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Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Impasse.

PANDIT KUNZRU has discussed elsewhere the points in controversy between the Government and the Congress in an exhaustive manner. The trouble in this dispute as in many others is that each party seeks to support its contentions by an appeal to broad principles which have to be stretched beyond their capacity in order to justify the position taken up by it. The Government for its part claims to be the final authority; aggrieved persons may bring their complaints to its notice, but the decision must lie exclusively with its agents. "It would not be possible for the Government to agree to any arrangement which involved the suspension of the ordinary law or of the regular machinery of administration or which included the appointment of an external authority to whom the Government would delegate the responsibility of reaching decisions in matters closely affecting the administration . . . and which would trench upon the jurisdiction and discretion of the courts of law." This position is challenged by the Congress in a formula drawn in equally wide terms: as a disputant with the Government, the Congress is a body of co-equal authority with it, and matters at issue between the two can only be decided by reference to an independent tribunal. Otherwise it would mean that "the

Government should be both prosecutor and judge with reference to matters arising out of a contract to which they and the complainants are the parties." The matters in dispute which really relate to details can thus be easily raised to the dignity of vital issues of fundamental principle, and this is precisely what has happened in the present controversy. Mr. A. Ranga-swami Aiyengar of the *Hindu* therefore well says: "Whatever wider issues may be raised either on the Congress or on the Governmental side, the actual dispute is on a narrow matter, on which it must be quite easy to secure agreement, if the will to do so permeates those concerned in the same way as it does Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy."

It is on these lines that a *via media* can be found, and at the moment of writing such an attempt, we are glad to see, is being made. The Government is being pressed to appoint an official of the status of a High Court Judge to investigate the matter instead of a board of arbitration. The official will report to the Government, which will then take such action as it might think fit. The Government's authority will thus be amply preserved. The Congress too will have secured the substance of its demand inasmuch as there will be a fresh inquiry by an authority independent of the Government. A similar course was adopted in the Bardoli case. The Government did not then abdicate its powers; it retained in its own hands the power to take the final decision. But the aggrieved peasantry too got what it desired. Its contentions were proved up to the hilt and the whole settlement had to be undone. It is strange that such an obvious course was not thought of before. We hope and trust that it will now be adopted. Mahatma Gandhi is genuinely eager to take part in the R. T. C., and we sincerely believe that Lord Willingdon for his part will do his best to make Mahatma Gandhi's way smooth. We cannot therefore contemplate failure of the present negotiations. Such failure would be a tragedy out of all proportion to the importance of the questions immediately involved. Statesmanship must be pronounced bankrupt if because of differences on minor points a calamity of this character is not averted.

All-India Muslims and the R. T. C.

DURING the last few days two communal organisations—the Hindu Sabha and the All-India Muslim

Conference through its executive board—have expressed their views on the Congress formula for the Hindu-Muslim settlement. Both reject the formula as being unsatisfactory. The reasons for their respective decisions differ, but it is unnecessary to deal with them at length here. In a further resolution the latter takes strong objection to Sir Ali Imam's nomination to the R. T. C. on the ground of his being a nationalist Muslim. At the same time a curious world is obligingly informed that he is in no way "the representative of Muslim India" and that his nomination "has been made with a view to break up the solidarity of the Muslim delegates to the R. T. C." We do not know that Sir Ali Imam, when he goes to London, will claim to speak for the whole of Muslim India, just as the delegates of the All-India Muslim Conference too cannot truthfully play that role. The fact of the matter is that neither Sir Ali Imam nor the All-India Muslim Conference can speak for the whole of the Indian Muslim community. Both of them can at best claim to represent a section of Muslim opinion—the former the more progressive section and the latter the more reactionary, if perhaps the more numerous, section. Then, why in the name of commonsense all this pother about Sir Ali Imam not being a representative of Indian Muslims? The talk of his selection being designed to destroy the solidarity of the Muslim members of the R. T. C. also sounds rather hollow. It must be a wonderful solidarity if it can be shaken by the presence of a solitary individual holding opposite views. If it is really so unstable as it is apparently feared it is, is it not better to use some other term which would more correctly express the real state of affairs?

* * *

But this is not all. The parent body when it met in its annual session in Delhi last April was unable to give a mandate to the Muslim members of the R. T. C. as regards their attitude towards the question of responsibility at the centre. Not that the question was not mooted. It certainly was, but its discussion brought out such widely different points of view that the Conference had to disperse with no definite decision recorded on the point. The executive board however has presumed to shoulder that responsibility which, in view of its serious nature, is usually discharged by the bigger body. The executive board's mandate to the Muslim delegates is that they should not acquiesce in any transfer of responsibility to the Central Government unless the demands embodied in the Conference's Delhi resolution are conceded. Whatever other fault may be found with these instructions, they cannot at all be characterised as ambiguous. This leaves no latitude whatever to the Muslim delegates in the matter of negotiation. The question then naturally arises: why need they put themselves to the trouble of undergoing the arduous journey to England and the discomforts of a prolonged stay in London if they are to be bound hand and foot by such clear-cut instructions? Would not the same purpose be attained by simply notifying to all whomsoever it may concern that the consent of that section of the Muslim community which is represented in the All-India Muslim Conference to the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government will follow the acceptance by the British Government of their demands contained in their Delhi resolution? But the departure of the President of the Conference and other Muslim delegates for England last week shows that the method of negotiation is apparently not altogether ruled out.

* * *

The executive board attaches great importance to the Minorities Committee meetings preceding those of the Federal Structure Committee. So strongly does

it feel on the point that it even goes the length of asking Muslim delegates to non-co-operate with the Federal Structure Committee, should it, according to a pre-arranged programme, go on with its work before the Minorities Committee assemblies. Frankly we are unable to appreciate the logic of this somewhat queer attitude. Even a novice in politics knows that whatever decisions may be come to by the Federal Structure Committee, they can only be tentative ones until the Muslim and other minorities, on being satisfied with arrangements for the safeguarding of their interests under the new constitution, express their approval of them. From this point of view, would it not be enough if the Muslim delegates, participating in the deliberations of the Federal Structure Committee, made it clear beyond doubt that their acquiescence in its decisions was dependent upon their receiving satisfaction later on in regard to communal matters? This position would be generally intelligible; but to try to hold up the work of the Conference in the way the All-India Muslim Conference threatens to do is, to say the least, very unreasonable.

* * *

The Railway Dispute.

THE personnel of the Court of Inquiry to inquire into the points at issue between the Railway Board and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation has been announced. The Court is to consist of Mr. Justice Murphy as chairman and Messrs. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry and Mr. Ross Masood as members. There can be no doubt that the Government have secured for the task the services of as impartial men as possible, so much so that even the Federation itself may have nothing to say against them. The real bone of contention, however, between the Federation and the Government is, as will be remembered by our readers, the scope of inquiry by this tribunal. On that point the Federation has unfortunately failed to receive satisfaction from the Government. Whether the Federation's dissatisfaction with the terms of reference of the proposed Court will find vent in a general railway strike the next few days will show. Very probably the Federation will wait for the adoption of that extreme step till the results of the labours of the Court are available. Even if the Federation were to adopt that course, few will doubt that the Railway administration was guilty of indecent hurry in discharging 30,000 railway workers when the Federation was seeking an opportunity to suggest alternative methods of retrenchment. The demand of the Federation, therefore, that their cases should form the subject of inquiry by the Court will strike any unbiassed observer as eminently reasonable. Alternatively the Federation suggested that instead of Government restricting the Court of Inquiry to particular points the Court itself should be allowed freedom to frame issues for itself by a preliminary inquiry and after hearing both sides. We fail to see why the Government found itself unable to adopt this course. This would have ensured justice being done to all concerned. Far from doing that, the Government now come down upon the Federation for precipitately proceeding to take a strike ballot. Those who followed the many attempts made by the Federation to represent their case in all quarters prior to resorting to this step will have no difficulty in absolving it from any such accusation. If that charge can with truth be made against anybody, it can be levelled against the Railway administration, which, without waiting to consider the Federation's alternative suggestions for retrenchment, threw out of employment 30,000 poor railway workers, and thus precipitated a crisis.

* * *

THE IMPASSE.

By PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.

TILL the Congress Working Committee met, scarcely any one seriously doubted that Mr. Gandhi would attend the Round Table Conference. Even when it became known that the situation was serious, it was widely believed that a crisis would be averted. The final breakdown of the negotiations was a calamity that few people expected.

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the press interview given by Mahatma Gandhi on the 13th August created the impression that the decision of the Congress not to participate in the Round Table Conference was due to the refusal of Government to appoint an impartial tribunal to consider questions arising out of the Delhi agreement of March last. Certain passages in the correspondence released the next day also produced the same impression. But a perusal of the entire correspondence leads one to the conclusion that the rupture took place on a much smaller issue. Mr. Gandhi did suggest to the Government of India the appointment of a permanent board of arbitration for the whole country more than once and also proposed the appointment of an impartial tribunal to the Governor of Bombay, but the present *impasse* has been reached practically owing to the collection of arrears in the Bardoli taluka by the Bombay Government and not owing to the difference of opinion regarding the advisability of appointing an arbitral authority.

Even in respect of this matter the divergence is not as wide as was generally supposed. Mr. Gandhi's complaint was that the Collector of Surat had used coercive and repressive measures to force the poor villagers to pay the arrears due from them. He regarded this as "a breach of faith if not of the Settlement". Had Congressmen understood that the officials were free to use coercion for the realisation of arrears, they would not have helped Government in the realisation of the current dues. Mr. Gandhi accordingly demanded that Government should "refund monies thus collected and withdraw all attachment notices and stop further coercion and repression". The Governor of Bombay denied that the Government could be charged with breach of faith or of the Settlement. He held that the Collector employed coercive processes only after waiting for some months and only in carefully selected cases and that the small extent to which attachment became necessary showed that many persons able to pay had not done so. He did not agree to refund the money already collected but with regard to the future has practically yielded to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has been informed "that in view of the special circumstances this year and in order to facilitate the working of the Settlement his Excellency in Council has decided not to adopt any further coercive measures for collection of arrears unless they remain unpaid at the time of the next instalment, that is, in January or February 1932".

In spite of the lengthy correspondence that has been published we are not in possession of information which would enable us to pass a considered judgment

on the questions of fact at issue between Mr. Gandhi and the Government of Bombay, but it is clear that a settlement has been arrived at with regard to the future and that the difference of opinion between Mr. Gandhi and the Governor of Bombay is confined to the single question of refunding the arrears already realized from the villagers.

Mr. Gandhi has referred to the telegram he received from Sir Malcolm Hailey as one of the reasons for not proceeding to England. Mr. Gandhi drew Sir Malcolm Hailey's attention to the reports he had received of the harassment of the tenants and asked for a clear enunciation of policy. Sir Malcolm Hailey doubted the accuracy of Mr. Gandhi's information but promised an immediate inquiry. As regards policy his Excellency informed Mr. Gandhi that "Government have prepared a provisional scheme for general adjustment of rents throughout the province to meet the fall in prices and this will be considered next week by a committee representing all parties in the Legislative Council." It is also known that the U. P. Government have appointed a committee to revise the present basis of rental and land revenue. It is, therefore, not easy to understand how Sir Malcolm Hailey's attitude contributes to the present deadlock.

It will be nothing short of disaster if this disagreement on one point is allowed to stand in the way of amicable settlement of the great and urgent problem of India's future. All those who know Mr. Gandhi will feel certain that he has not arrived at his present decision without the most serious deliberation. He has a passion to serve those that are down and low, and considers it his sacred duty to stand up for the rights of the poor peasants of Gujarat, but the fight for Swaraj itself draws its motive force from the keen desire of all progressive Indians to create better conditions of life for the masses. I venture to think therefore that the best interests of India will not be advanced if the Congress refrains from taking part in the decision of issues which will decide the fate of the country, owing to disagreement with Government on matters which are comparatively of a minor character.

The Government also must realize their responsibility. The finances of the Bombay Government would not have been ruined nor would they have lost all authority if they had not attempted to realize the arrears of land revenue immediately. Had they been more wisely guided the present crisis would not have been brought about. Whether their action is covered by the Delhi agreement or not, morally speaking they have rendered a serious disservice to the cause of peaceful progress in India. Lord Willingdon has unfortunately not been able to prevent them from making Bardoli once more a menace to the peace of the whole country. I still hope however that the position is not irretrievable. I cannot yet persuade myself to believe that Lord Willingdon and Mr. Gandhi will not be able to find

a way out of the present difficulty. The consequence of a renewal of the conflict that was happily terminated in March last will be immeasurably more serious both to Government and society and the chances of success of the Round Table Conference might be completely wrecked. The statesmanship that brought about the Delhi agreement is needed once more and it is earnestly to be hoped that it will be forthcoming.

KASHMIR IN 1930.

WHATEVER other faults may be found with the Kashmir Durbar, that of engaging outsiders as its servants cannot assuredly be one of them. This practice which obviously works to the detriment of the subjects is found existent in some States even to the length of becoming a public scandal; but is resorted to in Kashmir only when absolutely essential. Not only are the subjects of the State not placed at any disadvantage in regard to employment in State service but they are even accorded some preferential treatment. Scholarships for education for which proper facilities are not available in the State and tenable in different parts of India and abroad are given only to hereditary State subjects. In the matter of giving contracts for departmental requirements also the fact that the tenderer is a hereditary State subject has to be given special weight. Why, even the retrenchment axe fell in the first instance on non-hereditary State subjects, of whom 61 were, we are told in the State Administration report for 1930, discharged. Any other policy would obviously be unfair to the sons of the soil who have every reason to feel grateful to the Maharaja that their claims receive proper consideration from his administration.

We are however unable to congratulate the Maharaja on the absence of a Legislative Council for his State. The annual conferences of rural representatives which have been taking place for the past few years and at which the needs of people living in villages are informally ventilated are good in their own way, but can in no sense take the place of the legislative council. We are quite willing to believe that the Maharaja greatly interests himself in the work of these conferences and perhaps sees that relief is afforded without undue delay. All the same we are confident that his subjects would welcome a legislature with well-defined functions and responsibilities and with an elective majority. As it is, what guarantee is there that the so-called "rural representatives" really represent the people? The report is silent on the method of their selection. Are they selected by the State officials or are villages asked to elect them? We suspect that their selection is left to officials. In this case we are naturally curious to know the means adopted for ensuring that only the real representative people are selected. Then, again, what are the constitutional means open to these representatives for securing redress in cases in which it should not be forthcoming out of official good-will? All things considered, the Maharaja would do well to establish as soon as possible a legislative council for his State

which should serve as the really authoritative mouth-piece of the State subjects. That the people are quite equal to the responsibility of working representative institutions is clear from the repeated demands put forward by them for the establishment of a larger number of panchayats and other local bodies.

Nor can we bring ourselves to believe that the proportion which the Maharaja's expenses bear to the State revenue is reasonable. In 1928 the Privy Purse and Allowances together with the Military Secretary's department consumed Rs. 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. Next year the figure mounted to nearly Rs. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs being appropriated for the Privy Purse and allowances. In 1930 the Privy Purse and allowances more than doubled themselves, standing at the huge figure of Rs. 24,20,000, while the expenditure on the Military Secretary's department came down to Rs. 17 lakhs in 1930 from nearly Rs. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in 1929. In the budget for 1931 both these items show a considerable increase, the Privy Purse expenditure going up by Rs. 2,42,000 and the Military Secretary's department being responsible for a rise of Rs. 3,88,000. In other words in 1931 the Privy Purse and the Military Secretary between them are expected to swallow Rs. 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs out of a total budgeted revenue of nearly Rs. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores. It will be seen that the proportion which the former figure bears to the latter is 18 per cent. which no normally-minded person will regard as moderate. Furthermore, be it noted that in the absence of a legislative council with definite power over the State purse, the ruler is free to draw unlimitedly on the State funds without being under the necessity of defending his action before any tribunal. This is a state of things which might have admirably suited mediaeval times but ought not to be allowed to continue any longer. When the members of the Princely order at the R. T. C. talk big of their solicitude for the well-being of their subjects, will not some member take courage in both his hands and quote such scandalous waste of their State revenue against them?

A very pleasing feature of the State administration during 1930 was the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for boys between 6 and 11 in half a dozen of the more important towns. It is a matter for gratification that the Durbar made itself responsible for all expenditure on primary education. The number of educational institutions for boys rose from 959 in 1929 to 1,036 in 1930, while that of scholars from 56,000 to 63,600. To this should be added the number of girls at school which went up from 6,256 to 8,350, a rise of 34 per cent., so that the total number of scholars of both sexes at school comes to nearly 72,000. The population of the State, according to the 1921 census, is nearly 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. During the last ten years it is likely to have been added to. But even taking the 1921 figure as the basis, we get, at 15 p. c., a total of nearly 5 lakhs of children of school age in the State. The number of those already receiving instruction thus represents only a seventh part of the total number that has to be brought to school. It is to be hoped that the next few years will witness vigorous efforts on the part of the

Kashmir Durbar to increase the extent of literacy in the State.

A perusal of this "brief" administration report—why it has to be brief is not explained anywhere—shows that the State lacks any excise policy. There are States which even in these days of prohibition are thinking in terms of the old bureaucratic policy of maximum revenue from minimum consumption. But Kashmir State has not advanced even thus far. The necessity of defining the goal of the State's excise policy does not yet seem to have dawned upon the Durbar. It is of course high time it did so, but when really it will do so remains to be seen.

Public opinion in the State as in some other parts of the country is not too liberal in its treatment of the depressed classes. The people belonging to these classes labour under the usual disabilities of not being allowed access to public wells, tanks, taps, etc. It is stated that when these disabilities were represented to the Maharaja, he ordered the removal of such bars wherever they were found in his State. That is an order on which the Maharaja deserves the congratulations of all social reformers. But he need hardly be told that the mere passing of the order will remain nothing more than a counsel of perfection unless means are devised for seeing that it is honestly and promptly given effect to in practice.

WORK BEFORE THE R. T. C.

AMONG the various questions which the Round Table Conference will be called upon to consider is first and foremost the question of British interests in this country. It is as much an internal as an external question. India under the new dispensation will be asked to do nothing to restrict the import of British capital or the British capitalist. It will in addition be asked to give a constitutional guarantee that nothing will be done to restrict the activities of those British firms which are actually doing business with or in India. These very demands are bound to be raised by the British delegation. At the same time it should be borne in mind that this is a very vital issue for a self-governing India. The British Indian delegation should be very clear in regard to this issue. Are we to barter away real economic freedom for the shadow of a political covering? A responsible government of India must consider the interests of India as expressed by her representatives in the Legislature and under no circumstance should that freedom be restricted. The opinion of the Government of India as expressed by the then Commerce Member in 1916 is very clear on this point. "The building up of industries where the capital control and management should be in the hands of *Indians* is the *special object* we have in view". He deprecated "the taking of any steps which might merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes from a distance would transfer his activities to India."

It will be clear from this statement of policy that India in the future would have to take *more definite steps* for the realisation of this ideal, and this it can do only if it reserves to itself *full rights* to

control her commercial policy within and without. The External Capital Committee was clear that where investment of foreign capital carries with it the control of an undertaking, it is reasonable for the Government to exercise such control over the undertaking as will ensure that the benefits accrue *primarily to the country*. All that India can reasonably be asked to do is not to do anything which may discriminate in favour of countries other than England. In the matter of businesses already established in India by the British or other nationals the Indian Government may be asked to let things be as they are in so far as the Government is satisfied that such businesses are not against the national interest. Of course, the future Government, in giving licenses or other assistance will undoubtedly have to consider how far such assistance to non-nationals is necessary in the national interest. In so far as British business thrives in India by Government support as different from a truly competitive aspect it must reconcile itself to the principle of justice as apart from nepotism. Shipping, cotton, iron, coal and a number of industries will have to be seriously looked into. Indian interests must prevail if they clash with British interests in India. India might give an undertaking that she would consider British interests in preference to any other foreign interests in the matter of foreign trade subject to her unfettered right to arrange her tariff wall in the best interests of Indian manufacturers.

When we come to internal politics the question that has been looming large is the one of electorates for the Muslim community. It is a tragedy of the times that enlightened Muslims are unable to see the great harm they are doing to the future India by insistence on separate electorates. It is all bunkum to say that Hindus are aggressive and will not do justice to other communities. The Hindus themselves are a congeries of minority communities and they are not a well-knit group as the Muslims are. If any community requires protection it is the Hindu community or communities. The insistence on separate electorates will perpetuate the so-called want of trust between the communities and will keep the ulcer open for all time. It is the desire to run government on the basis of communities that is responsible for all this unholy agitation, and it is in no small degree worked up by the educated Muslim who naturally wants more and more of the plums of office in a future India. Why not he get all he wants by the open door of competition but why as a Muslim or the member of any other community? How can any Government satisfy all communities in the matter of recruitment to the Services and yet keep up a high level of efficiency as apart from communal balancing. If territorial representation is defective in some ways communal representation is worse. It is surprising that a University Professor of Modern Indian History in a prominent University in India should pin his faith to the separate electorate issue. His definition of Nationalism on a communal basis is unique in the history of world politics. As a concession to clamour let the Muslim have reservation of seats in some way he likes but let us have a com-

mon roll for the elections. Let the Muslim represent not himself but the Hindu as well. Once the Mohamadan gets the reins of office he is bound to realise that he must be a statesman not a partisan, he must be a minister of the State not a ministering angel to his flatterers. But this will take time and in the meanwhile the country must pay the price of a narrow communalism. The lead the Liberal party has given at its recent Conference in Bombay is valuable if not as a principle, at least as a compromise. If the Muslims consider that they must be communal at all costs we must take the fact as we find it, however much we may regret it. The suggestion that we may have separate electorates for a definite number of years and after the lapse of that period common electorates is worth acceptance as the second best. But one wonders if the Muslims who pin their faith in the separate electorate will at all agree.

The third vital point is the question of the status of the Princes in federal India. The whole issue is so clouded in mystery that it is difficult to work out an acceptable scheme which would be sufficiently democratic and yet reasonably satisfactory to our mediaeval Rajas and Maharajahs. We must be grateful to the Princes for their spectacular offer of co-operation in evolving a Federal India. But we must come to brass tacks in our discussion. Will they sit in the federal assembly themselves? Or will they nominate their proteges? How can we combine election to the Assembly from British India with nomination by Princes? So long as the Princes themselves are not free agents in their own areas would not the nominations be influenced by the Agent to the Governor-General from behind the screens? Would it not mean then the restoration in a mild form or worse of the official bloc in an ostensibly elected body with worse results because the nomination is done otherwise? What is the protection that the States' subjects have under the federal scheme? One can understand the Princes chafing under the supervision of the Government of India, but the remedy that they seek would be worse than the disease if they believe that the federal government will let them alone in the sweet satisfaction of an unenlightened autocracy within their borders with power to interfere in British Indian legislation in an effective way. Some way must be found to get the Princes to agree to some form of election for the representatives to the Assembly or we must limit the voting power of the nominees of the princes in matters which relate to British India. It would be a calamity if the princes are left out of any scheme of federation. And the princes must realise it. They must make a real sacrifice in the larger interests of India.

If the federal idea materialises as it must, the vital point to consider is whether *residuary* powers ought to be in the provinces at all. After giving the most anxious consideration to the different aspects of the problem I have come to the conclusion that in the interests of uniformity as well as contentment in the country such residuary powers must rest with the provinces even as they would with Indian States. There are cultural and other differences and it is bet-

ter to give a free hand in some matters to the provincial areas. It does not mean that there must be a weak central government. A strong Central Government can be secured by making subjects of all-India-interest federal subjects with a generous margin of interpretation as was done in the early days of America by Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court. This position will satisfy not only the Muslims but also the more enlightened of the Indian statesmen who see farther ahead than the next few decades.

S. V. AYYAR.

INVOKE THE LEAGUE.

IN an article entitled "Towards the Indian Conference" our esteemed contemporary, the *Manchester Guardian*, warns the British public against attaching the wrong sort of significance to recent outrages in India and proceeds to estimate the prospects of the forthcoming Round Table Conference. It is quick to recognize that the India to be reckoned with in London is not a chastened and subdued India but rather an India as strongly distrustful of British purposes as ever. On the other hand, "the Princes have begun to show their traditional incapacity for united unselfishness which led to India's subjection to the West" and "the Hindu-Moslem difficulty has been aggravated". The situation is such as to be tempting to British and Moslem extremists "to form an offensive and defensive alliance—a project which would be most likely to bring India into British party politics and prove almost equally damaging to Britain and India". The *Guardian* recalls the Irish parallel and applying its lesson to the Indian situation draws the conclusion:

... First and foremost we must understand that wherever Britain appears to dictate Indian nationalism is irresistibly tempted to say 'No'... It is true, as Lord Reading has hinted, that the principle of authority must be securely enshrined in the new Constitution. But it has to be considered whether the authority which should be empowered to secure law, order, justice and financial commonsense need always be a British authority. We must remember that as long as any vestige of British control remains Indian nationalism will continue to manifest itself in an aggressive form. The value and permanence of any settlement will therefore depend on reducing the sphere of British authority within the narrowest and most clearly defined limits. Even where an external authority has to be invoked it is worth considering whether the League of Nations could not for some purposes replace the British Parliament. We live in the twentieth, not the nineteenth century.

The idea of seeking the League's intervention in regulating the Indian question has been openly put forward in India, once or twice by Mr. Gandhi himself, and it has been talked about in political circles privately. But this is the first time, to our knowledge, that the suggestion is seriously entertained in any authoritative quarter in Great Britain.

The initiative must, however, come from the British side, for, although with Great Britain India is original member of the League, technically the obligations of the League's membership are invested in the Government of India as it is at present constituted and the League authorities can have no dealings with any other body. The alternative of a third power

moving the Council to take action in the event of a serious political crisis in the country, on account of its international effects, must be ruled out for the League cannot interfere in the internal affairs of any of the Member-States, and moreover, in the realities of world-politics today, the possibilities of any power setting itself against Great Britain at Geneva in this way are extremely remote. The internal condition of China has had very considerable economic and other repercussions on international relations and yet the League could do nothing of its own accord to put it right. But there is nothing to prevent the Government of India from referring to the League certain specific questions of interest to India and England to be dealt with in the usual manner.

In the event of an unsatisfactory settlement in London—and few can be so optimistic as to expect it to be altogether pleasing—other alternatives than the League's intervention are fearful to contemplate. Should there be a recrudescence of the more virulent forms of the Nationalist campaign as a consequence of the inconclusiveness of the London deliberations, India will be threatened with social and economic troubles of incalculable gravity, but the Government also must take measure of their forces. They will be called upon to undertake nothing less than an extensive military reconquest of the country whose cost, apart of all other considerations, would be beyond them. The fate of the recent Indian loan in London and the state of British finances must be a warning against such mad adventure. On the other hand, not only will the League procedure be naturally more acceptable to India than any exclusively British ruling on delicate and difficult matters but both Indians and Englishmen sitting on an Indian committee at Geneva will, on that account perhaps, tend to take a different view of questions put to them from what they themselves might do in London or Delhi. It is a psychological consideration but a most important one.

R. R.

Reviews.

MISSIONARY WORK IN RURAL INDIA.

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RURAL INDIA.

By KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD. (International Missionary Council, Nelson Square, Nagpur & 419, Fourth Avenue, New York.) 1930. 23cm. 162p. Rs. 2/3.

DR. BUTTERFIELD who visited our country last year has made a report and submitted recommendations in his capacity as the counsellor on rural work for the International Missionary Council. As one who had the privilege of presiding over his lecture in the Madura Y. M. C. A. during his stay here, I was able to watch his abiding faith in the theory and truth of rural prosperity being the basis for our national advancement. Dr. Butterfield is a tried worker, a veteran critic and above all a swan-like consumer of the good and eschewer of the evil. His report is a masterly compilation of all the best that passes under the name of rural reconstruction. He has

thoroughly understood the "complex India" and given us the scope for an advance policy. A distinctly cosmopolitan in his outlook, he is prepared to confess faults where they exist. "While in general the character of the individual representatives of the West who live and work in India is high, there are many who are distinctly not helpful to co-operative effort on behalf of India. Feeling of racial superiority, lack of interest in religious matters, failure to understand and sympathise have taken their toll of dislike and suspicion and have destroyed the confidence that ought to prevail." He tells to his Christian missionary friends clearly the new situation.

Heretofore Christianity has combatted chiefly Hinduism and animism; now it has to deal with an ardent nationalism, a measure of current nationalism perhaps with communism, certainly with industrialism. There must be a reappraisal of the missionary enterprise in terms of the new problems and in the mood of high adventure into uncharted areas of Christian endeavour.

The plan of the report is concise. It gives us first the background, secondly, the remaking of Village India giving all the implications of the phrase "rural reconstruction." The third portion is in relation to the Missionary enterprise. The "Rural Reconstruction Unit" deserves special study. So also the chapter on "Building An Adequate Rural Civilisation in India."

The background is a good economic study of the village conditions. Dr. Butterfield's reference to the universities' place in rural reconstruction should be taken note of by authorities of all Indian universities. "Few universities pay much attention to the rural problem either as a material for research or as an aspect of the course of study." This taken along with the statement of the Royal Commission on Agriculture—we trust that the authorities and teachers of universities will do all in their power to encourage the study of these important subjects (social and economic problems of the countryside.)—should at least induce our stalwarts of university reform to move in the right and necessary channels immediately. It is no small gratification to me that the youngest university—The Annamalai University—in response to my entreaties and repeated motions in the Academic Council has bowed to the onward current in favour of rural studies and has placed Rural Economics and Co-operation as a compulsory subject in the B. A. Economics course.

Dr. Butterfield has another important point to give us. He is firmly of opinion that disjointed, departmental and sectional attempts at village reform will never do and passionately pleads like the late lamented Mr. K. T. Paul that the programme should be sufficiently comprehensive and should be directed to *all* the main needs of the villager and that success is possible when all of these are approached together and simultaneously. The great value is in dealing with the village life as a whole and not in separate compartments. An "agricultural policy" should represent the collective wisdom of those who know and it should be pursued.

Another authoritative pronouncement of his is on the value of local leadership and he honestly believes that all policies, programmes and institutions are but the shadows of efficient personalities. Effective leadership based on willing discipline can be had—as Dr. Butterfield would also say—in an excellent co-operative society. These leaders are elected on democratic principles and the society works under stated restrictions not inconsistent with legitimate freedom. Dr. Butterfield's tribute to the co-operative society as a basis for constructive work should spur the co-operators on to greater activity. A leader's or a preacher's

place is one of responsibility. He has to understand the Gospel of life in a new form. "The under-guiding of the task of strengthening village work lies in such a definition of the Gospel as gives just as much meaning, significance, purpose and spiritual content to the ministry of healing and the service of economic relief as to the more specialised traditional religious work." In this connection he pays a well merited tribute to the services of the workers of the Servants of India-Society, Siri Niketan of the Poet Tagore and other voluntary organisations of service.

Dr. Butterfield is a sympathetic observer. He is not one of those who compare the worst in India with the best at home. When he sees the worst in India, he sees the worst-lynchings-in America. So the book is not a tirade against India. It is a sympathetic study and an excellent symposium of all the thought on rural reconstruction. It is a distinct addition to co-operative and rural economic literature. A rural reformer has to extend his feelings of obligation to Dr. Butterfield.

A word has to be written in refutation of the two charges, probably based on wrong information. The doctor says that in the village there is a certain prestige in being in debt.(p.17). I cannot say it is true. In fact it is the other way; the little indebtedness is likely to be exaggerated and the man's status comes heavily down. A still more startling statement which has the flavour of a missionary in it is this: "The Hindu religion has no teaching as to the worth of a man as a man" (p. 27). In fact no answer is necessary to Dr. Butterfield. He can find it himself. The Servants of India for whom he had a very good word of praise are not all of them Christians. They—a majority of them—are Hindus, who believe in Hindu religion and have still risen to the full worth of a man. These two statements could have been avoided in an essentially non-partisan book.

E. S. SUNDA.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

BY NALINI MOHAN PAL. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1930. 19cm, 342p.

THOUGH there has appeared in recent years a comparatively large number of books on economic conditions in India, the development of Indian industries has not been receiving the amount of attention that a subject of such importance merits. Of course, all books on Indian economics devote some attention to the evolution of modern industrial conditions in India, but such treatment is attempted only as part of the general scheme and not by way of specialised attention. Mr. N. M. Pal's book seeks to remedy this defect by attempting a historical and detailed presentation of the development of the various Indian industries. The volume is divided into five books or parts, the first being devoted to the development of manufacturing and mining industries, the second to agricultural industries, the third to forest industries, the fourth to agricultural, industrial, and labour organisation, and the development of railways, while the fifth is devoted to the subject of distribution and to a comparison of the old economic regime with the new system.

While the author deserves recognition for the industry he has shown in collecting together a large amount of valuable data relating to Indian industries it cannot be said that his presentation is either complete or even satisfactory. The book lacks in purpose and the final impression produced is that of a scrap-book in which the author, busy with scissors and

paste, has assembled together a mass of undigested, but often useful, information appertaining to the principal industries of this country. One may be pardoned for directing attention to some of the more noticeable omissions of which the book is guilty. It is surprising that a volume purporting to trace the course of industrial development in India should not have dealt with the subject of the Indian shipping industry, which not only has a remarkable past but is also bidding fair to rise into considerable prominence again. The chapters relating to industrial organisation and development of labour are particularly sketchy and sparse of facts, and the subjects dealt with are not accorded the serious study which they deserve in view of the important bearing they have on industrial development in India. As a further example of the author's methods of loose presentation of facts it may be pointed out that in enumerating the better organised trade unions of India, while mention is made of the seamen's unions, the Indian telegraphists' associations and the railway workers' associations, he has failed even to make a passing reference to the postal unions of India, which in point of numbers and efficient organisation rank next only to the railway unions of this country.

But as the author himself in his preface disclaims all pretensions to "special inspiration and originality", there is no point in further criticism. It need only be pointed out that the book, which consists of a mass of unrelated data about Indian industries, while it may prove a handy volume of reference to those in search of such information in brief compass, can by no means be accepted as a serious study of Indian industrial developments.

K. E. MATTHEW.

AMERICA AS A CREDITOR COUNTRY.

INVESTMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES CAPITAL IN LATIN AMERICA. By MAX WINKLER. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1929. 20cm. 297p. \$2.00

IT is a well-known fact that the United States of America has become a creditor country willing to make permanent investments in other countries. The monograph under review points out how and where the American dollars have been invested in the different countries of Latin America. Besides presenting an orderly survey of the facts relating to this intricate subject the author has wisely refused to embark upon political controversies which are usually based upon conjecture rather than on realities. Most of the public utilities and private enterprising concerns of Latin America have been financed by American capital. This is not only tending to bring about international co-operation, peace and goodwill but has contributed in a significant manner towards the bringing about of improved economic conditions such as better housing conditions and higher wages in the Latin American countries. The foreign enterprises in Latin America have maintained a high altruistic attitude and granted in most cases improved educational and recreational facilities for the employees. American foreign trade naturally has expanded *pari passu* with the flow of investments from the U. S. A. into Latin America. The U. S. investments in Latin America reach the impressive figure of \$5,587,494,100 of which 30% have been lent to Governments. With the growing economic prosperity of the United States, American capital would be willing to make permanent investments abroad and as the U. S. is comparatively free from ambitions of political aggrandisement American capital and financial experts are being pressed into service everywhere. The presence of a large number of lending syndicates in the New

York money market makes it possible to secure fairly competitive rates of interest and if the borrowed capital is put to constructive uses there is bound to be rapid development and increased economic progress on the part of the borrowing nations.

Investments have been made in sugar, oil, mines and other industrial enterprises of Cuba, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and Argentina. These investments are carefully analysed in a clear and undistorted form. This economic data would be of great value for any research worker of the future.

Some interesting facts about the Brazilian Government's coffee valorisation scheme and the attempts of Henry Ford to raise rubber in Brazil are recorded in a clear and concise manner. The glimpses into the past Inca economic life (pp. 140-143) afford interesting reading.

As a result of such vast amounts of capital being sunk in diverse productive forms of enterprises either by the Government or the private firms modern Latin America has become an entirely different country from what it was a few years ago, say in 1914. Political upheavals are becoming scarcer and scarcer. Social and material development is the order of the day. The consciousness of power is slowly dawning on the minds of the individuals of the borrowing as well as the lending nations and the maintenance of international goodwill is being clearly realised as an indispensable necessity on the part of the intelligent businessmen of these nations.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

RACE IN RELATION TO CIVILIZATION.

RACE AND CIVILIZATION. BY FRIEDRICH HERTZ. TRS. BY A. S. LEVETUS L. W. ENTZ. (Kegan Paul, London.) 1928. 22cm. 328p. 18/-

THAT races do exist, that the mental equality of all of them is as undecided a factor as the inferiority or superiority of one race over another, and that to try to refute the dangerous slogan of Race Superiority by denying altogether all differences between races is ineffectual, the author of this book admits. What this book sets out to criticize is the exaggerated theories put forward by writers like H. S. Chamberlain, Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant, who have met with considerable success with their aggressive notions of the innate and fundamental barriers between one race and another as a pretext for the stronger to exploit and subjugate the weaker nations. At the present crisis in the world's history, such blind propaganda is fraught with very immediate and perilous consequences in the tense and inflammable atmosphere of economical and political friction between the white dominant Western Powers and the Eastern subject races, even Japan smarting under the general slights and injustices done to the "coloured races" by such unwise laws as the U. S. A. Immigration Law of 1924. This book has successfully exploded some hazy and sweeping statements by those of the school of Chamberlain, attributing, for example, the decline and fall of Rome to the deplorable period of incongruous race mixture with the slaves and freedmen of Semitic and African extraction. But, as Mr. Friedrich points out, when it is remembered that the very earliest founders of Rome mixed as freely and wholly with their slaves and other run-away loafers and founded the Empire along with them, and few of them even "remembered their own fathers," this arrogant claim of the play of "racial stock" upon the rise or fall of a nation is pitifully untenable. The most successful nations of today have as incongruous and complete a commingling of races as the decayed empires were supposed to

have and yet Rome at her worst was more free from the admixture of alien blood than, for example, is London or New York today, where all the races and nationalities of the world gather together. The most tragi-comic part of this whole racial tomtomming is that its most ardent exponents have very little idea of what they are talking about. Before the war, "Kaiser Wilhelm II became Chamberlain's strongest propagandist, he himself read Chamberlain's chief work to his sons, and caused it also to be distributed among the officers of the Army, while a rich endowment made possible the placing of free copies of the work in many libraries and associations." In his *Memoirs of My Life*, the ex-Emperor William could still write: "The glory of Teutonism was first revealed and preached to an amazed Germany by Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*; but all in vain, as the collapse of the German people proves." History proves not that one race is innately inferior or intrinsically superior to another, but that environments and degrees and necessities of natural development have conducted to social, political and economic disparities which are not, however, constant indication of an inherent defect or racial inequality. To accentuate such artificial and adventitious differences as natural and everlasting distinctions between "superior" and "slave" races will only breed rankling strife and trouble, while it would not profit those who are fortunate enough to wield power for the present or cement the way for peace when the turn comes for the "under-dog" to dictate its terms, to the former aggressors. For it is always the case with nations intoxicated with the lust of power and greed of gain to strengthen their material position by claims of racial, and moral, and even "divine" rights, in the end only to enslave younger neighbours more to their own aggrandisement, and suffer a natural and inevitable collapse, confounding all their long-cherished ideals of superiority and world-power.

This book is a very sane and healthy enquiry into the full nature and implications of such dangerous theories and their unmistakable effects upon the future of Civilization, and its reasoning and ample facts must reduce all intelligent readers to the cold-water-mark of sound political theories and international and inter-racial judgment.

A. MADHAVA MENON, C. S. S.

ANCIENT WORLD HISTORY.

A SURVEY OF ANCIENT HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE, BY M. L. W. LAISTNER. (D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.) 1929. 22cm. 613p. About \$ 3.50.

THIS book professes to be a history of the ancient world from the earliest times to the death in 337 of the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great. The book is divided into 31 chapters. But 452 out of its 582 pages are filled with Greek and Roman histories. Egypt is allotted only 23 pages, Syria and Palestine 27 pages, Mesopotamia 32 pages and Persia 33 pages. The ancient land of the Chinese is dismissed without even a single reference and India is referred to only thrice, once in connection with the Indo-Sumerian civilisation of the Indus valley, the second time in connection with the Indian invasion of Alexander the Great, and lastly in connection with Indian trade with the Seleucid Empire.

The author does not give us his views about the ethnical origins of the ancient Egyptians, and believes that the ancient Sumerians had their original home in Central Asia. Evidently he does not subscribe to the new theory that the original home of the

Aryans was in Hungary, the land watered by the river Danube.

Although some space is given to the history of the ancient Egyptians, the Sumerians, the Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Hittites and the Persians, with a view evidently to show to what extent the history of these people has contributed to world civilization, yet the relation is not clearly shown. The history of the Greeks and the Romans has however been dealt with in great detail. The dates given for the ancient dynastic lists of Egypt and Chaldea are not correct. In fact the author gives different dates for the same dates himself. Compare, for example, the dates given in the lists in notes at the bottom of pages 45, 65 and 113, and the dates given in the body of the book in chapters dealing with these things. These dates do not agree with the dates given in the Cambridge History of Ancient World. In dealing with Greek and Roman histories however the author seems to be quite at home.

He has, it must be admitted, very well succeeded in bringing the ancient history of the middle East and Europe covering such a vast period in a short compass of one volume.

It would have however been much better if the author had tried to show to what extent the law codes of the ancient Chaldeans of Hammurabi and of Sargon had influenced the Jewish, Greek and Roman laws. It would have really been very interesting how marriage customs and other social and political institutions of ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians were able to influence the later similar institutions of Greece and Rome.

But on the whole the work under reference has put in the hands of those interested in the development of civilization a useful handbook, wherein they can get information at present scattered in many places, all gathered together in one small volume. The author is to be congratulated upon achieving this object.

K. N. SITA RAM.

THE RELIGION OF MAN.

THE RELIGION OF MAN. BEING THE HIBBERT LECTURES FOR 1930. By RABINDRANATH TAGORE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 20cm. 239p. 7/6.

IT is a great philosophic attempt by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in reconciling the super-personal man with the individual man in these Hibbert lectures for 1930 which have recently come out in book-form. The idea of 'the humanity of God or the divinity of Man the Eternal' is the main subject of this book. That this finite individual mind of the imperfect man is nothing but the incomplete manifestation of the universal mind, that man is the highest and the most perfect manifestation of Divinity are the ideas which Dr. Tagore has explained in his lectures. According to Dr. Tagore, the personal self of man "has for its truth a background of personality where knowledge, unlike that of other things, can only be immediate and self-revealed."

What I mean by personality is a self-conscious principle of transcendental unity within man which comprehends all the details of facts that are individually his in knowledge and feeling, wish and will and work. In its negative aspect it is limited to the individual separateness while in its positive aspect it ever extends itself in the infinite through the increase of its knowledge, love and activities. (p. 119)

Dr. Tagore has divided his great work into 15 chapters and in most of the chapters he has dealt with the Reality as Unity realised in man by refer-

ring to the varieties of his own personal mystic experiences. He has explained this unity from different standpoints—as an artist, as a poet, as a musician, as a lover, etc. In the course of his conversation with Albert Einstein, says he, "Truth which is one with the Universal being must essentially be human." (p. 223). He does not believe in any Truth or Reality which is not human, which is not experienced or realised in man. Like Hegel our poet too looks upon such a Truth as a pure non-being. Reality is a concrete whole and a system. Moreover this Reality, for Dr. Tagore, is a perpetual process of reconciliation. From the particle of a dust to the highest mountain of the earth, from the simplest electron to the most complex material composite, from the animal kingdom to humanity—each phase is a stepping stone to the next higher one. Each is a unity and each is valuable in so far as it is to be transcended in order to reach the higher phase and so on till the goal is reached—"the flower must shed its petals for the sake of fruition, the fruit must drop off for the rebirth of the tree." (p. 199).

According to Dr. Tagore, man, as said before, "is not imperfect but incomplete. He knows that in himself some meaning has yet to be realised". (p. 59). Thus Truth can be revealed only in man. And what is Truth? The Truth is in the unity of reconciliation of the universal human spirit in the individual human spirit and this Dr. Tagore has called the religion of man.

He has no doubt given a splendid account of the poet's feeling and has narrated it in the light of our past Vaishnava padāvalis and Bāul lyric songs of Bengal. He has given a vivid description of the prophetic voice of Zarathustra—Zoroastrianism (vide Ch. V. the Prophet); he has enlightened us with the popular view of the Upanishadic religion and that of the Gita. But can we not put to the poet some queries in plain language about his Reality which is more or less the Bradleyan type of the absolute whole? And these queries are as follows: Are these normal experiences, and I should say the extraordinary visions or feelings that the poet experiences, the phases of reality or appearances? That is, are these to be negated in the Absolute which is human experience or will to be summed up in like an organic unity? Surely, for the poet, these appearances or whatever we may call them are to exist in the Absolute experience, since all are, so to say, the part manifestations of that one whole, which means the poet's incapability of accepting the unity, denying all relations. His Unity assimilates all relations. So his Reality is relational and personal and thus is a system. But how, then, can these individuals whom Dr. Tagore also upholds, merge themselves into one identity with that Reality? Identity is non-relational whereas system is relational though in a dynamic form. So if the Reality is one, it cannot be many and if it is many, it cannot be one in the strictest sense of the term. If our author believes in Identity, he is sure to think of these empirical experiences as devils' dance, as illusion and unreal and what is called *maya* in Vedanta.

Of course we cannot throw bomb-shells of logic upon our author, since he himself has frankly told us what his religion is. Says he: "I have... made the confession that my religion is a poet's religion. All that I feel about it is from my vision and not from knowledge" (p. 107). But we are justified in looking into it with a bit critically for, the author has at least attempted to rationalise his position and to identify his religion with philosophy. Had he simply given us some of his mystic experiences without logic, philosophy had no business to knock its head against it. As a matter of fact many

religious experiences like Samādhi etc. are beyond the ken of science and philosophy. Again, on the contrary, this poet's vision is not the only test of the validity of his philosophy of Reality. It must be tested to some extent by the touchstone of rationality. And thus it is a dilemma to us. Poets are habituated to inhaling such "sudden spring breezes" (p. 93) in their lives—and not only the poets but the artists, the musicians, the lovers and others also do likewise. That is no test of truth. We may accept this call of sentiment as true vision provided that it corresponds to the feeling of the truly God-intoxicated man and to sufficient reason. If it does then we shall say that they do it not for unity but for identity. Every human soul is unconsciously aware of the fact of this identity—"I am He". The Reality is one and the rest are superimposed upon the locus of that one. This is the best possible explanation of this mysterious world which is the conglomeration of both the good and evil. Dr. Tagore's logic fails to give us an adequate account of evil which he confesses: "Frankly, I acknowledge that I cannot satisfactorily answer any questions about evil..." (p. 107). This is the result of too much optimism. This sort of optimism may be quite suitable to the lucky princes and other wealthy men like our poet who are born with silver spoons in their mouths. But this cannot perhaps be prescribed for men in general since there is a chance of getting into some ethical abnormalities. "Satyam is Anandam" "Truth is Joy", as mentioned in the Upanishads, is perhaps an undesirable fact. But what sort of Joy? That is the question. Surely it cannot be like that of the senses whose after-effect is painful. But man with normal mind understands the enjoyment of the body and he earnestly craves for it. So the setting aside of the doubts "about what happens after death" (p. 107) and soaring high on the flight of imagination and absorbing oneself into this deceptive poetic beauty of the nature taking as the manifestation of the One Divinity, have the chance of leading us to the pitfall of gross sensuousness unless one has attained, like our poet, that stage of higher outlook with which this optimism can coincide. There is evil in this world as well as good. But if we are to go beyond, we are to, in order to taste that joy, transcend both this good and evil since one follows the other, so say our scriptures. And there is constant struggle in man consciously or unconsciously to attain that transcendental Bliss... "realisation of transcendental consciousness accompanied by a perfect sense of bliss" for here Dr. Tagore is of not much help to man. Says he, "... I maintain that it may be valuable as a great psychological experience but all the same it is not religion" (p. 117). But how far can we agree with him in this respect? If religion does not relieve us from this cycle of births and deaths, pleasures and pains, then what is religion? If this attempt at realising the identity of this individual soul and the universal soul is not religion then what actually does religion mean? And perhaps we need not require any other sort of religion which carries a meaning other than this. We may not term that ultimate realisation religion as it is ordinarily meant. But that Bliss-consciousness which is the outcome of religious practice may be called true religion. For, like our ordinary religious consciousness it not only gives us an inexplicable joy but it being in the most intense form is Bliss itself.

However, we heartily welcome this great work of our greatest poet for its noble frankness, invincible boldness and transparent sincerity.

J. C. BANERJEE.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE LABOUR YEAR BOOK 1931. (Labour Publications Dept., London.) 1931. 20cm. 567p. 3/6.

THIS Year Book deals with the Labour Party in the United Kingdom. The Party, as everybody knows, was formed just over thirty years ago. Its growth during this period has been phenomenal. Its membership during the first year of its existence was 3¼ lakhs whereas in 1929 it had risen to over 21 lakhs. The history of such an organisation cannot but be of absorbing interest to the labour movement in this country. The Year Book gives us an idea of the doings of the Party not only in Parliament but outside. The Indian Round Table Conference of last year was the creation of the Labour Government and very rightly figures in this book. The events leading to the summoning of the Conference have also been briefly but faithfully set out. In that connection reference is made to the peace efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar of last year. With the Labour Government in office in England at present and destined to play an important part not only in English politics, but in international affairs, this Year Book giving in a handy form all requisite information about the organisation and work of the Party can without exaggeration be said to be almost indispensable to all publicists. May the Party grow in strength and power must be the prayer of all true democrats.

D. B. T.

Miscellaneous.

GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR.

AN appeal has been issued over the signatures of ladies and gentlemen intimately associated with him in the work of the Poona Seva Sadan, for contributions towards a purse to be presented to Mr. G. K. Devadhar on his 60th birthday which falls on the 21st August. The signatories give a list of the numerous activities which have made the name of Devadhar a household word among social workers in many parts of the country. His work in Malabar to repair the ravages of the Mopla outbreak while yet its echoes had not died out, involved much endurance, discomfort and even some danger. But when the call came, Devadhar responded to it in his usual matter-of-fact way, and the success which attended his efforts is commemorated in "the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust" created out of the balance of the Relief Fund raised at the time. In the Co-operative movement, Mr. Devadhar shares with the veteran Sir Lalubhai Samaldas the distinction of being recognized throughout India as a great authority whose advice and assistance are as valuable as they are readily available to any province or state which may ask for it. The Baby and Health week movement in this Presidency owes much to the solid work of Mr. Devadhar at its early stages. Village reconstruction is a subject which is now on everybody's lips. But Mr. Devadhar has not been content to talk about it. He has planned and has actually in operation a scheme in a group of villages near Poona under the auspices of the Deccan Agricultural Association. He

is one of the Foundation members of the Servants of India Society and is now its President. But as the signatories to this appeal rightly point out, the Poona Seva Sadan is the crown of all his activities. And it is in the name of that institution, therefore, that the appeal is most appropriately issued.

The name "Poona Seva Sadan" is calculated to convey the impression that it is a single institution in Poona meeting a local need. This is a very inadequate idea of it. The Poona institution itself is a very large one with more than 1,500 girls and women receiving education and training as teachers, nurses, midwives, doctors and social workers in various other ways. There are affiliated to it several smaller institutions, chiefly maternity homes and orphanages, in a number of places which are managed by the pupils sent out of the Poona head-quarters. These are important practical aspects of the Sadan. But it is much more than these. The Seva Sadan is a movement embodying a distinctive idea and it is as such that to us it is of the greatest interest. What is that idea? It is, in a word, co-operation and goodwill between all men and women, castes and creeds, officials and non-officials, Government and citizens. Mr. Devadhar's longing to see India self-governing is not less ardent than that of any Youth Leaguer. But he prefers to build upon existing foundations, and with the material at hand. He does not think it necessary, perhaps, he does not think it wise, to attempt to make a clean sweep of the existing order in the hope of rearing in its place a brand new edifice on some pattern which has no existence outside the brain of a few ideologues. The experienced social worker that he is, he realises that shock tactics are wholly out of place as a means of national reconstruction and that even if they succeed, they leave the workers so exhausted that they have little energy left for the work of building upon the ruins which they have wrought. This can be best illustrated with reference to his work for women's uplift which has been and is the cause nearest to his heart. Hundreds of girls of all castes and creeds have gone out of the Seva Sadan institutions as teachers, nurses and doctors and are engaged in educating and giving much needed medical relief to women in distant villages. On this important subject, Mr. Devadhar has taken his own line which is distinct from that of segregating women in separate institutions and devising for them a distinctive curriculum of studies which, in so far as they are distinctive, are calculated to restrict the sphere of women's activities.

Mr. Devadhar, again, has a keen appreciation of the organized humanitarian and social activities of western lands and it may even appear at times that his appreciation of the good points of the Indian social system is not equally keen. This, however, is far from being the case. It used to be said against his method that it involved too much co-operation with officials and Government. This, however, is no

longer a reproach. It is now recognised, as Devadhar has all along done, that it is better to get all the help we can from Government for our work and that antagonizing it even when it is willing to go with us does not serve any useful purpose. Being a poor man himself, Mr. Devadhar knows, and feels intensely for the conditions of the poor and much of his work is directly concerned with their amelioration. A deeply religious man, imbued with the Gita spirit of disinterested service, he seldom talks of religion and may easily be mistaken for one who is indifferent to it. Much of Devadhar's work does not lend itself to spectacular effects. It is, therefore, likely that it may take time to be appreciated. But we are sure that there are many people in all parts of the country who can even now appreciate the solid work that he has done and is doing, and will respond to the appeal promptly and generously, glad at the opportunity to show in a tangible manner their sense of its great value to India's future. We wish him many more years of health and happiness to carry on his active services for the regeneration of Indian society.

—*The Indian Social Reformer.*

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNFITTEST. By CHARLES WICKSTEED ARMSTRONG. (Daniel, London.) 1931. 20cm. 192p. 1/6.
- PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE. By J. S. PONNIAH. (Rochouse & Sons, 292 Esplanade, Madras.) 1930. 20cm. 261p.
- THE RATIONALISATION OF MONEY. By H. R. SCOTT. (The Author, Kodaikanal, South India.) 1930. 20cm. 156p.
- CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE VILLAGES OF INDIA. By ALICE B. VAN DOREN. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 20cm. 1931. 115p. Re. 1/4.
- THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL FACTOR IN INDIA. By CLIFFORD MANSHARDT. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1931. 20cm. 87p. Re. 1.
- THE SWEDEN YEAR-BOOK, 1931. 1931. 20cm. 317p.
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