punjab factories report, only four new important factories, two sugar and two cotton mills, sprang up during the last year. One of these employs as many as 1300 operatives and may be said to be the biggest and most up-to-date factory in the province, second only to the N. W. Railway workshop. The total number of factories in the province stands at 600 and represents an increase of 15 per cent. during the last five years.

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FOLLOWING the usual bureaucratic practice, the Government resolution adopts the number of prosecutions launched for offences against the Factory Act as the criterion for judging the efficiency of the inspection staff; and on the strength of the increase of 100 in their number proceeds to commend the work of factory inspectors. But the real test by which their work should be judged must be whether their activities have led to an appreciable decrease in the number of accidents. If their work is weighed in that balance, everybody including even the Government will be constrained to arrive at the conclusion that their activities leave a good deal of scope for improvement. In factories other than the N. W. Railway workshop, the number of accidents rose from 185 to 247. But, what is even more significant, the number of fatal accidents also went up from 10 to 17. Without in any way belittling the importance of the inspectors' work involved in bringing offenders against the Factory Act to book, may it not be hoped that that part of their duties which is calculated to reduce the chances of accidents will be more vigorously and systematically pursued by them?

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IT is satisfactory to note from the Government resolution that employers are steadily realising the advantages of supervising the health and general welfare of their employees. It is doubtless a matter for regret that the wages, especially of unskilled workers, declined during the year. The fact of a part of even such meagre wages being sometimes withheld by employers finds complacent mention in the resolution. We should have liked to know what, if any, steps are contemplated or proposed to be taken with a view to stopping the evil which must be inflicting much needless hardship on the labourer. The practice, which unfortunately appears to be on the increase, of a contractor making himself responsible for the supply of requisite labour to factories needs also to be watched by the local Government with a vigilant eye.

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**Indian Situation in Zanzibar.**

THE Zanzibar clove legislation of last year which created such a commotion in the Indian community there was admittedly of an emergency nature. This was to be followed by permanent measures for the relief of the farmer for recommending which a committee was appointed shortly after the clove decrees were passed. In the hope that this permanent legislation would not take more than a year to reach the statute book, a year's moratorium in regard to the recovery of debts by creditors was made a part of the emergency measures. The period is now apparently found insufficient for the purpose in view. The committee which was expected to submit its report before the end of last year did not do so till three or four months later with the result that permanent legislation was correspondingly delayed. In the meantime the period of moratorium was to come to an end at the close of last month.

THE situation was met by an extension of the period for a further term of six months, the Government taking power to itself to prolong the period still further, if need be. The period has accordingly been already extended till the beginning of next year. So far as can be seen, it is probably not the actual extension so much as the likelihood of its indefinite prolongation that seems to have alarmed the Indian community in Zanzibar beyond words; and the action of the local Government has elicited emphatic protest from our countrymen there. Warned by bitter experience in the past, they apparently read into the new move an insidious attempt on the part of the authorities to hit Indian interests. And in their desperation they are proposing retaliatory measures which, if put into effect by the Indian Government, would in all likelihood, instead of helping them, recoil on their own heads.

ONE such suggested remedy is the imposition of a prohibitive import duty on Zanzibar cloves by the Government of India. It is difficult to see how this would help them. An import duty would obviously result in raising the price of the Zanzibar clove in the Indian market. The consequence would be that Zanzibar would lose and Madagascar, Zanzibar's rival, would capture that market and the stocks of cloves in Zanzibar, already unconscionably heavy, would go on being indefinitely added to. How would such a glut help Indians? Whether the Zanzibar Government would bend under such economic pressure or not, its one certain result would be the diversion of the Indian market for cloves to Madagascar. Would this be a desirable state of affairs for our countrymen in Zanzibar who are stated to have invested nearly a crore of rupees in the clove trade? Not possessing full or first-hand information about the economic conditions in Zanzibar, we do not like to dogmatise about it. But one is not sure whether in the peculiar circumstances of Zanzibar the proposed remedy, should it become operative, would not be worse than the disease.

**Kolhapur.**

THE Kolhapur administration report for 1933-34 recently to hand contains an exhaustive note submitted to His Highness the Maharaja by the Prime Minister on the finances of the State. This seems designed to bring out the improvement in the State finances during the tenure of the present incumbent

of the office of Prime Minister as a result of stringent economies enforced in the public expenditure. Before Rao Bahadur Surve appeared on the scene, the P. W. D. expenditure, e. g., had apparently grown out of all proportion to the State revenue. To this the Prime Minister informs us he ruthlessly applied the pruning knife. All this is to the good. But may it be asked whether the palace expenses which shot up in a single year from Rs. 9¾ lakhs to about Rs. 11½ lakhs out of a net revenue of about Rs. 50 lakhs never attracted his notice?

THE proportion of the ruling family's expenses to the State revenue which exceeds 20 per cent. stands at a scandalously high pitch and represents more than double the amount expended on nation-building services like education and medical relief put together. Even the expenses of the whole of the State administration were not as heavy as those needed for the royal family. As a matter of fact they were less by Rs. 3 lakhs. Unless the ruler's expenses are considerably brought down, it is obvious that sorely-needed funds for the development of essential public services will not be available in adequate measure. Till that is done, it is also no use exploring sources of additional income. The Prime Minister's action in refraining from augmenting the State revenue by additional taxation or by an enhancement in the land revenue is to be commended from this point of view. At the same time we cannot help expressing the hope that Rao Bahadur Surve will use his well-known influence with the Maharaja for the purpose of inducing him to reduce his and his family's expenses to the minimum consistently with the reasonable demands of maintenance of princely dignity.

IT is a matter for regret that active steps to make the antiquated excise policy of the State of making it difficult for the consumer to obtain drink were conspicuous by their absence. Reduction in the number of shops is authoritatively included among the restrictive measures to that end. But, strangely enough, far from the number of shops showing any diminution, it actually increased by 14 to 154. Can anything more calculated to thwart the effectuation of the State policy be conceived? We shall be charitable enough to assume that the lapse took place without the knowledge of the responsible authorities. In that case may it at least be hoped that now that the matter has been prominently drawn attention to, early steps will be taken to set it right?

TURNING to education, it is found that the number of scholars studying in the educational institutions in the State went up by about 1,000 to 49,000. But, be it noted that this hardly represents more than one-third of the total number to be brought under instruction so as to bring about a universalisation of literacy. Out of the total of 785 villages served by the Ilakha panchayat, as many as 300 cannot yet boast of a school, which is a blot on Kolhapur's reputation as a progressive State. Side by side with devoting constant thought to the possible expansion of the State revenue, will not the State authorities bestow some attention on the means to be adopted for the development of the nation-building services?

## DIRECT ELECTION.

IF British statesmen think that the substitution of direct for indirect election to the Council of State will evoke any satisfaction in India they are very much mistaken. We for our part have never felt happy at the general acceptance by the Indian public of the proposed election of the Council of State members by the provincial legislatures. This electorate is much too small to ensure fair representation of all the sections of the population, and we are anxious that even the second chamber of the Central Legislature should be fully representative of the people. We are aware of the objections that can be urged against direct election to the upper house. They were detailed in the Nehru Committee's report. The most important objection is that, in order to avoid the Council of State being made a replica of the Legislative Assembly, the franchise for the former body must be much more restricted than the latter, and that this is a serious disadvantage. It is also argued that, in a federal legislature, it is but proper that one of the houses should be representative of the federating units and the other of the people. This argument too is advanced in the Nehru Committee's report. While granting the force of these contentions we were inclined to the view that the balance of advantage lies in favour of direct election for both the houses, the franchises for the two being different, but we resigned ourselves, with some reluctance, to the arrangement proposed at the Round Table Conferences and in the White Paper. We would therefore have considered it a gain to have the members of the Council of State directly elected, if the members of the Assembly too were to be chosen by the same method.

But a directly elected upper chamber with an indirectly elected lower chamber is an arrangement of which none in India will approve. The franchise for the upper chamber which is now to consist (so far of course as the representatives of British India alone are concerned) of members elected in territorial constituencies is to be much more limited than the one we had contemplated for the directly elected Council of State that we should have preferred to the indirectly elected Council of State proposed in the White Paper and is therefore open all the more to the objection taken to direct election on this score in the Nehru Committee's report. But there is a further and a stronger objection which must not be lost sight of. The Council of State is to be a permanent body, not subject to dissolution. Direct election and dissolution ought always to go hand in hand. Whenever it is felt that a popular chamber has ceased to reflect the wishes of the people, it should be possible for the Governor-General, on the advice of the Prime Minister, to dissolve it and order fresh elections. Our Council of State is to have a life of nine years, and once a member is elected he is to retain his seat for all this long period, however repugnant his views may be found to be to his voters. Latterly there is a swing of opinion from a three-year popular legislative

chamber to a five-year one. Such a change is being introduced in the Union of South Africa. But surely nine years is much too long a span of life to allow to a chamber which professes to be a faithful mirror of the people's wishes. Further, in South Africa, the House of Assembly, though its normal term is to be extended, is liable to be dissolved at any time within that period. But in India the Council of State, which is now to be the popular body, is not only to have a normal life of nine years, but its life cannot be terminated earlier, however grossly it may come to misrepresent the people. Such a travesty of constitutional doctrine it is impossible to find in any constitution.

The object of the framers of the Indian constitution has for a long time become obvious, viz. to make the upper chamber the dominant body at the centre. Various devices have been used to this end, and the States' demand, which it should be remembered was unanimous, the more progressive States voicing it just as much as the more backward, to make the Council of State a chamber of co-equal authority with the Legislative Assembly, gave British statesmen the opportunity which they desired of putting the Legislative Assembly into the shade. The substitution of direct for indirect election will go far in accomplishing the same purpose. It might have been possible—though the British Government was not too nervous on the point—for the progressive sections of the people, by capturing the lower chambers of the provincial legislatures, which are to elect British India members of the Legislative Assembly, to obtain, not certainly a majority but a sufficiently strong minority in the Legislative Assembly to be somewhat troublesome. This fear, though rather far-fetched, is now completely eliminated by the moral degradation to which the Assembly is subjected in relation to the position of the Council of State by reason of the introduction of direct election to this body while retaining indirect election to the Assembly, for it will always be possible now for the Government to contend, with a show of reason, that popular will is reflected not so much in the Assembly as in the Council of State. This aspect of the matter must be borne in mind by those who wish to make out that, while direct election to the Assembly would have been a distinctly greater advantage, direct election to the Council of State would be an advantage all the same. It is inconceivable that in the Council of State the progressive elements will be able to get any decent amount of representation on the severely restricted franchise that will obtain there. And if the Government can play off the Assembly against the Council of State, which is not only to have equal power with the Assembly but a superior moral status, the advanced sections of the people will have absolutely no chance in the Central Legislature.

The only principle which apparently British statesmen deem it necessary to observe in this matter is that different methods of election should be

followed in the selection of the representatives of the two houses of the Legislature at the Centre. It seems to them a matter of indifference which house is directly elected and which indirectly. To the direct election of the representatives of the Legislative Assembly they have an almost insurmountable objection. The franchise will go on widening at every successive stage of reforms, and the difficulties arising from large numbers of voters will be increasingly felt in course of time. If therefore a change is to be effected, as clearly it must, it should be effected now. For once direct election is continued, it will be next to impossible to retrace the step later on. But if after introducing indirect election it is found unsuitable it can easily be replaced by direct election. British statesmen do not anticipate that it will at any time be so replaced. What may at best happen is that one system of indirect election will be replaced by another. But, theoretically at any rate, a change from indirect to direct election is possible in future, but a change from direct to indirect will be impossible in practice. They therefore insist that the indirect method be introduced in the election of the Assembly representatives, leaving it to succeeding generations to adapt it to their changing circumstances. But the difficulties felt in regard to the continuance of direct election to the Assembly are not so overwhelming in the case of direct election to the Council of State. For the number of voters for the Council of State will always be small, however much the franchise may come to be extended. If,

therefore, Indian opinion attaches so much value to direct election, let it be introduced, British statesmen argue, in the Council of State, where the objections are not so overpowering, and it should satisfy Indian politicians just as well. For, in the proposed constitution, the Council of State is not to be a mere revising and delaying body as is the case with the second chambers in most countries; it is to possess just the same constitutional powers as the Legislative Assembly. What difference will it make then to India which of the two chambers is directly elected? If it is an invariable canon of constitutional morality that the first chamber must be directly elected, call the Council of State the first chamber if you please and the Legislative Assembly the second chamber. The thing that really matters is that one chamber should represent the people and other the Provinces or the States. This is secured by the arrangement now decided upon, and it ought to remove the Indian grievance *in toto*. We think that it is arguments like these which led Lord Lothian and some other supporters of direct election to the Assembly to declare that direct election to the Council of State, though not so good, would nevertheless be "a considerable improvement" upon the position in the Bill, under which indirect election to both the legislative chambers was to be introduced. These politicians, however, are not sufficiently alive to the dangers to which we have called attention earlier in this article.

## WHY ARE THE LIBERALS SO FRANTIC?

**S**URPRISE is often expressed in circles friendly to the Reforms Bill at the uncompromising hostility shown to the Bill by the Liberal Party in India. The criticism offered by the Party, it is said, is keener, more searching, more thorough-going and more devastating than that of any other progressive Party, not excluding the Congress. And it is somehow felt to be unbecoming and even inconsistent with its principles for a Party which is known to look carefully at both sides of a question and to be ever ready for compromises that it should at times even outpace the Congress in wholesale and violent denunciation of the reforms. Why, said the *Times of India* the other day in commenting upon Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's speech in Poona, while the Congress leaders are coming round to the path of sanity and advising the rank and file in the Congress to work the reforms in a spirit of good-will and extract from them the utmost advantage they are capable of, even by accepting office, the Liberal leaders still go on repeating their favourite cry of "Better the old constitution than the new one" and thus keep up the spirit of resentment in the country. Which of the two parties, the Liberal Party or the Congress, may ordinarily be expected to say to itself: "We have fought as valiantly as any one could to get satisfactory reforms. We have failed; the reforms are highly unsatisfactory. Let us frankly own our defeat but, like practical men, let us cease brooding

over the past and instead look to the future. Let us put what instrument destiny has put into our hands to the best possible use. Let us give of our best to the new constitution and make it subserve national interests. In order that this may be possible to the fullest extent and sufficient enthusiasm may be evoked amongst the people, it is of the first importance that we should no longer dwell on the defects of the constitution as we did when there was still some hope for improvement, but rather point out the potentialities for good which exist even in this imperfect measure and prepare the people in general for an entirely new orientation." The development of such an outlook of reasoned optimism and practical statesmanship might legitimately have been expected of the Liberal Party, but its leaders are even more intransigent and desperate than the Congress, a body consisting avowedly of revolutionary irreconcilables. While the Congress is showing some signs of taking a right-about turn in the desired direction, the Liberal Party is trying to plant its feet still more firmly in the quagmire into which it has led itself and the country.

This is the kind of criticism that is being levelled against the Liberal Party. It is undoubtedly true that the condemnation of the reforms by its leaders is at least as strong and deadly as that by the leaders of any other Party. One may even go so far as to say that it was the Liberal Party that gave the lead

to the Congress in adopting the resolution to the effect that the White Paper constitution was even worse than the existing constitution. Liberal leaders had declared the opinion emphatically before, and the Congress embodied it in its own resolution on the subject. Ever since then the Liberal Party has done its best to keep alive in the country an attitude of uncompromising opposition to the reforms and its hostility has grown as the reforms became progressively worse in their succeeding stages. In this matter the Liberal Party bore a peculiar responsibility to the public. It advised entry into the Round Table Conference when the Congress had stayed away. It was at the instance of its leaders that Mahatma Gandhi entered the second Round Table Conference as the representative of the Congress. The prospect of an early enactment of a fairly satisfactory constitution that looked so promising at the end of the first session of the Conference persuaded Mahatma Gandhi to call off the civil disobedience movement and offer his co-operation at the second session. When the Mahatma was disheartened by the proceedings of this Conference, the Liberal leaders tried to cheer him up and to induce him to continue in the path of co-operation in face of heavy odds. Matters, however, have gone from bad to worse since then until at last it became clear that the old constitution would be distinctly preferable to the new. As soon as they came to this conclusion it was their bounden duty, even more than of the Congress, to tell their countrymen that all their hopes of fashioning a good constitution had been blasted, that everything they had touched in great hopefulness had turned to ashes, and that they must bend their efforts thereafter not to a possible improvement of the Government's proposals but to their withdrawal and defeat. It would have been a grave dereliction of duty on their part if, having induced non-co-operators to assist in the building up of a constitution, they had failed to declare in unambiguous terms that the resulting constitution had proved that the co-operation which not only they themselves had offered but had persuaded others to offer, had proved of no avail, and that time had arrived for adopting a completely different point of view. They would have laid themselves open to a charge not only of self-deception but of deception of other people if by taking up an ambiguous and equivocal attitude they had led the country to think that the reforms are worth having. It would have lain heavily upon their conscience.

But why, it is asked, are they so frantic, so hysterical about it? The Congress on the other hand does not seem half so perturbed. To the extent that the Liberals show more concern at the sinister developments in constitution-making, there is a reason for it. They have a greater appreciation, one may justly claim, of the implications of the new constitution. In one respect at all events the Congress leaders do not seem to be fully alive to the situation that has been created by the new constitution. The constitution, as it will be finally embodied in the Act,

will not only be thoroughly bad, but it will not be open to progressive changes in future. Mr. Kunzru pointed out clearly in his speech at the last Anniversary of the Servants of India Society how every such change will require the consent not only of the House of Lords in England, which will ever be a reactionary body, however liberal the composition of the House of Commons may by good luck become at some future time, but of the numerous Princes in India—and of every one of them. There is no possibility, humanly speaking, of any change in the democratic direction coming about if every constitutional amendment of any consequence is to depend upon the sweet will of men in both countries who are of a notoriously retrograde tendency in politics. One suspects that Congress leaders are yet somewhat blind to this easily the most objectionable feature of reforms. In the second place, the seeming non-chalance of the Congress is partly due to its ever being ready to direct action. The Congress is not wedded to constitutional means. If the constitution is good it will make honest use of it; but if it impedes progress it will without a moment's thought cast it aside and take to civil disobedience and other forms of direct action. Naturally the Congress does not worry too much about the form of the constitution. We are afraid the Congress leaders have not yet realised how tremendously more difficult it will become under the constitution to carry on even civil disobedience. Both in the provinces and at the centre Indians will be in power, not Englishmen. Indians will be only nominally in power, it is true. But the Congress will have to offer civil resistance against an ostensibly Indian Government, not a British Government. Even the Ministers in charge of law and order who will take action against civil resisters will wear an Indian skin. Let it be frankly acknowledged that the wonderful momentum the civil disobedience movement gathered during the last few years was due in the main to the feeling that the movement was directed against foreigners. The workers will lose half their enthusiasm if the movement is to be directed against their own fellow-countrymen. We have not yet arrived at the stage in political development when tyranny as such is resented. What we resent is foreigners' tyranny. Ours is mainly a nationalist movement, not so much a democratic movement. The urge for civil disobedience against a Government which is Indian in personnel will be mostly lacking. On the other hand civil resisters will not be treated with half the consideration by Indian Ministers that they used to receive at the hands of the foreign Government. Direct action has not much of a chance for a long time to come under the new constitution. We wish Congress leaders realised this. If they did they would not be any more indifferent to the impossibility of achieving political advance by constitutional action alone than are the Liberals. Anyhow the Liberal Party does not yet consider itself free to go beyond constitutional action in normal circumstances. Is it any wonder then that a party which has to work within the limits of constitutionalism and which



yet is convinced that the problem of future advance is not capable of solution within these limits is most profoundly concerned at the final form of the constitution—a constitution which holds out no hope to any but revolutionaries?

## Reviews.

### EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND

**THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.** (2nd Edn.) By SIR LEWIS AMHERST SELBY-BIGGE. [The Whitehall Series.] (Putnam, London.) 1934. 20cm. 329p.

THIS is the second edition of the book which was first published in 1927. It "is primarily a study of the organisation and operation of the Central Authority which is responsible for the supervision, administration and finance (so far as the Exchequer is concerned) of the public service of education in England and Wales. Although it is impossible to deal with administration altogether apart from issues and problems arising out of the process of education and the actual work of schools, this book has no pretensions to be regarded as a history of education in England." The author was however the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education from 1911 to 1925, and even in its limited objective the book presents a clear picture of the educational administration in England and its major problems.

A volume in a second edition particularly when "the original text is unaltered" needs no lengthy review. But as it is now eight years since it was first published and as educational administration is one of the most important present-day problems it may be instructive to give the reader an idea of the contents of a chapter or two of it.

The Board of Education is in a sense a misnomer, for the so-called Board is nothing more than a Department presided over by a Minister. It is not a Board in the sense in which we understand the Local-Boards or the School Boards to be. But it is not on that account quite an autocratic administration. The Board is assisted by a Consultative Committee of

twenty-one members appointed by the President of the Board, normally for six years and provision is made for retirement of its members by rotation. They are not infrequently reappointed for a further term... The Committee has very fully justified its existence and proved its value by a series of some thirteen admirable reports on large educational subjects referred to it... There can be no doubt that its tradition of twenty-five years affords a pretty solid basis for its continued usefulness.

"From time to time the constitution of a real Board of Education is demanded (and) as lately as 1925 a conference of teachers passed a resolution that the Board should consist of representatives of Members of Parliament, of Local Authorities and of organised bodies of teachers... While, however, the advantages to Ministers and their Departments of very liberal and organised attempts for consultation are universally admitted, the difficulty of imposing on them statutory obligations to consult other bodies or of giving to other bodies statutory rights to advise on the course of administration, without impairing the control of administration by Ministers and their responsibility for it to Parliament, is considerable, and that difficulty becomes much greater as the scope of those rights becomes wider.

It is characteristic of English Local Government that

Local Authorities can do only what they are empowered to do. In this respect it differs, in theory if not in practice, from Local Government in many European states and in America, where Local Authorities can do anything for the good of their communities which the Law does not forbid them to do. Their officials (though in some cases the consent of Government Department is required for their appointment or dismissal) are their own servants and are bound to give effect to their directions. They derive part of the money which they spend from assigned revenues, i.e., the proceeds of certain taxes or duties handed over to them by statute and partly from the rates, but for purposes within their powers they can spend the whole of their money as they think fit. All these general statements are subject to some qualification, but broadly speaking English Local Authorities as compared with Local Authorities in most other countries enjoy a large measure of autonomy and the great majority of them display in the conduct of their business a real and high sense of responsibility... In the English system the balance of central and local authority is determined by practical rather than theoretical considerations. The balance shifts with circumstances and there is no stable equilibrium. For the student of administration the history of the service of education is rich in illustrations of this conflict of ideas and forces, and of the devices which have been used to resolve it.

The chapters on "Finance", "Teachers", and "The Denominational Question" are some of the most interesting and instructive chapters in the book, but it is not possible to give even a faint idea of problems discussed without profusely quoting numerous paragraphs. The second chapter tells us "what the Board does not do". The Board which corresponds to the Department of Public Instruction in a Province (1) does not itself directly provide, manage, or administer any schools or educational institutions except the Royal College of Art; (2) has, generally speaking, no authority over Universities, University Colleges, or University education; (3) has no jurisdiction over the Colleges of Eton and Winchester; (4) has no authority over schools conducted for private profit and does not make grants to them; (5) does not supply or prescribe or proscribe any text books for use in grant-in-aided schools though it may criticise through its inspectors the use of unsuitable text books.

Lastly, "it has not for many years been the practice of the Board to prescribe, except in general terms, the curriculum of grant-in-aided schools or the methods of teaching. Its regulations were designed to leave, both for elementary and higher education, ample room for variety of curriculum and variety in the adaptation of curriculum to the circumstances, capacities and needs of particular schools and their teachers and pupils.

A very large number of laymen are, through their membership of Local Authorities, deeply interested in the problems of educational administration but cannot have the necessary leisure or opportunity to study them first-hand by associating themselves with the work of the schools or that of the Administrative Officer. To them we recommend the volume under review. The Education Departments in India do as a rule receive their inspiration from the work of the Board of Education in London and modify it in practice to suit their bureaucratic instincts. It is instructive to read in this book, how such transformation is aided in England, partly by Parliamentary interference, partly by the democratic bend of the English mind, but chiefly by the frequent association of the officials and non-officials and the excellent traditions established often in contradiction to the letter of law.

M. R. PARANJPE.

## FASCISM FROM THE COMMUNIST ANGLE.

**FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.** By R. PALME DUTT. (International Publishers, New York.) 1934. 20cm. 296p. \$ 3.25.

THE popularity of Fascism as a panacea for the ills of post-war Europe and the emergence of Mussolini, Hitler and Dollfuss have caused sociologists seriously to consider the question whether liberalism has failed and whether the 19th century of progress has been permanently replaced by a century of tyranny. Many have been the books dealing with the question, but they have all been written either from a Fascist or from an anti-Fascist viewpoint. Anti-Fascists are both bourgeois and Communists and while the former condemn Fascism for having overthrown democracy, the latter attack it for smashing the proletarian revolution. The learned author of the book under review is an internationally well-known Marxist writer and has given an account of the Fascist movement from the Communist angle. Communists without a single exception are overzealous partisans, and the book under review suffers therefore from the defects of partisanship.

Though a partisan production, the book is rich in information. The author's central theme is that modern capitalism contains within it germs of Fascism and that the epidemic of Fascism caused havoc to democracy and economic freedom in the unsettled conditions of post-war Europe. He says that in post-war Europe the workers were ready for a proletarian revolution but that the bourgeoisie in alliance with the Social-Democrats passed ameliorative legislation, took the wind out of the sails as it were, prevented a proletarian revolution and built up a strengthened capitalist State Dictatorship. The Fascist Corporate State thus established is based on the violent destruction of the workers' independent organisations and the complete abolition of the right to strike. By a brilliant survey of the events that led to the Fascist Dictatorship in Italy, the Nazi ascendancy in Germany and the Dollfuss regime in Austria, the author conclusively points out that, "Fascism is in practice an abortion consequent on the miscarriage of the proletarian social revolution." (p. 157.)

This in substance is the central theme of the author and we may say that the author's presentation is fairly correct. We, however, disagree with the author when he accuses the Social-Democrats of opportunism and corruption and of having in the main contributed to the enthronement of Fascism in Italy, Germany, and Austria. We know, and the author admits it, that in England the Socialists are reformists, and not revolutionists, and that they are in alliance with the Tories and yet there is no chance of Fascism coming to stay in England. Our study of post-war Europe has convinced us that Fascism arose because of the failure of parliamentary democracy in some countries to solve the economic problems of post-war Europe. In countries like Italy, Germany and Austria which had very little experience of parliamentary government, the tendency was to look to some 'Man of Destiny' for leadership and guidance when things were not going all right. Fascism was enthroned in those countries partly because of the Social-Democratic Alliance with the bourgeoisie but mainly because of the peculiar political conditions prevailing in those countries.

The book is a tirade against the Social-Democrats for having assisted the bourgeoisie in crushing the proletarian revolution. But so far as we have understood the policy of Social Democrats or Socialists in all countries, their aim is to mend and not end capitalist society. They are not revolutionaries; on the

contrary they are reformists. The learned author accuses them of having compromised with the bourgeoisie and calls them 'opportunists.' But may we point out that even Lenin whom the author worships as an ideal leader made some compromise with the universal habits of mankind and started the New Economic Policy in 1921 which is not pure communism?

The book is a call to the workers to start the proletarian revolution and establish Communism. We are certainly sorry like the author that Fascism has been enthroned in some countries, but we will be equally sorry if Communism were to take its place. As D. H. Lawrence points out in his "Last Poems," Communism and Fascism have got fundamental resemblance as methods of government. In both there is no liberty to the individual. There is no difference between the mentality of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. It really sounds absurd when the author asks the workers to give up reformist and pacifist illusions and fight for the establishment of Communism, for if the workers in Italy, Germany and Austria were to do so, they will merely be exchanging for king Log, a king Stork.

The book is interesting though it has serious limitations.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

## PROSPECTS OF PEACE.

**WAR AND A CHANGING CIVILIZATION.** B. C. DELISLE BURNS. (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 154p. 2/6.

"THE best way to avoid war is to be prepared for it" is a slogan of the Balance of Power days; and although it is seldom preached openly nowadays, it seems to be readily believed in by diplomats and statesmen. How else can one account for the armaments race in which practically every civilised country is participating?

An analysis of the subject of European wars clearly shows that one of the potent causes of war is to be prepared for it. No nation wants to be at the wrong end of the gun, and it is mathematically impossible for each nation to be better equipped for war than every other nation. If country A seeks to increase its armaments to a level higher than that of the armaments of country B, and the latter fearing the progress of the former, seeks in its turn to increase its armed strength, an unending competition is set in motion, and at some stage or other, this preparation for defence against the aggressive designs of a neighbour actually starts the war.

The futility of the armaments competition is yet to be realised by the Big Powers who have taken part in the various talks on disarmament, organised by the League of Nations. In the opinion of Signor Madariaga, a Spanish plenipotentiary, and other distinguished critics of international affairs, the disarmament discussions of the League of Nations have always turned out to be armament discussions. Each nation tries to reduce and limit that type of armaments in which it is weakest and its adversaries are strongest. The inevitable consequence is that no type of armaments is yet subjected to a scheme of progressive limitation and reduction, and the battle-drums of Europe continue to threaten the peace and prosperity of the remotest villages in China and Peru and India.

It is obvious that the nations who look upon the League as a platform for secret diplomacy and war talks are stultifying the very purpose they have in mind. One is reminded, in this connection, of an



Indian story. A Maharaja commanded every one of his subjects to pour into a certain common vessel one measure of milk; every one took the view that by pouring one measure of water, the milky contents of the vessel would remain unaffected, and the disobedience of the king's order would pass unnoticed; in consequence, the vessel was filled with nothing but water!

The slogan of 'being prepared for war in order to avoid war' is therefore suicidal; and there should be no delay in exposing the deep roots it has taken in the psychological complex of man. Dr. Delisle Burns deserves great praise for the opportune publication of his book "War and a Changing Civilisation". His approach to the problems of war is essentially psychological; and his analysis of the psychological bases of the so-called war instinct naturally and inevitably leads him to the conclusion that man at bottom is anything but a warring animal. The usefulness of this discovery consists in the two corollaries that may be drawn from it: (1) Peace is not merely the absence of all destructive enterprises, the interval or truce between two wars, but active service for the common good; (2) for the elimination of war the first step must obviously be the provision of some alternative method by which Governments and peoples may attain such legitimate purposes as are still mistakenly believed to be secured by war. All wars are just, so at any rate the opposing belligerents in each war have felt. No belligerent would readily accept the charge of wanton aggression levelled against it; and the defence complex, therefore, is the psychological factor that has contributed most to the negative conception of peace. Dr. Burns thoroughly exposes this complex and convincingly suggests the need for and the possibility of its annihilation.

The condition precedent to the abolition of war, namely the provision of alternative machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes, is, in the opinion of Dr. Burns, satisfactorily fulfilled by the League organisation. The machinery of arbitration and judicial settlement of international disputes, developed by the League of Nations within the first fifteen years of its existence, adequately justifies the optimistic note with which Dr. Burns concludes his powerful thesis against future wars:

War may be endured or welcomed. The preparations for it may become more disastrous than they are even now. And blind leaders in any nation may precipitate a world conflict, because they cannot see where their policy will end. But the common man today is sceptical. The old excuses are not likely to preserve their old force; and it becomes increasingly difficult to find new excuses for such an absurdity as war between civilised peoples. But whether war comes in the near future or not, the birth of new enthusiasms and the inevitable pressure of a new society in a world will, sooner or later, make it entirely obsolete.

The book under review is one of the volumes of the Twentieth Century—a new series of books on problems of today viewed in the light of the changing ideas and events of modern times. The editor of this series is Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, who has devoted himself to the noble cause of erecting Anglo-Indian relations on the foundation of fellowship and justice, and whose services have already been recognised and rewarded by the English public in the tangible form of a membership of the London Country Council. The design of the cover and wrapper of this book has been specially made for the Twentieth Century Library by Mr. Eric Gill, who writes:—

I can think of nothing more appropriate for a symbol for the Twentieth Century Library than a version of Laocoon, that is Man fighting with the twin snakes of War and Usury. These are the powers of evil with which

man in the twentieth century will have to settle, or perish.

T. S. RAMANUJAM.

## ECONOMICS OF INDIAN FEDERATION.

**ECONOMIC OUTLOOK IN FEDERAL INDIA.**  
By C. N. VAKIL. (University of Delhi.) 1933.  
24cm. 80p.

THE book comprises a series of lectures delivered in March 1933 by Prof. C. N. Vakil, under the auspices of the Delhi University, on the subject of "The Economic Consequences of the Proposals of the Round Table Conference." Copious references are also added in foot-notes to the proposals of the White Paper that was published later. It is an admirable survey of the momentous changes that would be introduced in this country under the new dispensation.

Prof. Vakil at the outset warns us against the easy acceptance of the common slogan that economics should be kept separate from politics. The acceptance of such a theory in other democratic countries means that certain questions of national importance shall be above party politics. In India, however, it results in the adoption of an anti-national point of view for questions that eminently need a national outlook. Political facts of an economic issue can never be ignored in this country. He then devotes three lectures to giving a bare outline of the impending changes, drawing our attention, in particular, to the heavy cost which the new federal scheme involves. The accounts of Sind, which is declared to be a deficit province, would show an annual deficit of Rs. 75 lakhs and those of Orissa as distinct from Bihar a deficit of about Rs. 28 to Rs. 35 lakhs. As these deficits cannot be met by increased taxation, it is now agreed that the Central Government should give subventions till the deficits disappear. Further, the separation of Burma raises questions of fundamental importance. It would cause a loss of Rs. 5 crores in customs revenue to the Central Treasury though some compensation may be derived from the savings in interest charges, as Rs. 61 crores of public debt and some cost of defence would be transferred to Burma. But even more delicate is the question of free trade relations between India and Burma. It leads to the necessity of having fresh trade agreements, as Indian business interests, their capital savings and investments would be treated as foreign in Burma. The inclusion of the native States still further complicates matters. Queer constitutional fictions that have no parallel in any part of the world have been invented in allowing the Princes to join the federation. The control and interference of the federal authority in purely federal matters in a Prince's territory are circumscribed by numerous limitations, while the Princes not being satisfied with the ultra-weightage given to them in Federal chambers are claiming further privileges and immunities in financial matters, over and above their sanctified Treaty rights with the Paramount Power. The division of resources and allocation of funds between the Central and Provincial Governments has satisfied none and is likely to perpetuate the inequalities against which we are clamouring at present. The problem of federal finance thus bristles with great difficulties and the new arrangements are condemned as extremely unsatisfactory. The proposed scheme of federation would add to the administrative cost and increase the tax-burden on the masses.

There would be very little scope left for the development of rural and urban productive activities as also for nation-building services. Prof. Vakil, in

discussing the true significance of commercial and industrial discrimination, rightly points out how its acceptance would inevitably lead us to treat British vested interests on a par with our own national interests. "In brief", he writes, "either with reference to the existing or the future ones, discrimination in favour of nationals of this country would be interpreted to mean discrimination against the British if the British interests are at stake. On the other hand, discrimination against third parties and in favour of British trade would be welcome." The principle of reciprocity, on which the Ottawa Agreement is said to have been based, is embodied in the commercial safeguards. The net effect of all such arrangements would be a blatant denial of even the slight fiscal autonomy that we possess at present. The creation of a statutory Railway Board and the establishment of a Reserve Bank of India as a condition precedent to the establishment of the federal constitution mean indirectly the forging of new fetters on the powers of national representatives. We fully agree with the concluding remarks of Prof. Vakil :

The control of the financial policy in the name of the credit of India would be an obstacle to the progressive national schemes. Economic policy in trade, industry and finance as well as railways will thus be controlled in essentials not by the Federal Legislature and Executive but by the other parties. The constitutional limitations on the economic progress of the country betray an undue nervousness on the part of the British interests and give the greatest justification to the criticism of the British economic policy as being not in the national interests of the country.

The new changes would thus perpetuate old evils and leave room for fresh troubles to brew up. These are in truth the harsh realities of the Indian problem which none of us can ignore.

We heartily commend the book to our readers.

S. G. PURANIK.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**SOCIAL JUDGMENT.** By GRAHAM WALLAS.  
(Allen & Unwin.) 1934. 20cm. 175p. 5/-

OUR complex society of to-day is dependent for its healthy functioning on the steady supply of sound judgment from various quarters—judgment of legislators, officials, company directors, politicians and perhaps even of reviewers of books. And it is an uncomfortable thought that this judgment is often out to destroy and to mislead when it ought to save and point upwards. The judgment of administrators and thinkers failed to save us from the world cataclysm of the Great War, and it is manifestly failing to-day and failing pitifully to protect modern civilization from political confusion, economic distress and the growing threat of war. The author of this book avows his faith that the process of "wisdom" or "judgment" in social conduct, which, like "creativity" in art, requires an intimate cooperation of reason and emotion, is improvable by conscious effort, and that it is possible by better political and social organization to increase and direct its influence on corporate life. He traces the past history of the idea of "good judgment" or "wisdom" in human society from ancient Egypt to the twentieth century, and looks hopefully to the emergence sooner or later of "signs of a wisdom more difficult perhaps than the wisdom of Egypt and China, Greece and Palestine, Galileo, and Newton, but more suited to our needs." We may agree with the author that at this moment in

world history it is tragically desirable that men should act not "rationally" only, but "wisely." The reader will find many luminous and brilliant ideas between the covers of this little volume. But he will look in vain for anything of a practically helpful character showing exactly how this much-needed art of social judgment is to be developed. It is a great misfortune that Wallas did not live to give to the world a companion volume to this which he had planned and which probably would have thrown a revealing light on this problem. The book under review is a fragment. Nevertheless, it is a fragment thrown off by a master mind and deserves serious and respectful consideration.

G. B. JATHAR.

**INDIAN WHO'S WHO.** Ed. by WAMAN P. KABADI. (Yesbanand & Co., Graham's Building, Bombay 1.) 1935. 20cm. 608p. Rs. 3.

THE compiling of a directory of Indian public leaders is no easy task; but Mr. W. P. Kabadi must be said to have discharged it with conspicuous success. In subsequent editions, it may be hoped, efforts will be made to eliminate descriptions of persons who are dead as, e. g., Dewan Bahadur Aravamuda Iyengar and Appu Nedungadi, and to include a correct likeness of Prof. V. G. Kale and Dr. C. B. Rama Rao. The book is well got up with illustrations.

S. R. V.

**SOCIAL WORK YEAR-BOOK, 1935.** Ed. by FRED S. HALL. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1935. 24cm. 698p. \$1.00.

A BOOK which has been written with great deal of labour and care. It keeps up the reputation of its predecessors. We have had occasion to go through chapters on Adult Education and Financing of Social Service Organizations and found that this book is a veritable mine of information on these and allied subjects. There is a brief informing article on each subject followed by a bibliography and directory of institutions engaged in different departments of social work. Indian social workers will find this book of immense value in their respective fields of work.

S. R. V.

**THE SWADESHI ANUNAL, 1935.** (Lucknow Swadeshi League, Lucknow.) 1935. 25cm. 104p. Re. 1.

THE students' section of the Lucknow Swadeshi League deserves to be congratulated upon the publication of this nice little volume. Herein the editors have brought together thoughts on 'Swadeshi' of several distinguished Indians. Among the contributors are to be seen the names of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Mr. Jamsheed Mehta, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Mr. T. Prakasam Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, Mrs. Atiya Begum, Dr. Sir, P. C. Ray and many other thinkers of the day. The articles on sugar and tea industries deserve careful study. The editors could have added to the usefulness of the volume by a complete and accurate list of the various industries in India. An analysis of exports and imports should also have been undertaken to enable the reader to understand which new industries can be started in this country.

A.

## The Servants of India Society.

REPORT FOR 1934-35.

THE record of the political, social, educational and economic work done by the Servants of India Society during its last thirty years' existence is one which the members of the Society can look back upon without disappointment and without feeling discouraged and depressed. True, Dominion Status, which is the political goal of the Society (but not ours), has not come, nor does it promise to come within any measurable distance of time. But the Society has all along made earnest efforts in the "constitutional" way to reach the goal. The advocates of methods which officials consider unconstitutional have not also been able to reach their goal. Both constitutionalists and "unconstitutionalists" can at present only criticize official acts, measures, proposals, Bills, etc. The Liberals, to which political party the Society belongs, do this work of criticism as thoroughly as Congressmen—perhaps sometimes they do it better and with more information. So far at any rate as the most important Bill at present before the public is concerned, we mean the India Bill, no newspaper that we have seen has criticized it more thoroughly, persistently and after more serious study than the SERVANT OF INDIA, the organ of the Society. We were inclined to give it the first place in this matter, but as we do not see all Indian papers and as it is better to be guilty of understatement than of overstatement, we have said what we have said.

But whatever may be said of the political activities and achievement of the Society, in the fields of social, economic and educational endeavour it can show results on which it can be congratulated.—*The Modern Review.*

THE Servants of India Society has many years and much reputation at its back to need any introduction to the public. Since Mr. Gokhale, the reputed Indian leader, started the Society by administering its vows to the three original members, thirty summers and winters have passed and across their ups and downs the Society has pushed ahead unflinchingly and undeviatingly in the pursuit of its aims and ideals. The Society can claim much sound achievement in different departments of public activities of India and at the background of those activities are men thoroughly ground in the spirit and ideals of the Society. The Society has now published its report for 1934-35. During that year as usual it carried on its work equally in political, social and economic fields. Apart from its contribution to the agitation for political reforms in India, which it carried on through its organs, the SERVANT OF INDIA, the *Dnyan Prakash* and the *Hitavada*, and through its distinguished members from public platforms an important political activity of the Society was its advocacy of political reform in Indian States and its plea for a place for the peoples of the States in the new constitution. The principal economic activities of the Society were the promotion of labour organisation, the co-operative movement, rural reconstruction and Swadeshi. In the social sphere among the many activities of the Society its attention to the betterment of the condition of the backward communities through the Criminal Tribes Settlement at Jalgaon and through other social service organisations and the Poona Seva Sadan Society whose numerous activities include an institution for vocational education and nursing and midwifery training for girls, deserve particular mention. Naturally the many-sided and numerous activities of the Society make an

enormous demand on its financial resources which have not been satisfactory for some years past. The Society has accordingly appealed for funds and we hope this unique and useful national institution will find ungrudging support from all generous Indians.—*The Times of Assam.*

... The Society which was founded thirty years ago has made a name and a place for itself in India. In the field of journalism its official organ, the SERVANT OF INDIA, which is published in Poona, stands out as an example of conscientious and efficient treatment of public issues. The *Hitavada*, a weekly published in Nagpur, is also published under the name of the Society, but this publication differs very widely from the one issued in Poona and comes nearer to being a local paper serving the Central Provinces and enters more or less into the hubbub of ordinary social and political life. We do not know of any other organization in India or elsewhere which is conducted on the same order as the Servants of India Society. The various members live in different parts of India and carry on their activities in a way that indicates that they had been given a very free hand, so far as the use of their time is concerned. It is only because they are individually men of high ideals and convictions that they are able to accomplish so much. An outsider is at a loss to understand the special genius of the organization which at once commands the highest loyalty of each member while at the same time it places a minimum of restrictions upon his actions. It is thus possible for the various members of the Society to give themselves to whatever activities are particularly needing their support or for which they are in any way especially equipped.

The names of those who in the past have been associated with the Society and who are today directing its activities are a sufficient guarantee of the type of service which the members seek to render. In Northern India there is no one who stands higher in the esteem of the public than Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru. He is a public servant who reflects credit not only upon the Society to which he belongs but upon the whole of India.

The Society as such is not primarily a political organization and doubtless the members themselves have their own differences when political questions are discussed. It is with the general, social and economic work of the Society that the report is mainly concerned and this deserves the careful attention of everyone in India.

The Christians of India are proud of the fact that one member of the Society, Mr. S. P. Andrews-Dube, is a member also of the Christian Church. The report gives due credit to the various activities in which Mr. Dube is engaged. Beyond these more or less formal services he is also rendering many other valuable services both to the country and to the community to which he belongs. He is known among his brethren as a man who has pronounced ideas and as one who believes in speaking his mind when the need arises. We are sure he has never felt in any way required to yield in his Christian convictions because of his association in the Servants of India Society. His many friends wish him many more years of fruitful service in the work that is entrusted to him. We rejoice that the Servants of India Society continues to stand for the high ideals which brought it into existence thirty years ago and it is our hope that more and more it may find the public of India

to be at one with it in its efforts to transform into reality these ideals.—*The Indian Witness.*

Apart from its political activities which undoubtedly occupy a prominent place in its programme, the Servants of India Society during its long career has been known to have rendered valuable service in supplying the nation-building needs of the people. In the economic and social sphere it has for a long period of 30 years consistently brought relief to the depressed and exploited classes of the country. The Society's report for the year 1934-35 shows the excellent work it has done in various spheres of national life. The noble tradition of selfless service left to the Society by Gokhale, the founder of the institution, has been worthily maintained and this is due to the fact that the systematic and organised manner in which the Society has been doing its work has secured the confidence of the public with the result that the Society has been able to inspire and enroll in its service thousands of selfless workers in the country.—*The Kaiser-i-Hind.*

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

- Records of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, Series C: Minutes of the Bureau, Vol. I—1932-33. (1935. IX. 2) 178p. 33cm.
- Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Publicity of National Defence Expenditure—Draft Convention. (Conf. D./C.G. 160 (1). 1935. IX. 3). 33cm. 86p.
- Economics of Air Transport in Europe. By M. Henri Bouche. (C. 97. M. 44 1935. VIII. 1.) 27cm.
- I. L. O. STUDIES AND REPORTS.
- Studies on Industrial Relations. (A. 38.) 1935. 24cm. 183p. 4/-.
- Public Works Policy. (C. 19.) 1935. 24cm. 166p. 4/-.
- Hours of Work in Postal Services. (D. 21.) 1935. 24cm. 95p. 3/-.
- Safety in Spray Painting. (F. 7.) 1935. 24cm. 104p. 4/-.
- International Standardisation of Labour Statistics. (N. 19.) 1934. 24cm. 64p. 1/3.
- International Comparisons of Cost of Living. (N. 20.) 1934. 24cm. 146p. 5/-.

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