

The Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

| | Page |
|--|------|
| TOPICS OF THE WEEK. | 9 |
| ARTICLE :— | |
| What Will Non-Congressmen Do? | 11 |
| REVIEWS :— | |
| Marketing of Agricultural Produce. By S. G. Berl... | 13 |
| The Marxian Theory of the State. By C. V. Hanumantha Rao. | 13 |
| The European Federation. By K. S. Viswanathan ... | 13 |
| Economic History of the Punjab. By A. Madhava Menon. | 14 |
| SHORT NOTICES. | 15 |
| BOOKS RECEIVED. | 16 |

Topics of the Week.

Late Sir Muhammad Shafi.

THE premature death of Sir Muhammad Shafi— he was only 62—which occurred at Lahore a few days ago creates a void in the ranks of the more responsible leaders of the Muslim community which it will take very long to fill. It has been said of him that he was to the Muslim League what Mahatma Gandhi is to the Congress. That may or may not be so. But this at any rate is beyond doubt, that his place in the councils of his community was very high. This is evidenced by the fact that there was no important political or educational conference of his community over which he was not elected to preside. An important landmark in his life was his appointment as member of the Viceroy's executive council where he served for the full period of five years. But even before that he had achieved some degree of distinction as a non-official member of both the Punjab and the Supreme Legislative Councils. It was in the latter body that, it will be recalled, it fell to his lot to move in 1915 the resolution which ultimately opened the doors of the Imperial Conference to Indians. That is a valuable service he rendered which will be long remembered by his countrymen. Apart from his deep devotion to the promotion of the special interests of his own community, it can, we think, be said of the late Sir Muhammad Shafi that he was a progressive in politics and that even while wearing official robes, lost no opportunity of promoting national interests or did not cease to share national aspirations. This will be seen from his attitude to the question of further political reforms which the Muddiman Com-

mittee of which he was a member was appointed to consider. The restraints of official life naturally required him to support the official view of the matter ; but he took the first opportunity after his retirement to make it clear that as a non-official he was fully with the minority of the Committee which pressed for more comprehensive reforms than were officially contemplated. He along with many others represented the Muslim community at both the sessions of the Round Table Conference and played in it a worthy part by his ability and conciliatory attitude. He hastened back to India because of the illness of his mother. Is it not a cruel irony that he himself should have thus been called away ? At the time of his death he was occupying the temporary vacancy in the Viceroy's Executive Council caused by the deputation of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain to South Africa. His death is deeply mourned both in official and unofficial circles in this country.

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The Present Situation.

WITH the imprisonment for varying periods, and for unspecified periods in some cases, of the more important and more active amongst Congress leaders, the Government, if their own statements and the writings in some Anglo-Indian newspapers are to be believed, seems to flatter itself that it has been able to break the back of the civil disobedience movement. But to those more closely in touch with public opinion that may appear to be a superficial view. It is true that the rounding up of the leaders has caused some dislocation in the plans of the organisers. But it would be unsafe to suppose that the lull noticeable at the moment is of anything more than a temporary character. The latest sensational arrest is that of Mrs. Gandhi for her alleged support of the no-tax campaign. For the rest protest meetings, public processions, and picketing of foreign cloth shops in defiance of the provisions of the ordinances leading to numerous arrests and the use of the lathi by the police for their dispersal have become a matter of almost every day occurrence. In Madras the mere distribution of handbills asking people to boycott foreign cloth has earned for Messrs. Rajagopalachari and Satyamurthi six and eighteen months' imprisonment respectively ! The administration of the picketing ordinance banning even peaceful picketing seems to be attended with greater rigour in Madras than in Bombay where it does not seem to involve equally

serious consequences. Provincial Governors are, apparently, under instructions from higher quarters, going out of their way to explain the Government's policy to the mercantile community by meeting its members personally or by addressing their meetings, the object being to wean it away from lending its support to the Congress. Two such meetings were recently held, one in Bombay and the other in Cawnpore. The speeches of both Sir Frederick Sykes and Sir Malcolm Hailey proclaim what is a virtual reversal of Lord Irwin's sound and far-sighted policy of conciliation. It may be mentioned in passing that the Governor of U. P. also spoke in a manner which goes to confirm the popular suspicion that a prominent feature of the Government's new offensive against the Congress would be the seizure of its funds, some activity in which direction was noticeable in Bombay last week. In warning the merchants against contributing anything to Congress funds, Sir Malcolm Hailey remarked that if any did so "they will find their money wasted, for we shall do our best to seize any such funds."

* * *

Making N. W. F. P. safe for reforms?

THE general experience of the rule by ordinances now in progress in N.-W. F. province as in practically the whole of India is that it is virtual martial law. In that province during the fortnight or so in which the ordinances have been in force nearly 5000 people have been placed under arrest. Fuller news of their working is not available, thanks to the liberal use of the extra-legal powers with which the executive has recently armed itself of taking steps to stop the circulation of inconvenient newspapers. Not only is this power exercised in regard to newspapers published in that province, but even some of those published elsewhere are prohibited entry into N.-W. F. P. For the time being at any rate it seems the bureaucracy has succeeded in isolating that province from the rest of India, so far as the free movement of persons or newspapers is concerned.

Side by side with this repression the work of hammering out a constitution for the province which is expected to come into force on the 1st of April next is going on. It appears from newspaper reports that the franchise proposed for N.-W. F. P. will very nearly be the same as in the neighbouring province, Punjab, and will confer the vote on 3.7 per cent. of the population as against 3.2 in the land of the five rivers. Women will, to start with, not be enfranchised; but it will be left to the legislature to do so later on if it so pleases. One wonders why instead of admitting women straightway to the franchise, it was considered necessary to stick so loyally to precedent. The proposed legislative council of N.-W. F. P. will consist of 40 members, 26 of whom will be elected. The balance of 14 seats will be filled by nomination, 6 officials and 8 non-officials coming in by that back door. The Cabinet will consist, besides the Governor, of one member in charge of reserved subjects and one minister in that of transferred ones.

But the real snag, especially owing to the present severe economic depression, is the contemplated subvention from the central revenues which will be needed if the new province is to be set on its feet with a balanced budget. The principle underlying the subvention will need and must receive very careful consideration, as the grant of such financial help from the Central Government is a departure which is sure to give rise to a variety of complicated questions. Under what conditions can a province look forward to similar help from the centre? Will only new provinces be eligible for such favoured treatment or can the old ones too expect the Central Government to come to their rescue in case of need? If the departure that is sought to be made in the case of the N.-W. F. P. can be cited as a precedent, there would be a crop of requests for help from people whose desire to raise themselves to the dignity of a province is held in check only by financial considerations. It is a question how the Government can reasonably turn down such requests while it is prepared thus to help the N.-W. F. P. with funds.

* * *

Burma Reforms.

THE Burma R. T. C. has dispersed after adopting the report on the future Burmese constitution presented by Lord Peel. A perusal of the cabled summary of it as also that of the discussion that took place on it in the Conference however fails to show that the constitution as outlined in the report has been received with universal satisfaction. The list of reserved subjects is much the same as is proposed for India. Not only are defence, external affairs, and "excluded areas" including the Shan States reserved for the Governor's control, but he is made ultimately responsible for such subjects as monetary policy, currency, coinage, ceremonial honours and titles, the ecclesiastical department and for safeguarding the interests of minorities and officers recruited by the Secretary of State. As for the contemplated legislature, there was complete unanimity at the Conference that it should be a bicameral one. The Upper House will consist of from 30 to 60 members, and the lower from 106 to 200, their periods being six to seven years and five years respectively. The nominated element will not altogether disappear from the composition of these bodies though of course the official bloc will. The franchise, as in India, will be considerably extended, which may not satisfy those who pressed for adult suffrage at the Conference. The absence of a communal settlement acted as a great stumbling block in the Burma R. T. C. as in the Indian one, but not to the extent of holding up all progress of the work of the Conference. The report records the fact of the efforts at bringing about a settlement of the claims for representation put forward on behalf of Europeans, Indians, Muslims, Karens, Chinese, landlords, etc. having come to naught. It is a great pity that our countrymen in Burma could not resist the temptation of preferring a claim to special protection and that even there the Moslems and non-Moslems could not make common cause. The number of ministers proposed viz. 8 appears to be unduly large, but did not seem to have excited much comment at the Conference. All of them would be bound by collective responsibility to the legislature which is a step in the right direction.

* * *

Articles.

WHAT WILL NON-CONGRESSMEN DO ?

MR. MANU SUBEDAR, Vice-President-elect of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, in discussing the prevailing political situation from the economic point of view, concluded an interview that he gave to the press with these words: "Economic remedies could not cure a disturbance which was political in its origin, but it did appear to him that the narrow issue of safeguards or no safeguards, or safeguards in the interests of India, could have been determined in a peaceful manner and with less economic sacrifice, not to speak of other kinds of sufferings, had both parties to the struggle wished to avoid a trial of strength." What Mr. Subedar says of the financial safeguards holds good of every other issue that was raised or could be raised at the R. T. C. For a satisfactory determination of none of such issues was the grim struggle that apparently lies ahead in the least necessary. But the two principal contestants in the dispute have thought otherwise, and the whole country is in for a period of stress and strain, which, whoever may come out victorious at the end, will inflict grave damage upon the country.

And the pity of it is that battle is joined not on the constitutional issue at all, but on an issue, which, however important in itself, cannot compare with the constitutional issue in importance. It is at this point that we find ourselves in profound disagreement with Mahatma Gandhi. Replying to the Viceroy's telegram of 29th December, in which the Viceroy had urged the necessity of maintaining co-operation with a view to carrying the work of the R. T. C. to fruition, Mahatma Gandhi said: "In my opinion, the constitutional issue dwindles into insignificance in the face of Ordinances and acts, which must, if not met with stubborn resistance, result in utter demoralisation of the nation." The reasoning advanced here is not easy to follow. Take, e. g., the Ordinance issued in the U. P. to put down the no-rent campaign. Let us assume that the U. P. Government was extremely niggardly in its remissions and that nothing else was left to the leaders in that province, in order to meet the exactions of the landlords and the Government, than to lead the peasants in a movement of non-payment of the rent. If such a movement is repressed, then *ex hypothesi* the peasants of the province will unjustly suffer. There will here be a legitimate grievance left unredressed. But in any case it would certainly be more to the advantage of the peasants for our countrymen to acquire permanent control of the Government's land revenue policy in the whole country than to obtain necessary remissions in a year's demand of revenue or rent in one province. So also in regard to the Bengal Ordinance. In this province the necessity for some kind of precautionary measure appears to be admitted in Congress circles. But, for the purposes of our argument, let us suppose that even here the local Government has been taking measures for the preservation of the public peace

which derive no sort of justification from the existing circumstances. Even so, whatever need there may be for combating these particular measures, the country will obviously derive a larger and more enduring benefit from our taking over from the foreigners complete charge of law and order not only in Bengal but in other Provinces as well. The people at large have little intimate knowledge of what is happening in the North-West Frontier Province. The assumption that we have made all along that innocent people are wantonly harassed will be made for this Province too. But in this Province the constitutional advance that is at present actually in process of completion is really phenomenal. The country will certainly profit more from this Province being upraised in one step from its position of a non-regulated Province to that of equality with all the other provinces than by the amelioration that we seek in the present conditions of the people.

We do not for one moment suggest that the grievances from which the people are suffering in these or other provinces need or should be left unattended to. But it does seem to us that in concentrating on these and having no care for the constitutional changes calculated to put an effective end for all time to these or similar grievances in future everywhere in India the Congress leaders are taking a course which will not serve the best interests of India. On the other hand, we feel that in trying to obtain redress of all these grievances they ought to have taken such measures as will not in any way endanger or even postpone to any serious extent the enactment of reforms in the shaping of which they themselves have taken no mean part. And this brings us to a consideration of the duty that devolves upon non-Congressmen at this critical juncture, which is the main purpose of this leader. Dissociating themselves from the repressive measures of Government as they must do, should they by way of further emphasising their protest refuse to participate in the future deliberations of the R. T. C., or should they on the contrary decline to help the possible machinations of British reactionaries in switching off popular attention in India from the reforms? These reactionaries have a lively sense of the tremendous surrender of power which will be forced upon them when the reforms even as adumbrated by the Sankey Report in England take effect, and they are surely up to the device of picking up a quarrel with Indian nationalists so as to divert the latter's attention to a keener, wider and more popular struggle, but a struggle which, for all the exhilaration it may bring, may prove less profitable to the country at large. This question, we daresay, is at the moment exercising the minds of many politicians in the country who do not exactly follow the Congress lead, but who wish as far as possible to enlist the support of the Congress in the achievement of constitutional reforms.

On the general question there can be no two opinions as to the direction in which the duty of non-Congressmen who do not favour the starting of the civil resistance campaign in the existing circum-

stances lies. While they are bound to give what little assistance they can in remedying the reasonable complaints of people in the three provinces, they must not allow anything that they or others may do to interpose any avoidable delay in setting the reforms machinery in motion. Our immediate troubles, large as they will necessarily loom in our eyes, must not imperil our hopes for the future. But this path, which otherwise would have been plain, is not free from difficulties. The Congress is admittedly the largest organization in the country, and it may be said that no reforms which are not acceptable to it are worth bothering about. Other parties, put together, are not strong enough to salvage reforms if the Congress is determined to shipwreck them. However imperative may be the duty of non-Congressmen to carry on the work of reform, they are so placed in public life that no assistance they can possibly give will be at all effective. This consciousness of their practical inability to take an effectual part in any movement to which the Congressmen vow their opposition is widely prevalent among non-Congressmen; and we have no doubt that a goodly portion of those who will ultimately elect to stay away from the further stages of constitution-making will do so under the pressure of such consciousness. There will perhaps be others who, without cherishing any illusions about the extent of their influence and power, will still elect under a compelling sense of duty to continue their association with the later work of the R.T.C., though such association may not be too fruitful. Mere abstention from this work, unaccompanied by an active participation in the civil disobedience movement, they may judge, will do nobody any good. If conscientiously they cannot be in the civil disobedience movement, let them at least give such help as they can in the other work that is proceeding. That is work, meritorious for those who discharge it, and beneficial to the country. If on account of their personal unworthiness or political weakness they cannot make it as beneficial as they would like it to be, it would at any rate be beneficial to the extent that they perform it, and in any case to do this little is better than to do nothing. Such are the thoughts that will be competing for mastery in the minds of the politicians who are not of the Congress, and the next few days will determine what their choice shall be.

Reviews.

MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING. By B. N. BHARGAVA. (Longmans, Calcutta.) 1930. 20cm. 109p. Rs2.

IT is very gratifying that increasing attention is being paid in recent years in India to the study of the problems of Agricultural Marketing. This is borne out, among other things, by the investigations regarding finance and marketing of cultivator's cotton carried out in different cotton tracts by the Indian

Central Cotton Committee, papers on marketing read before the Indian Economic Conference and the reports of the various Provincial and Central Banking Enquiry Committees. We welcome the monograph under review, submitted as an M. A. thesis in the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Lucknow University by Mr. B. N. Bhargava, who has carried out local investigations into the marketing of grain in a relatively small rural area covered by the Sadabad Tehsil in the Muttra District of the United Provinces. In successive chapters he deals with different aspects of marketing such as the cultivator as a trader, the chain of middlemen, speculation, storage, periodical markets, transport and in a concluding chapter sums up the defects of the existing marketing organisation and makes certain suggestions for its improvement.

Mr. Bhargava's intensive survey confirms the general impressions regarding the drawbacks of the existing marketing organisation which is peculiarly unsatisfactory from the point of view of the grower. The treatment of speculation is very illuminating and instructive, though perhaps it was unnecessary to expatiate on the general theory of speculation. A few inaccuracies regarding facts and language mar an otherwise well-written book. For example, on page 52, we are told that "72 per cent. of the Indian people live in rural areas", while the Census tables reveal a higher percentage, viz. about 89. Mr. Bhargava has apparently made some confusion between the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture and that living in rural areas. As an illustration of the inaccuracy of language we would invite attention to para 1, page 102. Another more serious deficiency of the book is the almost total absence of statistical data and tables relating to the various aspects of marketing and indebtedness of the cultivator.

We have, however, no hesitation in saying that the book under review has a distinct value of its own as an intensive survey of a very important aspect of the rural economy of India, hitherto largely neglected. We fully endorse Mr. Bhargava's conclusions and suggestions for its improvement, which, if adopted, would go a long way in removing many of the more serious handicaps under which the Indian peasant labours at present while disposing of his produce. Some of the more important suggestions are: the development of the means of transport in rural areas, the establishment of regulated (organised) markets, the multiplication of cooperative credit and sale societies, the introduction of standard weights and measures, the systematic grading of agricultural produce, the prevention of adulteration and the extension of storage facilities. A remarkable omission, which, we hope, would be made good in the second edition, is about the desirability of the introduction of the system of licensed warehouses and warehouse certificates as a fluid security for obtaining advances during the marketing period. Mr. Bhargava rightly emphasises the fact that some of the drawbacks of the marketing system are largely the product of the existing system of agriculture with its extensive subdivision of holdings and its liability to the vicissitudes of season and rainfall. These difficulties are serious enough, but their existence makes it all the more necessary to concentrate on such of the improvements of the existing marketing organisation as can be introduced in the conditions of today.

We sincerely hope that Mr. Bhargava's monograph will lead the way and will serve to stimulate similar intensive enquiries elsewhere in India.

S. G. BERL

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE.

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE.

By SHERMAN H. M. CHANG. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.) 1931. 23cm. 230p.

MR. CHANG has discussed in this work the Marxian theory of the State. It is a praiseworthy exposition of the theory of the State from the Communistic point of view and Mr. Chang has brought out by the process of a very able analysis the development of the concept of the anarchist state which is the fundamental basis of the State structure which Marx and his fellow-Communists advocate. Marx has based his ideal of the state on the essential factor of "class struggle" i.e. struggle between the capitalists and the wage-earners and he says that it is this class struggle which will ultimately result in the annihilation of the state and in the emergence of a stateless Communist society. This final stage of the development of the state is held up by Marx and Engel and other writers on Communism as the highest acme to which a state can progress, a stage where everyone would be equal to every one else where there would be no exploitation of one class by another; in short there would be perfect harmony and the highest ideal of making from each according to his ability and giving to each according to his needs would be realized. Engels, a fellow worker of Marx and an ardent Communist, depicts the stateless Communist society in following terms when he writes: "Man, at last the master of his own social organisation, becomes at the same time the Lord over Nature, his own master-ree."

In the chapter on Soviet Russia, Mr. Chang shows how the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the central point as well as the highest development of Marxian political theory, has been and is being worked out in Soviet Russia. Russia is the one state at the present day which is putting into practice the principles of Marx adopted by Lenin and his followers. The Russian Revolution had been the result of the Communist propaganda and the work of the Communist Party, and the Communists' domination of the state functions in Russia is being pointed out as one of the points in which it has departed from the principles adumbrated by Marx. But Mr. Chang explains that there is no essential point of distinction so far as ideals and aims are concerned, no conflict of interests between the Communist Party and the proletariat. The Communists form in fact the instrument for the realization of the Communist stateless community even as they form the vanguard of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship and have played the most important and prominent part in the establishment as well as the maintenance of the new system.

Mr. Chang considers however that Russia is not pure, unadulterated Communist state; but what exists therein is only a species of state capitalism, which, however, as he shows, is not incompatible with the Marxian conception of what a Communist state ought to be, as it provides an intermediate step to the evolution of full state socialism. It is therefore designated as "pragmatic socialism" based upon the liquidation of capitalism while keeping all the commanding positions in the hands of the proletarian state. But with the inauguration of the five-year plan which Mr. Chang has not mentioned in his work, even the insignificant concessions to capitalism which were apparently accorded in the beginning of the Soviet state system have been taken away and everything is swept into the fold of Communism.

In the political aspect of the stateless Communist society i. e. the suppression of the bourgeois, the Soviet Government have taken adequate steps to

achieve the expropriation of the middle class, and if complete success in the direction has not been achieved, it is due to the fact that Russia as at present constituted is so fully hemmed in by capitalist countries. In recapitulating how the Marxian theory of a Communist state has been applied to Soviet Russia, Mr. Chang weighs the evidence on both sides and comes to the conclusion that Marxism has been fairly complied with there—complied with as far as actual conditions permit. In all those matters where the strict Marxian theory has been departed from, it is on account of the necessities and the requirements of the situation within the country. These modifications and extensions of the Marxian doctrines may go under the name of Leninism, for Lenin it is that has brought Marxism up-to-date. Lenin is the Martin Luther of Marxism.

Marxism had its origin in the historical materialism of the nineteenth century and combined with the intellectual dialectics of the Hegelian school. Latter day developments of Marxism are in the direction of Revisionism as opposed to Revolutionism, a school of thought which has come to predominate in almost every European country after the war, while Marxian Communism manifested itself in Soviet Russia. With regard to the future of Marxism, Mr. Chang pertinently observes that in the wake of historical materialism, which brought to the forefront the economic rather than the political basis and functions of the state, Marxism, which has of late come to be recognised as a theory of society based upon the principles of economic justice, will certainly come to exercise a potent influence in the future. For Marxism, it must be remembered, is not a mere theoretical formula, but a dynamic creed which is capable of being put into practice and which is intended to be put into practice.

Mr. Chang has studied the book with numerous quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and others to support all his conclusions and in addition has provided a very useful bibliography which will be found handy by any one wishing to pursue the study of the subject further.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

THE EUROPEAN FEDERATION.

DIVIDED EUROPE. By SOMERSET DE CHAIR. (Cape.) 1931. 20cm. 224p. 5/-.

"EUROPE to-day is the counterpart of the declining Roman Empire, disintegrating within from the effects of voluptuous living, weakening through the infiltration of alien influences, and encircled without by the menacing hordes who approached imperceptibly nearer in the twilight of civilisation to the crumbling strongholds of waning power." The coloured nations of the world over which Europe held sway until recently are becoming a menace to European civilisation. "The final impetus to the rousing of the Titanic Forces was given by the Great War." Russia after 200 years became an oriental power. And from Russia is permeating throughout Asia, the new religion - Communism. Mr. Somerset De Chair rightly stresses the importance of the Soviet experiment to the future. He says: "The economic organisation of the Soviet State may be as potent an international factor as supremacy at sea."

Within Europe is a house divided against itself. "Those who are able to discern the winds and currents of political meteorology to-day sense the storm clouds gathering unperceived in the Balkan Zone, lowering over the Rhineland and banking up behind the Alps." The Treaty of Versailles was based on the assumption of the superiority of the Allies over Germany.

Though this spirit is in fact gradually changing, the facts of the Treaty remain. "The permanent peace of Europe is incompatible with a penalised Germany, a dismembered Hungary, and a dissatisfied Italy."

The author then considers these three factors of European politics in detail. A vindictive peace was forced on Germany. Alsace-Lorraine was taken away by France. German prosperity was weakened by the loss of her best coal-mines and iron areas. And "on the top of this was the imposition of a tribute by way of 'reparations' for damage done in figures so vast that they resembled astronomical figures than money values". It was not realised that Germany herself had to recover from the effects of the war. Germany has been groaning under these heavy payments. "The argument of war guilt no longer carries any weight." The only thing that will satisfy Germany is a complete cancellation of her obligations. The deciding vote in this matter lies with America for so long as America wants her debts to be paid, the Allies will have to exact reparations from Germany.

Italy under Mussolini is fast developing into an aggressive power. More than any country, Italy wants room to expand and she has no colonial Empire. France which is under-populated has vast colonial possessions. Besides Mussolini has his eyes on Corsica. Nice Riverra, which geographically forms part of Italy, is now under France. Italy wants to become the dominant power in the Mediterranean. "Mussolini has stated his grievances in no unmistakable terms." "Thus there is as much enmity between Italy and France to-day as there was between France and Prussia in 1870."

This is not the whole of the disturbing element about Europe to-day. The dismembering of Hungary is the twentieth century version of the partition of Poland. The wrong done to Hungary has to be repaired soon.

That is the picture Mr. De Chair gives of Europe to-day. If Europe is to withstand the pressure of internal forces, it has to put her house in order. "The internal federation of Europe as a political whole and welding together of its component parts into a single economic unit is no mere visionary ideal of the future, but a vital necessity of the moment if Europe is to retain its hegemony of civilisation."

Mr. De Chair thinks that England should stand aside from such a United States of Europe. England should try to gather together into a close association the scattered portions of her Empire. His plea for giving up the free trade policy and creating a tariff wall around the Empire amply justifies his statement in the Preface that he is a sincere patriot and an imperialist.

A United States of Europe and the British Empire will not cover up the whole of humanity. Mr. De Chair thinks that the U. S. A. may bring under it the rest of America or South America may form itself into a separate federation. Russia, China and Japan with its slumbering millions and India with its "fanatical masses" (?) may present an impediment to world co-operation. But the author hopes that Japan may succeed in welding all these into a strong Asiatic Federation.

The book is highly interesting and gives a clear idea of the many practical problems confronting Europe and the British Empire to-day. The author's hope in the preservation of the British Empire welded together by economic bonds appears to us rather slender. The coming of a change in men's minds, of which he himself speaks, may sweep away the sentimental attachment of the Dominions to the mother country. The colonies inhabited by coloured peoples which England is using to her own advantage now

may not exactly like to remain within the British Empire, if only for economic reasons. We also feel that the new awakening in Asia is more real than Mr. De Chair would have us believe. The unrest in Asia is not all a question of 'colour and Bolshevism'. The white races have been exploiting the world for a long time. The people of Asia who are slowly coming out of their slumber may not tolerate this for ever.

Mr. De Chair is an undergraduate of the Oxford University and, we gather from the book, is only twenty years old. It is an achievement for him to have written a book on international politics in a manner which will do credit even to front-rank politicians and publicists.

K. S. VISWANATHAN.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB.

THE LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS. AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR OF GRACE 1890. By HUGH KENNEDY TREVASKIS. (Oxford University Press.) 21cm. 372p. Rs. 9.

THIS economic history of the Punjab ends with the magnificent concluding verses from the most magnificent ode in all English literature:—

Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth;
And, by the incantation of this verse,
Scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth
Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind:
Be through my lips to unawakened earth
The trumpet of a prophecy! O, Wind,
If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?

From which final note of optimistic pessimism we cannot be in two minds as to the Shelleyan sympathy which the author has towards the "bold peasantry, their country's pride, which once destroyed, can never be supplied." The dry-as-dust "political economist" might well be shocked to find Mr. Trevaskis quoting the poetry of Shelley and of Goldsmith-nay, even Virgil—when handling the art of economics, whose high priests they are. But Mr. Trevaskis has done a signal service in writing a book which distils the vital fluid of a nation's history—its economical vicissitudes and growth into a clear, pellucid summary of reliable facts and vivid, suggestive inferences. History, and especially Indian history as we are having it have been dull enough, and positively repellent to the Indian reader mostly, who cannot be expected to swallow devoutly all the Imperialistic doctrinaire and quasi-militant exulting stuff prepared for the quiescent element among the reading public. And so when Mr. Trevaskis says after a detached study of Indian economic history that neither has a Golden Age in India been destroyed by "a brutal British Government, nor a country plunged in Cimmerian darkness . . . first received enlightenment from Europe; but commonsense indicates rather a complex civilisation to which Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, and British have all contributed valuable elements, though in each case those elements have suffered from the defects of their qualities," we can safely sigh with relief and thank the writer of this book for a study which is anyhow not hysterical or fanatic or visionary but sane, reassuring and at the worst, coldly practical. If history is to be the key to the solution of many of the world's problems of the present day, it has to be, not a dull description of the politics of inorganic states, but of the immense mixed multitudes of a country "which is a museum of economics and sociology." The history of these immense multitudes, traced stage by stage through long, various periods,

has been limited to a particular Indian Province—the Punjab—which is intended to be typical of India as a whole—though “the bounds of time have been more rigidly regarded than those of space.” There are, of course, very weighty reasons for not trying to deduce too much on an all-India scale from a study of an isolated Province, isolated by its peculiar military genius as apart from other parts of India like Bengal or South India, and also by several other distinguishing features such as its predominantly wheat-productive potentialities beside the rice-consuming character of the rest of India, and the unique position as a field of Frontier turmoils and jealousies, all of which tends to mark it out as a Province definitely bound to exercise the political and dictatorial idiosyncrasies of periodical foreign invaders. But even making due allowances for all these peculiarities and territorial characteristics of the Punjab, “The Land of the Five Rivers” gives a fair and all-round medium of insight into the general economic problems in other areas.

We have had too much befogging specialist-jingling of serious and basic knowledge which should be open and intelligible to the ordinary peasant and the man-in-the-street if the country as a whole is to benefit from knowledge at all. Mr. Trevaskis, indeed, has superbly demonstrated through his gradual, intensely living history of a vast range of time, the dangerous part that mass ignorance has played in the creation of the exploiter and the aggrandiser to the ruin of agrarian independence and national health, resulting in a travesty of economical government. The chapters entitled “The Political Supremacy of the Lawyers,” and “The Economic Dictatorship of the Money-Lender” are among the best pieces of sound elucidative thinking and digested knowledge. The experts, unless they “condescend to hop down from their perches and become one of the general public,” can never hope to do, all of them together, what a single book like this assuredly can. Another man than Mr. Trevaskis could have written such a book—Mr. Edward Thompson—and that is saying a great deal. We can go further than both of them—on the same sane principles and in the same practical direction—as all Indians are bound to do if they have to tackle their affairs effectively, “at the brass tacks,” as they say; but let us remember these lines which Mr. Trevaskis quotes:—

Men find that action is another thing
Than what they in discoursing papers read:
The world's affairs require in managing
More arts than those wherein your clerks proceed,
While timorous knowledge stands considering
Audacious ignorance hath done the deed:
For who knows most, the more he knows to doubt
The least discourse is commonly most stout.

The audacious ignorance of the oppressed Indian peasantry may do what the timorous knowledge of their superior leaders may delay to effect; and the dead machinery of unsympathetic British law and red tape officialdom will have to reckon with the former more than the theories of the latter sort.

A. MADHAVA MENON.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON THE THOUGHT OF THE WEST. By SWAMI ASHOKANANDA. (Advaita Ashram, Calcutta.) 1931. 21cm. 45p.

THIS booklet is a note on Romain Rolland's book on Vivekananda or rather the latter part of the book entitled the Universal Gospel. Both on logical and historical grounds it joins issue with Rolland about his view as to the relation of the Indian and

the Western thought. It maintains that the Indian point of view (the Vedantic) is a distinct and a unique one and that it is wrong to believe that the spiritual life of the West has also been founded on this view. Historically it shows how at various periods of the history of European thought it shows traces of the Eastern influence.

There are a number of points on which a genuine difference of opinion is possible. We ourselves had in mind the objective desirability of an identification of the Eastern and Western cultures, such as is M. Rolland's dream. In this booklet we find another but an allied difference of opinion stated and maintained from an intellectual and spiritual plane as high as Rolland's.

P. R. DAMLE.

THE INDIAN FEDERATION AND THE STATES. 88p. Rs. 2/8.

CONFEDERATION OF STATES OR FEDERATION WITHIN FEDERATION. 20p. As. 8.

BOTH BY A.M. ARORA. (Alakh Prakash Bros., Gwalior.) 16cm.

TURNING over the pages of the first of these two pamphlets, we came across a sub-heading “Rule of Law” which naturally led us to suppose that the author had seen the justice of the cause of the subjects of Indian States to the extent of advocating the “rule of law” for them. But on a perusal of the matter under that heading our supposition was found to be incorrect. The author certainly advocates the rule of law, not for the subjects, but for the Princes who, he thinks, have been in the past unjustly treated in many matters by the paramount power. We do not know where he got his inspiration from for writing this pamphlet, but it very largely props up the case of the Indian Princes. Mr. Arora's partiality to the Princes is also clear from the very grudging manner in which he admits, in his second pamphlet, even such a glaring fact as the autocratic nature of the rule in Indian States and the absence of any voice to the subjects in their administration. Mr. Arora supports all the demands, reasonable or otherwise, laid down by the Princes as a condition precedent to their coming into the Federation. It is not as if the subjects of Indian States do not come into his picture. But to them he appeals not to press their demands on this occasion, in view of the crisis through which the States are at present passing. We wish he had given us some idea of this alleged crisis. He assures the subjects in right princely style that the Princes are fighting their battles and deserve all their support—a statement which the subjects are sure to find devoid of substance. We hope we have said enough to give our readers an idea of what to expect in Mr. Arora's little book.

In his second leaflet he examines the objections brought by the Maharaja of Patiala against Federation and comes to the conclusion that the defects mentioned by him are capable of being adjusted.

V. K. M.

ENGLAND, INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN. By ANNIE BESANT. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1931. 20cm. 123p. Re. 1-4.

THIS small book is a reprint of Dr. Besant's book which was published in London in 1879. It is an indictment of the Imperial policy of the Tory Government of the Earl of Beaconsfield and contains scathing criticism of England's forward policy on the North-West frontier of India. Part first of the book gives a rapid survey of the British occupation

of India. According to the authoress, British rule has done immense harm to her civilization and prosperity. She says:—

We have invaded their country, burnt their homes, slaughtered their men, outraged their women, plundered their treasure houses, destroyed their laws, pulled down their rulers, given them famine for plenty, poverty for wealth—in a word we have bestowed on them all the blessings of civilization and yet they do not love us and are not content with our sway, (pp. 78-79.)

These remarks read well in a book written in 1879 to condemn the policy of the Tory party; but an impartial judge of England's rule in India cannot completely agree with the authoress in all that she has said here. The British connection has created a new situation and the ancient achievement, howsoever glorious, will not be helpful to solve some of India's complicated problems.

The second part is devoted to an examination of the forward policy on India's North-West frontier pursued by the Government of Lord Lytton. The results of the different wars with Afghanistan have amply proved that it is always wise to allow that small kingdom to enjoy its freedom.

B. H. NAIK.

PASSING THROUGH GERMANY. (8TH EDN.)
(Terramare Office, Wilhelmstrasse 23, Berlin.)
1931. 20cm. 206p.

IN bringing to the notice of our readers the eighth edition of this finely printed and beautifully got up book, which was suitably noticed in our issue of June 25 last, all we need do is to mention that readers of this paper can get the book free of charge, except two international reply coupons for postage. The book gives much useful information about and will be found very serviceable by those interested in Germany.

J. P. M.

SPIRITUAL REALIZATION. By BEATRICE
FERGUSON. (C. L. S., Madras.) 1931. 19cm.
246p. Rs. 2.

IT must be confessed that one reads such books as these with a certain amount of reserve and suspicion. Not often do we find writers of another race stooping to conquer—writing with splendid detachment making sincere endeavours to understand and be understood. The subject of this book is the different methods of spiritual realization through the ages. The author has attempted in this small book to survey the special contribution of India to a solution of the problem.

First come the exponents of Indian mysticism preaching that spiritual being can never be something objective to the self. Man must find the great ocean depth of his own subjectivity. Then come the Rishis with their God-intoxicated expressionism announcing that realization is revelation. Buddha was the first to be dissatisfied with this merely intellectual appeal. His was a philosophy based on character and sympathy for mankind very much like that of the Emperor-Stoic on the Roman throne, vainly asking himself whether this universe was the handiwork of God or a chance agglomeration of atoms. We further have a parallel development in the Gita with its splendid logic. "Renunciation of action and devotion through action" declares Krishna to wavering Arjuna "are both means of final emancipation but of these two devotion through action is better than renunciation." We have still later developments in Vaishnavism, in Sankara's doctrine

of illusion and then the Yoga system with its severe austerities and perhaps meaningless discipline in search of "Abstract Thought." Later perhaps than all these is the popular Gopala Krishna letting loose a great spate of emotion and fervent love

After such a kaleidoscopic development in religious thought it is perhaps too much to suggest that Christ's is the consummation—the only apogee of the three-fold ways by which realization has been attained viz. by intellect, will and emotion. Neither has the author clearly demonstrated that a method which sublimates all these is the best to attain the goal. The search is perhaps idle and puerile. "I allow my people to go their own way to heaven" said Frederic of Prussia. The author would have been wiser had she not tried to prove that Christianity is a refined hotchpotch of all these. It only detracts without adding to Christ's simple and beautiful philosophy.

S. NARASIMHAN.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

- European Conference on Rural Hygiene. Vol. I. Recommendations. (C. 473. M. 202. 1931. III. 11 I.) 24cm. 59p. 2/-.
- European Conference on Rural Hygiene. Vol. II. Minutes. (C. 473. M. 202. 1931. III. 11 II.) 24cm. 187p. 6/-.
- Permanent Mandates Commission: Minutes of The Twentieth Session. Report. (C. 422. M. 176. 1931. VI. A. I.) 23cm. 236p. 7/6.
- Records and Texts of the Conference for the Unification of Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts held at Lisbon. (C. 163. M. 58. 1931. VIII. 1.) 33cm. 106p. 5/-.
- Records and Texts of the European Conference on Road Traffic. (C. 438. M. 185. 1931. VIII. 15.) 33cm. 164p. 6/-.
- Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. Minutes. (C. 4. M. 4. 1931. IX. 1.) 34cm. 620p. 20/-.
- Armaments Year-Book, General & Statistical Information. (C. 1. M. 1. 1931. IX. 2.) 24cm. 1191p.
- Report by the Committee of Experts on Budgetary Questions. (C. 182. M. 69. 1931. IX. 3.) 33cm. 46p. 2/-.
- Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition. (C. 2. M. 2. 1931. IX. 4.) 33cm. 438p. 16/-.
- Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs: Minutes of the fourteenth Session. Vol. II. (C. 88. M. 34. 1931. XI. 2 II.) 33cm. 298p. 7/6.
- Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs. Analysis of the International Trade in Morphine, Diacetylmorphine and Cocaine, 1925-29. Part I. (C. 587. M. 228. 1931. XI. 5 I.) 34cm. 215p. 7/6

THE MOPLAH AID COMMITTEE.

The following appeal for help has been issued by Mr. E. C. Wood, President of the Committee:—

You may be already aware that the Government of Madras are pleased to announce the release of a large number of rebellion prisoners. In order to assist these released persons to settle down as peaceful citizens, a Committee consisting of influential persons of the Calicut District belonging to all communities has been formed at Calicut. It is too early to say what the nature and form of relief will be as they will depend on the necessities of each case. But there is no doubt that large funds are required for giving adequate help. On behalf of the Committee, may I request you to be so good as to make a liberal contribution and help the Committee in the task it has undertaken relying on the active sympathy and support of the public?