

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIV NO. 15.

POONA—THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1931.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

An Unalterable Constitution.

THERE are many who believe that, though election may be better than nomination in the abstract, nomination by the Princes cannot be seriously objected to inasmuch as they are *Indian* Princes and can have no other view to urge in the federal Parliament than popularly elected representatives. This point of view must have weighed strongly with the Federal Structure Committee, who, it is said, agreed to nomination by the Princes. But if there are any who think that, having agreed to nomination temporarily, they may still expect election to come after a short or a long interval, they are bound to be disappointed. Election may come of course as a result of popular convulsion, but it cannot come as a result of constitutional action, leaving aside for one moment the prospect of the Princes themselves becoming willing to introduce election instead of nomination. For every federal constitution provides for very stringent provisions for amendment in the future. Mr. Garvin, writing on this point in the *Observer* of March 15th, says :—

Fundamental to Federalism is stability. The constitution once adopted cannot be changed except by very exceptional majorities after very deliberate processes. In the case of this incalculable experiment on a scale unknown to history before, the Federal Statute must not be alterable at all for some definite period, nor alterable afterwards except by the concurrent decision of three-fourths of the Legislature and three-fourths of the Princes voting separately. Statutory security of this kind is absolutely essential both to the Princes and the Moslems, as well as to Britain. Otherwise, in a few years everything would be thrown into the melting-pot and the last state would be worse than the first.

The provision here suggested is very similar to the provision in the U. S. A. constitution and is not particularly stringent. There is no ground therefore for supposing that nomination, if it has to be accepted,

will only be a transitory arrangement, yielding place to election after a time.

"Great Sacrifices" of the Princes.

WHEN men, independent of any ties binding them to the States, have showered encomiums upon the Princes for making a tremendous sacrifice in the shape of a surrender of their sovereignty in giving their provisional consent to federation, it is small wonder that Mr. Panikkar, a regular employee of the Special Organization of the Princes' Chamber, should be loud in singing their praises. In the *Indian Review* for last month he speaks of the "great sacrifices" which the Princes have shown themselves ready to make for the purpose of bringing federation into being. Perhaps he will be richly rewarded for this excellent service he has performed for his masters; but the latter, we are afraid, will not be too pleased with what he says in an earlier portion of the article, which flatly negatives the claim he advances on their behalf in the later portion. For he says nothing less than this: "The list of federal subjects which was tentatively fixed at the Conference would show that for the most part it is confined to those subjects which are now administered or the policy of which is now determined by the Government of India as matters of all-India concern." If this is so, then clearly no sacrifice is required on the part of the Princes. There will be a sacrifice only to the extent they consent to yield up to the federal power a subject which has not already passed out of their control. Mr. Panikkar has not been able to specify even a single subject of this character, and in the circumstances a laudation of their "great sacrifices" seems a little extravagant even for him. Mr. Panikkar does not lack brains; he will surely see how his two statements are mutually destructive. The Princes might therefore well call upon him to explain why he could not give them praise without first making a self-stultifying remark.

Hydari makes a clean breast of it.

AMONG the States' delegates to the Round Table Conference, no one has earned the gratitude of British Indians by his candour and frankness so much as Sir Akbar Hydari. He does not believe that anything is gained by pretending that the States will make any sacrifices by entering the federation. He would never have advised Hyderabad to support the federal scheme if it had entailed sacrifices on its part. On the contrary, Hyderabad, like other States, stands to gain much without losing anything. That is why it is willing to join, along with so many others. The following extract from a report on his work contains a more cruel exposure of the Princes' claims than a G. R. Abhyankar could have made :—

"SACRIFICES".

Unless the recommendations made by the Federal Relations Sub-Committee are substantially altered, no material

sacrifices will be entailed for the State. For of all the subjects that it is proposed to make federal the only ones of outstanding importance are maritime customs, salt, railways, currency, coinage, commerce, trading companies, opium and posts and telegraphs. In some of these, e. g., railways, commerce and opium, policy and legislation only will become federal, administration being left with the federal units. Others, such as currency, coinage, posts and telegraphs, will be federalised subject to adjustments with the States concerned of such rights as had not already been surrendered by them or with such qualifications as may be necessary for the purpose of adjustments with the States in matters of detail.

For example, as regards posts and coinage, Sir Akbar Hydari was very insistent that Hyderabad would not part with the emblems of sovereignty that the Nizam has always possessed even though their retention may connote some financial loss. Railway administration will be federal only to the extent of the powers now exercised by the Railway Board. Moreover, many of the subjects that will be made federal are already under the direct control of the Supreme Government of India. At the most, the States are sometimes, but by no means always, consulted in the adoption of policies regarding them. In future, every federal unit will have a voice in the determination of these policies.

The myth of the Princes' sacrifices may indeed be supposed to be finally exploded since even the *Indian Daily Mail*, from which the above quotation is taken, deems it necessary, in giving a headline to this paragraph in Sir Akbar Hydari's report, to put the word "Sacrifices" within quotation marks.

* * *

Not Tomorrow but To-day !

LIEUT. COM. KENWORTHY is not satisfied with the announcement that a Military College will be established in this country in 1932. "1932 is not good enough", he says, "it must be done in 1931". Nor is he content with one college; he wants "four or more colleges in India." With these he thinks the officer ranks can be Indianised within ten or twelve years. The remarks that he made on this subject in the debate on India Vote are highly noteworthy. He said:—

It would be impossible to leave an army of, say, 30,000 British troops on the frontier in the air, with their lines of communication not under central British control, though with a strong central Government it could possibly be done. It is necessary, therefore, to create an Indian frontier force, and there is plenty of material in India with which to do that. We must at all costs have a good rough and tumble force on the frontier, and an armed gendarmerie, with modern equipment, for the plains. I have gone into this question as carefully as I possibly could, and with some small knowledge of these matters, and I assure the Secretary of State that there is very respectable opinion in India, both British and Indian, with military experience, that believes it would be possible to Indianise the Army effectively in from 10 to 12 years, or, at any rate, to erect, parallel with the present forces, not necessarily in substitution for them—Indianised forces that could gradually take over the maintenance of law and order in the plains and the guarding of the frontier. If we are sincere in our declared policy on which we fought the General Election, we must now push on with this question of Indianisation as rapidly as possible, and it is not being done. 1932 is not good enough, it must be done in 1931. I am sorry for pressing this matter, and I am sorry, as a pacifist, to have to speak of these things, but in India, as everyone knows, armed forces will be necessary to maintain order for many years to come. I want them to be Indian armed forces.

* * *

Muslims on the Situation.

THE proceedings of the All-India Moslem Confe-

rence which met last week-end at Delhi with Mr. Shaukat Ali in the chair seem to us to have been unduly influenced by the recent trouble at Cawnpore. Not that we wish to minimise in any way the seriousness of the trouble; at the same time it is no use attaching an exaggerated importance to it, as the President and the Conference itself appears to have done. This is not to say that the Hindu-Mahomedan situation in the country does not need to be urgently attended to. Far from it. Nobody can deny that a satisfactory settlement of the Hindu-Muslim dispute is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. Indeed everybody recognises that without it swaraj is impossible. But to try to frighten the people of this country into submission to the Mahomedan demands by vague references to dangers of civil war, as Mr. Shaukat Ali did, is to lay it rather too thick.

Mr. Shaukat Ali thinks that it would have been better if an attempt to find a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem in India had preceded the Round Table Conference in London. While his view is correct, he failed to take due note of recent happenings. He will remember that it was with a view to find a *via media* for the communal difficulty that the All-Parties Committee under the leadership of Sir A. P. Patre set itself to work last year, but had to leave its labours unfinished owing to the intransigence of extreme communalists. There can be no doubt that if the Committee had been enabled to carry its work to a successful conclusion, nothing could have been better; but if it ultimately failed in its purpose, it was certainly not due to want of effort. The Conference has reiterated its endorsement of Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points to which the Hindus are asked to agree in their entirety. In fact the President seems to have spoken as if a compromise would be possible only on that and no other basis. We do not think such ultimatums help in the establishment of communal harmony.

The most important question before the Conference was what attitude the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference were to adopt in regard to the constitutional question. On that point the Conference was unable to give a clear lead. The discussion of the question brought up two points of view. One was that the delegates should non-co-operate with the Conference in case their demands were not accepted and should oppose the establishment of Dominion Status or the introduction of responsibility at the Centre; while the other view was that the Mahomedans' acceptance of the transfer of responsibility at the Centre should be contingent upon their demands being conceded in full. Where and how the two views differ is not clear. Nor is it clear which of them commended itself to the majority in the Conference, which dispersed without coming to a decision on this point. We cannot say the proceedings of the Conference have smoothed the way towards communal harmony. But it would be wrong to suppose that the Conference represents the united voice of the whole of the Moslem community, for the nationally-minded Mahomedans proclaimed their aloofness from it.

Apart from this, there is the All-India Shiah Conference which met recently at Montgomery with Raja Nawab Ali as President and which expressed its readiness to give up separate electorates provided certain conditions were satisfied. All of these are covered by Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points, so that the Shiahs have given evidence of greater solicitude for national interests than those of their co-religionists who met under Mr. Shaukat Ali's banner at Delhi. Anyway it is clear that the Mahomedans are not quite clear in their minds on the question of

separate vs. joint electorates, or on that of the attitude to be adopted by them at the Round Table Conference.

* * *

A Snub to Lord Lloyd.

THE recent India debate in the Lords gave Lord Lloyd an opportunity of proclaiming his adherence to the policy of development of responsible government in India. Of course he conveniently forgot to mention any time-limit within which the policy was to reach its culmination. But that was perhaps too much to expect of one who, relying on his knowledge about India of nearly ten years ago, thinks that India is not yet fit for self-government or that she can provide impartial administration. If that is a fact, which no one who knows anything about Indian conditions will grant, it is a very interesting commentary on the manner in which administrators like his Lordship trained the people of this country in the art of self-government. If Indians, after a century and a half of British rule, cannot yet take care of themselves, one doubts whether they will ever be able to do so. In this case, Britishers like Lord Lloyd must prepare themselves for running some risks by granting India the right to govern herself, provided of course their declarations in favour of Indian self-government are to be taken at their face value. In this matter Lord Lloyd's past as Governor of Bombay ought to serve as a guide. He was sent out by the late Mr. Montagu apparently because he thought him to be sympathetic to his dyarchical scheme of Indian reforms. And yet the consensus of opinion about the manner Lord Lloyd worked dyarchy in Bombay is that it was unprogressive and unsympathetic. While authors of that scheme expected the Governors to promote joint consultations between the two halves of the Government, Lord Lloyd did so, if at all, only under pressure and that too towards the end of his administration. When a man with this past solemnly professes his love for responsible government for this country, Indians at any rate will know what value to attach to his statements. Luckily for India there seems no chance of the Labour Government being misled by whatever he may say, for they have a better and more reliable guide in Lord Irwin. Indeed, Lord Passfield said as much when he remarked that "it was no disparagement of Lord Lloyd to say that in choosing between his view and that of Lord Irwin, they were justified in placing confidence in the Viceroy." That is a neat snub to the ex-Governor of Bombay who had richly deserved it.

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The C. S. S. Review

AS the name indicates, this is the monthly organ of the Christa Seva Sangha, Poona, of which we are glad to be favoured with the first two numbers. Unlike the general run of foreign missionary bodies, the Sangha is not attracted to this country by the desire to secure as many converts to Christianity as possible. That is not its aim. Its attitude towards proselytising is best stated in its own words: "It would have no one adopt the Christian faith save from an overwhelming and considered conviction of its adequacy for life and thought." But even such a body of selfless workers and one having very lofty aims has not escaped misunderstanding both in official and nonofficial quarters which their organ may do something to mitigate. Articles dealing with such religious subjects as Dhyana, the Nivritti Marga, etc. will doubtless interest the religiously-minded. The place of honour in the first issue is rightly given to Acharya Devadatta's (Fr. J. C. Winslow) article which is an earnest plea for reconciliation between the rulers and the ruled in this country through open-mindedness, appreciation of the mutual points of view and constructive co-operation.

In the second issue he writes under the caption "the faith that moves mountains" about the Irwin-Gandhi pact and pronounces it to be "a triumph of spiritual forces." There is an interesting article in this issue by Mr. Reginald Reynold on "Mahatma Gandhi and the Man in the Street," while Mr. A. V. Thakkar tells us something about his work for the Bhils. Nor must we forget to mention the very readable article by Dr. E. Stanley Jones who explains what Christ means to him. We wish all possible success to this new entrant into the journalistic field.

* * *

Progressive Travancore.

BY far the most important grievance which Indian States' subjects have against their rulers is on the ground of the limitless personal expenses of their rulers. Some improvement is of course latterly visible in this matter; even so the number of princes who have set a limit to their privy purse is still very small. And it is hardly possible to find a ruler the proportion of whose civil list to the total State revenue goes on decreasing. All the more reason therefore to congratulate Travancore where this rare phenomenon is taking place. We find from the latest administration report of the State that the proportion of the ruler's civil list to the total revenue has during the last forty years or so more than halved; it has come down from 8.76 to 3.63 per cent. We have no means of finding out if during the period the revenue has correspondingly gone up; but assuming it were so, we cannot for that reason withhold praise from a ruler, whom nothing would have prevented from sticking to the original proportion.

Another point which commands our admiration is the fact that long before any Indian prince thought of introducing representative institutions, this State brought a legislative council in being, which happened forty-two years ago. It is true the Council was not then as representative as it is to-day, having now an elected majority. This is all to the good; but we think the process of democratisation should be still further accelerated by allowing the Council to elect its own President and Deputy President and by increasing the proportion of the elected to the nominated element. The franchise is as low as in British India and what is more, women enjoy complete equality with men in regard to the franchise as also to membership. With such a broad-based legislative council it is difficult to see what special purpose the Popular Assembly can serve. But we are told that much that was done for the amelioration of the condition of the people by Government is "directly ascribable" to the personal contact the Assembly establishes between the authorities and the people. If that is the view of the State as regards its utility, the Assembly's continuance is assured.

Coming to local self-government, we find the municipalities in the State number 19, all except one being empowered to elect their own presidents. We wish the Report had told us something more than it does, about the constitution of these bodies so as to enable us to judge whether the popular or the official element was in predominance in them. The educational statistics given in the report show that education is very widespread. A population of 40 lakhs at 15 per cent. yields 6 lakhs as its school-age part out of which, we are glad to see, very nearly 5¾ lakhs is in receipt of instruction. The Abkari policy, viz. making it increasingly difficult for the drinker to get his drink, strikes us as rather out of date and not in conformity with popular sentiment. This is a blot on an otherwise progressive administration and ought to disappear. It is to be hoped the present policy will soon give place to one of prohibition to be attained in a stated period, say, twenty years.

Articles.

MEANING OF SWARAJ.

MAHATMA GANDHI sprung a surprise upon the Congress as well as the country by bringing forward a resolution giving in broad outline an indication of the social and economic policy which the Congress will pursue under Swaraj. In defining this policy the resolution in its first clause makes an enumeration of the fundamental rights of citizenship which it will be the aim of the Congress to protect from inroad at the hands of the executive and the legislature. This Bill of Rights, we make no doubt, is intended to be made applicable to both units of federation and, as such, would constitute a big advance on the ideas running in the minds of some of the prominent politicians who took part in the London Round Table Conference. But it was not the main purpose of this resolution to assure the public that individual liberty will be guaranteed in the future polity of India; the purpose rather was to assure them that the interests of the poorer classes of the population would receive the tender solicitude of the state. Because the first clause relates to the right of free assembly, the right of free speech and so forth and the later clause relates to a living wage of workers, the control of usury, a graduated inheritance tax and other matters, the criticism is made in certain quarters that the Congress has assembled in this resolution points of a widely different order and confused the elementary rights of citizenship with the ordinary policies of the state which the legislature must have the final power of shaping according to the circumstances. There is however no excuse in the resolution for adopting this line of criticism; for in its preamble the object of the resolution is clearly stated. It is "to enable the masses to understand what the Swaraj as conceived by the Congress will mean to them." Briefly, Swaraj is that which will put it within the power of the Congress to provide certain reforms desired by the masses, which the resolution proceeds to set out by way of illustration.

There was surely need for the Congress to tell the people on the eve of the attainment of Swaraj what use it will make of political power when it arrives. Allegations are being freely made, not altogether without foundation, that the Swaraj campaign was conducted mainly with the resources provided by capitalists and in their interest. Among Congress leaders there are no doubt a few who cannot be suspected of any partiality for this class, but the fear is widely entertained that the leadership of the Congress as a whole would be too weak to shake off the domination which the wealthier classes have acquired over the Congress. How widespread this fear is may be seen from what Col. Wedgwood said on the India Vote in the Commons on the 12th March when speaking on the so-called safeguards in the new constitution. "Why need we worry about safeguards?" he asked. "Safeguards will be needed by the Indians who will come top under Swaraj just as

much as we, and the same kind of safeguards. Are we afraid of an Indian democracy? No less will they be. We had better leave the fashioning of safeguards to them; they will make them even more drastic than we can or dare make." This was in effect what Col. Wedgwood observed. One or two sentences from his speech may be given in his own words: "What the ruling class in India are afraid of is not British rule, nor British bayonets. What the ruling class in India are afraid of is exactly what the ruling class in this country were afraid of a hundred years ago, and, perhaps are to-day; they are afraid of bolshevism, of socialism, of democracy, of the working class. They want those safeguards just as much as the right hon. Member for Epping (Mr. Churchill)... The danger in India is that the fear which the ruling class have of the working class may lead that ruling class to over-emphasise perpetually the constitutional struggle with England in order to distract the attention of the masses of India from the economic issues which are of such infinitely greater importance." How very true this remark is! Of the many nationalists that we have, whether belonging to one party or another, only a moderate percentage are true democrats, and of these democrats a small percentage alone are willing to promote an advanced economic policy. It was therefore urgently necessary for the Congress, labouring as it does under a thick cloud of suspicion of being used as a tool by the industrialists of the land, to dispel this suspicion and announce to the world that the Congress is not afraid of, but is consciously working for, genuine democracy, and that it will adopt a social policy furthering the interests of the masses.

The resolution was criticised in the Congress as being sponsored without sufficient thought. Those who favoured the policy it indicated were afraid lest the future sessions of the Congress might upset it as quickly as the present session had embraced it. It would be much better, in their opinion, to refer the whole subject to a committee of social workers who would formulate a well thought-out policy and present it to the Congress for consideration. Public opinion would then be educated upon it, and if in the end the Congress adopted it, there would be a fair amount of security that the policy would be maintained to the end. As it is, it is nothing but a gesture. There is much force in this criticism, but even so we would rather have the Congress make this gesture now than let it be thought that, eager as the Congress is to extort power from the British hands, it would use it in the interest of the upper instead of the lower classes of the community. The contents of the resolution need not be examined too closely; it bears obvious signs of an improvised manifesto. It is indeed capable of improvement, and the All-India Congress Committee has been commissioned to make improvements in it. We trust it will receive improvement in many ways. But at the present moment it affords us a welcome indication that the Congress is on the right track in its social policy.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

HOW belated official publications as a rule are will be seen from the Central Government's report on Education in India which saw the light of day only a few days ago. This re-lates to the year 1928-29; but this will not enable the reader to realise its out-of-date character adequately. He will realise it better if he is told that it refers to a period when the Hartog Committee was appointed as an auxiliary to the Simon Commission to make educational inquiries. The Committee has long since submitted its report and become *functus officio*; and yet this publication speaks about its appointment and no more! That is how official publications lose all interest for the public and provide food only for the historical researcher. There is a good deal that can be done to improve matters in this behalf; but somehow no serious attempt is made in that direction.

Even a cursory study of the statistics given in this publication will show that while the year has seen some little advance, the rate of progress is disappointingly, and even annoyingly, slow. The number of educational institutions, both recognised and unrecognised, increased by a little over 3,000; while the number of students increased by less than four lakhs and stood at a little over 12 millions. These are at first sight very high-sounding figures, and might mislead the unwary. But the proportion of scholars to the population of British India was only 4.9 as against 4.8 for the previous year—an increase of .1 per cent. If however we take the education of girls separately, the position is even more disheartening. The percentage of girls in school to the total female population increased from 1.66 in 1928-29 to 1.78 in 1928-29, the corresponding figure for boys alone being 7.89. The percentage of scholars to population was the highest, viz. 12.6, in Bangalore and lowest, 2.2, in Baluchistan. Among the provinces Madras tops the list with 6.6 against 6.2 for 1928 while Bombay comes a close second with 6.4 as against 6.2 of the previous year, Central Provinces and Berar being in the unenviable position of having the smallest proportion of students to the total population, viz. 3.1.

But to understand properly the extent of the spread of mass education it is necessary to examine the statistics relating to primary education. These show that the number of recognised primary schools during the year under report stood at a little over 2 lakhs—a number higher by some 4,000 than that for the previous year and the enrolment at a little over 90 lakhs, which again represented an increase of about 30,000 over the figure for the previous year. It would of course not be correct to suppose that all the provinces shared in this increase; in fact there were one or two like Punjab and Bihar and Orissa which suffered a set-back. The set-back in these two provinces is accounted for in the report; but we do not propose to go into those explanations here. It is enough for our purpose to remember that the figures for the whole of India show some, though by no means satisfactory, progress. Compulsory Education

Acts of one kind or the other are in operation in different provinces; but thanks mainly to the prevailing financial stringency they have failed to yield very promising results. In the Bombay presidency, e. g. only four urban areas were under compulsion under the Patel Act of 1918, whereas the Paranjpye Act of 1923 was operating only in three urban areas and one rural. That is extremely disappointing.

Nor have the Government been able during all these years to check the awful waste going on in our educational system. The statistics given in this publication conclusively prove that there is hardly any diminution in that respect. We thus find that out of nearly 5.40 million pupils reading in the I primary standard, less than 1.90 millions were reading in the next higher class the following year. The discrepancy goes on increasing as we go up with the result that we find only about 8½ lakhs studying in standard IV. The figures for girls are equally appalling. In 1927-28 there were a little over 12 lakhs of girls studying in the I standard. Next year only a fourth of this number, i. e., about 3 lakhs were found in the II standard; and the number reading in the IV standard dwindled down to about 93,000! This is a serious problem which must be tackled as soon as possible; but which cannot obviously be tackled when the country's financial position is anything but satisfactory. For the only lasting solution is the universal introduction of compulsory education, making it illegal for parents to withdraw their children from school before a particular age. That means considerably increased funds for the spread of primary education of which there is no sign at present. In the meantime such measures as restricting admissions to the first month of the session and eliminating the one-teacher schools which find favour with educationists may be tried; but that would only be tinkering with the problem which demands much more drastic treatment.

STRAY THOUGHTS ABOUT FRANCE.

IT is now ten years since I made my first acquaintance with France. I still remember that cold and gloomy day on which I was passing from Marseilles to Paris on my way to London, when I was simply thrilled by one wonderful thought after another. I can never forget the fright I had when I saw the smoke issuing out from the chimneys of rows of houses for I had then no idea that houses were warmed. The golden sun dawned on the autumn day, the rain was pouring down, the grand old elms and pines were rich in their autumn colours of gold and pink, the straight and attractive avenues were keeping their melancholy watch over the countryside; here and there, a few workmen turned out to do some work on the farms and my young, throbbing heart was bubbling with excitement and wonder. At last, I was in France, the country about whose glorious revolution I read so much and at long last I was nearing England, my dreamland. The second time when I was passing by the same route, the old and aged trees welcomed me, and the countryside, in all its smiles and charms, was glowing with delight at my return. So I felt and so will I feel, if I go the same way again.

The great Seine is in floods. This river, which has no bunds to keep it within its course, is overflowing

the surrounding fields and the spreading waters are sweeping down rapidly in their majesty. As we speed along in the P. E. M. Express for Paris, we get a glimpse of towns flooded hopelessly and threatened seriously by the impetuous fury of the river. Here are some people paddling along in their flooded streets and there a number of women standing on their house tops. French engineers have been world famous for their skill and the French canal system has earned a well deserved reputation, but somehow it has not yet struck the French genius that the Sienne, the rich and luxurious stream among the rivers of Europe, needs banks as well as bridges, the country needs protection from the great river and the towns their embankments.

Another instance of the failure of the French to march with the times is seen in the way they manage—shall I say, mismanage?—their *mofusal* or country feeder railways. The train from St. Briew to St. Portview was incredibly slow and slack; much more disappointingly slow than our shuttle-trains (known as coaches), too crude for words in construction and particularly inconvenient in accommodation; I am sure, more unsatisfactory than the worst of our trains in India. The country stations were small and rickety buildings; the porters were not a bit efficient and the whole journey over that most beautiful part of the country was made boresome and unpleasant. I found, in my several journeys in other parts of France, that things are just as bad there as in the North.

At St. Briew in Normandy I saw women porters, who carried luggage from one platform to another, I had got so used to the English practice of eliminating women from all occupations which needed heavy manual labour that I was rather shocked at this curious French system.

Corruption is a vice from which even Cabinet Ministers suffer sometimes and such an eminent statesman as the late Clemenceau was accused of financial dishonesty, and only a few weeks back a prominent Cabinet Minister and a number of members of the House of Deputies were accused of corruption. But what exists in the Parliamentary circles of Paris is only an indication of what goes on, on a large scale, all over the country in many a walk of official and other life. The idea that any one would need a bribe or any one would think of giving wrong change was so completely removed from my mind by my ten months' stay in England that I was not a little shocked when I discovered that the Booking Clerk at a Railway station tried to deceive me out of a large sum. Again, I discovered only the other day that the bus conductor on the bus running from Poulon to Heyeres, one of the Riviera resorts, tried, though unsuccessfully, to give wrong change not only to me but also to a French woman. These small pilferings do not matter much, but considering what they are indicative of, one is certainly inclined to remark on the weakness of these people. In India, we are very much used to these troubles and inconveniences and bribery is quite a common means of earning to most of our low-paid staff. But the same excuse does not apply to the French workers, who are paid much more than our workers and who are accustomed to a much higher standard of living.

France is a land of small holders; the farmer-owners are many in number and their women are accustomed to work hard in the fields. Dairy and poultry farming are specialised in the neighbourhood of towns, and far away in the country corn-growing and fruit-gardening are more popular. Hedges, as we know them in England or in certain parts of Coimbatore District, are scarcely seen anywhere in the country because these small holdings cannot be culti-

vated well if they are hedged. The land looks rich; the soil is fairly loose and fertile, and the fields are satisfactorily drained. Women, with their attractive scarfs around their necks and multi-coloured head covers, working in the fields is quite a common sight. A few cows here and there, one or two farm workers walking beside a pair of horses or riding on the broad backs of the huge horses, along the country lanes and country lasses laughing loudly and heartily in the company of sprightly young lads are sights which glow in one's memory.

But except for a few large patches of the country between Paris and Calais, one does not find half as many attractive houses or farms or fields within a square mile as in England. Even a cattle-shed on an English farm has a pleasing appearance and the sheds of the workers are certainly quaint and romantic, even in spite of their dilapidated or stuffy condition. But their counterparts in France are far different. Most of the country houses of workers as well as farmers are too small, shabby and unattractive, in addition to being unsubstantial. Scarcely any building gives an idea of its imposing age and certainly no house helps one to go into raptures over its situation. What is worse is that these French peasants and their workers have not developed even an elementary idea of the harmony of colours, and more often than not, the colour-painting of their doors, windows or houses is so incongruous that it does violence to the natural beauty all around them.

An attempt, though perfunctory, is being made in England to preserve the beauty of the countryside, and many a poet, writer of note and lover of nature has bent his energies to the cause of the countryside. There are more than a couple of influential magazines devoted to the discovery and preservation of beauty spots in the country and the present Socialist Ministry has even gone to the extent of lending its support to the preservation of country paths. A vigorous campaign has been organised against the multiplication of disfiguring advertisement boards by the country roads, and railway lines and it has met with much success, as witness the strenuous opposition of many an artist to the installation of the hideous steel poles to carry electric wires and the solicitous care taken by the authorities concerned not to destroy the beauty and symmetry of any place by planting such pillars.

But France is still blind to the dangers which the modern short-sighted capitalist civilisation and the ignorant peasants are to the charming beauties of her countryside. Ugly and annoying advertisements, painted in bold and violent colours, disfigure the walls of many farm-buildings. I have come across some tea-houses with their 'Teas are served here' displayed in an offensive manner on the road from London to Ashington, but they pale into insignificance before the violent ugliness tolerated in France.

Two quaint things will always stick in my memory and I am grateful to France for them. I noticed, even on the first occasion, the beautiful and ancient wells, about a yard in diameter, with iron handles and fitted with pumps. They are often found in the corners of the small vegetable gardens adjoining country houses, and a woman drawing water by working the pump by hand and filling the bucket with water makes a pretty picture. The other one is the practice of French householders in the countryside of Southern France of having in front of their houses trees with their claw-like branches, affording shade like an umbrella, and bearing flowers rich in aroma during summer and excellent avenues of the same trees all along the paths running from their houses to the streets.

N. G. RANGA.

Reviews.

THE PREVENTION OF WAR.

THAT NEXT WAR? By K. A. BRATT. Trs. By ERNEST CLASSEN. (Allen and Unwin.) 1930. 22 cm. 280 p. 10/6.

THE UNITY OF THE WORLD. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. (Albert and Charles Boni, New York.) 1930. 20 cm. 196 p. \$ 2'50

BASED on knowledge and humane wisdom born of experience, *That Next War?* outsoars, for close reasoning and clear direction, a cloudy flight of books on the same theme. Major Bratt is best introduced to the reader in the words of Mr. Wickham Steed who writes a foreword to the English translation:—

A Swedish Staff officer, who spent his best years in the scientific study of war, who followed up his study by personal observation of actual warfare, whom his experience convinced that, as a human enterprise, modern fighting is unworthy and who, therefore, in this volume brings a trained imagination to bear upon *That Next War* of which fools in all lands glibly prate, such a man is Major K. A. Bratt, the author of this book. The original has been read, discussed, and quarrelled about from end to end of Sweden.

In the first part of it Major Bratt dialectically sketches the character of the "next war," were the nations to take that plunge—a study of chaos and *Pralaya* (the *Ragnarok* of the Old Norse Myth!) In the second, he studies the forces working towards war—the demons resolved on opening the third eye of Shiva; in the third, he adumbrates the plans for preventing war—for frustrating the demons and turning the god into Vishnu.

Experts on problems of war are agreed that victory in the next war would be assured to the nation that has the most efficient air-force (for its offensive) backed by an army leading in point of mechanization. Supremacy in air will decide the issue and the strategy of a belligerent inferior in the air would be abortive. Munition-centres situated in industrial areas, railways carrying troops, armies on the march to the front and on parade at home, ports wherefrom warships and troops sail and which function as gateways of food supply, all factories producing any kind of material for war, naval bases, communications and even entire cities can become legitimate targets of the aerial arm in the strategy which will be directed to the crippling of economic life. As Capt. Liddell Hart says in his penetrating article on "Armament and its Future Use" (in *The Yale Review*, Summer 1930), "the infliction of military and civil damage, material and moral, will coincide." The nerve-centres of a country will have to be protected with an elaborate defence of anti-aircraft batteries and ring-fortresses—a defence system which may be called the "air fortress." "The fight" says the author, "for the air fortresses and the subsequent attack on the vital centres will probably constitute the decisive factor in future war." Besides, to protect the civil population from a more scientifically ruthless use of poison gas large underground chambers or catacombs will have to be devised, fitted with air-filters, electric cables, gas and water pipes, and its inhabitants provided with gas-masks. And we are told, for a wonder, that a Swiss professor informed his audience at a congress in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1929 that such chambers have actually been erected in Switzerland; that Russian architects have advanced proposals for the building of new towns adapted to

the needs of modern war! The future war, far from being regional, would soon suck in the whole world into the *maelstrom*. It would absorb the whole population of the countries involved consuming with insatiable maw all the sources and resources of life. The cosmic destruction of life and property such a war would witness may need imagination to envisage, yet the logic of present day facts might make it the starkest of realities any day. It would mean the crash of civilization.

Who can say that Europe today is not a dynamite magazine,—with a megalomaniac Italy coveting Corsica and Nice as *Italia irredenta*, Tunis, Tangiers and Syria as colonies, and hungering for supremacy in Albania; with a France jealous of security, not *against* war, but *in* war, and eager to keep a strategic hold on the Rhineland; with a disarmed Germany fast recovering economic life and vigour; with oppressed minorities like the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Macedonians, the Ruthenes, the Slovenes and the Italian Germans, among whom hatred of their oppressors is mounting to fever-heat? In Russianized Italy, where militarism, reaction, the suppression of democratic institutions and the gospel of force are in the saddle, an apotheosized dictator actually clamours for war. Asiatic countries are waking up at long last against European Imperialism. The most dangerous element in the brew is the fact that in the west militarism finds its strongest support in capitalism which needs for its existence and continuance ever-expanding markets. What was the deepest cause of the Great War if it was not the tense rivalry between the far-flung British Imperialism, acting as an aegis for economic expansion, and the chafing German capitalism? Particularly capital invested in war-material industries has a stake in war. As Professor Madariaga points out in the introduction to his brilliant treatise, *Disarmament*, "armament firms are interested in fostering a state of affairs which will increase the demand for armaments." Major Bratt "goes one better" by adducing damning evidence to demonstrate the underground connections between War officers, armament firms and newspapers. To cite but one of his several instances. When the Coolidge (Disarmament) Conference of 1927 was sitting, American shipbuilders kept employed, to foil its work, a paid agent who, on the completion of his laudable mission was maintained by a newspaper magnate to intrigue against America's acceptance of the World Court at the Hague. There are associations in America like Allied Patriotic Societies, American Constitutional Association, American Citizenship Foundation, American Defence Society, National Civic Federation, National Patriotic Council, United States Flag Association, U. S. A. Patriotic Society, the Woman Builders of America, etc. financially supported by steel and oil kings and ammunition manufacturers, with the ostensible aim of fostering patriotism and nationalism but with the real one of keeping up war-fever and damping the fires of humanitarian and labour agitation. The author's account of the activities of these Societies reads like a thriller. In passing we get a glimpse into the inwardness of America's entry into the War. In the first two years one ammunition firm alone had shipped to England war material of the value of 300 million dollars, while the orders of the Entente from all the American firms and the loans made by the banks to meet them amounted to some milliards. The cause of American industry thus became one with the cause of the Allies. To the huge armament and steel concerns, like the Midvale, Bethlehem, and Carnegie, the Entente victory was no longer a matter of pious enthusiasm. They launched a raging propaganda for the War through their organs, the Navy League, the American Defence Society, and the National Security League—a propaganda of

the vigour and magnitude such as the United States alone are capable of organising. It is strange that, in face of these facts, the well-known Italian historian, Ferrero (the author of the second book under review) should hold that he has never been able to discern the hidden hand of big finance and capitalism behind political events or even the world war. Plutocracy, according to him, is a force making for peace and not for war and as such is guiltless of blood. If there is any truth in this, it applies to "peace capital" and not to "war capital." Big finance, particularly the one sunk in steel, oil, chemicals, etc. pulls the wires in the direction of war through the newspapers it controls. The yellow press keeps plying its bellows behind international fears until these grow into the febrile stage of war-psychosis.

In one of the preliminary chapters the author analyses the psychology of armaments with which a ponderous literature has already made us familiar. The "power-complex" of the ruling class in certain countries, like pre-War Germany and present-day Italy, exploits and foments the "fear-complex" of the common people. In all countries we witness the vicious circle of fear begetting armaments and armaments breeding fear, with the result that Disarmament Conferences are really Armament Conferences, in which each country seeks to steal a march over the other in trying to secure a *relative* superiority for its own armaments while consenting to an all-round *absolute* reduction. (Vide on this point Madariaga: *Disarmament*). In international deliberations again, a nation's success in diplomacy is measured by the strength of its armaments. So do the nations of America and Europe live in a state of chronic war, of which war in the narrower sense is but a malignant tumour. Armaments in themselves are a continuous menace; for, what can the general staff in command of them "do three hundred and sixty days a year at the rate of six hours a day but prepare for war?" And the strategy of a country, say England or France, does not function *in vacuo* but with reference to one concrete, specially imagined and selected adversary who in turn has selected the former. Capitalism, militarism, nationalism, Fascism, oppressed minorities, the sensational press, imperialism, armaments, Franco-Italian rivalry, a disarmed Germany that has refused to recognize the inviolability of her eastern frontiers—do not these forces by their interplay make a witch's cauldron from which threatens to emerge the "blood-boltered" head of the Armageddon? It does not convince us to be told, even by one like Sr. Ferrero, that these are more a legacy of the past than a prognostic of the future.

The problem for humanity and civilization is how to save themselves from the impending doom. According to Major Bratt, there is only one way—the League of Nations developing into an International Federation of all peoples (the world community of Senor Madariaga) possessing, because the constituent states will have delegated to it their external sovereignty, an armament powerful enough to compel states to resort to and abide by arbitration—an awe to the aggressor state and a guarantor of security. Without the sanction of such a World Executive backing the World Court and Federation, there can be no effective guarantee against war. The international military system must not be centralized but so decentralized as to render easy rapid mobilization towards a troubled zone. The author's suggestion amounts to this, that the dead Geneva Protocol must be revived and enlarged so as to include all the sixty nations. Along with the military, the Federation must be able to exercise the economic sanction as well. By the same token, as the future war would spell the destruction of all economic resources, it

will be in the interest of International labour and 'peace capital'—opposed as they otherwise are—to combine against their common enemy. The Workers' International must perfect an organization, "so far as its forces and influence permit, for a systematic rising of the industrial classes against a *war of aggression*. Within a developed international organization, the revolt of the masses against a Government which overrides the decisions of The World Executive Power must be regarded as one of the most important means of dealing with an international, law-breaker." By 'revolting' is meant the stoppage of the machinery of production.

The question of peace is a question of power: the tiger cannot be induced to turn humanitarian, by being offered a bouquet. Isolated disarmament would only put the disarmed country at the mercy of the armed. Locarno Treaties and the Kellogg Pact, excellent beginnings as they are, would prove feeble dykes against the surging in of the Atlantic. By the former Britain does not pledge herself not to fight Germany nor does she guarantee a peace pact between Germany and her eastern neighbours, while it leaves France free to start aggression under the plea of defence. The Kellogg Pact by clinging to the Monroe Doctrine (*pace* Major Bratt) gives the United States a free hand in America; and it leaves members of the League at a disadvantage as against an outsider and as against outsiders in general who can wage any kind of war by calling it 'defensive.' Major Bratt's is the only solution, but how to bring it about?

Though the component strands of his book are not original, taken together they make a solidly fresh and illuminating discussion of a momentous subject. Cross-lighting his theme from diverse authorities he subjects militarists and the war-minded to a severe cross-fire.

One of the authors he cites in passing is Sr. Ferrero, whose *The Unity of the World*, strings together the *disjecta membra* of his mind on the theme. He desiderates the freedom of the seas, the disappearance of tariff walls, the gradual emergence of linguistic unity in Europe (!), universal suffrage and an enlightened democracy which, in his opinion, is the palladium of "peace, legality, security, humanitarianism, justice, patriotism, beauty, culture, gentleness of manners". These are aspirations that belong to the "profound and permanent will" of the masses as distinguished from their "transitory and capricious will." Of the League of Nations he curiously holds that Asia and America have no use for it and would be wise not to join it! Nevertheless, he has a fine and noble idealism that sits well with his learning though neither shows us the road to unity.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

THE INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By B. GOVINDA RAO.

(Author, Coconada,) 1930. 21 cm. 153 p. Re. 1/4. The book contains principally an abridgement of the *Indian Cotton Textile Industry* by Mr. M. P. Gandhi, which was published last year. As the main book has been sufficiently reviewed, there need not be any detailed comments made now. The rest of the book contains, what the author calls, four other "Essays", which are published as appendices—the first dealing with Preference, Protection and Swadeshi; the second with the Japanese Cotton Mill Industry; the third with the Chinese Cotton Mill Industry, and the fourth with the market for cotton piecegoods in East Africa. The

author dealing with the merger scheme being considered at present in Bombay, refers to his observations as "rambling observations". I fear that the first appendix or the first "Essay", which is the biggest of the four appendices, consists more or less of such rambling observations. He starts with the question of Imperial Preference, which is admittedly an important question not only as regards the cotton industry but as regards all other industries. Unfortunately, Mr. Govindarao does not make up his mind upto the last to take any definite view either for or against the question, though it appears he is opposed to it. He observes that Imperial Preference is unsuitable to India as its introduction means the free entry of British manufactures into India. Even Imperial Preference, however, does not propose any free entry of British goods into India.

He then proceeds to state that Indian public men and industrialists make the grant of fiscal autonomy by Government a condition precedent to the adoption of preference by them. At the same time, he again veers round to the ground that "the country cannot afford to stand aloof from the fiscal adjustments of the Empire as Imperial consolidation entails mutual sacrifices and reasonable contributions on the part of the constituents of the Empire." This view he ascribes to the Indian public men and industrialists. So far, the Indian public men and industrialists, excepting a very few, have not taken such a view at all, and have all along gone on the assumption that Imperial Preference will not be suitable to this country. In fact, it is not merely the Indian view but also the view held by some of the Colonies like Australia and Canada. Mr. Jayakar did put forward some such view at the Round Table Conference, but it has not found any echo upto now in this country. It may be that if there is a complete settlement of the fundamental political issue and if India is given complete fiscal autonomy and financial control, the future Government of India may consider, as a *quid pro quo*, the question of some Preference for the British; but as things stand at present it is not on the programme of any political party. I am surprised at the author's stating that India cannot afford to lose the Customs revenue and finds it hard to pay high prices for articles which it will be compelled to import from foreign countries and which are not manufactured in Britain. The adoption of Imperial Preference does not mean any appreciable loss in Customs revenue, and there can in practice be no Imperial Preference for articles which are not manufactured in Great Britain. He is on surer ground when he says that as India does not enjoy the same status as that of the self-governing parts of the Empire it suffers serious loss under the plan of Preference though the words should have been "would suffer" instead of "suffers". The question, however, is if the status of India is going to be raised to equality with other Dominions, will it be advisable or otherwise to have Imperial Preference? So far as one can see this question has not been made one of bargaining at the last Round Table Conference, and quite properly too; for the future Government of India should have no such conditions to hamper its free will. Just as commercial opinion has pronounced against the different safeguards proposed, it would have condemned the tacking on of Imperial Preference to the R. T. C. Constitution.

In connection with the same question, again, the author quotes from Mr. Ludwell Denny's *America Conquers Britain* and remarks that "If these foregoing statements carry any significance, it is reasonable to expect that the Dominions will, by their cooperative endeavour, contribute to the strength and solidarity and uphold the power and prestige of the Empire"; and further that "this object can be more easily attained if

Great Britain on its part makes no differentiation in regard to its treatment of the Dominions." Can it be taken as the author's view that if India is given the full Dominion Status there will be no objection to accepting Imperial Preference?

The section on Imperial Preference is followed by a section on Swadeshi, and though it is mixed up with some "rambling" views on the boycott, a good case has generally been made out for protection of Swadeshi articles and the development of Swadeshi industries. The author gives certain statistics with regard to the imports of piecegoods showing the effect of the boycott, and then states that these figures are not an indication that this fall in imports promises to be a permanent feature because the boycott is only intended to serve a particular purpose. Unfortunately this is not true. The political or economic settlement might have been easier if it had been made clear just as it was at the time of the Bengal Partition movement that the boycott was meant only to secure a particular purpose, viz. Self-Government. It has been, however, declared to be the policy of the Congress that all foreign piecegoods shall be boycotted for ever, and it is proposed as one of the terms of the truce that the picketing of foreign piecegoods should be allowed to continue even after the settlement. The other three appendices regarding the Cotton Mill industry in Japan and China and the Market in East Africa are fairly good summaries of the situation there.

J. K. MEHTA.

SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSE.

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE. BY HANS DRIESCH.
(Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 20cm. 172p. 6/-

Dr. Hans Driesch is already well-known to the philosophical world as a biologist philosopher. This present book which is a translation of the German original—*Der Mensch Und Die Welt*—gives to the English-speaking readers his complete philosophical system for the first time. It is written, we are told in the preface, not for philosophers or scientists but "for all who care to be presented with a picture of the universe, complete and with a scientific foundation!"

The book begins with the view which natural, unsophisticated man takes of the world around him. All the objects are real with him; inner life is contrasted with the outer world. There is also the world of dreams and day-dreams, as also the world which is 'beyond' death. All these exist side by side with their boundaries ill-defined and relations ill-adjusted. Then comes the 'critical' view with its distinction of reality and appearance. Here we are introduced to the author's "Doctrine of Order." The task of this Doctrine of Order is to evolve the "order of my world." But, then, it should not be misunderstood as being narrow and subjective. It has a wide scope. Immediate experience is its starting point and it supplies the material for its formation of worlds. "And now three separate regions of the world are formed of this material; the realm of mere meanings, which is the sphere of pure logic and mathematics, the realm of nature and the realm of the soul. The totality of these constitutes my world". (p. 41)

Dr. Driesch contends that mechanistic explanation of nature is inadequate and that we have to take recourse to vitalism which is now sufficiently demonstrated by the autonomy of the living. In the realm of psychology his Doctrine of Order finds it necessary to posit the concept of soul which is not the same as the conscious 'ego' but something unconsci-

ous, with unconscious forces which are not 'natural forces.' "The soul has knowledge but in a form which is beyond my immediate reach, and is higher than that in which I have knowledge" (p. 68) Here he comes very near to the concept of indeterminate, generic knowledge very clearly recognised in the Vedanta Philosophy.

It is rightly said that the problem of death was, historically, the source of all religious and metaphysical doctrines. Man is instinctively interested in what is "beyond" death. But so far philosophy has not formulated any definite answer to this question. Man expects continuation of existence with personal recollections and feelings but nothing is so far known which conclusively proves personal immortality. It is satisfying to note that Dr. Driesch's remarks concerning Spiritualism evince a genuinely scientific attitude. "Here we must simply wait; there is no other course", says he. It is this problem of the "beyond" which creates in man a sense of dependence or the religious feeling in the proper sense of the term.

Man apprehends reality not simply in a cognitive way; there is also another viz. the intuitive way. This is the source of art. Art and Philosophy proceed by different paths, but they meet ultimately in the Spirit of Religion.

And here we come to the main problem of the book, viz. man's place in the world. So long as man is simply a *thinker* he stands apart from the world, he is an 'other' to the world, but when man is an ethical being, a moral agent, he is in the world. He is a member of the universe, and in this capacity he initiates changes and creates values. An interesting question is raised whether spirit in man tends, on the whole, to produce a preponderance of good or evil in the world. Though there are some facts which bear testimony to Lessing's condemnation of Spirit as 'the destroyer of the earth,' our author has not failed to appreciate the efforts of Gandhi the Great and the Quakers' "Society of Friends". (p. 154) Such laudable efforts, he thinks, make us optimistic about the future of mankind. But about some ultimate issues we shall ever remain agnostic. "Why is there life, striving life, where "life" means the dualistic bond and the living entity suffers from this bond, hopes for a release and knows what release would mean?" About all this we are completely in the dark. And yet one thing seems certain, namely, man's task is to fight evil in all its forms. Man is significantly described as "God's fellow-fighter on earth." The influence of Christian religion is here unmistakable. Such is our author's conclusion as regards man's place in the universe.

Scientific accuracy, simplicity of style, and a really 'synoptic' character of the world-view are the outstanding features of the book. We feel no hesitation in saying that it eminently fulfils its purpose of presenting to the layman a complete and a scientifically correct picture of the universe. In fact, even some philosophers in India will find something new to learn. Books like these are sure to raise, at least partially, the mist of obscurity and unpopularity which hangs over the subject of philosophy in the minds of the people.

D. G. LONDHE.

SHORT NOTICES.

A PEEP INTO EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA.

(2ND. EDN.) BY SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR.
(Taraporewalla.) 1930. 20cm. 75p. Rs. 2.

IN the book under review, the learned author gives in simple narrative an authentic survey of early Indian history from the foundation of the Maurya

dynasty to the downfall of the Guptas. In it he makes a critical use of materials like coins, inscriptions archaeological remains, writings of foreigners and native literature.

The author begins with the rise of Buddhism. He points out that Buddhism is only a sect of Hinduism and that it did not seek to undermine caste though it denied the authority of the Vedas and the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices. The author gives a mercilessly brief account of Chandragupta Maurya. Even *A Peep into the Early History of India* we hold, should contain a fairly good account of the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. The author, however, gives us a very interesting account of Asoka's reign. The extent of his empire and the date of his coronation and his missionary efforts are treated very well. The author then takes us through the confused period when several short-lived dynasties, indigenous as well as foreign, ruled over various parts of India. The Sungas and Kanvayanas, the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Kshatrapas, and the Kushans reigned over India between the extinction of the Mauryan dynasty and the advent of the Guptas. The learned author does not agree either with V. A. Smith's theory that Kanishka's accession took place in 78 A. D. and that the *Saka* era dates from his reign or with the generally accepted view among Indian archaeologists that the *Saka* era was founded not by Kanishka who reigned from 120 A. D. but by Kadphises II who ruled from 78 to 110 A. D. Sir Ramakrishna is of opinion that the *Saka* era was founded by a *Saka* king, that the *Saka* and Indo-Parthian dynasties intervened and that the Kushans belonged to the third and fourth centuries A. D. This is a knotty problem in Indian chronology and until more light is thrown on the subject by any archaeological revelation, it is difficult to favour one view or the other. At present much can be said on both sides.

The learned author finishes his book with a short account of the development of the Hinayana Buddhism to the Mahayana form, the Huns, the revival of Brahminism, the advent of the Guptas, and the literary Renaissance of the period.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

THE SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF GREAT BRITAIN—A REPORT.

By WILLIAM F. WILLOUGHBY; WESTEL W. WILLOUGHBY AND SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY.
(The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1929.
22cm. 362p. \$3'00.

THIS book portrays the system of financial administration of Great Britain, points out wherein it differs from the American practice and indicates the suggestions which would have to be carried out in American financial administration to secure effective control over public finances so that Government of the people for the people by the people may become a reality. The adoption of a budget by the Executive, the control of the Executive through the grant to Parliament, the placing of full details of financial administration before Parliament, the making of the Ministry responsible for planning and executing the same, the wise system of accounting and reporting of the financial transactions, the adoption of Parliamentary audit of receipts and expenditures, the placing on the table of Parliament of the Auditor's report for the scrutiny of the members of Parliament, the Treasury's control over the preparation of estimates and expenditure of funds and the adopting of methods to secure flexibility in actual expenditure are the essential characteristics of the British financial administrative machinery.

This book can safely be recommended as an accurate, authoritative and clear exposition of the British financial system. The salient feature of the Executive's controlling voice in the formulation and determination of the financial programme is very lucidly explained. At a time when responsibility is going to be conferred upon the Indian legislature the chapters relating to the procedure through which budgetary control may be secured would afford interesting reading to people in India.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

CREMATION. BY FLORENCE G. FILDER.

(Williams & Norgate.) 1930. 20cm. 80p. 1/-

THIS is a small brochure advocating cremation as the best and the most hygienic method of disposing of the dead. Many interesting superstitions and beliefs about burial and other methods are recorded in this book. For instance, Dr. Hartland writes: "Certain tribes refuse to bury the dead because the bodies would poison the soil, pollute the crops and convey harm to the living." On the contrary, the fire-worshipping Chaldeans abhorred the burning of the carcasses as a pollution of their deity—the Fire. Barring them, cremation is proved by the author as the most scientific and hygienic method.

V. M. B.

CO-OPERATION AND RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA. By B. B. MUKHERJEE. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.) 1923. 20 cm. 198 p. Rs 3.

THIS book aims at bringing to the notice of the readers the great part that co-operation can play in the rural welfare of India. The transformation that has overcome our villages by which they have ceased to be the self-contained units they were in the past, has been attributed not so much to the exodus to the towns as to the urbanisation of the villages. This has meant a complete change in the mentality of the villager who is now quite ready to change his centre of interest out of the village. What this means can be realised only by those who have an intimate knowledge of villages and the author seems to have touched the core of things in his description of the present day condition of our villages. It is rightly recognised that the bedrock on which the improvement of our village has to be based, is education in its widest sense. All efforts of Government are likely to be infructuous because of the ignorance of the villagers, resulting in indifference and apathy. In all this work there is such a "fragmentation of effort" that the results obtained are so disproportionate to the energy expended. The co-operative movement, sponsored by Government, has not gone far enough, and the author thinks this is so because the indigenous forms of co-operation were ignored. Everybody must agree with the conclusion that the problem of village uplift must be taken up as one problem and that the Government and the people must join together in solving it.

Various ways by means of which farming can be bettered are described. The leaks that ordinarily occur in all transactions between the grower and the consumer through middlemen is clearly described. Better business consists in stopping these leaks so that the consumer may get better returns for his efforts and the consumer may get better value for his money. Many examples are given to prove that co-operative marketing offers a solution to this problem. Organization in this direction can be successfully undertaken only after education in co-operative methods is made available to all concerned in it. The author has made a very strong and cogent plea for a

combined and co-ordinated effort at rural betterment based on a firm foundation and every worker in this field will wish that the way indicated in this book may be followed.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

Correspondence.

THE MIRZA CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I have read with much interest the excellent article published in your issue of the 26th March 1931 on the subject of the Conference recently held in Bangalore under the chairmanship of Sir Mirza Ismail. The object of the conference was avowedly to indicate the great field for constructive work opened up by the labours of the Round Table Conference and to seek the advice of the people, both officials and non-officials, in regard to the lines of future action. The Chairman made a graceful reference to the strength he derived from the consciousness of popular support at the previous conference he had held; and the convening of the present conference was no doubt due to a desire to understand every shade of opinion in Mysore so that future action might be representative of the views of the entire country.

The writer of the article under reference correctly appreciates the value of the provisional conclusions reached by the conference, but is disappointed that the conference did not deal with some aspects relating to Indian States in general. But this is to forget that the conference met for discussing the attitude that *Mysore* should take in regard to the questions awaiting solution and not to work out solutions of universal application. It is admitted by the writer of the article that the conference arrived at conclusions which were satisfactory in relation to Mysore. Is it not rather unfair, then, to find fault with it for not going out of its way and working out solutions applicable to "States which decline to join the federation" or to "States which have no judicial systems" or to "states where there is no responsiveness to the wishes of the people"?

The article entirely misapprehends the point of Sir Mirza Ismail's remarks about the incorrectness of the assumption which is usually made that homogeneity is essential to federation. It mistakes an illustration for an argument. The real argument is contained in the last para of the opinion quoted by Sir Mirza and the conclusion follows logically from the implications of federation. It is rather cheap pleasantry to say that the copiousness of the flow of water under the bridges can weaken a truth. In fact, time is the best test of truth. There is one other statement which is more an appeal to prejudice than to reason, and that is this. In discussing the method of selecting States' representatives, the writer remarks that the conference has recorded a disappointing resolution. Referring to Sir Mirza's query why it should be supposed that the representatives of princes, even if nominated, will be reactionary, the writer answers "Surely Sir Mirza knows the reason well enough". This is a sneer; but we ask in all seriousness, has the writer thought sufficiently about the question? He is assuming that the princes are reactionaries, that they will only select reactionaries; and that the people selected will remain reactionaries. We venture to challenge every one of these assumptions. In the first place, it is common knowledge that, but for the unequivocal declaration of the Princes that they would

not federate except with a self-governing British India, the important principle of responsibility at the centre might not have been so readily accepted at the Round Table Conference, as it was. In the second place, reactionaries are not more plentiful in Indian States than in British India, and persons who are willing to dishonour themselves by opposing progress will not readily be found; and in the third place, even if such unfortunate people did exist, a change to the atmosphere of Delhi would give them the best chance of a radical cure. No man can for long resist the influence of the environment in which he lives and works, and it is inconceivable that any person can remain for any length of time a member of a democratic legislature without becoming a democrat himself.

Is it kind or just to ascribe to the princes and people of the States less patriotism and a lower political mentality than is claimed by their countrymen in British India?

Yours, etc.
OBSERVER.

Bangalore April 2.

(OUR esteemed correspondent has done us less than justice in accusing us of sneering at Sir Mirza Ismail, and of discounting the patriotism and political capacity of the Princes and peoples of the Indian States. Nothing was further from our purpose, we assure him. We have often borne testimony to the enlightened and helpful outlook of Sir Mirza. And our ardent desire that the States should be represented in the federal legislature by persons elected by the peoples of the States cannot by any stretch of imagination be construed as an aspersion on the patriotism and political capacity of the peoples of the States.

The correspondent argues that the Mirza Conference was concerned only with Mysore and not with States in general. In para. 6 of his "Concluding Remarks" Sir Mirza speaks of "the more important States like Mysore" and in the penultimate paragraph he says, "Let me tell you that in speaking thus I am not thinking so much of our own State." The whole trend of the proceedings of the Conference is contrary to our correspondent's contention. Sir Mirza knew better; he was sounding public opinion in Mysore regarding the R.T.C. conclusions and not as to what it thought of them in relation to Mysore alone. * And rightly so.

We agree that time is the best test of truth. The Bismarokian federation, which, by the way, we are grateful to be assured was really meant to be an illustration and not an argument, had two features: the federating units had no uniform constitutions, but the federal franchise and citizenship were common to all. The latter stood the test of time while the former has gone the way it should.

It would be carrying coals to Newcastle to remind so well-read and well-equipped a student of politics and constitutional history as Sir Mirza is that any day election by the people was far superior to nomination by "irresponsible" executives; that it was impossible to guarantee a succession of good and wise autocrats as rulers of States; and that no single Indian State in India was on a par with, much less in advance of, British India in its constitution. It was agreed at the R.T.C. that the British Indian Provinces should have "responsible" governments. It may be contented that federal representatives

nominated by the responsible governments of the Provinces would be less reactionary and more democratic than those nominated by the present autocratic administrations in the Provinces. Still, no British Indian had advanced the view that the federal representatives from the British Indian Provinces should be nominated by the responsible ministries in them. Opinion is unanimous that they should be elected.

We have more than once acknowledged our deep obligations to the Princes for their unequivocal declaration in London that they would federate only with a self-governing British India. But if the States' representatives are nominated by the Princes, will it be self-governing in the sense that it will be democratic?

We agree with the correspondent that no person can long remain a member of a democratic legislature without becoming a democrat himself. But, as we said above, will the federal legislature be democratic if a third of the Lower Chamber and a half of the Upper Chamber consisted of the nominees of autocratic Princes and if no federal government could be turned out of office except by a two-thirds majority vote?—Ed.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE TWELVE PRINCIPAL UPANISADS. Vol. 1. By E. ROER. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1931. 21cm. 312p. Rs. 4.
- INVESTMENTS OF UNITED STATES CAPITAL IN LATIN AMERICA. By MAX WINKLER. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1929. 20cm. 297p. \$2.00.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH HUMOUR. Part 1—By LOUIS CAZAMIAN. (Macmillan, London & New York.) 1930. 20cm 160p. 8/6.
- THE CALL OF INDIA IN VERSE. (Stockwell.) 20cm. 16p. 1/-.
- RUSSIAN DEBTS AND RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION. By LEO PASVOLSKY & HAROLD G. MOULTON. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1924. 20cm. 247p. \$2.00.
- THE STUDENT'S CHURCH HISTORY. By CHARLES HART. (Burns Oates,) 1931. 20cm. 234p. 3/6.
- THE INDIAN CRISIS. By A. FENNER BROCKWAY. (Gollancz.) 1930. 19 cm. 208 p. 2/6.
- RELIGION AND CULTURE. By T. L. VASWANI. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1930. 14 cm. 93 p. As. 12
- THE MEANING OF LIFE AND JESUS. The Evolution of the Ideal. By F. W. SHAW. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1931. 18 cm. 110 p. As. 12.
- THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN, (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1931. 18 cm. 144 p. Re. 1
- PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIFIED STATES OF INDIA. Part 1. By R. G. PRADHAN. (Author. Nasik.) 1931. 18 cm. 114 p. Re. 1.

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