

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE long delay that has taken place in the announcement of the formation of Ministers in Bombay and C. P. Ministries in Bombay and the Central Provinces has given rise to much speculation in political circles. For our own part we are not interested in putting forward the claims of any individual or community or even political party, but we must confess to some feeling of apprehension lest the principle of joint responsibility should be torpedoed by the Governor. In provinces where the Governors have not ready to their hands clearly defined parties from which a choice of the Chief Minister could be made, there will be a strong temptation, and some little excuse too, for them to set aside the principle of cabinet responsibility and choose Ministers from different groups, even if they should belong to different political persuasions, just to preserve some sort of equilibrium between the rival factions. This temptation, however, must be overcome, and the Governor in every province must invite whomsoever he may consider to be in the possession of the largest following to form the government, leaving the selection of his colleagues to him. It is only in this way that political coherence can be secured in any government, and at the present moment nothing is more fatal to the experiment of responsible government, which is now in progress in this country and for which the officials profess overflowing sympathy, than the incompatibility of political principles which inevitably results from the fact of the Ministry being composed of persons who hold different political views. The Muddiman Reforms Report has recommended adherence to the principle of joint responsibility and it would

be a glaring departure from its recommendations to follow the old principle of selecting Ministers as individuals rather than as exponents of a particular political creed and dealing with them in isolation. The division of political groups on communal lines need not militate, as we showed the other day, against the setting up of a Ministry on the principle of joint responsibility.

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IN the course of a signed article in the *Bande Mataram*, Lala Lajpat Rai is reported to have drawn attention to the growing antagonism between the Congress and the Hindu Sabha and asked the leaders of the latter body to ponder how the conflict could be removed. The remedy, as it suggests itself to us, lies in strictly limiting the activities of what is obviously a communal organisation to questions directly concerned with the social, religious and other non-political interests of the Hindu community, leaving politics to be looked after by the Congress, which is purely a political body. There is sufficient work for both the Congress and the Hindu Sabha, each in its own sphere. Trouble arises only when there is intermeddling with each other's functions, when neither of which is properly fulfilled. We can understand the Hindu Sabha devoting itself to the political welfare of the Hindus only if its members cease to have all connection with the Congress. But Lalaji says that the Hindus have need for both. In that case a demarcation of functions is essential. This remark holds good with reference not only to the Hindu Sabha but all communal organisations in the country. We are as much against the intrusion of communalism in politics as we are against the intrusion of political bodies into the field of religion and social reform. The Congress as a national institution is not worth preserving if it cannot inspire confidence in the mind of the various communities in regard to the protection of their political interests. The Hindu Sabha, or for that matter any avowedly communal body, becomes the greatest danger to the nation when it oversteps its legitimate functions and imports all the passion, narrowness and intolerance of its communal aims and outlook into the sphere of politics. Further the Hindus, as the majority section in the country, have no justification whatsoever to get panicky and pollute the springs of citizenship and nationalism.

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THE Malaria Commission of the League of Nations Health Committee has decided to extend its study tour to some extra-European countries where malaria prevails. No province in India is free from malaria, while more than a million die of it every year in

Bengal alone. It is therefore natural to expect that India will be included in the study tour of the Commission. We do not think that an appeal *ad misericordiam* to the League on this behalf is necessary, considering the prevalence of the disease in India and her position among the countries contributing towards the maintenance of the League. Such a visit will go far more to bring about a concrete realization by Indians of the beneficial activities of the League than the casual speeches of highly placed government officials under the auspices of the new-born League of Nations Union. It is interesting to note in this connection that Sir Ronald Ross is visiting Assam at the invitation of the tea planters to organize anti-malarial measures in the tea gardens. The government of this country did not take excessive interest in Sir Ronald's malaria researches while he was a member of the Indian Medical Service. It may use his expert guidance now after other countries have benefited by his researches. Our belief is that what planters have done the government can do, if it has the will.

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THE Viceroy has given a filip to the organisers of labour in this country by drawing attention to opportunity and responsibility that lies before Indians in the sphere of social amelioration, in his address delivered on the occasion of opening the Dhanbad school of mines. He rightly pointed out that there was no need for us to pass through the painful stages of industrial evolution in England and other European countries, but that we can utilise their experience so as to keep pace with them in the matter of social legislation and improvement in industrial conditions. Labour in India should be thankful to His Excellency for this expression of sympathy. But the value of these words would be considerably enhanced if they are translated into practical shape and followed by legislation sponsored by the Government for redressing the manifold grievances of the workers and ensuring for them a decent standard of life and culture. The responsibility of the government is greater in this respect than that of the people since the labour movement here is in its infancy, and the nation as a whole lacks experience in the line. So far as some of the popular leaders are concerned, they have stepped into the field earlier than the authorities ever thought of labour interests, and have only been handicapped so far by absence of adequate official support and sympathy. May we entertain the hope that Lord Irwin's utterance marks a new era of social and industrial legislation in this country?

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IT would appear that the *Tanganyika Times*, an organ of the white settlers of Tanganyika, attacked us for our criticism in a recent issue of the SERVANT OF INDIA of the so-called Dual Policy said to be in force in East Africa. We have not seen the *Times* article in question, but can well imagine its tenour, an ardent support of the Dual Policy being the stock in trade of European-edited newspapers. But we are somewhat surprised that an Indian journal of that Colony, *Tanganyika Opinion*, should see fit to join its own voice to that of its European contemporary in traversing the position we took up. Our main point was that the Dual Policy, whether right or wrong in itself, represented a great come-down from the policy enunciated, with a flourish of trumpets, in the Kenya White Paper. This Paper casts a peremptory obligation upon the

Government of devising a line of policy with a sole eye to the moral and material well-being of the African natives, whatever may be its reaction upon the immigrant communities. The Dual Policy on the other hand makes the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, or in other words, the interests of European capitalists, of at least as much importance as the promotion of native interests. The White Paper says: Africa first and African last; the Dual Policy, on the other hand, places development first and native interests second, assuming at the same time that there can never arise a conflict between these two. But we know for a fact that in a number of questions the interests of African labourers are diametrically opposed to those of European concessionaires. That the policy laid down in the White Paper is not the same as the Dual Policy is best seen from the fact that the European settlers who made a dead-set against the White Paper policy are now reconciled to the Dual Policy, because, as a speaker at the recent sessions of the Convention of Associations put it, it "is more workable than the native policy laid down in the White Paper." All that we did was to draw public attention to the distinction made by a European speaker himself between the two policies, a distinction which we have been pointing out for some time. For the rest, we said that even if the Dual Policy is morally justified it affords no justification to the "economic sanctuary" involved in the reservation of the Kenya Highlands for the Europeans. *Tanganyika Opinion* obviously misunderstood our remarks about the "economic sanctuary" and attributes to us opinions which we never held or expressed.

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IN defending the "high" cost of education incurred by the Irish Free State, Professor O'Sullivan, Minister for Education in that country, cited a number of figures giving the amount of money spent by different countries on education, which are of much interest to us in India. The cost to the State of each pupil is in

	Primary	Secondary	Technical
Irish Free State	£7.8.7	£13.0.9	£4.16.10
Switzerland	... £9	£20	
Scotland	... £10	£20	
Norway	... £10	£20	
Denmark	... £10.10.0	£19	
England	... £11.5.0	£27	£20
New Zealand	... £10.6.0		£14.3.0
South Africa	... £11.2.0		£18.4.7
America	...	£30	£25
Holland	...	£45	£32
India	...Rs. 4.2.4	Rs. 11.14.4	

The educational budget of the Irish Free State is thus not only the lowest, but it is in fact still lower than it appears, for in most other countries a large proportion of the total educational expenditure is derived from local taxation which is excluded from the above table, whereas in Ireland the cost is borne by the Central Fund alone. "In Denmark at least half comes from local contributions, and in England a considerable amount also. In fact in most countries a large amount comes from that source." Since in the above table only the National Budgets of the different countries are given, it is obvious that the educational expenditure of the Irish Free State is very low in comparison to that of other countries. The corresponding figures for India are also given in the table for comparison; the cost of education to the State in India is from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the cost in Ireland, which spends the least of European countries!

## PROSPECTS OF UNITY.

THE cry for unity is in the air. The country would have been saved much noise and washing of dirty linen if the cry had been raised and responded to earlier. But the elections unhinged the mind of many of our politicians and threw them into a fit of delirium from which they are slowly recovering. It is some consolation that there are signs of returning sanity at least now. Attempts are being made all round to close up the ranks of Congressmen and other elected Councillors so as to present an effective opposition to the Government. This is good so far as it goes. It will certainly be suicidal to carry inside the legislatures all the bitterness and dissension, communal as well as political, that marked the election campaigns. Our enemies at home and abroad will only be overjoyed to see us pursue our petty quarrels within the Councils. Every lover of India's freedom is therefore bound to promote the cause of unity to the best of his ability. But unity is an elusive factor, desire for which is more easily expressed than achieved. It is hard to establish between those who belong to radically different schools of political thought and action. A patched up unity for shadowy gains, leaving an unbridgeable gulf underneath, is not worth having. Nor will it serve our purpose if it be to threaten the enemy into submission; it will fail us in a crisis, not to speak of the ability of our opponents to see through the game. If at all, it will only help to deceive ourselves. These are only platitudes, but they deserve to be borne in mind by political peace-makers lest they should attempt the impossible.

The above line of thought does not, however, provide any excuse for those who worship more or less at the same political altar to stand apart cut of false prestige, personal pride or party tradition. We have pointed out more than once in these columns that there are at present in the country only two political parties, distinguished by radically opposing principles—the Swarajists and the Constitutionalists. The former have behind them the strength of organisation, enthusiasm and energetic propaganda which contributed so largely to their success at the recent elections in some of the provinces. The latter are disorganised and group themselves under separate flags, though in the prevailing conditions in the political field there is not the slightest justification whatever for this separatist manifestation. The call for unity has thus a real meaning for Constitutionalists. It is high time for them to close up their ranks and form a single party to combat the forces of bureaucratic reaction on the one hand and Swarajist petulance on the other. They would also do well to learn from their Swarajist friends a few lessons on the advantages of effective organisation and propaganda to advance their policy among the people. Lack of sufficient touch with the masses, combined with a rather too close contact with interests associated with the other end of the body

politic on the part of politicians belonging to this school, has been largely responsible for the unpopularity and misunderstanding of their political gospel in the past. These defects have got to be removed and organised measures taken to gain the confidence of the masses by a more intimate contact with them through service and educative propaganda. The efficacy of such methods to combat the sterile the policy of Swarajists has been amply proved in some of the provinces like Maharashtra, C. P., and U. P. where Constitutionlists have been returned to the Councils in larger numbers than before.

We wish we were in a position to add our voice to those who call for a union of all the parties in the country so as to form a solid phalanx to fight the battle of national freedom. Nothing would help to bring the day of Swaraj nearer to us than that happy consummation. It is a self-evident proposition that an enslaved nation cannot shake off its alien yoke unless the consolidated strength of the people is applied to the task. But such union cannot be had for the mere crying for it. Nor can it be achieved so long as each party believes in its own infallibility and claims a monopoly of political wisdom or popular backing. The elections have no doubt improved the prospects of a nearer approach between the parties by giving a rude shaking in some of the provinces to those who scornfully brushed aside all overtures for unity from those who refused to have faith in the efficacy of political fireworks and wanted a more practical programme of action within the legislatures. Although Pandit Motilal Nebru seems to be still unrepentent, we hope the rank and file of his followers throughout the country are not in a mood to repeat the old wrecking tactics. In his message to the U. P. Conference Panditji expressed his fond hope that the Reforms could still be wrecked and ministries made impossible. But his latest public utterance, though it betrays chagrin at the Swarajist rout in U. P., seems to be pitched in a lower key. It is couched in more general terms. He estimates the position of his party to be stronger than ever before in the country as a whole, in spite of the reverses in certain provinces, and hopes that he can offer battle to the bureaucracy much more effectively in the Assembly and in some of the Councils. But he is content to leave the future of the party's programme, the exact methods to be pursued in fighting the bureaucracy, to be fixed by the Congress. His addendum that the Congress is entitled to frame a programme not quite in keeping with the terms of the election pledge of the Congress candidates also gives room for the hope that he will not seek to perpetuate past mistakes.

It is difficult to foresee what exactly Gauhati's verdict will be in regard to the future policy of Congressmen in the Councils. Much depends on the lead that Mahatma Gandhi might choose to give to the country on the vexed issue, after his re-entry into the field of public work. During his period of rest and vigilant observation he could not have

failed to note the evils of the Swarajist spirit of obstructionism, particularly with reference to the promotion of the constructive programme. There can be no doubt that that programme, for whatever it is worth, could have been advanced better in Bengal and C. P. by the Swarajists holding the reins of office and utilising other opportunities of influencing the administrative machinery. The strongest objection to the Swarajist policy from the standpoint of the orthodox non-co-operationist is that it tends more than anything else to distract the attention of the public from problems that are pressing for solution to the futile game of finding fault with the foreigner. The soul of non-co-operation, if we understand it aright, is the spirit of self-reliance in nation-building, without being obsessed by the failure of alien agencies. Such constructive work cannot be done while a set of politicians are ceaselessly engaged in fixing the attention of the people on how to embarrass the government. The Swarajist policy of giving the maximum trouble to the bureaucracy blinds them to the many things which we Indians have to do for ourselves and which we alone can do. Incessant agitation may provide excitement to the mob and earn a certain variety of popularity for those who are engaged in it. But it is quite the reverse of the policy of constructive nationalism. It cannot in the least be helpful to the task of building up a better and more efficient type of national character and ability, much less for developing the nation's wealth and resources. Agitation unaccompanied by a readiness to step into places of responsibility is a barren game. It is the bane of all destructive politics which, in the words of Sir Horace Plunkett the great builder of Irish nationality, is "cursed with the doom of futility." This is well borne out by our experience of Swarajism for the past three years. It is high time that the nation gets out of this accursed path and concentrates all its energy on the removal of the root evils of the people, viz. ignorance, poverty and the inertia—physical, mental and moral—that result from them. This alone will put life and strength into the mind and muscle of the masses and thus make them fit for being organised for the future. That is also a programme, which all the political parties in the country can whole-heartedly take part in working out, both within and without the legislatures, without doing violence to their cherished principles and traditions.

## AGRICULTURE AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

### II.—TRAINING OF FARMERS.

ALMOST all the institutions for agricultural education have started off with the intention of training men to become farmers; but it has been the experience in all places that most of the people who pass out of these institutions have sought service under Government. Perhaps, this was inevitable under the circumstances that existed

some years ago. The Departments of Agriculture were new and required qualified men for their work; and as this work developed, more and more qualified men were wanted. Thus there was a natural tendency for agricultural institutions to multiply, and for agricultural graduates to enter Government service in large numbers. The needs of Agricultural Departments for new recruits became less and less as years went by, and we have now reached a stage when the number of agricultural graduates taken into Government service is small, and likely to continue small. We have, therefore, at the present time, a considerable number of agricultural graduates seeking employments in walks of life other than agriculture.

Even under these conditions, the number of agricultural graduates who take to farming as their profession is very small. It has been felt by various workers in the field that something must be wrong somewhere for such a state of affairs, especially when we remember that India is essentially an agricultural country. When we see that a few of these agricultural graduates have taken to farming and made a success of it, we must brush aside the statement made by certain individuals that the men turned out by agricultural institutions are unfit to be farmers, as being born either of ignorance or prejudice. There are many reasons why young men fight shy of farming, even after an agricultural training. We shall not discuss here certain causes like the atmosphere in which most boys receive their elementary education, the general impression that all education is merely aimed at Government service as its goal, or the ingrained feeling in the minds of the boys of the higher classes that manual work is demeaning. We must try and see if we can find out why young men who have received an agricultural training do not take up farming in larger numbers. Two causes seem to be at the root of this state of affairs. The first is the general trend of the instruction given in agricultural institutions, and this has, perhaps unwittingly, been in the direction of turning out men specially suitable for work in the different branches of the Departments of Agriculture. The second is the lack of sympathy and encouragement to such of the agricultural graduates as do have a natural inclination for farming. Let us look at these facts a little more closely.

Taking the instruction imparted in agricultural institutions first we find that so far as the theoretical portion is concerned, most of these institutions are quite well equipped for it, both in the matter of personnel and of appliances. This is so especially with regard to subjects other than agriculture. When we consider agriculture, we are at once struck with the inappropriateness of the instruction given with the object in view, viz. the training of farmers. The conditions which will bring home to the student, in a direct way, the economic side of farming, are usually absent; and when present, are present only in an attenuated form. We do find that in some places, and that lately,

against d'Annunzio. Italy seemed about to turn Bolshevist, and in alarm the veteran Giolitti was called in. Under his adroit management, d'Annunzio was dislodged from Fiume and the workmen were removed from the factories, but to do this he encouraged the Fascisti, patriotic associations formed by the ex-Socialist Mussolini, and allowed them to help the police. He then dissolved Parliament hoping to "make" the elections in the continental manner and return with a safe majority, but his calculations were upset by the return of a strong Catholic "Popular Party" and he was compelled to retire for the last time. Two nerveless coalitions succeeded him, under whose feeble control matters steadily drifted and Fascist contempt for Parliament grew until at last, in October 1922, they marched on Rome. Signor Facta, the Premier, awoke from his lethargy and proposed to call out the troops, but the King refused and called in Mussolini instead. The King had rightly judged the situation. He had prevented bloodshed and a break of legal continuity, and the Fascist Government was accepted by the nation at large as a welcome relief from governmental impotence and interminable parliamentary intrigues. But he had saved his throne at the expense of his freedom; henceforth the prisoner of the Vatican was no more unfree than his supposed oppressor in the Quirinal.

Signor Benito Mussolini showed his contempt of Parliament from the first. "I could have turned this dull grey hall into a bivouac of Fascist battalions, but I have refused to abuse my victory", he said in his first address to that body. At first, however, he did not finally break with the Liberal state, and included non-Fascists in his Cabinet. The break came in 1924, when the murder of the socialist editor Matteotti—in which highly placed Fascists were deeply implicated—caused all Liberals to unite in opposition. For a few months Mussolini seemed to waver between conciliation and ruthless suppression; at length his mind was made up and he has since gone resolutely forward on the path of dictatorship. From that time, as he said, "among the things for which there is no room must be included the Opposition."

There are two sides of Mussolini's internal policy—the suppression of the Opposition and the building up of the Fascist state. The Opposition was soon driven from Parliament and a majority assured by an electoral system which gives two thirds of the membership of the Chamber to the party with a bare majority of votes. The press was successively suppressed until the Opposition press was reduced to bare comment and the solitary upholder of the right of free speech was, paradoxically, the official Vatican organ. On the latest attempt to assassinate Mussolini the whole Opposition press has been suspended indefinitely. Individual non-Fascists are effectively intimidated by the Fascist militia and by the law of 1925, which makes all officials, judicial, as well as executive, removable at will for "incompatibility with

the national interests." There is therefore now no free trial in Italy, and the judges are after James I's own heart, lions under Fascist thrones. Finally, the possibility of counter-revolution is guarded against by the State recognition of the Fascist militia.

Signor Mussolini has always maintained that Fascism has a definite doctrine; he contrasts its philosophy with that of the Liberal democratic State, and its spirit is to remould the national institutions. The fundamental principle of Fascism is the paramount authority of the State. The ballot box is replaced by the Dictator, who represents the *strongest* feelings of the nation, though not necessarily the feelings of the *largest* number; will, not number, as the criterion of Government. The individual exists for the good of the State, and not the State for the good of the individual. It is, in fact, the old Hegelian conception of the absolute State with its independent personality, knowing only the subjects' duties to the State and the State's rights towards other States, before whom all men bow, knowing nothing of right or wrong, and in whose service even crime is patriotism. But unfortunately for Mussolini, the sanction for his authority is neither the divine right of monarchy nor the "General Will" of democracy, but the force of the Fascist militia. Essentially, it is government by the active few over the passive many, and though it may suit the present mood of the Italians, having no basis but force it has no resource in times of adversity—not even a Napoleonic plebiscite. It depends on success for existence, and though the Fascist militia may overcome opposition it cannot prevent internal quarrels and collapse from within.

In the constructive Fascist measures this principle of authority is shown politically in the responsibility of the Prime Minister to the King alone, locally by the replacement of the elected mayors in all towns of less than 5000 inhabitants by 'podestas' nominated for five years, and economically by the Syndicates Law which sets up joint associations of masters and workmen in all the great divisions of industry. These regulate the affairs of the industry and deal with disputes, for which, however, there is a final Court of Appeal whose awards are compulsory. All associations have to be registered and exist only upon sufferance; everywhere the State is supreme.

Abroad, Mussolini has to satisfy the nationalism which he has himself stimulated and to solve the problem of emigration which has grown acute since the new Immigration Law of the United States. Italian emigrants are now limited to South America, North Africa or France, in all of which places they are lost to Italy. The need of a colonisable Colony is the motive of Mussolini's imperialism, of his trumpeted visit to Tripoli, and of his conversations with France and England. Italy by her position can put pressure on both France in Syria and England in Egypt; she has little to lose and much to gain and is therefore likely to drive a

good bargain. There are several possibilities of expansion; she may, as is rumoured, obtain the Syrian Mandate from France in exchange for her support in Morocco, she may attack Turkey which is still widely believed to be moribund, or she may start another Abyssinian adventure with English connivance. Her only danger is from Yugo-Slavia, which will never acquiesce in the permanent loss of Fiume, but which is at present too much divided against itself to be a serious menace.

Italy is to-day the country of one man, and one's thoughts inevitably turn to the dictators of the past. Will Mussolini prove a Napoleon to make Europe tremble, or a Caesar to perish with his work but begun? Signor Mussolini is a combination of real talent and rare demagogic art, but of genius he has as yet given no proofs. Fiery speeches may captivate the crowd, but they will not win an Austerlitz or compose a Code Napoleon. Four attempts at assassination in one year hardly promise patriarchal longevity, but even if he lives we may surmise that the more closely he follows the example of the first Napoleon, the more closely will his fate resemble the end of the third.

## THE SITUATION IN CHINA.

### THE BACKGROUND.

To realize fully the significance and magnitude of the problem of China it is necessary to remember its vastness of area and population. China is made up of twenty-three provinces, comprising of 4.14 million sq. miles with a population of 427 millions. Its great but undeveloped natural resources, its importance as a market, combined with its weak military organization for defence against attacks from outside and the absence of a strong and efficient central government have rendered it a prey to the greed and violence of more powerful nations. According to the customs estimate of 1919 the foreign population in China is 350,991 (British 13,234, Japanese 171,485). The presence of this foreign population has been the cause of many humiliations and loss to China. Its weakness has been fully exploited by foreign powers which have forced unjust and unilateral treaties on it. They have snatched away territories that once belonged to it, robbed it of its tariff autonomy, established most unjust consular jurisdiction and concession areas, supplied arms and money to warring factions within its territories to serve their own ends and to perpetuate its weakness. The description may not wholly apply to all foreign nations dealing with China, but unfortunately it does to most of them. To almost all of them China is no more than a market.

In October 1911 revolution broke out in Wu-chang in the centre of China, which ultimately led to the fall of the Manchu dynasty, which had been ruling since 1664 A. D., and the abolition of monarchy in China. From that day to this the Chinese Republic has known no peace. Almost at the very beginning of its existence the Central Government at Peking was challenged on constitutional ground by the rival Government at Canton in the South, led by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the famous Kuomintang (Nationalist party). The Government at Peking has never been strong enough to control the provinces. The weakness at the centre offered the opportunity to Tuchuns, the provincial

military Chiefs, to assume practical independence from Peking and satisfy their own personal greed and ambition. China was soon torn into several military factions. The Government at Peking became a plaything of the Northern war lords who, with the support, 'moral' and financial, of foreign powers, fought amongst themselves, allying at intervals to march against the 'Red' Kuomintang Government at Canton.

The reason why, soon after the declaration of the Republic, China was divided into fighting military factions can be traced to a certain extent to the administrative system which the Republic inherited. China never had a strong and efficient Central Government holding the provinces firmly together in an administrative framework. In the words of an authority on China describing the Imperial system, "The Central Government of China is arranged with the object rather of registering and checking the action of the various provincial administrations than with that of assuming a direct initiative in the conduct of affairs. Regulations, indeed, of the most minute and comprehensive character, are on record for the guidance of every conceivable act of administration; and the principal function of the Central Government consists in watching over the execution of this system of rules. The bestowal of the higher appointments of the civil and military services and the distribution of the superior literary degrees as rewards for proficiency in the studies upon which the entire polity of the Empire is based, comprise the remainder of the attributes reserved to the government established at Peking." ("The Chinese Government" by Myers, p. 12.) In a predominantly agricultural country without improved means of communications as in China, the villagers did not look for, nor were given, much of actual government from the local political ruler beyond police protection. "The villages are units, without official or legal status, not parts, that is, of the general administrative system of the whole country, but self-governing communities so far as their own purely local affairs are concerned. . . . If we except the collection of taxes, and the occasional recording of land transfers, many of the villages, which in thousands dot the country, go for years at a time without the performance in them of a single act that may properly be termed governmental". ("Constitutional Government in China" by Willoughby, pp. 9-10.) This discrete aggregate of villages has thus been the foundation on which the Chinese administrative system has rested, and if non-interference from the central, local or superior political agency be the test of freedom and democracy, the Chinese are one of the freest peoples on the earth. To the villagers it did not matter who occupied the Dragon Throne. The political changes did not affect their lives. "The Throne ruled, but did not assume to govern. Beyond the bounds of the city and villages, there could be nothing in the nature of regulated popular government. . . . That China has held together so long and, on the whole, so well, as a homogeneous Empire must be attributed to the inherent strength of the moral foundations, laid by the sages, of those teachings which have formed the innermost soul of the people. . . . The unity of the Chinese nation has been preserved first by the Confucian philosophy, and later by the statecraft which instituted the system of public service examinations\* as a permanently cohesive agent. By this means the provinces were educated and maintained in a common heritage of national philosophy—ethics, literature, laws and history—and, through it they attain-

\* Abolished in 1905.

some importance is being attached to the teaching of "Agricultural Economics". This usually takes the form of making economic surveys of various areas and making a study of the statistics collected. While this is quite important in itself, it does not directly help the student very much in becoming a farmer. What is wanted is a closer study of what might be termed "Farm Economics". Students must realise for themselves that farming is an occupation worth taking up, and this realisation must come not from a mere study of books or attendance at lectures, but by actual study of and close contact with farms worked on the latest methods and run as business propositions. The mistake is commonly made of attaching Agricultural institutions to experimental farms, which by their very nature preclude them from being run as business farms. Under these circumstances, although there is usually a sufficient amount of practical work for the students, there is naturally a tendency to lay too great a stress on "Observation", which in most cases reduces itself to watching other people doing the work. There is thus a total absence of that atmosphere which is necessary to make successful farmers. If, therefore, we expect our agricultural schools and colleges to turn out men properly equipped for becoming efficient farmers, there has to be a certain readjustment of the methods followed at the present time. A reference might here be made to what is known as "Part Time Work in Agriculture", evolved by the state of Massachusetts in the United States of America, details of which will be found in the Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education, no. 8 of 1914. Of course, this scheme cannot be bodily transferred here as the conditions are so entirely different, but it can be adapted to our conditions, and the training given in our colleges be made more efficient in the matter of training farmers. This need not interfere with the training of experts or research workers, for which purpose our institutions are quite well equipped.

Turning now to the position of those who pass out of agricultural institutions at the present time, it would be worth while to take into account the class of students that enter the agricultural institutions. Most of the young men who join these institutions are not actively connected with farming, they have not been brought up in an agricultural atmosphere, and are almost entire strangers to farming. A few, however, do possess agricultural traditions, are familiar with ordinary farming methods, and usually go back to their farms; but we are not concerned with these few. The greater number join the colleges with the distinct idea of entering Government service in some capacity or another. Of these a goodly proportion will be prepared to take up private farming, but they do not do so for want of certain facilities. It has to be realised that these young men are taking up a line new to their tradition and bringing up, and in these circumstances the slightest discouragement is likely to make them give it up. It is the experience of many teachers that these young men are not only not encouraged, but positively discouraged when they try to utilise the knowledge gained by them. This has often resulted in some young men starting farming and failing to surmount the obstacles thrown in their way, mainly through ignorance, seeking Government service afterwards. We have now reached a stage when all the men who pass out of agricultural institutions cannot hope to find employment in Government service, neither can they utilise their knowledge in private farming. We are thus faced with the problem of unemployment among the agricultural graduates, and this may become as acute as among the arts graduates. It is therefore worth while to consider if some way cannot be found to circumvent this evil.

We have ready a number of young men, more or less thoroughly trained in up-to-date farming methods, and they have to be supplied with suitable land and adequate facilities to become farmers. It is here that the Government can step in and help. More and more land is now being thrown open for cultivation by the building of new dams and canals, and suitable blocks of such lands can be reserved for this purpose. Merely giving preference to agricultural graduates in the matter of acquiring these lands, would not go very far. Government must have a definite scheme for settling such people on land. Details of such schemes must be largely dependent on local conditions, but a few general points must be noted here. The idea being not to create large estates but small economic units, blocks of land should be set apart which can be divided up into at least ten economic units. It may generally be said that such units should consist of about 20 acres of irrigable land and about 30 acres of dry land, so that mixed or general farming may be practised. These ten or more units located in one block would enable the settlers to co-operate with one another in all possible ways and reap the full benefits of such co-operation. The use of a tractor, a threshing machine, and a sugar outfit are just a few examples. Only properly qualified men should be eligible to take advantage of such a scheme. The Agricultural Department will have to exercise a certain amount of supervision over the colony, but care must be taken to see that such supervision or control is never carried to the point of oppressiveness, as all the colonists are likely to be well educated men realising their responsibilities and also well trained in agriculture. Every help must be readily forthcoming from all Government departments. Conveniences like roads to connect the colonies with main roads, post and telegraph offices and schools must be provided for the benefit of the colonists and their children. Financial assistance in the shape of loans will have to be given at the start, and being loans they can all be recovered by Government in time. At the same time, it should be remembered that the colonists would be willing to help

in the provision of the facilities mentioned above, so that, considered as a whole, this scheme is not likely to involve any Government in financial burden or loss of an appreciable magnitude. Certain safeguards have to be provided to prevent these blocks passing on to undesirable hands, or their being broken up into fragments.

The idea of starting colonies of this nature is

not quite novel. It has been tried in Canada for the settling of soldiers on land it has been done in California and been quite a success in New Zealand. There is no reason why it should not succeed here also, and considering the smallness of the risk involved, it is to be hoped that this idea will commend itself to some Governments at least.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

## EUROPE AFTER THE WAR.

By T. G. P. SPEAR.

### IV.—ITALY.

BEFORE the War Italy was the poor relation of the Great Powers. Unlike Germany, where Prussia had been a great power long before she had swallowed up the other German States, Italy had no tradition of political greatness, but a long record of foreign domination, and her unification could not have been accomplished without French help. At home, she was handicapped by poverty, by the conflict with Rome and an overflowing population; abroad, she was compelled to seek the patronage of powerful friends. It was a thirst for recognition which made her join the Triple Alliance in 1881, in face of her suspicion of Austria. But the war proved her opportunity. The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia enabled her to disclaim her treaty obligations as being defensive only, and to maintain neutrality, while the astute Sonnino bargained for concessions with both sets of belligerents simultaneously. The Allies were able to offer the largest bribe, since they could deal in other people's property, while the Austrians had to offer their own; their promises were embodied in the secret Treaty of London, and Italy at once joined the Allies. This Treaty, which besides "Italia Irredenta" assigned the whole Dalmatian Coast, except Fiume and parts of Asia Minor to Italy, is, with the special Italian problems, the key of Italian post-war development. These problems were an excessive population, partly dependent on foreign food supplies, an annual surplus of 400,000 who must emigrate to find a livelihood, and growing industries dependent for their raw materials upon supplies from abroad. The pressure of these problems in the restless post-war atmosphere began by threatening Italy with Bolshevism and ended by subjecting it to Fascism.

At the Peace Conference Italy had a single aim—the fulfilment of the Treaty of London. She took little part in the discussions of the Big Four, and only grew active when President Wilson began to apply his self-determining principles to the Adriatic Coast. Italia Irredenta, the Trentino and Trieste, with a good deal of Austrian Tyrol as well, were easily enough conceded—it is "pessimistic" to think of the causes of the next war when you are concluding the last—but the Dalmatian Coast was claimed by the new Yugo-Slav State. Foreseeing difficulty in obtaining the whole non-Italian Coast-

line, Sonnino claimed the port of Fiume, which was Italian in population, but had not been mentioned in the London Treaty and depended on Yugo-Slav trade for its prosperity. Wilson opposed this, but its status was still undecided when he finally returned to America. In September, d'Annunzio, the Italian poet "patriot", seized the town with some like-minded filibusterers and the government was too weak to eject them. Inconvenient ideologues being now in eclipse, Italy was free to make her own terms with the Yugo-Slavs, and by the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 Fiume became a Free State under Italian influence, while the suburb of Susak and the harbour of Baros were ceded to the Yugo-Slavs. But the next Italian government repudiated this settlement and the question was finally settled by Mussolini who acquired Fiume outright in return for the Yugo-Slav acquisition of Susak.

The end of the war found the Italian people in a more tense and excitable mood than any of the other Allied nations. For them, the final victory—in spite of the regrettable incident of Caporetto—set the seal on their greatness as a nation and revived intoxicating memories of the old Roman dominion. Italian nationalism was passing into Italian imperialism. They had the truculence of youth, very conscious of its manhood and its merits, and the hyper-sensitiveness which, fear lest those merits be unrecognised, breeds. They were a nation living at fever heat, intoxicated with the magnitude of their triumph. This is the psychological background of Fascism.

Fascism is the reaction of this state of mind to the post-war Italy. To an exaggerated nationalism, exasperated by the obstructiveness of its own allies, were united a shortage of food due to the war, a shortage of raw material and of internal capital, and a consequent fall of the exchange and soaring of prices. There was distress, depression and want, all inflicted on a nation in a highly nervous and over-wrought condition. Its first effect was, on the one hand, d'Annunzio's adventure, the expression of militant nationalism and self-assertion and, on the other, the rise of the Socialists, the expression of the contrast between national hopes and individual privations. In 1920 the Socialist workmen occupied the factories throughout the country, and the Government was as powerless against them as



ed to a common interest in the provision of national legislators and officials." ("Recent Events and Present Policies in China," by Bland, p. 227.) Thus the type of local autonomy enjoyed by the Chinese did not result from a deliberate process of decentralization or devolution of power, but was the inevitable issue of the prevailing circumstances, the stage of economic development the country had reached and its lack of improved means of communications. The Empire lacked the political nervous system, as it were, and thus, politically, was not equally sensitive or alive everywhere in its far flung territory. A country with such a system of administration is obviously exposed to the danger of civil strife for local independence and infringement of its rights by foreign powers. The recent history of China fully exemplifies how great and how real these dangers are.

The industrially advanced nations were not slow to recognise this weakness and exploit it as far as their military strength permitted. The opium wars, the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, the Shantung incident of 1897 and the subsequent seizing of Kiaochow Bay and virtual possession of Shantung by Germans, the Treaty Ports, Boxer indemnity, tariff control by foreigners, spheres of influence, extra-territoriality, concession areas, the Open Door,\* the Twenty-one Demands, Shanghai and Wanchow shootings of recent dates are among the instances of humiliation, loss and injustice to which China has had to submit. Of these, two are of a nature which place China under a continued disability and to which most others largely, if not wholly, owe their origin. All China is agreed on removing them. They are: (1) tariff control by foreigners, and (2) extra-territorial rights and consular jurisdiction enjoyed by foreign powers in China.

A series of treaties beginning with the close of the Opium War in 1842 bind China to the obligation that all imports, regardless of the principle of reciprocity or protection, are to be subject only to a maximum duty of 5 per cent *ad valorem*. The prices have steadily risen since the treaties were entered into and although the conventional schedule of prices framed after the conclusion of the second Opium War in 1858 was made subject to revision every ten years, it has been revised only twice (in 1902 and 1918). The result has been that China is actually receiving only about three per cent. The powers thus compel China to admit their own manufactures under a low tariff, which is calculated to yield them profit and to establish and extend their market rather than meet the revenue needs of China. The Customs Service is largely staffed by foreigners, the head of which must be British under the treaty. Its foreign control is justified by the Powers on the ground that the customs revenue secures foreign loans incurred by China and maintains what credit she has in the financial markets of the world. Until this strangle-hold on Chinese finances is removed and her customs autonomy is established, China's financial position cannot be normal. It is interesting to note that while the United States raises her tariff wall against imports into its own territory, the manufactures of the United States enter Chinese Treaty ports under the maximum tariff of 5 per cent. The control of customs revenue by foreigners hits Chinese industries in another way. "In despair of securing enough revenue properly to run the

\* If you lived in a town where burglars had obtained possession of the Town Council, they would very likely insist on the policy of the Open Door, but you might not consider it wholly satisfactory. Such is China's situation among Great Powers." ("The Problem of China" by Bertrand Russell, p. 56.)

government machinery, much less to institute reform, promote industries and develop communications, China has had unwillingly to fall back upon a policy of taxing on the one hand Chinese exports (also at the rate of 5 per cent *ad valorem*) and, on the other hand, Chinese products transported from one place to another under an irksome system of *Li-Kin* dues, than which there can scarcely be a more effective method of killing home industries and stultifying domestic as well as foreign trade. As a result, the national treasury is never filled to overflowing, and funds have perforce to be borrowed especially from foreign capitalists for the construction of railways and other inter-communication facilities" (Dr. C. T. Wang in the "Chinese Social and Political Science Review," January 1926.)

Since the beginning of their treaty relations with China, foreign powers have exercised extra-territorial rights. "In practice extra-territorial jurisdiction is generally carried on in the following manner: (a) Penal Matters.—If a foreigner commits a crime against a Chinese he is tried in the consular court of his own country. If a foreigner of one nationality commits a crime against a foreigner of another nationality he is generally tried in the consular court of the injured foreigner. (b) Civil Matters.—In cases involving a foreigner and Chinese, the trial is generally by agents of the two countries. In cases involving foreigners of different nationalities the court of the defendant has the right of jurisdiction. (Dr. R. Y. Lo, *ibid.*, April 1925). Extra-territoriality constitutes a serious infringement of the national territorial sovereignty of a state. Dr. Lo criticises its juridical capacity on the following grounds: (1) In civil or commercial cases the law of the defendant's nationality is applicable. The rights and liabilities of parties will thus vary according as the party which brings action first. This renders law very uncertain. (2) Disparity of penalties according to the laws of different nations. (3) Theoretically a Chinese may redress his wrong against a foreigner in a consular court, but as a matter of fact he is generally handicapped in the way of languages, pleading, etc. (4) In law suits at a consular court, the Chinese are at a great disadvantage in that they have to use the service of a good interpreter and a foreign attorney... If there is any justice in a consular court that justice is often dearly bought. (5) The consuls of most nations are not legally trained and are therefore incompetent to judge legal cases". Further, many foreigners claim immunity from taxes and excises under the cover of extra-territorial privileges. The right of 'immunities from search' affords asylum to law breakers and encourages evasion of law and taxation by the use of foreign flags. As a result of China's participation in the great War, Russia, Germany and Austria no longer enjoy extra-territorial rights. The nationals of these countries in China in 1919 were 148,170, 1335 and 27 respectively. They do not complain against molestation, inconvenience or brutal treatment of Chinese courts. The extra-territorial rights of the foreigners are a perpetual source of irritation and humiliation to the Chinese who demand their abolition without any further delay.

In the Washington Disarmament Conference 1921-22, questions relating to China were discussed. The Conference reached certain agreements concerning China, the more important of which were the following:—

- (1) Restoration of Kiaochow by Japan. Japan to retain certain measure of control of the rail-

way for a term, and shares in the mines not exceeding one-half.

- (2) Nine-Power Treaty concerning China: the treaty was signed by the U.S.A. Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, Netherlands and Portugal. The Treaty declares that the signatory Powers will respect China's integrity and deal fairly by her; a definition and reaffirmation of the Open Door doctrine and the policy of equal commercial opportunity, a condemnation of spheres of influence and discriminatory railway rates; and a recognition of China's rights as a neutral.
- (3) China Customs Treaty, signed by the above nine Powers, gives to China immediately an effective 5 per cent. Customs tariff, provides for a conference for the abolition of *Likin* (local internal customs duties) and grants certain surtaxes until its abolition. China's plea for a promise of complete tariff autonomy was rejected. The conference authorised a Tariff Commission to investigate and suggest methods of reforms in Tariff administration under the new treaty.
- (4) Extra-territoriality. A Commission to be appointed forthwith to investigate and report.

The Tariff Commission authorized at Washington after holding some meetings at Peking extending over a period of ten months (1925-26) was stopped without achieving any result. No official British or American announcement has been made as to what happened during the ten months of negotiations. It is understood that at the opening of the Conference at Peking Dr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese delegate, demanded complete tariff autonomy for China, a claim which had the support of Japan. Not willing to be outbidden by Japan in their show of generosity toward China, Great Britain and U. S. A. also agreed to the proposal much to the surprise of Chinese and Japanese delegates, fixing January 1, 1929, as the date for putting it into effect. Later it became apparent that Japan had given her support to the tariff autonomy proposal conditionally, the condition being a separate Sino-Japanese alliance permitting Japanese goods, especially cotton manufacture, to enter China for the next ten years under the existing tariff. The condition was unacceptable to the Chinese. Japan lost the interest in the Conference and adopted obstructionist tactics resulting in the cessation of the Conference. ("Cf. The China Weekly Review" Aug. 21, 1926.) The conclusion of the Extraterritoriality Commission recently cabled by Reuter shows that the Powers are unwilling to renounce their extraterritorial rights in the immediate future and want to postpone the issue indefinitely. The hopes that the Washington Conference had raised concerning tariff question and extraterritoriality have thus come to naught.

J. B. SEN.

(To be continued.)

## REVIEWS.

### ARAB CIVILISATION.

**THE ARAB CIVILISATION.** By. JOSEPH HELL. Translated from the German by S. KHUDA BUKSH, (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge.) 1926. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 128. 8s. 6d.

THE perfect monograph on Arab civilisation has yet to be written. In spite of the "wide-mindedness, sympathy and clearness of vision", noted by Mr. Khuda Buksh in his preface as distinguish-

ing this little book, it has certain evident shortcomings. It is based on second-hand information, all the authorities quoted being modern works in European languages, including those of Mr Khuda Buksh himself in English. Herr Hell has followed certain English writers, who are accused of prejudice by the whole Muslim world and by a growing school of learned Western authors, in ascribing ideas to the Holy Prophet of Islam quite foreign to his character and conduct as noted by contemporaries, and inconsistent with the known facts of his later life. As Mr. Khuda Buksh puts it, "Professor Hell has fallen into the popular Christian error which sees in the Mohamed of Medina a sinister politician or a grasping despot, intent on purely selfish aims and oblivious of his high calling". Mr. Khuda Buksh goes on to refer the truth-seeking reader to the works of Dr. Krehl in German and Dr. Arnold in English. We would rather have referred him to the Quran itself and the actual records of the Prophet's work and teaching. That the revival of Islamic learning has been stimulated by Western Orientalism we must all admit, but it seems a pity that the Eastern world should rely solely on Western championship against Western assailants when the records which confute the latter's calumnies are in their hands.

Herr Hell himself is not consistent in his deductions from such premisses, since he afterwards, when tracing the government of Islam from the Prophet and the Rightly-guided Khalifas, through the Umayyads (who still preserved a good deal of the old simplicity), to the Abbasids, when the "Arab rule—under Persian influence—became an old Oriental despotism", remarks upon the lapse from the pure aims and lofty standards of the early Muslims and the reversion to things altogether un-Islamic, such as personal and tribal ambitions and selfish aims. Herr Hell has endeavoured to do justice to the Damascus Umayyads, whose achievements in the way of civilisation have been obscured and belittled by the political opponents who succeeded them in the Khilafat of the East, and to the rule of their descendants in Spain he pays the tribute acknowledged as their due by every European writer whose views are founded on the least research. But he has not been led astray by the large group of those Spanish Orientalists, who pretend that Spain was an exception to the rule of Islamic government, and that the Khilafat of the East was less enlightened. Comparing their allegations with the opinion of the best European authorities on the Khilafat of the East, he realises that Baghdad was not less, but rather more enlightened than Cordova; and his chapter on the Civilisation of the Abbasids is more enthusiastic than his chapter upon that of North Africa and Spain. Of education he writes that "without any initiative on the part of the State"—it was in voluntary obedience to the Sacred Law—"a sort of compulsory school system grew up. Boys joined school from the sixth year, and girls were not absent from them either. Rich and poor alike enjoyed the same rights and privileges. The community paid the schoolmaster, and we read with amusement how parents arranged with the master to get their children away from the school earlier than others. . . . Even at the universities religion retained its primacy, for was it not religion which first opened the path to learning? The Quran, tradition, jurisprudence,—all these preserved their pre-eminence there. But it is to the credit of Islam that it neither slighted nor ignored other branches of learning; nay, it offered the very same home to them as it did to theology—

a place in the Mosque. Until the fifth century of the Hegira, 'the mosque was the university of Islam', and to this fact is due the most characteristic feature of Islamic culture—'perfect freedom to teach'. The teacher had to pass no examination, required no diploma, no formality, to launch out in that capacity. What he needed was competence, efficiency, mastery of his subjects".

Herr Hell shows how completely Western Europe in the Middle Ages depended on the Arabs for the philosophical and scientific knowledge, which led eventually to the Renaissance of Learning and the Reformation of the Christian Church. It was a famous Muslim chemist who said (long before anybody else, as Mr. Khuda Buksh reminds us in his preface): "Hearsay and mere assertion have no authority in chemistry. It may be taken as an absolutely rigorous principle that any proposition which is not supported by proofs is nothing more than an assertion which may be true or false. It is only when a man brings proof of his assertion that we say, "Your proposition is true".

That famous chemist was no exception among learned Muslims of his day. All were in search of proof, all were experimenting, and it was they, unquestionably, who invented the inductive method which admittedly has led to the discoveries of modern times.

We strongly recommend this book not to those who wish to know the truth about the Prophet of Islam, but to those who wish to know something of an age of wonderful intellectual activity and human progress, too often ignored or belittled through prejudice, and who care to be reminded that the West owes a debt to the East not less than than that which the East owes the West.

"For all humanity doth owe a debt  
To all humanity until the End."

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

### TAGORE'S POETRY.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By E. G. THOMPSON. (Oxford University Press.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. 327. Rs. 8.

INDISCRIMINATE admiration is bound to be followed sooner or later by an equally indiscriminate dejection. After the publication of the Gitanjali and in India, especially, after he had been awarded the Noble Prize, Tagore was lionised as few Indians have been in our days; and now the reaction is come. Not only is his greatness questioned; the very critics who in 1913 declared his work to be 'of supreme beauty, a rare and wondrous thing' and 'of trance-like beauty' are treating him as an exposed charlatan. "Many of his Western readers practically ceased their reading of him with his fine translation of Kabir." They find Tagore monotonous and are heartily tired of "Radha's age-long journeyings through the palting nights of Shraavan." In India the educational work that Tagore has been doing with a view to uniting the cultures of the East and of the West is looked upon as futile and unnecessary, if not denationalising. A Bengali critic and a very distinguished scholar, quoted by Thomson on page 307, says, "His mode of thinking is so essentially English that I appreciate his English translation of the Gitanjali far better than the original Bengali. Amongst us, only those who have lost all touch with the old vernacular literature and with the life of the people, reading only European books, are his admirers. The much admired mysticism of his

poems is but a feeble echo of the message that the Upanishads have brought to us. His love poems have only feeble emotions, and leave hardly any impression after one reading. Bengal has not given Rabindranath to Europe, rather Europe has given him to the Bengalis."

Evidently, this is an utterance of narrow jealous nationalism that would fain shut out all foreign influences, however wholesome they might be. But the contact with the West has galvanised thought everywhere in India and brought about a Revival of Letters. Indian vernacular literature is being revolutionised; but that does not make our modern vernacular literature a mere transplantation of an exotic plant. Rabindranath has gratefully assimilated Western influences without losing his inborn orientalism. Has he not taken the *mela*, the spirit of Bengal into drama? From folk poetry has he not taken the tradition of the baul poets into his poetry?

Most of us, however, have read Tagore in his English translations. They form but a small fraction of the enormous work he has done in Bengali. His published verse and dramas amount to nearly 100,000 lines. 'His non-dramatic prose will be in the proportion to his verse and dramas, of seven enormous volumes to three.' The bulk of the output certainly satisfies one of the requirements of literary greatness. In his translations Tagore took great liberties with the original. He not only paraphrases and condenses, but often mutilates the original. A detailed examination in English of his works in their chronological order with renderings in English here and there of apt illustrations is necessary for a due appreciation of Tagore's greatness. Mr. Thompson, who is lecturer in Bengali at the University of Oxford, has now supplied a long felt want. He has had considerable experience of Bengal and knows the poet and his circle from within. This has helped to make him a sympathetic and judicious critic. He has not only surveyed the whole field of Tagore's literary activity, but has given us, besides, glimpses of the inner life of the man, without which literary criticism, however brilliant, is bound to be incomplete. Being a foreigner, deeply read in European literature of the highest kind, he is the more qualified to pronounce judgment on the poet's contribution to world literature. He is convinced that Tagore's poetry 'contains an enormous body of work of almost, if not quite, the highest beauty, and it is of many kinds. The assessment of final values cannot be done in this generation; but already it is clear that his ultimate place will be not simply among India's poets, but among those of the world'.

To those who have not the leisure to go through the whole of this masterly essay, we would particularly recommend the epilogue which contains a general survey of Tagore's poetry. Mr. Thompson examines the charge of sameness brought against Tagore and justly observes, "This is partly accounted for by the overwhelming abundance of his work. His mind has never lain fallow sufficiently long for a fresh accumulation of thought or experience. Every book slides into the next, all the mental links seem present in the actually written word. There is no sameness, but fine variety, if we take *The Post Office* and *Chitrangada* together, though there is a deadening sameness if we take *The Post Office* and *Autumn Festival* and *Phalguni* together." The critic admits, nevertheless, that the monotony is real, adding that Indian poetry has a monotony of tradition just as English poetry has that of fashion. Mr. Thompson

has done, while describing the circumstances under which the poet felt himself called upon to renounce his knighthood, great service in drawing attention to Tagore's vigorous poems on social problems. His short stories have been passed over, why one cannot understand. Some of them like the Cabuliwalla, the Post Master and others have a haunting beauty all their own.

It would have been better if Mr. Thompson had left politics out altogether. The author almost appears to justify General Dyer when he says, "The angriest of his enemies should admit that General Dyer was in a position which the ablest and most humane man would have found terribly difficult. Some Indians realised what the situation had been, and that the rioters had perpetrated atrocious murders and tried to perpetrate more; also, that the Jallianwalla Bagh mob were by no means 'unarmed,' since they carried lathis, the traditional and very effective weapon of the Indian peasant." This is quite uncalled for. It may appear very convincing to Englishmen in England, but Indians here know better. Making due allowance for this blemish, Mr. Thompson's study of Tagore is a book commendable in every respect.

M. PATWARDHAN.

#### SHORT NOTICE.

**SOVIET UNION YEAR-BOOK, 1926.** (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1926. 7¼ x 5. pp. 511. 7s. 6d.

THE complaint is often heard that reliable information about the state of things in Russia is lacking and that such of it as is allowed to reach us is often enough a distortion of facts. Whatever justification there may have been in the past for this complaint, the publication under review supplies a good deal of very useful information about Russia. In view of the unprecedented political and educational experiments that are being tried in that country, the public curiosity about Russia is quite natural and it is hoped the contents of this volume will go far to satisfy it. It reproduces the constitution of the Soviet Republic as passed at the Central Executive Committee on July 6, 1923 and gives detailed information about Russia's economic development, Russian agriculture, the co-operative movement, and internal and foreign trade. In Russia since the revolution labour is daily coming more and more into its own and the section dealing with labour organisation is of particular interest to us in India, where labour organisation has only just started. To be brief, it is a very serviceable reference book which should be on all library shelves.

D. V. A.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CHANGING EAST.** By J. A. SPENDER. (Cassel & Co., London.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. 256. 10s. 6d.
- A YEAR AMONGST THE PERSIANS.** By E. G. BROWNE. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.) 1926. 9¼ x 6½. pp. 650. 25s.
- THE FIRST YEAR OF THE GOLD STANDARD.** By T. E. GREGORY. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ x 4½. pp. 141. 3s. 6d.
- THE BREAKDOWN OF SOCIALISM.** By ARTHUR SHADWELL. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 272. 10s. 6d.

- ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF INDIAN VILLAGES** (Andhra Economic Series.) By N. G. RANGA. (Vani Vilas Press, Bezwada.) 1926. 9½ x 6½. pp. 223. Rs. 2.
- PANDITA RAMABAI.** By N. MACNICOL. (Builders of Modern India Series.) (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1926. 7¼ x 4½. pp. 147. Re. 1-4-0.
- LEADERS OF BRAHMO SAMAJ.** (G. A. NATESAN & Co., Madras.) 1926. 7 x 4½. pp. 248. Re. 1-8-0.
- THE VISHNU PURANA.** By J. M. MACFIE. (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1926. 8¼ x 5½. pp. 258. Rs. 2-8-0.
- MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE.** By J. KELLOCK. [Builders of Modern India] (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1926. 7¼ x 5. pp. 204. Rs. 1-4-0.
- OTEMS, TIGERS, TORCHES AND OTHER STORIES.** By R. W. HOWARD. (The Highway Press, London.) 1926. 7½ x 5. pp. 143. 2s. 6d.
- REPORT ON LABOUR IN THE TANGANYIKA TERRITORY.** By MAJOR G. ST. G. ORDE BROWNE. (H. M. Stationary Office, London.) 1926. 9¼ x 6. pp. 105. 4s.
- L'EDUCATION CIVIQUE AUX INDES.** By VISHNU SHIVDASANI. (Editeur: Librairie Nouvelle Rue Nationale, Montpellier.) 1926. 9½ x 6½. pp. 164.
- THE POLITICAL DOCTRINE OF FASCISM.** By ALFRED ROCCO. (Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, New York.) 1926. 7½ x 5. pp. 61.

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