

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The late Pandit Gokarnnath Misra.

THE news of premature death of Pandit Gokarnnath Misra will be received all over India with the greatest sorrow. After joining public life he came into prominence as the Secretary of the Indian National Congress of 1916. He was later on the Secretary of the National Liberal Federation in 1924. His eminence at the Bar and his judicial talents were recognized by Government by appointing him judge of the Oudh Chief Court in 1925. There are very few in the United Provinces who could equal him for his enthusiasm for social reform and it was as a leading reformer that he was known and respected all over India. He presided over the provincial Social Conference held at Cawnpore in 1925, and the great success of the Social Conference of Lucknow was in large measure due to the guidance received from him. The public life in India and in a special degree the public life in U. P. has suffered a great loss by the death of so indefatigable a worker both in the social and political spheres.

Mill Strike Inquiry.

A COURT of Inquiry has been appointed under the Trade Disputes Act to inquire into the textile workers' strike in Bombay and to suggest remedies to stop it.

The personnel of the Court need not be cavilled at. It is however not clear that the Girni Kamgar Union who have engineered the strike will place their side of the case before the tribunal. Under the Trades Disputes Act the Court will no doubt have the power of requiring attendance, but how information can be forced from an unwilling witness it is not easy to see. If as a result the inquiry is one-sided in some respects, the organisers of the strike will have themselves to thank for it. Nevertheless it will leave a defect in the proceedings which cannot but be deplored. The chief value of such investigation consists in the enlightenment it brings to the public mind as to the merits of the dispute and in the diverting of popular sympathy from a stoppage if it should be uncalled for. This enlightenment is not complete if one party to the dispute declines to have its say, with the result that some sympathy it is still likely to command (assuming of course that it is entirely in the wrong). But this is a position, which, however much it may be regretted, cannot be helped.

The other measures decided upon by the Bombay Government (not, we should like to repeat, with the consent of all who were invited to the Conference), like making intimidation a cognizable offence, are still to be taken. Much stress was laid upon them by those who, though not official spokesmen of capital, spoke for it nonetheless. The inquiry cannot be satisfactory and have a successful issue unless during its pendency strong measures are adopted to stop any possible attempts at intimidation, said these representatives, in whose minds there was a coy hankering for the most drastic measures that a British Government could possibly take. The Bombay Government did not require much persuasion for the adoption of some of these measures, and it promised at once the promulgation by the Government of India of an Ordinance by which the police would be empowered to arrest without warrant those who exercised intimidation. It would almost appear that, in so promising, it reckoned without its host. Dame Rumour has it that, under orders from the Labour Government in England, the Government of India, has declined to accede to its wishes. This may or may not be true, but it is clear that some unthought of hitch has occurred. For the inquiry is not, or at any rate was not, expected to last for more than two weeks at the outside, and the Ordinance has not arrived though the inquiry is well under

way. *En passant*, the Government of India might well ask if the inquiry had suffered so far because of the practice of intimidation.

Concerted Protest against Land Revenue Policy.

AT a meeting of representatives of agriculturists of various talukas in the Deccan held in Bombay under the presidency of Mr. Patel it was decided to take concerted action against the enhancement of land revenue in various talukas. By one resolution four committees were appointed for four different talukas to investigate the question of the revised assessment of their respective areas and for preparing the people for resistance to unjust enhancements. Another resolution declared that in view of the defects of the method of adopting rental statistics as the sole basis of revised assessment revealed by the Broomfield Report the meeting held that all revision operations going on should be suspended and all settlements introduced since the resolution passed in the Bombay Council in March 1924 should be kept back till fresh legislation in the matter has been passed. This of course is perfectly reasonable since it is absurd to continue the present system after having been seriously challenged and to realize the enhanced assessment when the whole question of the basis of land revenue assessment is pending enquiry. In fact Government have been frequently warned about this anomaly during the last year; so far instead of heeding the warning they have been going on recklessly about their business of settlement. It was also decided to call an informal meeting in Poona, to which the members of the Legislative Council would be invited to consider the amendments necessary to be made in the present legislation governing the revenue assessment and administration. At this informal meeting it is proposed to start a Land League for the whole province for remedying the grievances of the peasants.

The Rev. Mr. Anderson on the Excise policy.

IN an article contributed to the press Rev. Herbert Anderson of Calcutta has given figures of liquor consumption in India which ought to give the Government some qualms of conscience. Comparing 1923 with 1927 there is revealed an extraordinary rise in the consumption of fermented liquors and a steady rise in the consumption of wines; between 1904 and 1927 there has been a rise of 500 p. c. and Mr. Anderson says that the impression grows on the non-official mind that the emphasis has been on the maximum revenue instead of minimum consumption of imported liquor. In some provinces the duty on locally manufactured spirits and liquors has been reduced in order to enable it to compete with imported liquors, thus helping to create a foreign liquor habit—at the same time satisfying the Swadeshi sentiment—among Indians. The humour of humours is that the Excise Commissioner of the Punjab in his report pronounces this development as extremely satisfactory. As for the imported liquors the Excise Reports mention, among the causes, the relaxation of social and religious restriction and the gradual rise in the country's prosperity. Mr. Anderson thinks that apparently the Provincial Governments have no intention of interfering with the increased consumption of foreign spirits and especially of English beer. He points out that the licensing system is still continued in spite of the disappearance of the Indian Excise Committee 25 years ago; the U.P. and the Punjab show the highest number of licensees. Not only the incidence of taxation per head has risen but the consumption is also increasing. The revenue from Excise has risen from Rs. 1 crore 72 lakhs in 1921-22 to Rs. 2 crores 8

lakhs in 1926-27 and Mr. Anderson would like to see the State finances extricated from the coils of the vicious traffic. The Excise revenue constitutes from 10 to 32 p. c. of the total revenues in the Provinces. He deplores the lack of public control over the system of excise administration and says from personal experience that the licensing boards have been a sham and a delusion. As for the listlessness of the Ministers he says that the exercise of their powers has often led to their downfall and disgrace and, as the adage goes, a burnt child dreads the fire. While admitting that a prohibition policy in India is beset with difficulties Mr. Anderson urges a revision of the present unhealthy conditions out of regard for India's deepest desires and convictions. The only answer to the demand for prohibition, he says, ought to be the overcoming of difficulties and not the trotting forward of them as excuses for doing nothing.

Optimism about the I.M.S.

AT the annual dinner of the Indian Medical Service in London Sir Leonard Rogers held out before new recruits the charms of the I.M.S. which in his opinion was to-day the premier service in India. Referring to the reorganization scheme recently inaugurated he dwelt on the higher percentage of Britishers in the I.M.S. compared to the other services and assured his hearers that owing to the necessity of providing a military reserve, this could not be changed except with the consent of the War Office. Another good point of the new scheme was the salary which was three times the old one for junior officers, and in addition the right of retiring at the end of six years with a handsome gratuity sufficient to buy a practice in England. Of course from the Indian point of view this is hardly a proposition of practical finance. Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Horner the position of the civil side has been made more stable by the grant of additional concessions, one of which is that as long as a single I.M.S. officer in civil employ when the scheme was set on foot remained in service, the Civil posts will be filled by the I.M.S. This means that for the next twenty-five years or so the prospects of Indians in the provincial service for obtaining administrative posts are nipped in the bud. The second concession is that owing to larger recruitment in the service more officers are now to be drafted to the civil side than was possible for the last few years during the deliberation period of the present scheme. Sir L. Rogers assured his hearers that owing to the larger proportion content to remain on the military side the I.M.S. officers have more chances than even formerly of getting the civil appointments and appealed to them not to dissuade young men from going to the I.M.S. by constant wails over the indifferent prospects of the services. It appears that all along he had a soft corner in his heart for his brother officers still serving, whose leave he said would be curtailed by a shortage of officers owing to poor recruitment. As an advertisement for new recruits the speech is very good and may probably be effective, but it is disappointing in its general tone and the undercurrent of a callous disregard of the just claims of the Indian provincial services. The reservation of the major portion of the civil posts for the British section of the I.M.S. is uncalled for and constitutes a grave injustice to indigenous medical talent. In any case the singing of the glories of I.M.S., especially the British section of it is out of tune with the tenour of current thought.

THE OUTLOOK.

EXPECTATIONS had been raised some time before the opening of Parliament that India would figure prominently in the Speech from the Throne, which would indicate the Labour Government's anxiety to seek a different approach to the solution of the Indian constitutional problem from the Statutory Commission, in view of the proved inadequacy of the latter to meet Indian opinion. It had also been suggested in certain quarters that when time came for the Cabinet to frame its proposals it would base them, not on the recommendations of the Simon Commission, whatever these might be, but on those of the Nehru Committee. These anticipations have not been realised by the sequel. India is omitted altogether from the King's Speech; Mr. Ramsay MacDonald no doubt admitted that the Simon Commission was unwanted by influential opinion in India, but did not give any ground for believing that another pathway than that of the Statutory Commission would be explored. On the contrary, his reason for the omission of India from the King Speech was just this, that, the Statutory inquiry being still in progress, the Government had no new policy to lay before Parliament. Having thus shown that this Government was committed to a continuation of the policy adopted by the Conservative Government, he went on to exhort leaders of public opinion in India not to remain committed to a continuation of their boycott policy but to look at the whole matter afresh, thus pleading in effect for co-operation at the next stage in the progress of constitution-making, i. e., when the Joint Select Committee of Parliament would be appointed. In short Mr. MacDonald declared that he had nothing else to offer to India than what the previous Government had offered and he could only bid political India to be more reasonable than it was in the Baldwin régime. Mr. Baldwin, who followed, promised the support of the Conservative party if the Government would use its power with restraint, "the supreme, acid and ultimate test" of such restraint being in his opinion the way in which the Government would handle the Indian question. Thus the Conservative party has pinned Mr. MacDonald down to the plodding and unimaginative path which it had mapped out for itself, and Mr. MacDonald has consented to be so pinned down.

In a sense all this is quite natural. In the first place Mr. MacDonald himself sees nothing wrong in the setting up of the Statutory Commission composed as it is wholly of non-Indians. As Leader of the Opposition he had openly pledged the support of his Party to the Conservative policy, and there is no reason, according to him, why when the Labour Party comes into office, he should initiate a new policy. In the second place his party can remain in office only on the sufferance of the Opposition parties. Even if he had intended to announce a startling change of policy, he could hardly do so when the position of his party is so insecure. Thus his own convictions and the exigencies of the political situation conspire to make him merely carry on, at any

rate till some fresh development takes place in India. But the Indian politician does not require much either. He realises that the Statutory Commission, however he may feel aggrieved about it, cannot be disbanded. But the Commission admittedly filled a subordinate place in the whole scheme for a formulation of the constitution. After the Commission has come to the end of its labours, the Labour Government can take counsel with the real leaders of the various sections of political thought in this country and hammer out a constitution which will fully meet a consensus of opinion, so invited. The Government's Bill must be based upon the suggestions received at such a conference, instead of leaving public opinion in India to demand alterations in a Bill modelled on the Statutory Commission's report. If the Government will show no inclination to modify its procedure even at subsequent stages in response to popular wishes, it is more than doubtful if Indians will not extend the boycott, now limited to the Statutory Commission, to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament. And, whatever Mr. MacDonald may feel about the reasonableness or otherwise of such boycott, he knows as well as any one else that no constitution can succeed in the writing of which the people have not taken a substantial part. An invitation to representative Indians, which is all that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Jayakar have suggested, is not meant, as may perhaps be thought, for the satisfaction of the *amour propre* of the Indians whose susceptibilities have been wounded, but for much deeper reasons. A constitution which starts with the handicap of the predetermination of the people to leave it severely alone is foredoomed to failure. The consultation we have urged can take place only in regard to details, but no great variation in essentials will be possible from the fundamental principles embodied in the Nehru Report, subject of course to such readjustments as may be needed for bringing about a greater solidarity of opinion among communal groups. Mr. MacDonald at any rate need not be frightened by such a demand. He himself has said that the attainment by India of the dominion status is a matter of months rather than years.

In a satisfactory solution of the question of minorities the British Government can, if it so will, give notable assistance. The fissures that we notice all around us just now are due solely to the belief that the Government, being anxious to interpose obstacles in the path of Swaraj, will bolster up the claims of the minority communities. Once they are convinced that Government is in earnest about self-government and will pay scant regard to factious opposition, these bloated claims will subside into proper dimensions and all the communities will agree to take their just place in the constitution. The Nationalists of every description will only be too willing to accept any solution that may be offered by persons acknowledged to be disinterested in the fostering of differences and anxious to help India. Mr. Brailsford offers one such solution in the *New Leader* of the 14th June. It is that the protection of minorities in

this country like that of minorities in succession States be made an international concern and be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Referring to the argument, advanced by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, that communal differences make it impossible for the British authorities to turn over India to her people, he says :—

"To my thinking, the wisest thing that we could do, would be to bring in the League to buttress the Dominion solution. Let the Constitution provide every reasonable guarantee for the rights of Moslems and others, but instead of retaining London as the Court of Appeal, might we not call in Geneva? If a German in Lodz may look to the League for his rights, why not a Mohammedan in Bombay? In this way we should ensure the fair treatment of minorities, while the majority could no longer suspect that we were using this pretext to prolong our own direct sway."

As a matter of fact all the safeguards devised for the protection of European minorities by the League have already been embodied in the Nehru Constitution, and there is no Nationalist in India who has anything but the heartiest and the most enthusiastic approval for these safeguards. Let any more be devised if there be need, and let them be placed under the guarantee of the League if so desired by the Moslem and other communities. Indian nationalism is not so narrow as to object to the curtailment of national sovereignty which is therein involved when the curtailment is required for the attainment of nationalistic ends themselves.

Will the Labour Government have the wisdom to do the handsome and the noble thing by India? Of this much we are certain. Within the limits of Mr. Baldwin's scheme for eliciting Indian co-operation it will go the whole length. But the limits are too narrow and India expects it to overstep these and reach out further. Will it do so?

RESIGNATION FROM COUNCILS.

THE Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Delhi on the 5th instant, dispersed only after transacting one piece of business (if we leave out of reckoning its expression of sympathy with the people of Assam in the dire calamity of floods which has befallen them). This business consisted in considering afresh, in response to the demand from several provincial committees, the policy enjoined upon all Congressmen in the provincial and central Legislatures of abstaining from all future sessions of these legislative bodies as a measure of protest against the decision of the Government to prolong their life. The Working Committee's sitting was convoked immediately after two happenings of crucial importance to India : (i) the King's speech in Parliament giving an outline of the Labour Government's policy supplemented by the Premier's observations on India and (ii) the resolutions presented by the Conference of Princes to the Viceroy before his departure for England. But the Working Committee took no notice of these happenings. Perhaps its

silence in regard to the first is in keeping with the whole trend of Congress politics, for the Congress is supposed yet technically to non-co-operate with the Government, and must, in conformity with this fiction, turn a blind eye on whatever happens in England. The substitution of a Labour for a Conservative Ministry must have an important bearing on our own policy which must consequently be reviewed in all its aspects and possibly altered in some particulars to suit the altered circumstances. But the Congress of set purpose refuses to react to such influences and hence the omission of all reference in the resolutions of the Working Committee to the change of Ministry in England, though we must not fail to note here that prominent Congress members, Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Shanmugam Chettiar, are busily engaged, informally of course, in meeting the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State for India. The failure of the Working Committee to express its opinion on the Princes' resolutions brings into strong relief its failure at an earlier session to express its views on the Butler Committee's Report. The effect of the main recommendations of this Report, now accepted by the Princes, would be to make the Imperial Government constitutionally powerless, even if it had the will, to confer self-government upon India. We should have thought that a State document of such far-reaching consequence, foreclosing the possibility of any kind of Swaraj in India, might have been deemed by the Working Committee worthy of some attention at its hands!

If the omissions of which the Working Committee is guilty are grave, the mishandling of the one question it has considered is no less so. The Committee was faced with protests from a number of provincial Congress committees against its earlier decision that Congressmen shall abstain from all meetings from the Legislatures. We have not made a complete tally of all the committees which joined in the protest, but we believe most of them did so. They complained that important legislation was pending before their legislatures and that they would be betraying their trust if, in obedience to the Congress mandate, they did not take part in the discussions that would ensue. The very fact that these protests were received from prominent Congressmen in almost all the provinces was a clear proof of the fact that the whole ideology of non-co-operation is unacceptable even to professing non-co-operators. There is no Council session but has some important legislation on the anvil; and the excuse for suspending non-co-operation would be ready to hand every time. And important as no doubt are some of the matters to be discussed in the Councils, they are hardly of such importance as to override, to genuine non-co-operators, the consideration which prompted them to adopt non-co-operation. But the fact is that non-co-operation has been in abeyance now for so long a period that even Swarajist leaders did not realise when they urged the Working Committee to consider its abstention mandate how they would be stultifying themselves and the whole Congress

from the classics in such a place as Poona, is a person whom we may congratulate upon his courage. Some of us, I am afraid, have been banished from the world of books and good literature, exalting thoughts clothed in beautiful language that we once knew, but our daily companions to-day are Blue Books and Reports; and our new inspiration comes either from the "Democrat" of Nairobi or from the "Chronicle" in Bombay. To be reminded of the great sayings that have inspired our race from the beginning and to which it is never unprofitable to turn, not even in the moments of great excitement, seems to me to be called from the world—it may seem very paradoxical, but like many paradoxes it is true—of fleeting unrealities to the world of abiding truth. You, Sir, have done us this great service this morning and our debt to you is indeed great.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY.

You have further had not only the wisdom but the bravery to call upon Hindus and Moslems to unite; and coming from a Vice-Chancellor who must not speak about politics, your exhortation that we should attend to political as well as social and religious reconstruction is indeed a novelty. What else it is, I will not venture to say; but I will remember to quote against you as often as occasion may arise your saying that the Indian people are a nation. Well, are the Indian people a nation? If they are not a nation to-day, there is no duty higher than to make them a nation (hear, hear). Much that we have heard to-day in the statement that was made, in the songs, and in the Vice-Chancellor's address, takes us far indeed from the daily happenings about which we read and hear. To say that the human race is a brotherhood and that we must realise it is to repeat for the millionth time one of the greatest commonplaces of this world. Ever since such a thing as religion was known, great teachers have laid down the duty of a love that knows no boundaries of race or country or colour. It has been the dream of all great workers of every kind—statesmen and philosophers—why even the princes of the market place have spoken indeed in terms that pay homage to the idea that man is organically one being and that until that fact is recognised and embodied in our daily lives we fall short indeed of that for which we are destined.

Ladies and Gentlemen, weary as we are of hearing this great truth, it must be admitted that our progress towards its realization is painfully slow. How often do we hear the contrary maxims preached? "East is East and West is West" is only one of the many sayings which run counter to this great teaching. It is not in the realm of politics only that we fall lamentably short of this ideal. All along the line, whether you consider countries or civilizations, or all the institutions under which the nations live to-day or even the institutions which they seek to fashion for tomorrow—whichever aspect of the world's life you consider for the moment—you see abundant signs that we are far, far indeed, from realising this great ideal.

THE EVIL OF CASTE.

Castes, for instance, in this country have been a dividing factor. We have now learnt from experience which has been, I am afraid, much too costly, that caste is a thing which, whatever it may have done once, now works nothing but evil. If we cannot get rid of it altogether, we are anxious, each one of us in his own way, to get rid at least of the spirit of caste, of the arrogance it brings, of the exclusiveness that it seems to prescribe as duty. Some of us, ardent reformers, promise to ourselves at an early date the advent of a day when the spirit of caste will be banished from India; but while in India we sometimes venture to delight ourselves with this vision, look abroad for a minute and you will see in that other continent with which we are so closely allied, in that continent of Africa from which I just now have returned, you find a form of caste growing up. You find there caste built upon what seems to have been the first foundation of caste even in India, viz. the distinction of colour, for our own castes seem originally to have been built upon the differences of 'Varna,' i. e., colour. But it is interesting, rather it is full of tragic interest, to see that while one branch of the human race should be struggling to rise from the trammels and limitations and the bondage of caste in one part of the world, that at the same time in another part of the world another branch of our race should try to revive this outworn system; and then, not like in India where the Government, all our public institutions, the law and everything that we live under, is against caste and spends its strength in destroying it, not like in India where we received so much assistance in the demolition of caste, but, alas, calling the aid of law, legal institutions, schools and colleges, even railway trains and commercial systems, posts and telegraphs, every sort of thing which we are accustomed here to consider as enemy of caste, is there used to build up this system of caste and to keep man apart from his brother man. Is it not indeed a proof that these great ideals for which the founders of our religion stood, that these great ideals which seem to slide so easily from our lips morning and evening, are really still slow of accomplishment?

ONENESS OF MANKIND.

I will grant that upon a large survey of our human experience we seem steadily from age to age to be making progress towards it. But if we delude ourselves into the belief that that progress is absolutely fixed and is now made independent of our will or of our work, we make a tremendous mistake. Our lecturer this morning has done good service in reminding us of this everlasting obligation ever to fight for the oneness of mankind and to seek to widen the limitation of everything that has hitherto taught us to proceed in contrary directions. While that fight has gone on, we now start everyday movements of various kinds: some take root and flourish and do their allotted task for men; others last only for a day, live feebly while they live and then die without being lamented at all. One way and another, in some places strongly, in other places feebly.

man ever seems to be moving forward towards his destiny. The fight, however, must be fought; old and young among us, rich or poor, man or woman, none of us can afford to rest from this never ceasing fight. We do not know when it began. Its beginning seems to have been lost in the early days of our race. Nor can we foresee that time when we may lay down our arms and rest content that man has at last realised his destiny. The fight then seems to be ceaseless, but for that reason none of us dare to turn our back upon it. Every one of us has to be a soldier in the fight and the inauguration this morning is but an enlistment of soldiers whose hearts, I believe, are fresh and young, whose courage, I hope, will last and whose work will live long after some of us will have been laid in our graves. To the Brotherhood then, Sir, which you have inaugurated this morning you and I and others here wish a long and happy and useful career. When young men come to Professor Joag to deliver up their names, may they remember that this morning they have been enlisting themselves as fighting units in this vast army whose work knows no rest, in which there is nothing like final triumph, in which at the same time there is nothing like hopeless defeat, in which there is work and honour and plenty of reward for the gallant and heroic soldier! To this fight then you are called this morning, young men of Poona, and may He who never closes his eye to the welfare of his creatures watch your career and see that as you begin so well you will also progress mightily from day to day and that before this Brotherhood weakens and dies away, it will have built for itself a name and reputation which others afterwards may take from it and carry on the great if ceaseless work. (Hear, hear.)

Our European Letter.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

THE discussion on the Director's report ended last week with a general reply from Monsieur Albert Thomas to the various points which numerous delegates had brought to his notice. He was in the fortunate position to be able to tell the Conference that by praising the work of the I. L. O. in such terms as they had found fit to employ, the delegates had anticipated his usual task of rendering thanks to his staff. At the outset, the Director referred to the necessity of the League of Nations organisation being universal in scope to bring about uniformity of social conditions by which alone "the just and humane conditions" of the Peace Treaty could be realised. For the moment universality remained unachieved not only because huge countries which were predominant economic units lay outside the scope of Geneva, but even within the nominal limits of the I. L. O.; there were vast areas which made uniformity of labour regulations hard to obtain. He referred to the Indian States and the foreign concessions and leases in China, and regarding the former, asked whether Lord Birkenhead's dilemma that either the Conventions of the I. L. O. would be ratified without their being applicable to the Indian

States or not at all, could always prevail. Mr. Shunmugam Chetty had suggested that the time to bring the Indian States within the pale of the I. L. O. had come, and Monsieur Thomas was sure that they would join the common task of ameliorating the conditions of the working classes the whole world over.

Dwelling next on Mr. Joshi's warning that there was visible retrogression since the days of Washington in the energy and enterprise of the I. L. O. the Director remarked that it was necessary to take heed of Mr. Joshi's words. It was necessary to advance the work of the I. L. O. both as regards the material results and as regards a wholehearted affirmation of faith in its ideal. A well-conceived and graduated scientific programme for the Organisation would no doubt be satisfactory and attractive, but the practical problems of the hour were so urgent as not to brook the delays of perfection in method. Despite the natural hesitancy on the part of economists it was increasingly becoming clear that the way of remedy for the ills of the modern world was in the direction of economic co-operation, in instituting world-economy. All such steps must be actuated by a definite spirit, "the spirit of progress towards an economic agreement which would facilitate social reform". "Is it not a fact", asked Monsieur Thomas, "that this factor has been the cause of all the economic work of the League of Nations? . . . If the economists of the Office make mistakes help to correct them, but do not refuse to the Office one of the most important instruments of progress".

The Director, all are aware, is an energetic personality who, despite the formal and legal position of the Office, inspires into it a readily recognisable spirit unlike anything that an administrative machinery usually possesses. There need be nothing surprising therefore in his argument: "We may perfect our methods; we may develop and simplify the procedure of the Conference; by our enquiries we may endeavour to reduce economic barriers; we may accelerate the process of ratification. In reality, however, all that seems to me vain, if in the Organisation in general, and in each of the individual States, the soul of the Organisation, the real concern for social justice does not develop." He made this declaration particularly in reference to his recent Eastern tour. "In many countries I saw tangible proofs of the benefits of material progress in general," he said, "and I said to myself when I saw what this progress amounted to under certain circumstances, that it was remarkably of small importance in the political and moral relations between countries."

After the discussion of the Director's report, the Conference got busy with the findings of the various Committees. The report of the Credentials Committee gave rise to the usual discussion about the Italian workers' delegate which has become one of the features of the Conference. The Italian Delegation defended the Fascist arrangement only to be criticised by champions of Trade Union organisations. Dr. Paranjpye, who was the Chairman of the Committee on unemployment, called the attention of the Conference to the inclusion of agriculture in the scope of the investigation on this subject. The discussion that followed showed the importance of the subject and how keenly alive were most industrial countries in Europe to a long-standing evil that showed no signs of abatement. The Committee on forced labour was unable to produce a unanimous report on account of the minority report which the workers' group drew up separately. In regard to the questionnaire to be circulated among the Member-States with a view to establishing a convention, the workers were anx-

Organization by such pleadings. The Working Committee had therefore no difficulty in showing that the exemptions the committees wanted would mean nothing short of terminating the non-co-operation movement. The leading Swarajists could well have retorted if they were present at the meeting of the Committee that the movement had long ceased to be in operation and that nothing of a very startling character had happened just then to require a return to the original concept of non-co-operation which by common consent had been consistently departed from.

The Working Committee however not only refused to relax its mandate but was in favour of stiffening it by ordering Congressmen not merely to absent themselves from the legislatures but to resign their membership thereof. Only it has not issued the mandate yet, but has recommended the All-India Congress Committee to be held on the 26th inst. to issue it. Now if non-co-operation is to be revived, resignation is certainly a better and a more striking policy than abstention. But holding as we do that non-co-operation is not required, we are against abstention and much more so against resignation. This policy is avowedly being launched in protest against the extension of the term of the Legislatures. This is no doubt a matter of legitimate grievance with those who, like ourselves, advocate the boycott of the Simon Commission (though Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar take the opposite view). But the grievance cannot be of such intensity as to require a measure which Pandit Motilal Nehru himself did not deem it necessary to advocate in face of grave crises in the fortunes of the country, in comparison with which the prolongation of the life of the Councils is a small matter. We understand that this move was due in great measure to the pressure exerted by Dr. Pattabhi-Sitaramayya, who, if any, must be regarded as a virginal non-co-operator. To him of course resignation of membership of Councils is always desirable, but those who regard such a step as justifiable only in extreme circumstances would not be able to justify it at all. We have grave doubts as to the advice being followed if it be confirmed by the A.I.C.C. The Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee has lost no time in declaring its intention that, in view of the fact the Working Committee has cancelled its original instruction requiring abstention from all Congressmen, it will permit all those who are within its jurisdiction to attend the ensuing session of the Bombay Council. The interpretation placed on the Working Committee's resolution is obviously disingenuous, but it is a good illustration of what is to be expected from some of the Congress Committees at any rate. If most of them kick against a very mild form of non-co-operation, it is hardly likely that they will be kinder to a harsher form. For the sake of preserving discipline in Congress ranks alone would a revision of the present decision seem necessary.

THE BOMBAY LAND REVENUE LEGISLATION.

IN a booklet just issued* Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C. has supplied the much-needed refutation of the vicious policy underlying the Bill for amending the Bombay Revenue Code, in order to implement the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to put into legislative shape the general principles of assessment. The Bill simply seeks to obtain the imprimatur of the Legislature to the practice actually followed by the executive officers in the matter of revenue assessment; no notice apparently has been taken of the suggestions of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee of 1926. The most important part of the booklet is the history of the land revenue in India and in the Bombay Presidency in particular which R. B. Kale has garnered with great care, and this historical survey gives the lie direct to many of the irresponsible statements made by spokesmen of the Government in the Bombay Council.

R. B. Kale shows conclusively how the Government has been deliberately evading the investigation of the main principles governing land revenue assessment. Even the taxation Enquiry Committee were precluded from making suggestions regarding systems of settlements. He pleads therefore for an independent and expert investigation for deciding on the steps by which a reform of the present practice of assessment can be brought about and a sound policy of assessment evolved. As the Note on Clause 2 of the Bill declares that the State is entitled to an undefined share of the gross produce, R. B. Kale discusses the question of the State-ownership of land. So far as ancient times are concerned Manu and Vyavahar Mayukh are cited to prove the rayat's property in land; the later Hindu revenue system also admits, in his opinion, the private property of the holder which later on became known as the Mirashi tenure and he cites several authorities to show that in modern times the Hindu rulers as well as Mahomedan rulers never claimed the absolute ownership of the land. It is curious, says he, that in spite of these clear proofs to the contrary, the Government is reviving the Frankenstein of State landlordism every few years under various guises and pretences. It is to be noted that a judgment of the Bombay High Court in the year 1875 lays down the conclusion that the proprietary right of the sovereign derives no warrant from the ancient Hindu law, nor is it recognized by modern Hindu lawyers.

The important question of the maximum of the State demand has next been discussed by the author exhaustively. The Bill has fixed 50 per cent. of the rental value as the maximum, in spite of the decision by a majority of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee that the maximum assessment should be 25 per cent. of the profits of cultivation. In view of the dislodging of the position of State landlordism he naturally objects to the Note on Clause 2 which says that the State is entitled to take whatever portion it requires of the surplus profit, as this is only a way of surreptitiously introducing State ownership. Quoting the opinions of several eminent British statesmen he has shown that they are all opposed to the theory of unlimited State rights; and he points out that the assurances given by the East India Company in 1856 and by Sir Charles Wood in 1864 have never been withdrawn by any competent authority and have been rightly described by Sir W.

* A Critique on the Bombay Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill No. 14 of 1928. By R. R. KALE. (Satara.) 1929. 21 cm. 94p. Re. 1

Wedderburn as the magna charta of the rayatwari cultivator. R. B. Kale shows a high regard for the principles of the Joint Report of 1847 issued by Mr. Goldsmid and Lt. Wingate, on which is based the present system of revenue assessment. But he rightly contends that while the Government have adopted the standard of assessment fixed by what he calls the Wingate system, as applicable to the Uparis or tenants at will, they have not taken any practical steps to prevent subdivision of land which was regarded by Mr. Wingate as one of the fundamental principles of his scheme, intended to ensure that no holding became so unprofitable and uneconomic as to wipe out the surplus profit. It follows therefore "that until the small fragments disappear and holdings cease to be unprofitable no revision settlements ought to take place in such a way as to result in an enhancement". He further shows how the Record of Rights Act gave the final blow to the indivisibility of the survey numbers which was the corner stone of the Wingate system and the splitting up of the survey numbers was legally recognized in spite of opposition from non official members of the calibre of Sir Pherozshah Mehta. R. B. Kale thinks that by enforcing the rights of pre-emption and restricting transfers below a certain minimum of acreage, land would have been saved from being split up. We do not feel so sure about this, but in any case it is a point worth considering by everybody interested in the question of fragmentation. As things are, with undeveloped agriculture he thinks that any attempt at increase of land revenue must end in utter impoverishment and distress of the people. These are serious words and it is incumbent on Government to probe the question to its bottom. A mere apothecis of the principle of "constant price" would not do and fresh principles will have to be sought. He further contends that in view of the wide discretion given to the revenue officer to fix the assessment and the exclusion of the interference of the Civil Courts to rectify the assessment it is all the more necessary to make a legislative provision laying down the right of the individual in limitation of the rights of the State. It may be noted that in the Punjab the victory of this principle has been secured by the united action of non official members.

Discussing the basis of revision R. B. Kale points out that the dispatch of 1865 from the Court of Directors declared that the right of the Government is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce but a revenue which ought to leave a surplus to the occupier. But he shows that gradually the practice ceased to conform to this principle and he cites the opinion of Sir Bartle Frere that "the State demand rarely fulfilled the requirements of the India Office instruction." The famous Resolution of 1884 on the policy of land revenue made it clear that in revising assessments reference shall be made only to the "extraneous causes distinct from the result of expenditure of money or labour by the occupant"; in spite of this he points that the Bill relegates this factor to a very subordinate position and makes much of rental value. Another point made by him is that in the absence of a record of improvements made by the holder during thirty years, it is difficult for the revenue officer to make allowance for these so as not to tax them. As against the insistence in the Bill on rental value as a basis of assessment R. B. Kale asserts that in the times of the Moguls and the Marhattas the basis was the average annual produce and as the British Government is said to have inherited their systems he pertinently asks with what right they can shift the basis without rhyme or reason. His objections to the rental value as basis are that the data for determin-

ing this are not numerous enough or reliable enough and the data ordinarily available cannot afford the exact index of agricultural incomes. He also emphasizes the contention made prominent now by the Broomfield Report that rented lands are in many cases only a very small proportion of the total and he uses against Mr. Anderson the admission made by him that rack-renting goes on when the position of the land-lord is strong. The assumption of Mr. Anderson that ample and sufficient data of rentals can be collected, he regards as entirely incorrect; nor does he subscribe to the proposition that rental value and profits of cultivation are synonymous expressions as made out by Sir R. L. Rieu, the Member for Revenue. He further quotes the authority of Mr. D. R. Gadgil who has shown valid reasons why the rental value should not be made a basis of assessment in his pamphlet. R. B. Kale points out further that the rental value is regarded as only one of the several indications by the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, in view of Sir R. L. Rieu's criticism that rental value does appear as a factor in the proposals of the Committee. The absurdity of the rental value lies in the fact that the rental basis furnished by land of one particular description is applied to a large quantity of land of different descriptions. Lastly he cites the authority of the Taxation Enquiry Committee in favour of fixing 25 p. c. as the maximum for a standard rate of assessment. Such is the indictment of clause 3 of the Bill. Considering that officials are likely to view the assessment more from the point of view of Government finance than that of the interests of holders, R. B. Kale suggests that a proviso should be added to Clause 3 providing that all proposals for a revision should be placed before a Standing Advisory Committee of the Council and shall not be put into force without the sanction of the Council in case the modifications suggested by the Committee are not accepted by Government. We thoroughly endorse this suggestion. As for remissions he thinks that it is time that the principle of fluctuating assessments is introduced into the system by making the annual demand dependent on the condition of the crops as determined by the system of fixing the percentage as so many annas in the rupee. The table of collections given in the booklet shows that during a period of 24 years ending in 1923 there were only small remissions and no suspensions for the first 18 years. The conclusion which R. B. Kale arrives at, that the Bill in its present form must be radically changed, is irresistible. In fact the Bill is drafted in thorough disregard of the Report of the Assessment Committee and there is no doubt that the Bill is, as R. B. Kale puts it, "the offspring of the purely official view."

G.

MAKE INDIA A NATION.

MR. SASTRI'S ADVICE TO POONA YOUTH.

The following is the full text of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's presidential remarks at the inauguration ceremony of the Students' Brotherhood in Poona, as published in the Indian Daily Mail of the 27th June.

THE Students' Brotherhood starts well indeed in having listened this morning to a most instructive and interesting address. I may well congratulate the organization on its excellent inauguration. I too have made acquaintance of a gentleman who, being called to the high office of Vice-Chancellor, has proved how fit he is to guide the young. A ripe scholar, who is not afraid of making large quotations

५११ ३१९ पुढे जाई वारी मागे पाडा सुवाते *
 *५११३६ मारी * ५१०१ केळी ३१३

ous that it should be so drawn as to make it comprehensive and to put an end to the practice as soon as possible. For obvious reasons this view could not find universal acceptance. The Conference had much to hear of the wisdom of preserving native customs, of the instinctive laziness of tropical people, and all that sort of thing. Once again, in the last phase of this discussion as in the first, Mr. Shiva Rao who put forward the Indian workers' point of view was fully supported by Mr. B. Das of the employers' delegation. In a spirited speech the latter pointed out that whatever might be the general nature of the reactions in the Conference with regard to various problems, in this particular matter the clash was not so much between classes as between races. The protest against forced labour was very largely a protest against white imperialism.

Geneva, June 20.

Reviews.

ELIMINATION OF WAR.

WAR AND HUMAN VALUES. By FRANCIS E. POLLARD. (The Hogarth Press.) 1928. 19cm. 72p. 2s.

READ at one sitting, as it ought to be, this little book will be recognised by the impartial reader as a most cogent, if not irresistible, plea for the "scrapping" of the institution of war. The restrained nature of the argument, in which nothing is taken for granted and nothing is overdone, allowance being generously made for difference of opinion and variety of outlook, adds to the strength of the indictment. Again and again, as the writer quietly drives his points home, one feels that by simply acting on the dictates of the highest justice known to us to-day the peoples of the world may bring about such a revolution in international relationships that a hundred years hence thoughtful men and women will look back in amazement at the lunacy of our past and present belief in the usefulness and necessity of armaments.

While war has the curious effect of bringing about a condition of things essentially unstable, what is wanted in the long run for security is harmony, and the unifying process will come only by the responsible action of the mind of man. The world must become one community instead of many separate communities, and the pronouncements of the individual conscience must be understood to apply to the whole range of life, for man's "conscience is now, in its best utterances, the ambassador of humanity at the court of the soul."

Our responsibility to-day as citizens of the world is three-fold: critical, constructive and resistant. Under these heads the author develops his thesis, which is that War as we have known it does not minister to the most enduring human values, but on the contrary always tends to their destruction. Not unfairly is war defined as consisting essentially in this, "that for certain purposes and against certain people the ordinary moral law is repealed." "The ideas and methods of national power and force establish and consecrate an eternally discordant world". In working for a better order of society the man of

peace is no mere sentimentalist; "in his armoury is the flashing sword of truth". Quoting from a recent paper on the "Impact of Civilisations" there is this reference to India: "What India needs to-day is a ministry of personal friendship". W. Pollard extends this thought, and refers to the wholesome influence of the friendship of Cobden and Bright with Charles Sumner, when during the American Civil War America and Britain tended grievously to misunderstand each other. He shows good reason why the power of friendship has not *always* prevented war.

"Until the spirit of confidence and friendliness is fearless and inspires the whole field of policy, its infinite power for good will never be tested." "You cannot test the efficacy of friendship if you are devoting your main energies to perfecting the instruments of hostility."

Particularly effective is the closing part of the book in which the fallacy of those who claim that War is legitimate in certain special circumstances and relations is exposed. The theory recalls a conversation in one of Galsworthy's novels:

"Surely, even if she's his wife, a man's bound to behave like a gentleman?"

"Depends on whether she behaves like a lady."

A. R. LOW.

A TALE OF DECADENCE.

UNCLE SHAM. By KANHAYA LAL GAUBA. (Times Publishing Co, Lahore.) 1929. 24cm. 214p. Rs. 6.

A COUNTERBLAST to Katherine Mayo. It shows that two can play at the game of mud flinging and drain-inspecting. It is also a salutary lesson to those who live in glass houses and yet are rash enough to throw stones at others. "Uncle Sham" is a bitter indictment of America. It is writ sarcastic. And no wonder that it is so writ. For in the startling contrasts of American life and in the wide divergences of American profession and practice sarcasm and irony may gather shafts innumerable. The author passes in review the dark side of America and lifts it up with lurid lights. But following Miss Mayo's precedent, he takes care that America is convicted out of her own mouth. The book is heavily documented. It is a patchwork of quotations strung together by a running commentary. The quotations are 'made in America.' Uncle Sam is convicted of being Uncle Sham by his own children!

The counts in the indictment do not break new ground. Every one who knows something of the American life knows that democracy there is in practice the rule of the political bosses, notorious for violence and corruption; that, as President Wilson himself confessed in *New Freedom*, 'Government is run from Wall Street' where 'the President goes with hat in hand looking for orders'; that politicians and judges put themselves up for sale and are knocked down to the highest bidder; that the Ku Klux Klan is or was a State in a State and a law unto itself and by its violent aggressiveness upon the Catholic, the alien, and the negro, is terrorising wide stretches of the country with open or tacit complicity of authorities; that negroes are subject to constant humiliations and occasionally to savage brutality and the lynch-law; that real freedom is very much at a discount there, the country being ruled by an unholy combination of dollar kings, political esouuses, and religious fanatics; that the war-hysteria and the new morality have between them overthrown the old conceptions of purity, chastity, and marriage

idelity, and that the gilded youth of both the sexes are sowing wild oats with a vengeance; that neo-Malthusianism is, as it was bound to be, corroding and corrupting domestic life and health; that the growth of divorce has made of marriage a mockery; that sexual licence is leading to fearful increase of venereal disease; that a 100 per cent. Americanism and the almighty dollar are increasingly accepted as a substitute for religion; that prohibition is worse than a farce, an experiment in anarchy, a source of public and private demoralisation; that in its international relations America speaks with two voices—a voice of humane internationalism and a voice of stark imperialism.

All this may be true. Yet the picture as a whole is false. The impression left on the mind of the reader is that America is rotten to the core, and that there are hardly any lights to relieve the darkness. Those who know their America also know that there is a great deal of high-mindedness, honesty, idealism, piety and generosity in America. A book like this is as much a libel on America as Miss Mayo's book was a libel on India. It is not a true picture, but a caricature, distorted and thrown out of its focuses. The only complete answer to "Mother India" is that if India was anything like what it was painted there, India would be peopled to-day by sub-men, morally and mentally decadent, marching swiftly to extinction. The answer to a book like "Uncle Sham" is that, if this was the whole truth about America, America would be a degenerate nation, incapable of the terrific energy and vitality she is showing. Half-truths are worse than lies.

Miss Mayo, if she has eyes to see, may now see that two can play at her game. But we really wonder if the game is worth the candle.

A. SOARES.

FOR STUDENTS OF POLITICS.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES SINCE 1905. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. (B. G.

Paul & Co., Madras.) 1928. 20cm. 377p. Rs. 4.

PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR is well qualified to write the present volume on political philosophy. In addition to having already written several works of note on political science and related subjects, Prof. Sarkar possesses a first-hand knowledge of the writings of the innumerable authors with whom the present work is concerned. He himself has lived for many years in several of the Western countries and has thoroughly mastered their languages and discloses in his works a very extensive knowledge of Western political, economic and social thought. The works which have already appeared from his pen are *The Science of History*, *Politics of Boundaries*, *Futurism of Young Asia*, *Economic Development*, etc.

The encyclopaedic learning of the author is not confined to Western thought alone. He is well acquainted with the Asiatic thought-processes too, although his treatment of them is not of the same masterly kind. A possible reason for this shortcoming is the paucity of material available.

The publishers of the present work claim that it is "novel in plan and execution"; and a careful study of the book compels us to accede to this claim. It is an objective and chronological study of nearly all the important works that have appeared on political philosophy and related subjects for a whole century. It is a book which must be in the hands of the teacher and advanced student of political science. It has little or no value to the beginner because of the vastness of the material it covers and the nature of the background it presupposes. In the words of the author himself, it is "an enlarged

table of contents or rather an expanded syllabus."

Political philosophy, as interpreted by the writer, is very wide in scope, unlike the limited meaning that we are accustomed to give to it from a study of such books as Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State* and Hobhouse's *Metaphysical Theory of the State*. "Political Philosophy", says Prof. Sarkar, "is a body of ideas, theories and ideals regarding the State"; it is "essentially propagandistic, ethical or normative" (p. 3).

The author discerns at least five different forces in the ideological complex of political philosophy. They are "(i) ideas and ideals of sovereignty as well as public and private law, (ii) ideas and ideals of economic welfare, (iii) ideas and ideals of international relations, (iv) ideas and ideals of human development and societal evolution, (v) ideas and ideals of mental and moral personality." Such a wide interpretation of political philosophy gives the author a very extensive field for the disclosure of his vast learning. It will be noticed that the "five different forces" in the order in which they are given deal with constitutional law, economics, international law, sociology, and political philosophy in the traditional narrow sense.

Although the title of the book is Political Philosophy since 1905, the first 112 pages of the book out of a total of 332 pages (excluding the appendix) are devoted to a history of political philosophy prior to 1905. The author rightly sees that there are no cut and dried dates in a subject like political philosophy and that, in order rightly to appreciate the political thought of the period following 1905, it is necessary to acquaint oneself with the thought preceding it. But to devote a third of the book to it in a specialised work such as this, seems to be out of all proportion. It is like a swimmer who takes an unduly long time in getting himself in trim before he plunges headlong from the jumping-board.

The book begins with 1776 and ends with 1923. The first period is from 1776 to 1832. This is the period of beginnings. Its chief features are Industrial Revolution, Individualism, and Representative Democracy. The second period—the period of growth—is from 1832 to 1870. During this period there comes into existence the philosophy of Socialism, Nationalism, and Anarchism. Modern political philosophy proper—the third period—is from 1870 to 1905. This is the period when the philosophy of Imperialism (political and economic), State Socialism, and Race-Chauvinism (White Man's Burden) is in the ascendancy. Contemporary political philosophy—the fourth period—is from 1905 onwards. It is characterised by the philosophy of Proletarian Sovereignty, Internationalism, and Asian self-assertion.

The book follows a systematic and well-thought out plan. Each of the four periods is dealt with under the "five different forces in the ideological complex" mentioned earlier. The plan of the writer is to sum up in a few trenchant words the dominant categories of each of these "five different forces" under each of the four periods and follow up such a summary by a short account of works falling under the division in question. The work begins with Bentham and ends with Sun Yat Sen, Zaghlul Pasha, and C. R. Das! In the nature of the case the space allotted to each writer is very small about a dozen lines apiece on the average. The summaries are of a general character and are in the nature of snapshots. While these summaries are admirable on the whole and cover not merely the writings of British and American writers but also those of writers in Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Austria, Belgium, and Asiatic countries, they are not all equally accurate. A student of Bosanquet, for in-

stance, is likely to take exception to the bald statement that in Bosanquet's conception "the individual is absorbed in the State" (p. iii). The accounts generally are not very critical. They are mainly plain statements of the views of the writers under consideration.

The fifth chapter takes up "the -isms of today," singling out for detailed consideration eight -isms which attempt "at speculating constructively on the varied problems of political life." These -isms are anarchism, bolshevism, collectivism (Fabianism), fascism, guild socialism, solidarism, State socialism and syndicalism. Of these State socialism, collectivism, solidarism, and fascism are of a nationalistic character, whereas the remaining four are proletarian and anti-statal.

The bias of the book seems to be more economic than political or philosophic.

A favourite idea of the writer running through this work as well as his previous writings is his socio-philosophical equations. India, he says, is still mediaeval in its social and political thinking. At about 1850 the East was behind the West by nearly a whole century.

New Asia (c. 1880-90) = Modern Eur-America (c. 1776-1832).

Young India (c. 1925-27) = Eur-America (c. 1848-75).

A fruitful conclusion with regard to India which the author draws from his socio-philosophical equations is that, in our social, economic, and political life, our country can derive more benefit from Italy, Japan, and Russia which are only a few steps ahead of us than from England, U.S.A., Germany, and France which lie too far ahead of us. Quoting from a previous work of his, the writer observes, "For us, therefore, England, America, Germany and France are too high. It is Italy, Japan and Russia which, lying, as they do, just a step ahead of us, should be regarded as capable of furnishing practical object lessons in the working out of one's way from mediaevalism to modernism" (p. 235). The reader will read with interest and, perhaps, with dismay, that, in the judgment of the author, Russia is to be one of our pedagogues!

A helpful reminder to those who, arguing on the basis of the long-drawn out European progress, believe that it will take ages before India can shed her mediaevalism, is that in the development of nations there is such a thing as the "catching up" progress. Thus, for example,

Japan (c. 1886) = Eur-America (c. 1832) but

Japan (c. 1925-27) = Eur-America (c. 1905).

Similarly

Germany (1848-75) = Great Britain (c. 1776-1832), but

Germany (c. 1905) = Great Britain (c. 1905).

While we cannot "whip a country into shape" overnight, matters can be speeded up, if we avail ourselves of the experience of other countries.

Each of the sections in the book is prefaced by a short summary of the historical events of the period which gives the reader the necessary historical background for the right understanding and appreciation of the philosophical thought of the time.

The lengthy foreword to the book by Major B. D. Basu, giving the reader a detailed and eloquent description of the author's contributions "to the thought and literature of Young India", is somewhat overdone. We may be pardoned for saying that it reads something like an epitaph or a funeral oration. An elaborate and picturesque portico is not necessary for such a simple mansion.

The book abounds in many typographical errors. There are four such errors in three consecutive pages (46-49). It is to be hoped that future editions will see this defect removed. The style is simple and easily understandable.

The value of the book, in fine, is that it is a handy reference volume to the advanced student and teacher of political science, presenting as it does an extensive panorama of the relevant literature of a whole century.

V. S. RAM.

E. ASIRVATHAM.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE CASE FOR SECULAR EDUCATION.

(Watts, London.) 1928. 19cm. 62p. 7d.

THIS interesting pamphlet is published on behalf of the Secular Education League, London. The aim of this League is to bind together in one effective organisation all those who favour the 'Secular Solution' in respect of the problem of religious education in schools and colleges. The publication under review tries to make out a strong case in favour of secular education in England. In support of its case it advances three grounds: (i) the bitter and sordid struggle, among the different religious parties in England, for privileges in respect of religious teaching has stood in the way of the development of national education; (ii) the parent has no moral right to transfer to the State obligations that belong to him personally in his capacity as a parent; and (iii) the State by its very nature cannot produce a religion which will satisfy the spiritual aspirations of all its citizens, especially when the citizens are divided into a number of religious sects. It need hardly be added that the question discussed in this pamphlet has an important significance for our country. Since the advent of the British rule, the educational policy of Government has been one of strict religious neutrality. At the present moment there are signs to show that responsible Indian educationists have begun to doubt the wisdom of this policy. And as a matter of fact there is a movement in our presidency to give a theistic bias to the present educational system. In these circumstances we heartily recommend this thoughtful publication to the attention of those who are interested in the problem of religious education.

K.

TOWN PLANNING IN INDIA. By J. M. LINTON-BOGLE. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929. 19cm. 103p. Rs. 2-8.

WE welcome this book as being one of the first of its kind on this side. Town planning obviously is not a new subject. Our *Shilpa Shashtra* contains rules for laying out new streets and towns. However, times have changed and necessitated the adoption of the science to modern conditions. Germany was the first country to pass Town Planning legislation over forty years ago. England followed suit shortly after. In India the Government of Bombay enjoys the distinction of passing the first Town Planning Act which was in 1915. The book under notice describes briefly the principles and method of Town Planning with many references to India. In our presidency Mr. A. E. Mirams, the head of the Town-planning and Valuation Department, has done a good deal to popularize the ideas of town-planning and the author of this book has also referred to his work.

If we want that the beauty, orderliness and sanctity of the Indian village should not be destroyed.

by the dust, dirt and smoke of a profit-making industrialism we cannot afford to neglect this branch of the science which is of vital importance to the expansion of towns on scientific lines and from this point of view we would welcome books on the subject, especially those based on Indian experience.

T.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE MANDATES SYSTEM IN RELATION TO AFRICA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By ELIZABETH VAN MAANEN-HELMER. (King.) 1929. 22cm. 331p. 15s.
- THE PEOPLE'S OWN SOCIAL ORDER: THE COMING CIVILISATION. (2nd Edn.) By "JUSTARIUS." (Pharos Press, London.) 20cm. 154p. 2s. 6d.
- LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING. By L. K. TAO. (China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, Peking.) 1928. 24cm. 158p. \$3.00.
- WOMAN AND SOCIETY. By MEYRIOK BOOTH. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 256p. 8s. 6d.
- LESIA REVISITED, 1929. By GRAHAM SETON HUTCHISON. (Simpkin Marshall.) 1929. 21cm. 111p. 2s. 6d.
- INDIA AND THE LABOUR PARTY. By V. H. RUTHERFORD. (Labour Publishing Co.,) 1928. 16cm. 47p. 1s.
- THE POPE AND ITALY. By WILFRID PARSONS. (America Press, New York.) 1929. 20cm. 134p.
- PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE. By HENRY GEORGE. (Kegan Paul.) 1929. 18cm. 141p. 6d.
- THE FORTRESS OF THE LIQUOR TRADE. By L. RENTOUL. (R. J. James, London.) 22cm. 12p. 3d.
- CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. By MICHAEL MURPHY. (Cork University Press, London.) 1928. 24cm. 140p. 3s. 6d.
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- THE PROBLEMS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE. By ALBERT FLYNN. (Cassel.) 1928. 58p. 1s.
- THE OXFORD PRESERVATION TRUST, 1927-28. Second Annual Report. 1928. 22cm. 27p.

Correspondence.

ANOTHER BATTALION TO DEFEND GOD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—A very laudable attempt has been recently made in Poona to establish an institution in order to bring about unity between the students of various communities and creeds, and it is gratifying to see that this new institution has received the support of a number of eminent men in public life. I would however like to draw the attention of the promoters of the Poona Students' Brotherhood to a contradiction in their manifesto. If the Brotherhood is really out to remove "artificial barriers of caste, colour and creed", how can it possibly expect to become a purely theistic institution? After all, belief in God is a matter of faith; it cannot be demonstrated by a process of reasoning that a god

exists. You can either restrict the activities of the Brotherhood to only one particular group of students, or you must admit students professing *all* kinds of faiths, including non-believers and rationalists. If Hindus, who believe in I do not know how many gods, Christians, who believe in the father, the son and the virgin mother, Mahomedans, who believe in Allah and Buddhists, who probably do not believe in any god, can all be admitted to the Students' Brotherhood, why cannot honest atheists be also admitted? After all, if you want to remove artificial differences of creed, it should be a logical consequence that *all* creeds are admitted. If it would have been an association for the grouping together of theists only, I would have said nothing. After all, theists are free to have independent associations in exactly the same way as atheists. But to say that a particular association is meant for students of all creeds and then to restrict the entry only to theists is, to say the least, a little suspicious.

I observed the same thing in the International Fellowship in Poona. There also, in spite of the desire to promote friendship between *all* races, religions and colours, the admission is restricted to people professing faith in *some sort* of god. As if friendship should be encouraged between Hindus, Christians, etc. and not between these and atheists! I for one would say that belief in god has nothing to do with friendship and co-operation between human beings. Religion and god should not be brought into our daily lives and a difference in one's outlook on life should not be a barrier to good relations. I may be an atheist, but that does not mean that I am a thief or a liar. Why then this fear of associating with me on platforms, where belief in god is not expressly concerned? I may not be admitted into the Prarthana Samaj or the Christian Church. But why not into the International Fellowship and the Students-Brotherhood? Has not religion done enough mischief by coming into our daily life? Why then continue to let it carry on its evil work?—Yours, etc.

D. D. KARVE.

Poona 4, June 26.

A CORRECTION.

Mrs. S. Hudlikar writes to us regretting that she fell into an error when she stated in her article entitled "Ideals of Indian Women's Education" in our issue of the 16th May that Dr. R. P. Paranjpye was a signatory to the Report of the Bombay University Reforms Committee. The fact is that he resigned soon after his appointment to the Committee.

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