

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Et tu Brute.

SINCE The Congress under the influence of Mr. Gandhi ordered the boycott of the Councils and the resignation of membership thereof by Congressmen, there has been a frantic search for loopholes to escape the mandate of the Congress. Several have been fortunate in discovering the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. They were Congressmen but did not exactly stand on the Congress ticket. Others, less wise and more honest, have had to resign their seats and promptly seek reelection: they are looking for a ticket to stand on, which will be less embarrassing, but equally potent. Having defeated the Mahatma in a battle royal Pandit Motilal entered the Councils—only to discover now that they are no good. Not so President Patel, who was a zealous Swarajist, second in command only to the Pandit. Firm in his seat and loath to part, President Patel has now refused to obey the Congress mandate and resign. Being a non-party man, he is not bound by the Congress mandate. All the while the Congress-Swarajists took credit for the admirable performances of President Patel, no whisper was allowed to pass that he was not of that Party, and that he had renounced non-co-operation and the Congress. As if to complete the Pandit's discomfiture, he referred to the Assembly as "that august body" which by passing the Sarda Act had done more for the attainment of freedom by India than hundreds of resolutions of conferences and Congresses. "Believe me" he solemnly said, "by that solid piece of work, the Assembly had vindicated itself." The Pandit did not expect this cruel stab in the back from his erstwhile brother-in-arms.

### He laughs best who...

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU, who in short-lived glee chuckled over what he hoped was a snub that Lord Russel administered to the Liberals in India, has drawn too much on the credulity even of his own blind followers when he pretends that the foundation for Council entry disappeared when Lord Russel said "No" to the Congress demand for Dominion Status. Lord Russel made his speech two weeks after the Pandit had informed the world that he was in favour of boycotting the Councils, and even then he did not say what the Pandit attributes to him. After this eminently satisfactory justification of council boycott, he proceeds to call it ridiculous for anybody to enquire why law courts were not also boycotted, since they are not inter-related. We remember the Mahatma was keen on all the boycotts and did not consider them unrelated to one another. After laughing out, as he hoped, the inconvenient query he recovers a glimpse of the obvious, and asks if success was not the test of the boycott, and if the necessary atmosphere was there for the success of the boycott of the law courts and Government services. We too ask the same question, and go further to enquire if the atmosphere is there for the success of the boycott of the legislatures either? He need not wait to see.

### The Pity of it.

THE Mahatma is unable to stomach gracefully the defeat of his proposition in the Congress that Congressmen should boycott the local bodies. He returns to the subject in his weekly "Gita" and warns Congressmen that they are not free to work in the local bodies; but in view of the Congress resolution, they might enter them for the purpose of securing independence! Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has precisely the same valiant purpose when he wants to enter the Legislative Assembly, and yet he is peremptorily told that it is "harām" and that he ceases to be a Congressman if he does it. Mr. N. C. Kelkar has a Platonic love for Independence; a solid love for the Assembly and a calculated love for the Congress and a step-motherly love for its programme. He is now reduced to begging the Liberals to let him retain his varied and numerous loves which the Congress would deprive him of. How the mighty have fallen!

### The woes of the textile industry.

SINCE the publication of Mr. Hardy's report, the question of the intense Japanese competition in the textile industry is agitating the mind of everybody interested in the welfare of the industry. The only ways in which the millowners in Bombay have tried to save the situation have been the inauguration of schemes for increasing the efficiency of labour and attempting a wage-cut. The first has been inoperative owing to the mishandling of the millowners themselves and the second has naturally been resist-

ed by the workers. For the time it seems certain that the textile industry of Bombay can only be saved from the worst disaster by the prop of an increase in the import duties against foreign piece goods and yarn, sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the indigenous goods. A case can be easily made out for imposing duties only on imports from Japan on the ground that she has until recently failed to comply with the international conventions with regard to the employment of labour, which India has carried out with remarkable loyalty. But this procedure will only give a preference to other foreign imports, without doing India any appreciable good; a tariff if adopted will therefore have to be directed against all imports of textile goods. In this connection it is to be noted that Japanese competition is telling not only against Indian textile goods but against goods from Lancashire also; unless therefore we are prepared to face all the intricacies of imperial preference at this stage an import tariff directed against Japanese goods specially is unthinkable. In the interests of the consumers, however, the measure of the relief necessary will have to be thought out very carefully and the Tariff Board should be approached again, in view of what has occurred since its last report was issued, to reconsider the question in order to determine the amount of duty. It is not certain whether an increase of the duty by 10 per cent which the Indian industrialists have recently asked for is justifiable, considering the varied interests involved.

It is interesting to see how far the sale of Khadi has affected the position of the indigenous industry as well as that of the foreign imports. According to the report of the 'Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee' appointed by the I. N. Congress, there has been a reduction in 1929 of Rs. 4,94 lakhs in the imports of cotton piece goods as compared with the average of 1925-28. But this reduction has only been partially set off by the increase in the production of khadi; the average production between 1925-28 is nearly Rs. 24 lakhs, and that for 1929 is Rs. 31,86,295 so that there has been an increase valued at nearly Rs. 10 lakhs. The Khadi movement has therefore impinged very little on the foreign imports, the reduction in which is largely attributable to the increased consumption of mill-made Indian cloth. Apart from production, however, the sale of Khadi during 1928-29 has reached the highest figure ever reached being in the neighbourhood of Rs. 50 lakhs and exceeding the average between 1925-28 by nearly Rs. 20 lakhs. It is just possible that most of this increase may have been at the expense of Indian piece goods instead of foreign piece goods.

#### India's economic progress.

WE hope the European business community would readily listen to the advice given by Sir Basil Blackett in an address given to the Indian section of the Society of Arts, London, to cooperate with Indians. The cooperation between the two is the prime need of the moment and a good deal of waste of energy would be avoided if both the British as well as Indian businessmen recognised realities. In saying that the true economic progress of India could not be fully realised until India discarded her medieval abstractions he was merely uttering a platitude. But then he associated these abstractions only with the Hindu Social system, and expected the Indian Muslims to lead the way in modernisation; this presentation needs to be questioned and any close student of Indian cultural history would find it easy enough to prove its incorrectness. Lord Reading, who presided, referred in terms of praise to the wonderful power of assimilation and imitation shown by India but wisely refused

to be drawn into controversial problems in the sphere of finance and politics. At this time when there is an amount of tension, the less said about each other's faults, the better. Lord Reading further endorsed the pleading of Sir Basil Blackett for the greater co-operation between British and Indian businessmen. We are glad to find that Mr. Erulkar, the only Indian who is reported to have spoken at the meeting, supplied the needed corrective by pointing out that the development of industries in India was impeded by the lack of a national policy. He also expressed the opinion that the rejection of the policy of moderate protection would lead to disaster from the point of view of industrial progress.

#### The Spell once broken . . .

SIR Hamilton Grant, Sir Benjamin Robertson and Sir Harcourt Butler have, at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society, made yet another effort to sustain the spell that without the eternal overlordship of the British Government, the people of India would be unable to defend themselves against the inroads of the virile tribes across her frontier, who would not be slow to swoop down on India if the defences were weakened. These tribes were there long before the British came on the scene and were no less virile. Yet the Indian people on this side of the frontier survived. Even these gallant Knights will not deny that the tribes on this side of the Frontier are no less virile than the tribes across it, though, thanks to the wicked policy of the British Government itself, our people have been disarmed while the tribes across are armed to the teeth. India is not the only country that has a frontier problem of the kind nor is the British Government alone that was called upon to meet it. The Mughl and the Sikh empires in India had faced it in the past. There is no proposal to weaken the defence unless the Indianisation of the army in India is the same as weakening the defences. Nor has it even been proposed that even Independent India will make no alliances with other and powerful nations for mutual defence. Sir Hamilton Grant was driven to very sore straits indeed when in order to bolster up this bogey he fell back on the alleged statement of Sir Pertab Singh that if the British did not interpose their strong arm there would not be a rupee or a virgin left between Peshawar and Calcutta. This story was greedily fastened upon by Miss Mayo to run down the Indians. But "Ditcher" in the "Capital" pricked the bubble and nailed down the lie. It is nothing but an unmitigated lie. It only shows what desperate lengths these traducers of India are prepared to go to revive the spell of India's helplessness. But it won't work.

#### Policemen and Politeness.

THE report of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Assam in pursuance of a resolution passed by the local Council to advise on the steps to be taken to improve the recruitment of the unarmed branch of the civil police has laid bare some defects of the force which are in evidence all over India and its recommendations accordingly ought to excite the interest of all the provincial governments. In the first place the Committee note that the relations between the police and the public are far from satisfactory owing to want of cooperation and trust and they attribute the result to the fact that the behaviour of the subordinate police towards the public is discourteous and even high-handed. The Committee emphasize the urgent need of a change of mentality of the entire force which can only be brought about by the members of the force realising that they are the servants of the public who are th-

taxpayers and not its masters and that "the essence of a policeman's duty is politeness." The Committee accordingly recommend that higher officers should show by their own example how these precepts are to be put into practice. Agreeing with many of the witnesses, the Committee recommend that the constabulary should be recruited from educated youth of the province, as this alone would improve the tone and morale of the whole force. In Bombay we know there has been marked improvement since this policy was initiated a few years ago. The Committee further emphasize the need for a training school where the members of the force should be taught the law defining the powers and responsibilities of the police and instructed as to behaviour towards the public and where the general education of the constables could be improved. This has been already done in the major provinces and what is required now is to keep a watch over such schools in order to see that they do not slide down from their original position and reveal a deterioration.

#### The World Peace and the Orient.

IN a contribution to the "New Republic" Mr. C. F. Andrews has emphasized the importance of taking account of the ferment in the Orient in planning for permanent peace in the world. While paying a deserved tribute to President Hoover for his message delivered on the Anniversary of Armistice Day in which he reiterated his resolve to carry through by every means in his power the practical remedy for the evil of war, Mr. Andrews expresses surprise that no direct reference was made in the message to the problem of the Orient. The present ferment in India and China has affected a much more populous area than the birth of national consciousness in Japan two generations ago; and Mr. Andrews is inclined to think that it has not come into the lime light of the world politics in the West. In his opinion the transvaluation of values in the East is not merely intellectual but moral and spiritual, and therefore supra-rational and incapable of being met by rational processes. The matter is made more serious by the explosive forces generated by the blank refusal even to discuss at Geneva the principle of racial equality, which he says have grown so vast that they cannot be properly directed unless something is done speedily to mitigate the evil. Referring to the Asiatic Prohibition Law of 1924 still remaining on statute book of U. S. and to the colour bar legislation in South Africa and Kenya he says that as long as such racial policies are carried out in daily practice it is fatuous to think that we are in sight of world peace if only the Young Plan goes through successfully and naval parity is reached in January in London.

#### The "Manchester Guardian" on the Meerut trial.

IN a recent issue the "Manchester Guardian" has shown the inanity and inexpediency of trials like the Meerut trial which have the effect of abrogating the right of free speech in India. The journal clearly expresses the opinion that the accused in the Meerut case are not even charged with committing overt acts but have been arraigned on a vague charge of conspiring to deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty and asks: "was the British Empire so weak that it was necessary to indict on the charge of conspiracy a few youths alleged to have sent each other Communist pamphlets under the title of hymn books and Bibles?" The "Guardian" reminds Mr. Benn that he was a severe critic of the trial of a group of communists initiated by the Tory Government a few years ago and had condemned the trial both on grounds of expediency and principle and is inclined to think that his counts apply with even more force to

the present trial in India. The journal says that if Mr. Langford James's contention is correct, then all active republicans are criminals and the secessionist party in South Africa are indubitably all guilty of a seditious conspiracy, since it is a part of their thesis to deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty. Such trials, where a handful of men are selected for expressing a commonly felt discontent, are in its opinion calculated to impair the good repute of British justice and are likely to strengthen the more extreme nationalist opponents of the British Raj. Rightly enough the "Guardian" attributes the reluctance of the Labour Government to interfere to its desire not to be tarred with the Communist brush which destroyed it on an earlier occasion; still it hopes that in the interests of the good name of British justice Mr. Wedgwood Benn when again challenged on the matter would reply in a manner better calculated to allay the anxiety which the trial has caused as to its efficiency and impartiality.

#### The Cat as Trustee of the Pigeons.

PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU returned to India with a message of hope. It is heartening to be assured that not only the Government of India but also the India Office, under that great friend of India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, are fully seized of the Indian point of view and are putting up a strenuous fight to defeat the reactionary proposals of Sir Samuel Wilson and that the fight is likely to succeed. Mr. Kunzru reports that the situation is improved in other ways also. The Government is realising more vividly than ever before the danger of handing over the fate of the Natives to the tender mercies of the white settlers. Even Lord Passfield must have been shocked by the truculent attitude of the European elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council who threatened to execute a "walk out" if the Kenya Government proceeded with the amendment to the Native Land Trust Bill which the Colonial Office proposed. The amendment was to the effect that if any part of the Native Reserves was acquired for public purposes a piece of land similar in extent and, if possible, in value should be added on to the Reserves. In other words, the compensation for the acquisition of land for public purposes in the Reserves shall be in kind and not in money. It is unnecessary here to go into the merits of the amendment. Suffice it to say that, on the face of it, it is not absurd or outrageous, and it is meant to give a sense of absolute security to the Native against any future encroachment by the whites under cover of public works. As the "Times of East Africa" puts it, the matter was capable of adjustment in the Select Committee if it was allowed to proceed thus far. But the elected Europeans were not the persons to listen to counsels of moderation and constitutional propriety. They preferred to shake their fists in the face of Lord Passfield. And an accommodating Governor, with ill-concealed predilection towards the settlers, promptly came down on his knees and adjourned the matter. Their conduct must have given Lord Passfield furiously to think of these would-be partners in the trusteeship of the natives. With a recklessness that comes of indefensible causes, these representatives of the white settlers are digging the grave of their own political ambitions. Any increase in the influence of the white settlers will be disastrous to the interests of the Natives and the Indians. As the National Liberal Federation of India put it, no advance should be sanctioned in the constitutions of the East African Colonies till the Natives are able to take an effective share in the representation by means of election on a common franchise in common electorates.

## Articles.

### SENSE OR SOUND.

OF post-Congress statements explaining what was meant to be obvious there is no end. A host of leaders and their followers have sought to enlighten the puzzled public and give them guidance. They disclose a bewildering variety of opinion, of currents and cross currents. As to the nature of the next step in the evolution of the Indian constitution there are those, like the Congressmen, who envisage it as independence, and others, like the Liberals, as Dominion Status. But the distinction between the two schools is not deep and fundamental. For Mr. Gandhi, in the latest issue of "Young India", explains that, according to him and the Congress, Dominion Status means complete internal independence coupled with voluntary partnership with Britain. It is very much the same that the Liberals contemplate, and what South Africa and Canada understand by that term. What drove him to abandon it for independence was the definition of the term which he attributes to Mr. Wedgewood Benn when the latter referred to India having "Dominion Status in action" already. Mr. Benn did not give a complete definition of Dominion Status when he merely said that in some respects India was already treated as a Dominion; that the British Government had anticipated some implications of Dominion Status of India. In his speech at the Gujrat *Vidya Pith* Mr. Gandhi fastened upon Lord Russel's unhappy speech to attribute to Mr. Benn and Lord Irwin a definition of Dominion Status which is as perverse as it is untrue. By no stretch of imagination could it be construed that they meant by Dominion Status "slavery", and not "independence like that of Canada or Australia". Pandit Motilal Nehru saw in the post-Congress speech of Lord Russel—since repudiated—the justification for his pre-Congress repudiation of Dominion Status in favour of independence. He reads in the Under Secretary of State's speech a negative reply to the Congress demand for Dominion Status before the 31st December last. It is obvious that Messrs Gandhi and Motilal Nehru had for other reasons made up their mind to pick a quarrel. It is, at the same time, obvious that Mr. Gandhi asks no more than that India should be placed on a level with Canada, Australia or South Africa. It is a case more of the tyranny of words and phrases than of real and fundamental differences in substance between him and the Liberals: Internal autonomy is the vital and common demand; and if it is secured, even Mr. Gandhi, with all his talk of independence, will not refuse to maintain on a voluntary basis the partnership with the British Commonwealth. In his elaborate and laboured explanation of the phrase "In the existing circumstances" that occurs in the "Independence Resolution" of the Congress Mr. Gandhi says that he can think of "at least one such circumstance" in which the Congress may be represented at a Round Table Conference—to

ask for independence. He does not say that it is the only one. He has not ruled out any other circumstance. Another may be to negotiate for Dominion Status, rather the "independence" that Canada and South Africa have.

It is when we come to the methods to achieve this objective that we find great variety. Attachments to principles, personalities and institutions run counter to and across one another. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress have declared that they would strive for independence through non-violent non-co-operation leading to civil disobedience. Few are the faithful followers of this creed. The great bulk of the Congressmen, leaders and followers, are opposed to one or other of the features of this programme. The younger men, led by Mr. Subash Chunder Bose, have no faith in non-violence nor in the boycott of schools and Colleges or Government services. They have formed the Congress Democratic Party. Leaders like Messrs Malaviya, Jayakar, Moonje, Kelkar and Jamnadas Mehta and their followers have no faith in non-co-operation and the boycott of the legislatures, etc. Some of these would combine independence, non-co-operation and work in the legislatures, as, for instance, Messrs Jamnadas Mehta, Kelkar and Satyamurty. The disseuters prefer to sail under the colours of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi is a great personality and the Congress is a great institution and the tender regard for these two is almost universal, even among the non-Congressmen. Some honestly subordinate their principles to be on the right side with these; others, less honest, exploit them. "Men adhered to the Congress" says Mr. Jayakar, "more for the sake of its prestige than from a genuine agreement with its teachings. It will now be obvious to Pandit Motilal and Mr. Gandhi that the support that such men gave to the Congress in past years was more from selfish considerations than from real agreement with its tenets. The present decisions of the Congress will test the loyalty of these men, and the public may soon discover that many of these men on whose lips the word "Congress" always stood in the past, will now ignore its mandate." His anticipations have been more than fulfilled. The number of Congressmen who have defied the Congress mandate to resign from the legislatures and not seek re-election is a legion. Mr. Gandhi fondly hoped that by the achievements of the Lahore Congress he has made it easy for those who stood outside the Congress to flock to its banners; he has succeeded in considerably thinning its ranks in destroying its false prestige and in exposing the dissemblers.

Several distinguished leaders are making efforts to form new parties more in consonance with their convictions but yet within the Congress, if possible. Dr. Moonje has, for instance, promoted the idea of forming a party for the purpose of organising the Opposition in the legislatures, exploiting them for the good of India, running the elections and stemming the tide of communalism in the services. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who gallantly fought a losing battle in the Congress, has called a conference of the disseuters, to consider the situation and is reported to be

in touch with the leaders of the other parties and the Chamber of Princes. Mr. Satyamurty purposes to revive the moribund Swarajist party. Mr. A. Ranganadham Mudaliar has urged the formation of a new party pledged to full Swaraj, the working of the reforms, even if they are defective, the support of the Congress programme wherever feasible. Mr. Yakub Hassan in Madras has, on the other hand, a project to form a party which will definitely run counter to the Congress, aim at Dominion Status for India, and avoid the blunders of the Swarajist Party which refused to take office under dyarchy. An examination of the principles and programme thus urged from different quarters shows that they conform closely to the principles and programmes of the National Liberal Federation in India. The Federation stands for full Dominion status on the lines of Canada or South Africa, to be achieved by constitutional co-operation, by Parliamentary methods; and is opposed to the methods of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. Its principles are great and sound, though less heroic; and its leaders and followers are more honest and sincere. And yet the dissenters from the Congress prefer to give it the go-by and attempt to create new organisations. Mr. Chagla, who is also in favour of a new party, has nothing to say against the principles of the Federation but says that "the Liberal Federation lacks both popular appeal and the capacity for organisation". The latter defect might perhaps be remedied if young Bustums like him join it. As for popular appeal, it is doubtful if even Mr. Chagla can invent a slogan which will be both popular and sound. Paradoxical as it may seem, the principles of the Federation lack popular appeal just because they are sensible and sound. However, the Liberals are content to see their principles prevail for the good of the country rather than desire that they should draw on themselves the limelight of "popular appeal". All that we ask is: let there be more honesty than pepper in politics.

## THE NEAR EAST.

### I. GENERAL.

THE first thing to strike the traveller from Western Europe in the Eastern Mediterranean countries is dust, disorder, poverty, and confusion. The Anglo-Saxons, specially, are at once filled with disgust and somewhat disdainful pity for what they call "such appalling conditions of life". Next, they accuse the people of neglect, laziness, and inefficiency. To a certain extent they are right, but what they forget—and it makes their statement unjust and shortsighted—is that a people's conditions are the results of the circumstances in their history as it has been shaped century after century.

If Athens, the capital of modern Greece, has got streets covered with dust and ditches, houses with falling fronts, tiny little hovels which badly need repair, and lacks in the prosperity and majesty of the Western European capitals, it has also got mighty ruins reminding the traveller that the Greeks could, at one time, build a city; they could organise and be prosperous. Only the Greeks of the time

of Pericles had evolved their own administration and commerce, free from all foreign rule, and then their country was the centre of the civilised world. The Greeks of to-day, after centuries of Turkish domination, found themselves isolated from the new routes of trade and passage, poor in industries, untrained in new methods of economics, and despoiled of the necessary finance to make up for these handicaps. When there is no bread in the house, who would think of repairing the facade; when there is no trade on the roads, who would think of maintaining them in order?

Yet, even in places in these countries, where material conditions are at their worst, the atmosphere is not one of decay and hopelessness. Poor and backward as they are, these newly reborn or yet unshaped countries of the Near East are very much alive; they are by no means discouraged or overawed by the formidable superiority of their great "Protectors" from the West. Contrary to first impressions, as soon as one gets into conversation with the people, one realises that there is a keen interest in politics among them and they are determined by every means to establish a place for their country among the nations of the world. To develop and improve, to create or liberate their Motherland, seems to be their principal preoccupation even if it be largely manifested only emotionally. No Western European could fail to notice that whereas with the Great Powers such cares are left to the Government, and in more than one place there is a growing complaint that people have lost all interest in politics, among these Near Eastern nations, which have escaped in recent years from the Turkish dominion, politics form the main topic of conversations. This nationalistic feeling has been excited by the Powers themselves, anxious to obtain more allies during the War, and it is now being sustained by the desire of these countries to attain nationhood, specially when its results are so brilliant as in the case of France and England. But in the Near East there is not such basis sufficiently tried and proved to acquire force and prestige, or sufficiently new to be creative and vigorous. Yet, if these countries are to rise to the standards of modern civilisation, if they are to have a place in the great consortium of modern nations, they must succeed in building for their communities a strong collective self. They know it, and if they rebel against the patronage of the West, it is because they also know, as if by instinct, that mere imitation is useless. They realise they must evolve their own national organism, based on their needs and their psychology.

And precisely here lies the greatest difficulty. The numerous communities who dwell to the East of Mediterranean have seen many vicissitudes. Tied down, and banded together, rather than separated, by the great landlocked sea, they have mixed and mingled and none has retained what may be called racial purity. Besides, the charming Mediterranean climate—lustrous skies, warm summers, brief winters—which makes life easy and bodily needs easy to satisfy, also tends to give them certain common characters.

So far as one can retrace the history of the Mediterranean peoples, one finds them lacking in that rigid sense of dogma which accounts for much in the achievements of Western Europe (however imperfect they may be) as well as the metaphysical instinct which gives such poise and dignity to the Indian mind, or that deep sense of order which characterises the Chinese. Their religion has for the most part remained very near the primitive religious feeling and no section of the population has been able to raise it to a high intellectual level; not at any rate with any wide-spread results. A vague fear of the unknown, both in nature and human destiny, has resulted in a lack of disinterested ethics and inner discipline, however interesting may be the many outlandish creeds it has given rise to. The same fear of fate which dominated ancient Greece even at its brightest period (and was then exploited by a clever and powerful theocracy), paralyses all the Near East and at a much lower level. In that soil, Christianity seems to lose its inner vigour and Mahomedanism its massive strength. Both were protests against a vast amount of social dissipation, but that very dissipation would seem to have got the better of them.

Bent under superstitions on the one hand, and the burden of foreign rule on the other, the Levantine has faced the exigencies of life with qualities that have made his name a byword for cunning. He tried to obtain by stealth what he dare not obtain by strength. Having no responsibilities as citizen and no interest in public affairs, he interested himself in his own affairs, and became the cleverest petty trader in the world. Putting aside all general ideas and ideals, he wriggled his way through the surrounding chaos. But even in the field of commerce, the modern West has beaten him, and seeing that even commercial success was slipping away from him, he has put his sons to school—in the same school of success as that of the Calvinistic West. These have brought back to their country from the Western Universities and Western lands patriotism as well as the esteem for "honesty is the best policy". Will the new ideas prevail against their hereditaries and secular habits? Will the West recognise that in future she will have to learn to co-operate with the East—if only because the fight would be with her own weapons—even as the Western nations have realised the need to learn to co-operate among themselves?

That is the problem that we are now facing in the Near-East.

JULIETTE ROW.

### BACKING THE WRONG HORSE.

No point of Mr. Jawahar Lal's brilliant address is better conceived or clearer in perception of realities than his treatment of the condition of the masses and his insistence on the rights of peasants and workers in the future government of India. This declaration of faith as a socialist and a republican has the true ring of sincerity and honesty about it.

He clearly realises the outstanding fact of grave inequality in the social, economic and political or-

ganisation of the country and is quite clear in his mind that this must go and that society must be reorganised on a footing of perfect equality in which no class should dominate over any other and none should exploit others.

Yet when it comes to practical problems before us, the harvest of these great professions is hopelessly disappointing. With a slipperiness of argument that is altogether amazing he slides into the position that all this exploitation is bound up with, and inseparable from, British connection and finds the remedy for it in the barren concept of Independence.

I have little quarrel with independence in the abstract. But, as a socialist and a republican myself, I cannot be content with bare independence. If I had to choose between independence of India under the autocratic rule of even Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru and responsible government as a part of the British Empire on a socialistic basis, I would unhesitatingly cast my vote in favour of the latter. And as between two constitutions, one offering, and the other not offering, scope for the development of a socialistic state in India, I would not hesitate to throw my lot with the former. I have no doubt that, left to himself, Mr. Jawahar Lal would do likewise.

Holding the principles that he does, I could have understood Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru making a bid for an Independent Socialist Republic in India as the goal. I should have understood him if the Congress had, under his leadership, definitely committed itself to a programme for a socialistic state. But I cannot understand his striking out for a bare independence of British connection as the goal of the Congress. It is not as if Mr. Nehru is not aware that the Congress as a body is anything but socialistic. He himself says, "The Congress has often expressed its goodwill towards them, labourers and peasants, but beyond that it has not gone. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour, zemindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side, and to maintain the *status quo* is to maintain injustice and exploitation".

That being the attitude of the Congress, it is difficult to see how Mr. Jawahar Lal could be content to ask this Congress to fix independence as its goal without adding any qualification or making any effort to define the character of the independence or, at any rate, without insisting on the Congress committing itself definitely to a socialistic ideal and programme.

Let us suppose that by a miracle the Congress achieves its end and Englishmen depart from India, as Mr. Gandhi says, by our merely withholding *salaams*. Into whose hands would the power pass? Can there be the slightest doubt that with the present unorganised condition of the masses of the people the power must inevitably pass into the hands of a dominant class who will, in their turn, exploit the poor—the very men with whose aid and in whose name Mr. Jawahar Lal proposes to secure independence? Shall we not then have to begin anew the struggle of the masses for securing the elementary rights of men,

It may be, through centuries of arduous struggle, against these classes?

A consistent socialist, who believes in the right of every human being to the elementary right to live in reasonable comfort and to reasonable return for labour, can never agree to lend the least bit of assistance to those who seek to get rid of British domination only to acquire the domination for their own class. Their cooperation, if required, can only be given on terms. They will not help in any effort unless the effort be to attain a socialistic constitution for India. That must be their *sine qua non*.

Yet, earnest and sincere as he is in his socialistic faith, Mr. Jawahar Lal finds it possible to lend the weight of his support to an essentially bourgeois Congress in a programme for bare independence without making any terms. When it comes to giving effect to the elements of rights as conceived by socialism, he contents himself with saying, "In this programme perhaps the Congress cannot go very far today".

But why not? Why cannot the Congress pledge itself to a socialistic programme and determine to fight for establishing a Union of socialistic republics in India—with or without British connection? Is it not because the leaders of the Congress as well as that rank and file do not feel any enthusiasm for socialism; because those who wax eloquent over the exploitations of Englishmen in India are not in the least anxious to part with their vested rights to exploit the masses; because when they talk of independence they are thinking of the dependence of the country upon themselves? The fact is that these classes form such an overwhelming majority in the Congress that the President is anxious to avoid a breach by proposing anything like a real socialist programme.

Our Socialist President of the Congress is afraid to hit straight. He is afraid lest he should prick the bubble. Yet if he is a consistent socialist, I should expect him to speak to the Congress straight "I shall deal with you, fight with you and die with you if you are honest socialists; if you are not, I am none of you."

Though it may seem unmitigated heresy to the rank and file of Congressmen, fed upon antidiluvian notions of liberty, Mr. Jawahar Lal will not hesitate to acknowledge that independence by itself means nothing—it is not the same thing as freedom. The thing worth striving for is freedom—not merely the freedom embodied in the notion of representative government, but the ampler freedom founded on social and economic equality which is the aim and objective of socialism all the world over. Socialists differ in the details of the conditions of that freedom. They differ on the methods of attaining it. Some believe in gradual reform while others insist on a revolution. But they do not disagree about the end and ideal.

This freedom is a positive concept, while independence is entirely negative and without content.

Yet Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru who has drunk deeply in the wells of most up-to-date concepts of freedom did not hesitate, in defining the goal of the Congress, to stop short at the mediaeval and barren

concept of Independence, instead of insisting on the Freedom of India as the goal. No one can doubt that Mr. Jawahar Lal personally acknowledges no other goal but freedom as the socialist conceives it. No one doubts moral competence to hold up this banner. Yet when the opportunity came to him as the President of the Congress to broadcast this message of freedom to all India, he merely mumbled out the decayed shibboleth of independence and let the glorious hour pass by.

To the socialist subjection must necessarily be obnoxious as anything opposed to freedom must be. But independence must needs take a second place in his mind by the side of the more primary need for economic justice and freedom. Mr. Jawahar Lal seems to think, "Let us combine with others not of our mind to get rid of subjection; when we have done that we shall fight our comrades and get the other thing."

Apart from the fact that such a move is totally contrary to the frank straightforwardness which a socialist insists on in everything, there is a good deal to say against this view. The socialist would agree to such a programme if only this was the shortest way to reach his goal. But the fact is that it would be by far the longer way to reach the destination. There can be no doubt that if not today, at an early date, England is going to have a really socialist government. And if they have a say in the framing of a constitution for India on a free basis, that constitution will assuredly be framed on a distinctly socialistic basis; so then, if there is any chance of our getting Home Rule as a part of the Empire, the freedom we will get is bound to be a much nearer approach to the goal of the socialist than a constitution framed by an Independent India, if ever independence is achieved. The shorter cut, therefore, assuredly seems to be to plump for a socialistic constitution on a Dominion basis, which is attainable, than to fight for bare independence and then trust to luck to get real freedom.

There would, therefore, be reason and common sense if we insisted on going to the London Conference with a programme for a socialist democracy. If we succeed we would forthwith get true freedom. If we fail, the long and arduous way to freedom will doubtless have to be traversed. But there is no sense whatsoever in backing a vacuous concept like independence without insisting that the independent India that we seek must be a really free India, without making sure that we must have nothing to do with the independence that the Nizam or Bikaner might sigh for, or the bourgeois Congress may dream about.

And, last of all, all this talk about independence melts in thin air when we critically examine the means proposed to attain it. There would be good sense in refusing to go to the Conference if the Congress could propose some method by which its alternative goal would be readily secured. But here the Congress has signally failed.

They recognise that civil disobedience cannot be started immediately or even at a very early date. That is, therefore, indefinitely postponed. The famous

constructive programme of the Congress, the removal of untouchability, etc. is mere eyewash and leads nowhere near independence within a century. Proposals for a parallel government are rejected. All that remains is that Congressmen should not join the Councils. A more completely negative and infructuous proposal could not be conceived. Yet for one year at least the Congress would do no more than this. And, we are solemnly asked to believe that this is a great step in aid of independence which could brook no delay.

NARESH C. SEN GUPTA.

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### EXTENSION OF THE BOROUGH OF DURBAN.

IT is not so simple as it looks; it is not purely a civic affair, the extension of municipal amenities to people living outside the Borough boundaries of Durban. It is at bottom a racial conflict between the European and the Indian communities. For long the anti-Indians had advocated the segregation of Indians on the ground that their housing conditions were a danger to the health of the European community. Under the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government abandoned the idea of segregation and undertook to investigate the housing conditions of Indians with a view to improve them. The Commission of Enquiry revived and recommended the idea of enlarging the boundaries of the Borough of Durban and the incorporation therein of the peri-Durban area as the permanent and radical remedy to the unsatisfactory housing conditions of Indians. The Natal Provincial Administration has now appointed a Commission to enquire into the question of the extension of the Borough boundaries.

The Durban Corporation's interest in the subject is sinister and tortuous. It has long been its policy to squeeze its Indian population out of the Borough into the peri-Durban areas by refusing facilities within the Borough for the normal increase in the residential requirements of Indians. In 1922 the Corporation secured the right to refuse for Indian housing any more municipal land within the Borough, but was persuaded to promise that Indian claims for residential sites within the Borough would not be overlooked. But it never kept its promise. It desired to create an Indian village outside the Borough where Indians might "develop along their own lines". Indians always resisted this attempt at segregation, and held the Corporation to its promise to allow Indians to purchase sites within the Borough. The Corporation can both achieve its desire and meet its obligation by incorporating within the Borough boundaries the sites outside the Borough that it has already purchased for Indian housing. It would be segregation still; but technically within the Borough!

The European community living outside the Borough are opposed to incorporation. In the peri-Durban area there are about 55,000 Indians and 20,000 Europeans. There are several Local and Health Boards manned and controlled solely by Europeans. The Indians have no vote. These Europeans escape

the comparatively heavy municipal taxation of Durban. Besides, they have adopted the system of flat rating on dwellings while in the Borough rating is based on the valuation of property. A tin room is taxed at the same rate as a palatial one. The Indians are the poorer section, mostly vegetable gardeners and labourers and artisans who work in Durban. The municipal needs of the Europeans naturally take precedence over those of Indians. Moreover, the Durban Corporation supplies water and electricity to people living beyond its boundaries, though at a higher charge per unit. Obviously these Europeans have no inducement to seek incorporation.

The Indian community is tantalised over the proposition. There is no love lost between them and the Durban Corporation. But they hate the Local and Health Boards more. They have, therefore, decided to support incorporation, but not without misgivings. Incorporation will bring them some modicum of municipal services, which they do not now get. The more equitable system of taxation based on valuation of property will replace the iniquitous system of flat rate, under which the poorer Indian pays comparatively more than the richer European. But then, will the Durban Corporation push forward its scheme of segregation of Indians, or at least, try to put Indians in the wrong? There is another danger in that the gallant Col. Molyneux, the Licensing Officer of Durban, may have his jurisdiction also extended; and he has not concealed his dislike of the Indian trader. Trade licenses in the peri-Durban areas are now controlled by Licensing Boards, with the local Magistrates as chairmen, and they have on the whole been fair to the Indian traders. Unless Col. Molyneux's discretion is restrained and restricted, much wrong will be done to Indians by incorporation. Balancing the good and evil, the Indian community have favoured incorporation.

They have, however, asked for some safeguards. They desire that the existing system for the grant or renewal of trade licenses should remain unaltered in the peri-Durban area, even when it is incorporated in the Borough of Durban, or that appeals should lie to the Supreme Court over the decisions of the Licensing Officer and the Durban Corporation. As between the two, there can no question which the Indian community would prefer. Right of appeal secures justice better and more effectively. Secondly, they desire that the Indians should be given the vote. They are prepared to meet the objection and fear that the Indian voters would swamp the European voters by agreeing to comparatively high franchise qualifications: ownership of property and education up to the Standard VI and the payment of a rental of £.10 per annum. This is an eminently reasonable and accommodating request. Western civilisation or western institutions stand in no danger if a small proportion of Indians are enfranchised for municipal purposes. The Cape Town Agreement has a clause under which the Union Government undertook to consider the question of appointing advisory committees of representative Indians to assist local boards. The Thornton Committee recommended the statutory constitution of such Advisory Boards. The



Natal Indian Congress is not asking for very much more when it requests the enfranchisement of a few Indians on a high property and education test.

#### INDIAN LICENSES IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The campaign of guerrilla warfare and persecution of the Indian traders in the Transvaal by the anti-Asiatics shows no sign of abatement. The laws against the ownership and occupation of fixed property by Indians are bad enough; the Licensing laws reduce the Indian traders to a worse plight. The Licensing authorities, influenced by race prejudice and trade jealousy, have a free hand to strangle the Indian traders and the Judicial Courts are precluded from intervening except on one or two counts, which relief does not amount to much. The prospect becomes quite dark when Municipalities lend themselves to the perpetration of flagrant injustices. It is not every victim that can seek the intervention of the courts even where such intervention is open to them. There have been a series of decisions by the Supreme Courts to the effect that the Licensing Laws do not permit of racial discrimination. Nothing daunted, the Municipalities continue to discriminate against Indians and try to invent extraordinary justifications and disguises for their actions. An Indian concern, called Turf Stores Ltd, was refused a license by the Johannesburg Municipality to carry on business as fruiterers and grocers on the ground that the locality of the premises was not one in which it was desirable that the business contemplated should be carried on by the applicants! Having lost their case in the lower Court, the Municipality appealed to the Supreme Court and lost there too. The curious reason urged by the Municipality for refusing the license was that Natives congregated round that shop and the Indian trader did not move them on! The Court dryly remarked that it was the job of the Policeman and not of the trader. A similar reason was urged in another case where the Springs Municipality refused a License to an Indian trader. The Springs Municipality also lost its case.

It is obvious from these two instances that much injustice is being done to the Indian traders by the Municipalities. The Supreme Courts have repeatedly held that on the evidence produced no reasonable man could come to the conclusion that the Municipalities came to. That is a strong indictment against the administration of the Municipalities. No Government which cares for its reputation for impartial administration of justice to all its subjects, no civilised Government can tolerate for long this state of things. The time has arrived for a review of the Licensing laws of the Union. We trust and hope that the Union Government will soon undertake such a revision, and in so doing, give due and favourable consideration to the recommendations urged by the Indian Delegation to the Round Table Conference. All that the Indians ask for is that the law should declare unequivocally the conditions governing the issue of licenses and permit the aggrieved parties full facilities to seek redress in the courts. In matters of trade and commerce there is absolutely no justification for the restriction or elimination of the jurisdiction of the courts of the land. If justice be

their plea, there is no reason why Union Government should fight shy of their own judicial courts.

#### CONDONEES.

The "Times of India" published a message from its own correspondent in Natal that the 25,000 Indians who took advantage of the condonation certificates have their status in the Union threatened by being declared prohibited immigrants notwithstanding the condonation. For one thing, the number of condonees is just over 1,500 and not 25,000 as the message purports. From the scanty information contained in the message, it is difficult to make out what exactly was the trouble. We trust that the Government of India will publish a press communique on the subject at once and allay apprehensions. It may be remembered that Dr. D. F. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, has given a promise that if the condonation certificates were ever found defective in law, he would promote legislation to validate them.

P. KODANDA RAO.

### Reviews.

#### POST-WAR EUROPE.

EUROPE: A HISTORY OF TEN YEARS. By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL. (Macmillan.) 1928. 21cm. 428p. 10/6.

THE Foreign Policy Association of America is similar to the Royal Institute of International Relations in Great Britain. Mr. Buell has gathered most of his information from the bi-weekly *Information Service* and the weekly *News Bulletin* published by the Foreign Policy Association. In the first chapter entitled "Europe and the War" he gives us a glimpse into the state of the different countries of Europe on the eve of the great war. Now that the war passion has cooled down some of the expert historians of Europe have been able to study important state documents of the belligerent nations dispassionately and have come to the conclusion that, "from the technical point of view, Russia precipitated the war—hers was the first government to order a general mobilisation." All the while we have been labouring under the delusion that Germany was the guilty party in this respect. Then he goes on to deal with the pros and cons of the Treaty of Versailles. It is shocking to note that the war snuffed out the lives of 10,000,000 men, maimed and wounded 20,000,000, and 10,000,000 civilians died as a result of pestilence and privation. In addition, at the end of the war 9,000,000 children became orphans and 5,000,000 women were widowed. These figures are a very sad commentary on the so-called 'civilisation' of our time and it is sadder still to see that the nations of the world have not yet learnt the lesson—the terrible cost in human sacrifice that has to be offered to appease the wrath of Moloch, the god of war.

After a discussion of the various problems, military, political and economic, confronting the different European countries after the war, the author tries to evaluate two important phenomena of Bolshevism

and Fascism. The history of the last ten years ought to give us an indication of the progress made by way of self-determination, democracy and reconciliation in national and international relations, as against militarism, oppression and autocracy. But autocracy in one form or another is still holding sway in Russia and Italy. On the other hand, it cannot be gainsaid that the people of Russia are happier and more conscious politically than they ever were under the regime of the Czars. Young and old, men and women, and almost all the children of school-going age are being educated at a pace unknown in the history of any other country. Land, education and wealth of every description are being utilised for the benefit of the people. Speaking of the great strides made by Russia in this respect, Buell is constrained to admit that

"The amazing transformation in government, industry and commerce wrought by the Communists during the first years of their regime is almost without parallel in history. No summary review of acts or events can begin to describe the kaleidoscopic changes which affected every phase of the existing social order."

Fascism is essentially nationalistic and is entirely opposed to the democratic ideal of the State; in fact, it subordinates the individual to the State. Mussolini, the Fascist Premier, is determined that Italy should expand at any cost, and so from an international standpoint Fascism constitutes a grave danger. He has been opposed to the League of Nations and not long ago said, "Fascism does not believe in the vitality nor in the principles which inspire the so-called League of Nations."

Just a few pages are devoted to the League of Nations, perhaps the most important and solid achievement in the field of international politics during the last decade. Living in India it is hard for us to realise that during these ten momentous years in the world's history, seven new States have sprung into being—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland. With the exception of Scandinavia there is not a frontier throughout Europe which remains unaltered. All these newly-formed nations are members of the League of Nations, and it is interesting to note that all the European nations, with the exception of Russia and Italy, are willing to appeal to and abide by the decision of the League when differences arise between them.

The volume would have been more satisfying if mention had been made of the achievements of the League of Nations in promoting international peace and goodwill. Nothing is said of the International Labour Office and its activities. The author fails to visualise the great change that has taken place since the war in the position of America as far as the comity of nations is concerned. The war has given great power and influence to America; and she is conscious of it, and the European Governments have quietly accepted this new position of America.

The book will not do as a text book in a school or college but is a good popular presentation of the events of the last decade in Europe told in narrative form.

T. J. CORNELIUS.

### THE CONGRESS HABIT.

**CONGRESS ADDRESSES.** By CARDINAL FRANCIS BOURNE. (Burns Oates, Washbourne.) 1929. 20cm. 233p. 5/-.

**THE MISSIONARY IMPERATIVE.** ED. by Elmer T. CLARK. (Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn.) 1929. 20cm. 256p. \$2.00.

EVERYBODY has the Congress habit now-a-days. Here are two volumes of speeches, delivered at Congresses. The first comes from England, the second from America. Cardinal Bourne's addresses were delivered at various gatherings of Roman Catholics during the last twenty years. His style is impressive because of his restraint and reliance on the plain statements of facts without the flowers of rhetoric. There are interesting discourses here on "Religious Indifference", "Education" and "Morality." On the last subjects, as is well known, the Roman Church makes a bold stand for a strict standard of purity in the sense that she is utterly opposed to divorce and to the use of contraceptives and other artificial means of birth control. There is something courageous in the Cardinal's stand for the old ideals of chastity and marriage and family life. He thinks that on all sides these sacred things are being threatened. Many in India will deeply sympathise with this view.

Another very interesting address by the Cardinal is on the subject of Palestine. Although delivered some years ago, it has considerable interest at the present moment. Roman Catholic feeling finds it hard to approve of Lord Balfour's scheme of making Palestine the Jewish national home. The Cardinal is strongly opposed to it, and believes that Britain has made a great mistake for which she will have to pay dearly. This may well be so.

The Archbishop of Westminster is of course particularly rigid and unbending in his attitude towards Anglicans and Protestants. One is pleased to find that in these addresses great care is taken to express charity, and not to give offence. There is in them all a rather charming "English tone." Clearly the Cardinal, although a dignitary of the great Roman Church, is fundamentally an Englishman with a passionate love for his countrymen.

Much is said about Missionary work and it is well that we should realise how enthusiastic and self-sacrificing the Roman Church is in her missionary activities. Some of us, when we think of missionaries, are inclined to think only of Anglicans and Protestants. But in India, as in China, more than half of the work is done by Roman Catholics, and hundreds of devoted and saintly lives are being lived by men and women in the great religious orders, giving themselves for educational work and for the uplift of the poor.

When we turn to "The Missionary Imperative" we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere. The keynote of Cardinal Bourne's speeches is sobriety. Here, in this atmosphere of American Protestantism, we have a burning enthusiasm which at times speaks indiscreetly. About some of the speeches there is a vulgarity, which is rather sickening. Dr

Stanley Jones's three addresses are well worth reading. There is in some of the other speeches a note of antagonism to the Roman Church. American Methodists have missions not only in Africa and in the East, but also in Roman Catholic countries in Europe. The address, which gives us the greatest shock, is that by Bishop Candler. There is a fierce onslaught on those Christian missionaries who are seeking a sympathetic approach to Hindus and Moslems and the adherents of the other great religions. The whole theory seems to be one of "Conquest". It is a sort of religious Imperialism.

We once heard a young Russian say that the Western missionaries always had the idea of evangelisation by *Conquest*. He was asked what line of thought he would suggest. He replied, "We, Russians, always think of spreading the Gospel by *radiation*. The life of Mr. C. F. Andrews exemplifies this method. For our own part, we have little sympathy with the arrogant attitude expressed by Bishop Candler. We desire rather that the love of Christ should be made known by humble loving lives of self-sacrifice. Such lives are "radiant" with Christ's own beauty and cannot fail to attract men and women to Him.

BROTHER MARTYN.

#### A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY.

AN INDIAN JOURNEY. By WALDEMAR BONSELS. (Thomas Crowell Co., New York.) 20cm. 357p. \$2.50.

WALDEMAR BONSELS is a type of extinct European tourist attracted to India by the glamour of her spiritual loadstone which, though praiseworthy, has in the light of modern knowledge been pronounced to be detrimental to worldly progress. Her religion, often identified with lofty philosophies, has little to do with them and functions actively as a disruptive and demoralising influence on society. This does not mean, however, that there is any justification for the professional slanderers like Miss Mayo and some old-fashioned missionaries burning with righteous indignation to search the mote in India's eyes. Unknown to the European and at times unperceived even by the Indians themselves, there runs in India an undercurrent of rich refinement and culture—such as there has been from times immemorial and such as is common to the whole world—which has set its face severely against the unholy alliance that Indian religion has entered into with retrograde forces. However, under conditions to which people have to conform themselves so as to make it possible for the Britisher to rule over them in perpetuity, all healthy influences starve for want of official support and only emasculating elements thrive, as "it is a part of British policy in India to leave the utmost latitude to the wealthier Hindus and also to the Brahmins in all concerns of their domestic life. The white rulers have learned that the existence of caste divisions and divergent customs makes it easier to govern the country. Few as they are in numbers compared with the natives, they form a united and compact society which is more potent than the most

powerful of the castes." Mr. Bonsels hails with delight "the days of the Brabuddha Bharata—India awakened. The harbingers of the great spiritual current moving far and wide throughout the land had aroused in the minds of the Indians a new faith in the unification of the peoples under the light of their ancestral creed. The influence of the Brahma Samaj (Society of God) founded by Rammohan Roy, interpreting the Vedas and especially the Upanishads in the sense of an enlightened theism, transcending the darkness of idolatry and superstition, had initiated a movement towards social reform. This movement subsequently found expression in a vigorous campaign against the tyranny of caste. Towards the close of the 19th century the name of Swami Vivekananda rang like a call to arms through the torpid and oppressed land; but the smouldering fires of this new truth never flashed heavenwards freely with the vigour of implicit faith. These prophets of upheaval had successors. Adherents of the various trends aggregated into factions only so that what had begun as a movement for unification under the sign of a reinvigorated national religion degenerated into exhibitions of quarrelsome sectionalism; . . . and British policy, well aware that the integrity of its own power was enhanced by dissensions among the peoples of India, adroitly took advantage of the situation by playing off the opposing factions one against the other."

Like a shooting star Mr. Bonsels suddenly descends upon Cananore, the sea-swept beauty-spot of North Malabar, the cantonment air of which leads the highly moral European into evil ways. Here he drank "glass after glass of the heavy Indian wine," mingled with Indian life even to the extent of shielding a Brahmin who preached disaffection towards the British Government, and "accustomed himself to the Indian diet which few are privileged to know thoroughly in its great diversity, for even in native hotels the Hindus try to supply European guests with food prepared after the European manner," until at last under the influence of "sinister sensuality had his bed shared by a depraved child." From Cananore, he journeyed on boat through a gorgeously palm-studded region to Mangalore with which, according to him, "no inhabited spot in the world can compare for its blissful splendour and its mouldering decay." At the time Mr. Bonsels visited Mangalore, it was not what it now has developed into—a repository of cheap and uncouth imitations of discarded European modes of life. It had then, as now, "both the Jesuit and Protestant missionary settlements, so that a strange and lively conflict of spiritual forces was rife in Mangalore." Foreign fishers of men also there were in charge of them, "queer creatures, . . . who rarely and always fruitlessly ventured to struggle on the intellectual plane with the cultured representatives of Hinduism. For such a task their own intellectual equipment was inadequate."

So relates Mr. Bonsels his bright Indian impressions, some profoundly stirring, others sparkling with good humour.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

## VILLAGE PANCHAYATS.

**STATUTORY GRAM-PANCHAYATS (VILLAGE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT) IN BRITISH INDIA.** By M. K. MUNNISWAMY AIYAR. (Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta) 1929. 20cm, XI+77p. Rs. 2/-

THE culture of India has from time immemorial been based on village life; and the strength of village organizations has enabled this country to weather the political storms and revolutions throughout the centuries of its age-long history. Even at the present day the vast majority of the Indian nation are residents of villages and no scheme of self-government for India, which is not broad-based on the sound foundations of efficient local self-government in the villages and towns can effect any substantial improvement in the political and economic condition of this country, which has sadly lagged behind in the march of progress. Most of our public men have devoted practically no attention to the growth and improvement of the village Panchayats and the amount of thought devoted to this vital subject affecting over four fifths of the population of India is infinitesimal. It is a matter of satisfaction to note that the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, have taken the initiative in the matter and invited competition for an essay on the subject of statutory Gram-Panchayats and has been able to publish Mr. Munniswamy Aiyar's excellent essay which secured for him the prize offered by the Chamber. The arrangement of the brochure is lucid and the subject has been treated in all its different aspects, though rather briefly, owing to the limit of 50 fool-scrap pages imposed by the Chamber. Besides giving a succinct account of the present condition of rural boards and village Panchayats in the different provinces of India, their powers and duties, income and expenditure, their relation with other bodies and with the Executive Government, the merits and drawbacks that have been brought to light in their working, the author proceeds in the last part of the work to make a number of eminently useful suggestions to the Governments, the legislators, the local leaders and the village voters. The subject, however richly deserves exhaustive treatment and it is to be hoped that before long an authoritative and up-to-date work on the subject of local and village self-government in India will be placed in the hands of the student and the legislator, the village worker and the administrator, whose active sympathy and co-operation will be needed in full measure if the tender seedling of village self-rule is not to die of inattention and neglect. The Indian Chamber seem to have the idea of facilitating further studies on analogous matters, as they have justified the comparatively high price of the present brochure on the plea that they intend to ear-mark its sale proceeds for such a purpose. We heartily recommend the book to the notice of all public men, who have the well-being of the country at heart.

K. N. DIXIT.

## BOOKS RECEIVED,

- NATIONALITY. RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES TERRITORIAL WATERS.** Drafts of Conventions Prepared in Anticipation of the First Conference on the Codification of International Law. The Hague, 1930. (Research in International Law, Harvard Law School) Harvard Law School, Cambridge. 1929. 27cm. 399p.
- WITH PEN AND BRUSH IN EASTERN LANDS WHEN I WAS YOUNG.** VALENTINE CHIROL. (Cape, London.) 1929. 26cm 203 p.
- ANNUAL REPORT INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA, 1928.** (Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.) 1928. 22cm. 603p.
- THE WORLD JAMBOREE. THE QUEST OF THE GOLDEN ARROW.** (2nd Edn.) By CLAUDE FISHER. (The Boy Scouts Association, London.) 1929. 25cm. 152p.
- SEX IN CIVILIZATION.** Ed. By V. F. CALVERTON AND S. D. SCHMALHAUSEN. (Allen & Unwin, London.) 1929. 25cm. 719 p. 20/-
- HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA. VOL. I. PRE-HISTORIC INDIA.** By V. RANGACHARYA. (Huxley Press, Madras.) 1929. 25cm. 247p. Rs. 5.
- RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.** By WILLIAM CHAUNCEY EMHARDT. (Mowbray, London.) 1929. 24cm. 386p. 16/-
- LORD DARLING AND HIS FAMOUS TRIALS.** By EVELYN GRAHAM. (Hutchinson, London.) 1929. 24cm. 287p. 21/-
- ROMANTIC CEYLON. ITS HISTORY, LEGEND AND STORY.** By R. H. BASSETT. (Cecil Palmer, London.) 1929. 23cm. 253p. 7/6.
- AFGHANISTAN. FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH.** By GEORGE MACMUNN. (Bell, London.) 1929. 23cm. 359p. 31/-
- THE ISTHMIAN HIGHWAY. A Review of the Problems of the Caribbean.** By HUGH GORDON MILLER. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 23cm. 327p. 18/-
- DEMOCRACY. ITS DEFECTS AND ADVANTAGES.** By C. DELISLE BURNS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 212p. 8/6.
- A PREFACE TO MORALS.** By WALTER LIPPMANN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 384p. 10/-
- MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS, INCLUDING SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS.** By C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 382p. 12/6.
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