

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Indirect and Direct Help in Repression.

THE *Hindu* is exceedingly unhappy at the thought that the R.T.C. Committees, as constituted at present, will not be as helpful as they might otherwise have been. To take but one instance of their certain failure, our contemporary points out that the Consultative Committee will not raise, and perhaps will not be permitted to raise, the question of the transfer of control over defence to the legislature. "Should not the Committee be allowed," it asks, "to bring forward alternative proposals, even in the manner conceded in Sir Samuel Hoare's letter to Mahatma Gandhi, which, while supplying the safeguard required by the Government, might provide for an adequate measure of popular control at the same time?" Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any other Congressman has so far given the least indication as to how the safeguards insisted upon by the British Government could be reconciled with "an adequate measure of control." But if this seemingly impossible result can be achieved to the knowledge of the *Hindu*, and if no one now included in the Committee is competent to achieve it, is not the editor of the self-same *Hindu* partially responsible for the resulting failure of the R.T.C.? He was asked to serve on the Consultative Committee but declined to do so. He apparently thought it his duty to boycott the Committees, and worry no more as to what they might or might not do. And yet it is such huge fun to see that the *Hindu* does worry so very much about these rifles.

The position of journals like the *Hindu* is really hard to understand. They support the Congress policy of renewal of civil disobedience. They are therefore under a mandate of the Congress to "civilly disobey"

"all unjust orders issued under an Ordinance." Now, the whole press in India is subjected to what these papers would surely regard as unjust orders: they must do this and omit to do that. None of these papers however disobeys, civilly or otherwise, any of these orders. On the contrary they practise civil disobedience against the Congress itself by disobeying its express commands. And yet these papers are loud in counselling non-co-operation to others who do not share their views on the expediency of civil disobedience. Co-operation in R.T.C. work is represented as indirect co-operation in repression. If that is so, what would same submission to the Ordinances on the part of papers, pledged to civil disobedience, and also taking part in un-official discussions of the constitution amount to? Active and direct co-operation in repression?

The Situation.

DESPITE the fact that the civil disobedience movement is less strong than in 1930 due to its being in a comparatively disadvantageous position owing to the relentlessly repressive policy of the Government, it had, according to information officially conveyed to the Assembly, served by the end of January to swell the Indian jail population to the tune of nearly 15,000. The total number of convictions arising out of the civil disobedience movement in U. P. was nearly 4,500 upto about the middle of this month. This shows how widespread is the appeal it makes to the public. A non-official attempt to raise a debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on the present Ordinance regime was frustrated by the President's disallowance of the resolution. But several businessmen who participated in the general budget debate testified to the harm it was doing to trade in general. A feature of the debate was the unanimity with which non-official opinion pressed for an early return to the normal methods of administration with a view to ease the tension of feeling between the Government and the people.

Among magisterial vagaries of last week attention may be drawn to the order issued by the District Magistrate of Sholapur to the manager of the local Khadi Bhandar prohibiting him from dealing in Congress flags or badges and from allowing his shop to be used for any unlawful purpose. But the funny part of the order is this. The unfortunate manager of the Khadi Bhandar is reported to have been asked not to wear the Gandhi cap in order to show that his Bhandar has no connection with politics but has only economic objects!

Sirdar Sardul Singh, the Congress President, was arrested as he was proceeding to the Frontier Province on a charge of breach of the official order restraining his movements to Lahore while Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who succeeded him has also been since served with a similar order. Miraben (Miss Slade) was sentenced to three months' simple

imprisonment for her failure to obey the Police Commissioner's order to leave Bombay within twenty-four hours!

It will be remembered that after referring in our last issue to the reported ill-treatment by the Police of a Congress volunteer at Trichinopoly while in their charge we put forward a plea for an independent inquiry into those allegations. We observe from the Madras papers that an inquiry has since been made into the correctness or otherwise of those allegations; only that inquiry was not of an independent character. It was a departmental inquiry carried out by a magistrate. He has come to the conclusion that there was no evidence beyond the statements of the Congress workers themselves which would substantiate their charges against the police. The result of this inquiry cannot for obvious reasons command the same measure of public confidence as that of one with which independent-minded nonofficials were associated. In passing one cannot help wondering how on earth a man closely guarded by the police can get evidence of his ill-treatment by his custodians. Those who know anything of their ways can easily imagine how extremely difficult it generally is to bring home such accusations. This is of course not to say that implicit faith should be placed in any statements made against the police by Congressmen. All that is suggested is that lack of evidence in circumstances in which these Congressmen found themselves need not necessarily be regarded as discrediting their statements.

* * *

Burma's Support to the Premier's Statement.

THE attitude of the people of Burma to the Prime Minister's declaration of Burmese policy, as disclosed in the recent debate on the subject in the provincial legislative council, seems to be one of discriminating support. A section of Burmese opinion apparently regards Mr. MacDonald's statement with disappointment but is obviously in a minority. For the Burma Legislative Council after a debate for two days carried a resolution which, while recognising the unsatisfactory nature of the British Government's Burmese policy, expressed the view that the Premier's declaration afforded a suitable basis for determining the future Burmese constitution. The question of Burma's separation from India did not naturally figure very prominently in these discussions, dealing mainly as they did with Mr. MacDonald's statement on Burma's political future. It will be remembered that this has left the determination of that question to the verdict of the Burmese themselves as expressed in the results of the next elections to the legislative council. The principal ground on which satisfaction was expressed with the proffered constitution for Burma was that it contained provision for its eventual culmination in complete responsible government. There were also some features of the proposed Burmese constitution which came in for strong criticism in the course of the debate. The reservation of defence was among such and was strongly objected to. The view was forcibly expressed by some speakers that the reservation of the army to the Governor's control should be limited to a transitional period of five years. The question of Burma's financial adjustment with India attracted some attention; and India's claim to a refund of the money expended out of Indian revenues upon the development of Burma in the event of Burma's deciding to stand apart from India was hotly contested. Official estimates place the amount of Burma's indebtedness to this country at Rs. 60 crores, while the Indian National Congress places it at Rs. 102 crores. Surprise was expressed by one speaker that, having been a party to depriving Burma of her liberty, India should now

wish to have her debt paid back by Burma. The sentiment serves to indicate the angle of vision with which Burma's relationship with India is viewed in Burma, at any rate in some quarters. It is difficult to say how widely this feeling is shared in that country. If however it is widespread Burma's decision in favour of separation from India is a foregone conclusion, which however nobody need regret. For if Burma wishes to stand upon her own legs and to seek her salvation as a separate entity, nobody has a right to stand in her way.

* * *

Reforms for the Frontier Province.

To judge from a recent notification issued from New Delhi, preparations for raising the North-West Frontier Province to the status of a Governor's province are being vigorously pushed on, and, all going well, the constitutional arrangements proposed for it should be in full working order before the month of April is out. The preparation of electoral rolls for elections to the provincial Legislative Council would have taken a good deal of time and would have delayed the conferment on the province of the improved status. This difficulty has been got over by the adoption for the proposed council election of electoral rolls in force for district board and municipal elections. The Frontier Provincial Legislative Council will consist of 40 members, 28 elected and 12 nominated, these latter being divided equally between officials and non-officials. As many as 20 out of the former will be Muslims, 5 Hindus, 1 Sikh and 2 landholders. The council elections are expected to be held in the second week of April, the council itself meeting a few days later. This will be preceded by the announcement of the personnel of the Government which will consist, besides the Governor, of one executive councillor and one minister, though precise information on this point is at the moment lacking. The proposed province is not expected to be financially self-supporting and elaborate calculations of its probable receipts and expenses are at present in progress in the secretariat of the Central Government with a view to finding out the amount of financial help the new province may need from New Delhi before it is in a position to balance its budget. When this amount is correctly calculated, the sanction of the Legislative Assembly will be asked for its grant to the new province. As it is, the N.-W. F. P. is a centrally administered area, the officers there being the agents of the Government of India which makes itself responsible for the funds needed for its maintenance. The elevation of the N.-W. F. P. to the status of a Governor's province under the existing Government of India Act is likely to be taken as indicative of the ineligibility of that province for full provincial autonomy contemplated under the projected reforms. The Government have gone out of their way to correct such a mistaken impression by explicitly stating that the N.-W. F. P. would be entitled to full control over its own affairs in exactly the same way as any other Indian province. It is a matter for gratification that the Frontier province promises to come into its own before very long.

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Europeans in league with Government.

To those who are inclined to discount the influence of the unofficial European community in the formulation of the Government's policy, the proceedings of the general meeting of the Bombay Branch of the European Association held last week will serve as an eye-opener. The speech of the President, Mr. Abercrombie, describes the action taken by the

Association with a view to induce Government to prepare themselves to cope with the situation that may be created by the possible revival of the civil disobedience movement. To this end it set to work as far back as September last when it waited in deputation on the Home Member of the Bombay Government and discussed with him the lines which Government action designed to suppress the civil disobedience movement should follow. At the request of the Home Member the Association in October last formally submitted its suggestions. In addition to a general plea for "firm, and above all, prompt action," the Association, we are told, urged among other things, (1) the prompt arrest of all the known leaders of the civil disobedience movement; (2) the seizure of funds intended to finance the movement; and (3) the vital necessity for more and better propaganda. Those who have been following recent events with any care need not be told how closely repressive action taken by Government to deal with the civil disobedience movement approximates to the suggestions put forward by the Bombay Europeans. But let us be fair to them. They were never anxious that needless indignities should be heaped upon persons in any way involved in the movement, such e. g. as those implied in their being ordered to report themselves to the police. This aspect of the Government's anti-Congress activity is apparently as distasteful to the Europeans as to anybody else. They therefore recently approached Government with a view to see if less humiliating methods for achieving the same end could not be devised. The answer of the Government is an emphatic "no."

* * *

A Legislative Council for Miraj.

THE inauguration of a legislative council for Miraj (Senior) State on the 20th inst. is an event of more than passing interest. It was about the middle of last year that the Chief announced his intention of associating his people with the administration and appointed a small official committee to frame the scheme of a legislative council for the State. This scheme, when published, was generally criticised as being none too liberal, providing as it did not for an elected majority, but for an equality of the elected and nominated elements in the proposed council with the Dewan as President. But it is doubtful if even this scheme, unsatisfactory as it decidedly was, would not have taken a much longer time for its translation into effect, seeing how slowly things generally move in Miraj: and if matters in this behalf progressed with unexpected speed, the people of Miraj must really be grateful to the Indian States Committee which was expected to visit the neighbouring state of Sangli two days later. That this was so is evident from the fact that though the scheme provided for the election of 13 out of the Council's 26 members, the election did not actually take place for want of time, all the seats being hurriedly filled by nomination so that the Council should be in working order by the time the Committee came round to those parts. Now that the Council has been inaugurated, it may be hoped that it will not be long before the elections are held and a body as laid down in the finally accepted scheme is brought into being. We had hoped that an attempt would be made to democratise the constitution of the Council still further and to widen the scope of its work in the light of criticisms passed on the scheme since its publication some weeks ago; but unfortunately that hope has been very largely disappointed.

TRIBUTES FROM INDIAN STATES.

ONE of the many important questions that the Davidson Committee will examine is whether the tributes received at present from the Indian States "should be immediately reduced or eventually extinguished." This question came up first before the Federal Finance Committee of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, and then before the Sub-Committee itself, but in neither of these two bodies did the matter receive adequate consideration on the ground of principle. To most members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee the issue presented itself as one of feasibility or otherwise of the federal government giving up this source of revenue, it being assumed that if federal finance could afford this sacrifice it ought to be made. Why is it to be made? Because, we are told, federal relationship of the right kind can subsist only between equals and that no government can be federally organised, of which one component part is inferior to another in status or authority. If therefore any of the States now paying a tribute to British India, whether in the form of cash contribution or ceded territory, is to join the federation, it must, it is argued, be first relieved of the obligation of this payment and thus be put on the same footing of dignity as British India. If it be found that the finance of the federal government cannot bear this burden then some mode of adding to its resources must be devised. And while new

resources are being discovered, the burden may be partially lightened, but ultimately no unit of federation can be subject to the payment of a subsidy to another unit.

One would ordinarily think that this reasoning is essentially sound. When federation will come about in this country a fundamental change will have taken place in the mutual relations of the constituent elements of the federation. Of these British India is now supreme, and the Indian States are acknowledgedly in a position of inferiority to a greater or less extent. There are no States but have made over to British India at least two of their vital concerns: defence and foreign relations. In these two respects every State is subordinate, however integral may be its sovereign authority in other respects. But the sovereignty of many of the States is nominal even in regard to other departments of governmental activity. British India's rights of paramountcy over the States are of an extensive nature and they are often exercised in a harsh way. If, however, British India and the States are now to merge their separate existences into an all-India federation, there is no valid reason why the old relationship of liege-lord and vassal should be carried over into the new polity. It is surely to the interest of all that in the federation every federating unit—British India and the States, whether large or small—should be placed on the same

level, both marching hand in hand to their preordained goal. On this view of the matter finance can present no difficulty whatever. If British India has less to offer to the federal government, because the subsidy it used to receive from the Indian States is discontinued, the States will have so much more to offer because they are relieved of a burden which they bore before. To the federal government it should make no difference, for it would have at its disposition the resources of the whole of India pooled together. The reason why the Peel Committee and the Sankey Committee encountered a difficulty in this problem is that they did not, in considering the resources of the federal government or even in considering the structure of the federal government at large, bring to bear on the problem the same considerations which they had in mind in considering the limited question of the States' tributes.

If British India is to be asked to give up the tribute which it gets from Indian States in the common interest of the whole country, the States too must on the same ground be asked to give up to the federal government those concerns which it manages at present but which can be managed to the best advantage of the country by the federal government. To take but one instance, the body of the law, both civil and criminal, which regulates the private relations of inhabitants, is in all federations which it is worth copying entrusted to the national government as distinguished from state governments; and yet such a suggestion cannot be made to the Indian States in the constitutional discussions going on in this country without courting a severe rebuff, not only from the Princes, which can be understood, but from enthusiasts of federation in British India who are more eager to retain the good-will of the Princes than to rear a lasting structure of federation. And what is the objection that is put forward on the side of the Princes? Nothing more than this: that they have the power of enacting civil and criminal laws at present and that they are not willing to give it up. The objection is put in a more comprehensive way thus. Where they have already surrendered sovereignty they cannot help it, but where they have not they must retain it. In short they will not suffer any diminution in their existing powers in order to bring about federation. Thus they say in effect: It is no use your indulging in theoretical discussions as to what should be placed on the list of federal subjects and what local. Federation will be possible only if no sacrifice is required of us, and if the federal government is left to deal with only such subjects as have already passed out of our control. Our external sovereignty having already disappeared, our internal sovereignty, such as it is, must be maintained intact. We shall never agree to weaken ourselves in order to make the national government strong.

When the States take up such an impossibilist attitude they invite a similar attitude on the part of British India. The average British Indian politician cannot then resist the temptation of saying: Well, if you claim sovereignty and wish to maintain it in all its integrity, regardless of the evil consequences

it will produce upon federation, which when it comes will not be exclusively ours but yours as well, we for our part are not going to make any sacrifice for the sake of federation. If, even in such matters as postage and currency, you must have a hand because these are emblems of sovereignty, you cannot surely expect us not to retain the marks of subordination where such subordination can be proved. The tribute that you pay is such a mark, and we will not waive our claim to it. We will retain the tribute, not so much because it would be too much of a sacrifice to give it up, but just because it is a true index of your position of inferiority. A British Indian politician would feel constrained to assume this seemingly vindictive attitude, for it is the only leverage in his hands for pressing a demand for a federation of a larger content than the Princes are willing to agree to. The tributes paid by the Indian States are only one form in which British India's paramountcy thereover expresses itself. You can deal with this form only in the way in which you would deal with the rest. And if overlordship is to be retained in other respects—and it must be retained so long as autocracy persists in the States—it must be retained in this. If however the States too came forward to make the necessary sacrifice demanded by federation, British India would do well to renounce her claim not only to tributes but to other marks of subordination of the Indian States. Sectional interests must give place to general interests, but unfortunately the situation is such that the particularism of Indian States cannot be countered except when British India threatens to oppose her own particularism to it. Sticklers for treaty rights can be made to surrender some of those rights in the interest of federation only if they be told that the stigma of inferiority which attaches to them by reason of those very treaties cannot otherwise be removed.

THE BOMBAY BUDGET.

THE financial position of all governments has changed substantially for the worse during the last year. Both political and economic conditions have been highly unsettled and in India the resumption of the civil disobedience movement during the last two months must depress the position still further. The Bombay Government, in common with others, has been forced to meet the situation in a variety of ways. The position taken with respect to the possibility of retrenching expenditure has during the last year undergone a radical change. In placing the budget for the year 1931-32 before the Legislative Council the Finance Member had expressed grave doubts regarding the possibility of any further retrenchment and had definitely stated that there was no way in which the scales and salaries of the then existing employees of Government could be touched. And yet during this interval we have already had a ten per cent. cut and are now promised a complete overhauling of the administrative machine through the agency of a reconstruction committee. We do not desire to offer any observation on the

project of a reconstruction committee until its personnel and terms of reference are announced. It is, however, necessary to note that the appointment of the reconstruction committee has been made a pretext for postponing retrenchment in the numbers of Executive Councillors and Ministers, a serious consideration of which had been promised by H. E. the Governor to the Legislative Council in the last special session. It is believed that we are on the eve of considerable constitutional changes and in these circumstances the new reconstruction committee sounds too much like a device for shirking the immediate necessity for effective economy.

The speech of the Finance Member this year was even less illuminating than it usually is; and betrayed a sad lack of any constructive policy in the face of a very difficult situation. The year 1930-31 ended even worse than the revised estimates showed last year; it left the Government with no balance in hand whatsoever. The current year shows a continuous worsening in the financial situation and the revised estimates show a falling off in revenue by nearly three-quarters of a crore of rupees below the budgeted figures. The chief help in retrenchment has been the 10 p. c. cut and a considerable postponing of original and repair works in the P. W. Department. Even so the revised estimates show the position to be worse by about Rs. 50 lakhs. The frequent changes in the system of presenting accounts make a detailed scrutiny of this year's estimates very difficult. But it is obvious even at a cursory examination that in preparing the budget figures of revenue yield not enough allowance has been made for the existence of disturbed economic and political conditions. This is specially noticeable in the estimates of Land Revenue and Excise Revenue yields. We had occasion to point to such possible overestimation last year also. We had then pointed specifically to the estimate of Rs. 10 lakhs as estimated receipts from the sale of lands under the Lloyd Barrage scheme. That our criticism was well founded appears from the fact that in the revised estimates this figure has been now reduced to Rs. 5 lakhs. Even so the estimate for the next year is put at Rs. 15 lakhs! Among the devices used last year to balance the budget the utilisation of the Petrol Fund has been given up as the Government of India insisted on its being treated as a loan to provincial funds. Instead, temporary relief has been obtained by getting the sanction of the Government of India to a postponement by one year of certain fixed payments to be made on account of previous loans and the practice of borrowing to meet the interest charges on the Lloyd Barrage scheme is continued. No further measures of retrenchment are to be undertaken this year and the chief reduction in expenditure below the current year's figures has been brought about by cuts in Education and Civil Works. As has been often pointed out a cut in Civil Works is usually nothing more than a postponement of expenditure. The only substantial reduction is in Education brought about by the Government's decision to reduce by 15 p. c. the grants payable to local bodies on account of primary education.

The disastrous failure of the Succession Duty Bill has forced the Finance Member to tackle the problem of taxing inheritance from a different angle. And the new finance bill seeks to apply the provisions of the Indian Succession Act to communities formerly exempted. The Stamp and Court-fee schedules are to be raised and a tax is to be introduced on the consumption of electricity. The yield of all these taxes is not expected to be considerable and the uncovered portion of the budgeted deficit will, therefore, have to be borrowed. The deficit budget of 1930-31 cleared off the provincial balances and reduced the Famine Relief Fund to its minimum possible figure. The current year will end with a huge deficit and this together with the next year's deficit will be met from borrowings, the two together contributing to a substantial increase in the unproductive debt of this Presidency. We repeat what we said last year that this is a most unusual procedure. We can only explain this method of handling our finances by supposing that the impending transfer of power to other hands has made the powers that be in the Finance Department extremely careless in such matters.

Our European Letter.

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GENEVA, February 18.

HISTORY is in the making at Geneva. The Disarmament Conference is the most impressive collective effort that organized communities have yet produced in the history of the world for the regulation of their mutual relations. Sixty-four nations are represented in it and hundreds of military experts and politicians from all parts of the world have gathered together in this town for the occasion. It is true, as Mr. Churchill has pointed out, that there is a certain amount of risk in holding such a conference at a time when the sense of international security is as feeble as it has ever been since the war. The effects of the economic depression all over the world, the anxious and almost fearful expectation of the turn of events in Germany, the increasing endeavour of every country to organise a self-sufficient system of national economy, abandoning all hopes of improvement in international trade and last but not least, the situation in the Far East are all factors calculated to augment the spirit of mutual mistrust that is abroad and little helpful to a successful termination of the labours of the Conference. On the other hand, the Conference is the result of over ten years of persistent labour and in the last few days, Geneva has had ample evidence of the fact that the organized and understanding public opinion of the world will no longer bear with any dilatory tactics in this respect. Moreover, no one who conceives of the disarmament problem in political terms can imagine that it can be solved at one sitting. The meeting of this Conference and the formulation of the difficulties involved in this attempt in a manner admitting of an objective approach are an immense achievement. Even if this Conference can obtain only partial results and must leave the completion of the task to future gatherings, there will be sufficient reason for rejoicing. What is essential is a definite beginning and such a time as this when

the thoughts of all Governments are turned towards inventing means of effecting economy is perhaps not an unsuitable occasion for this purpose.

It is not the issue of this Conference which is in serious doubt, for international conferences have rarely failed in formulating wisdom. The World Economic Conference, which is comparable to the present gathering in the immensity of the issues which it set out to deal with, had a happy ending, although it led to little or nothing by way of action. The danger rather lies in what must unfortunately be considered the probability of even any modest but definite recommendations, that the Conference may put forward, proving unacceptable to national Parliaments and, for one reason or another, their ratifications being indefinitely delayed.

For the last ten years and more, in a variety of domains of the League's activity, again and again two rival tendencies have manifested themselves. They have come to be recognised as the Anglo-Saxon and French conceptions of the League, and they can be traced back to the origins of the international institutions at Geneva. These conceptions are particularly concerned with sanctions and as sanctions are an integral part of the disarmament scheme, they assume a fundamental importance at the present juncture. Moreover, the French "propositions", announced dramatically at the Conference, annotated by the whole of the French and the pro-French press and elaborated by Monsieur Tardieu in his rather pointed and positive manner, have brought the distinction to the fore. Stated briefly, the French conception may be said to be that international order, like national order, must be furnished with all the paraphernalia of justice including the force to punish the wrong-doer. Not until such an order is established will international security, which alone can lead to real and appreciable disarmament, be possible of attainment.

The French idea, brilliant and logical as it is, will be found upon examination to encounter practical difficulties so great as to rob it of much of its force. Unfortunately for this thesis, the Far Eastern crisis is a practical demonstration of its ineffectiveness. The League's Covenant with all its sanctions, ranging from moral and economic excommunication to actual warfare, is there and yet not only has the Council's action in this instance been pathetically ineffective but it has also apparently been proved that in the absence of a spirit of willingness on the part of the powers to enforce respect for international order, no constitution, however commendable, can achieve that object. The layman and the men of commonsense among the learned jurists and clever politicians frequenting Geneva have not been slow to be convinced that if the Far Eastern crisis has been let to look after itself, it is because the great powers can be moved only where their own immediate interests are concerned. This may be due to the sacred egotism of our statesmen or the short-sightedness of modern democracies. But the fact is there and that psychological factor makes it impossible to talk of an organized international order. There is no way of rendering such an order, at present at any rate, a unitary organism which can function integrally by moving against a common enemy or feeling its common interests.

The alternative British thesis cannot be criticised with equal force, if only because it is not so clear in its outline. It must, however, be said that considering the mess that the peoples of the world have made of things at present, it needs more than ordinary credulity to put one's faith on public opinion such as it is as the ultimate sanction for the preservation of international order. Moreover, there is perhaps a tendency to forget these days that when

the constitution of the League was first drawn and devised, it was the Anglo-American thesis which prevailed, largely because it was expected that the United States would be the principal pillar of the edifice at Geneva. Further, at the time the British faith in "moral sanctions" was not so strong as to neglect the place of the British navy in the international scheme. In fact the British navy was intended to be the League's policeman. Much has happened since then and the world has begun to question the might of the country in whose name the policeman was to have ruled the world. With this questioning other ambitions have been stirred and other applicants have come forward for the job. History is in the making at Geneva not the least because the Conference marks another stage in this conflict of national ambitions or political traditions which can only be euphemistically described as "rival theses". The World's security still depends upon the disappearance of this rivalry and the permanent and the unassailable reconciliation of the two premier countries of western Europe. If this Conference can contribute towards this result the first constructive step for securing the pacification of Europe will have been taken.

Reviews.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AS A LABOUR WEAPON.

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE. By WILFRID H. CROOK. (University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, N. C.) 700p. \$6.00

MR. WILFRID H. CROOK'S views on the theory and practice of general strike, formed as a result of his study of various historical examples and as coming from one who does not labour under the advantage or disadvantage of being called upon to personally deal with this question in everyday life, cannot fail to be interesting. The author has taken much pains to see that the book forms a comprehensive study.

He begins by distinguishing between a general strike by a majority of the workers in more important industries of any one locality or region and a generalised strike which is a strike by a majority of people in an industry. He next describes typical historical examples of political, economic and revolutionary strikes in various lands not excluding China's experiments in western methods.

According to the author, excepting the German strike of 1920 declared for the purpose of keeping a Labour Government in power, no other strike of any importance has been a success and even the German strike was not a complete success. He states that it is a dangerous game to save one's Government by the weapon of the general strike, even if one succeeds. None the less, the author feels the strike weapon is a last and desperate weapon much used in the past and perhaps likely to be used again in the future when the massed forces of capital and labour have refused or shall again refuse to recognise justice, thereby exasperating the working class. The one noteworthy feature of all the general strikes has been the reaction of the middle and upper classes resulting in the formation of the blacklegging bodies, the glaring instances of which were furnished in the Order for Maintenance of Supplies in Great Britain in 1926, the Technical Emergency Corps in Germany in 1920 and the Committee of One Thousand in Winnipeg in 1919.

The description of the Belgian Strike of 1913 when the workers prepared for a big strike in a thorough manner many months in advance is instructive.

the British General Strike of 1926 has been dealt with in much length. Mr. Crook states the strike came as a surprise while the leaders who had been holding out threats were quite unprepared for executing the same. Nevertheless, the response was as wonderful as the strike was sudden. The views of leaders like Messrs. MacDonald, Philip Snowden, etc., on the idea of a general strike were an impediment. However, Mr. MacDonald was willing to admit that the strike weapon may be used to secure some specific demand "such as an extension of the franchise, the resignation of a Government, or the defeat of a War Party or increased wages or any other legitimate Trade Union claims and in order that the strike may be successful, the grievance which it is aimed to remove, must have become intolerable". The author's views on railway strikes are also noteworthy. He says: "a transport strike to be at all successful must be swift and overwhelming. To give a lengthy notice to the employers in railroad and transport undertakings, enables them and the Government to defeat the strike even before it commences".

The author's treatment of revolutionary strikes is lacking in details, especially when dealing with the Russian Strike of 1905. It is also noteworthy to point out that nearly all the strikes which are alleged to be a failure by the author were successful in bringing down in the long run the employer or the Government appreciably. The last word on the subject of general strikes is yet to be said and in the main, the author deserves to be congratulated for collecting all the facts in a book form for the edification of the public.

V. V. GIRI.

A DEFENCE OF PREJUDICES.

THE PLACE OF PREJUDICE IN MODERN CIVILIZATION. (PREJUDICE & POLITICS.)

By ARTHUR KEITH. (Williams & Norgate.)
1931. 20cm. 54p. 2/6.

THIS is the rectorial address delivered by Sir Arthur Keith to the students of the Aberdeen University in June 1931. The title of the address is very attractive, but the treatment is disappointing. At a time when we are sorely in need of international friendship and good will the eminent scholar that Sir Arthur Keith is comes forward with a vigorous defence of prejudices in our modern civilisation. He holds "a brief for many of our inborn likes and dislikes, maintaining that, even in the highest civilisation which man has yet attained, these play an important and useful role."

The author's argument may be briefly summed up as follows, largely in his own words: The tribal spirit played a very important part in the progress of mankind in the pre-historic past. "Man has become what he is not by virtue of his head, but because of his heart" i.e. because of his instinctive likes and dislikes. "Tribes are Nature's evolutionary cradles." On the break-up of the tribal world, nationalities and races have come into existence; and unless these keep up their prejudices and exclusiveness, progress would become impossible. Patriotism is a prejudice. The desire for independence is another prejudice. Nature has rooted these prejudices deep in our hearts because they are essential to the production of higher and better races of mankind. Prejudice is "part of Nature's machinery for keeping her evolutionary teams intact." "The heart of modern civilised man is still alive with the instinctive longings, desires and prejudices of tribal man. If the politician is to know his business he must first understand the heart of tribal man."

The problem before us is: how is our tribal heritage of prejudice to be reconciled with the needs of our modern civilisation? The ideal of "one

world one tribe" is impossible of attainment. Mankind cannot become one single united harmonious tribe. Universal brotherhood is unrealisable. "To attain an ideal world, peoples of all countries and continents must pool not only their national interests but they must also pool their bloods." Race prejudice has been implanted within man for the improvement of mankind through racial differentiation. Race prejudice works for the ultimate good of mankind and must be given a recognised place in all our efforts to obtain natural justice for the world. This means inter-tribal rivalries and eternal competition. War is the pruning hook of Nature.

The author's advice to his readers is, "Give our prejudices a place in our civilisation, but keep them under the control of reason." "Even in the modern world we must listen to the voice of Nature. Under the control of reason, prejudice has to be given a place in the regulation of human affairs."

The crux of the problem, it seems to us, is how to keep our prejudices under the control of reason, and on this the author does not throw much light. Nobody would seriously object to the harmless prejudice that the Aberdeen University is the best university in the world for the graduates of Aberdeen, just as Lucknow University is the best in the world for the *alumni* of Lucknow. When the Scots say to themselves that they are the best race in the world, they should at the same time be prepared to sympathise with other nationalities which entertain similar prejudices regarding their own importance. Trouble arises when these prejudices come into conflict with one another, as they are bound to sooner or later. When the British, e. g., labour under the prejudice that they are the greatest people in the world and that they have a God-given duty to subdue the rest of the world, is such a prejudice to be welcomed by the world at large or combated? When the Germans, believing that their *kultur* was the best in the world were trying to spread that *kultur* abroad, the result was the world war. Is it not just these prejudices that make international understanding and friendship impossible of attainment?

To give a learned discourse on national and social prejudices to a body of British undergraduates is to carry coals to Newcastle! Certainly the British are not in danger of losing their insularity and becoming cosmopolitan in their outlook. If the learned lecturer could have shown his audience how their prejudices could be kept under the control of reason, he would have rendered a very valuable service. There are hosts of people in the world who are ready to keep up their prejudices, even when there is no basis whatever for them. The need of the hour is therefore for emphasis upon universal brotherhood and international friendship, and not for emphasis upon the perpetuation of our likes and dislikes. We want our teachers and preachers to tell us how the ideal of world friendship and understanding is to be made a reality.

We further disagree with the writer when he says that in order to attain "an ideal world" we must pool our bloods. Very few idealists would advocate indiscriminate intermingling of blood in the process of attaining an ideal world. There are hundreds of prejudices of ours which need to be countered before we face the question of free intermingling of bloods. The British undergraduate is not much in danger of cupid carrying him over the bounds of race and nationality. Many a prejudice like the unsuitness of the Orient to govern itself will have to be overcome before the intermingling of blood enters the realm of practical politics. The alternatives are not between a self-sufficing, arrogant insularity and an easy-going, unthinking cosmopolitanism.

E. ASIRVATHAM.

THE GOKHALE DAY CELEBRATION.

DR. R. P. PARANJPYE'S ADDRESS.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye was the principal speaker at a fairly well attended public meeting held in Poona under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha on the 19th inst., the seventeenth anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death. Following is the text of Dr. Paranjpye's speech :

IT is now full seventeen years since Gokhale passed away and to those who knew, admired and loved him when living the sense of the loss is still as fresh as ever. Necessarily by the course of nature the number of such persons inevitably goes on decreasing but to students of contemporary Indian history a knowledge of his life-work is an ennobling inspiration and to Indian nationalists a strong beacon light. It is a highly valued privilege to me to have this opportunity of speaking of one who, together with Prof. D. K. Karve who is happily still with us and shames many a younger man by his inexhaustible energy and devotion to the cause, has had the greatest influence in moulding my whole life, and I express my cordial thanks to the organisers of this celebration for the honour they have done me in asking me to speak to you this afternoon.

As a general rule I am not very keen on celebrating anniversaries of departed persons, for in our country such celebrations are apt to take the form of a blind hero-worship which lays stress on the very words of the hero, considers it a duty to defend each and every action of his and is liable to miss the spirit that animated his work. In the case of Gokhale it would be a sacrilege to his memory to worship him in this blind manner. He would himself have wished us to use our own judgment in marking out our course in the actual circumstances of the moment, actuated by his spirit of sincere patriotism and guided by his fundamental principles, though sometimes in apparent contradiction to his own views or actions which were determined by conditions somewhat different from our own.

My own acquaintance with Gokhale dates from 1892 when I joined the Fergusson College as a student in the Previous Class and continued with ever increasing admiration to the day of his death. One of my most cherished memories is of the visits I paid to him in the office of the Sarvajanic Sabha, where as its Secretary he was to be found in the mornings, when he used to ask me to take to him my composition exercises for comment and correction. Once, I remember, he asked me to read Bagehot's essay on Waverley Novels, for I had to study "Bride of Lammermoor" in that year and make an abstract of it. When I decided to take the B.Sc. course after passing the Previous examination, he was rather disappointed but advised me to keep up my reading of English literature. Another occasion I specially remember was when we went to him, very busy as Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Poona Congress, to help us to draft an address on behalf of Poona students to Surendra Nath Banerjee, the president of that Congress. Then, again, I recall his taking me to Ferdunji Dastur and to Ranade in view of my application for the Government of India scholarship. When he was in England to give evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897 I used to meet him very frequently and take down to his dictation the notes of his written evidence for he was ill in bed with an accident which he met with in the sleeping car on his way from Paris. My success at Cambridge gratified him immensely and although he generously offered, with the consent of his colleagues, to release me from the pledge of

life-membership he was immensely pleased with my rejection of the offer and wrote to me to that effect. It was at his earnest insistence that I accepted the principalship of the College on return and I had the unique, though somewhat embarrassing, honour of having him work under my Principalship as a mere professor for a year. His farewell speech to the Fergusson College on his retirement, which is printed in the collection of his speeches, was made under my presidentship. In the management of the College his advice was always available and cheerfully given. On one point in particular in connection with the constitution of the Society he was peculiarly keen, but I am loath on this occasion to enter into any details on a question which has unhappily received immense topical importance at the present moment. As an instance of his frank and generous nature I may mention that on one occasion he spoke some harsh words to me which for the moment galled me bitterly. Later when he realised how unfair he had been he expressed to the late Prof. H. G. Limaye his regret at having offended me and we were once again on the same footing as before.

In the College he taught at various times the subjects of Mathematics, English, History and Economics. In the teaching of the last two, he was specially interesting as he often used to discuss current questions of Indian politics and economics. One lecture he devoted entirely to Ireland's long contest for Home Rule though he did not live to see the conclusion of the long drawn-out drama of Irish history in the establishment of the Irish Free State. He died when the great war was only a few months old. The face of the world has been completely changed since his time and one can only speculate on what his intellectual and political reactions would have been to the new world which the war created. He was intellectually drawn to the Socialist view of looking at questions but one would be cautious in expressing an opinion as to how he would have viewed the great Russian experiment in Marxism. Perhaps it would not be far wrong if one described him as a Fabian who would have watched that experiment sympathetically though as a consistent upholder of ordered progress he would not have agreed with the extreme measures now being taken under the direction of Stalin to realise to its fullest extent the dictatorship of the proletariat. In any case his vision was not confined merely to the limits of India. He was a keen student of international affairs and he intensely desired that his own country should take its rightful place among the nations of the world.

What would have been Gokhale's line of conduct during the last 12 years of Indian history? This is a question of fascinating interest and the answers to it would depend to a certain extent on the answerer's mentality. But after trying to suppress this mentality as much as possible I feel that Gokhale would not have been among the ranks of the advocates of non-co-operation or civil disobedience, in spite of the fact that some words of his are often quoted to justify non-payment of taxes as a constitutional method. Leaving aside for a moment the by-no-means-negligible possibility that Gandhi might have been influenced by his master Gokhale to discard his African weapon of passive resistance as entirely inapplicable to the conditions of India, I think it tolerably certain that Gokhale would have welcomed the advance made in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, though he would have been equally bold in pointing out its defects. He would have tried to work those reforms to their fullest and would either have accepted a portfolio—

preferably of finance—in the Government of India or would have been the leader of the Opposition in the Assembly and used that position to improve the various measures brought forward by Government. To those who know that even in the old Council his speech on the budget was the political event of the year and that his ideas of one year were reflected in the budget of the next year, it is a melancholy thought that he did not live to wield the power that a big popular majority in the new Assembly would have given a sane leader of the Opposition like Gokhale who used to consider that a vote of 15 against the Government in the old Council was a virtual triumph of the popular cause. He would certainly not have led the Indian opposition to pursue the *ignis fatuus* of consistent unreasoning opposition under all circumstances. He would have himself carried many useful measures in the Assembly and among the first would have been a comprehensive law of universal compulsory elementary education for which he worked in most unfavourable conditions in the old Council, though unsuccessfully.

Another important role which Gokhale would have played is that of a sane mediator in inter-communal disputes. There was no Hindu leader who was so acceptable to the Muslims and other communities as he. His personal relations with H. H. the Aga Khan were very cordial and his last political will and testament was handed over to him though it was published only when it was quite out of date. He received a rousing welcome from Muslim gatherings at Aligarh and other Muslim centres in Northern India during his tours. The Hindu-Muslim question would have been solved at a small round table at which Gokhale and the Aga Khan would have been prominent and the extreme advocates on either side conspicuous by their absence. His sympathy with the Depressed Classes was well known and a speech of his on the subject will repay perusal even now. It is indeed a pity that he is not with us to-day when these inter-communal quarrels are shattering the fair prospects of a national advance and when the enemies of India's freedom are exploiting them to the uttermost.

While it is quite possible that with Gokhale as the accepted leader of political India we should not have drifted into the present *impasse* and that the relations between Government and a very large section of the people would not have reached the actual pitch of bitterness, it is useless to lament over the might-have-beens. A more useful speculation would be, what might have been his policy in the present state of things? It seems to me beyond a doubt that he would have been the most acceptable negotiator between Government and Gandhi. While he would have recognised some of the tactical mistakes made by Government in dealing with the Indian problem and would probably have prevented the questions of *amour propre* being raised in recent days e. g. in the proposed interview between the Viceroy and Gandhi or between the Governor and the Welfare of India League he would certainly not have accepted the extreme Congress ideal of independence as a question of practical politics, would have cordially and without any implied reservations welcomed the goal of dominion status as something attainable at an early date, would certainly have dissociated himself from any attempt at the formation of a parallel Government, would have resisted all movements like a no-rent campaign as leading to a class-war which ruin our country for centuries to come, and would even have reconciled himself to the issue of the necessary ordinances if no alternative method of grappling with terrorism and the breakdown of law and order was possible, as a regrettable necessity. Of course he would have insisted on the use of

only the barest minimum measure of coercion to fight subversive movements and would have attacked any abuses on the part of subordinate authority. But he would have made clear his acceptance of the main proposition that especially in a country like India the maintenance of law and order is a supreme necessity, that while political advance can wait for a year the machine of Government even if not ideally perfect cannot be allowed to break down, for when once it breaks down it is dreadfully difficult to rebuild it, and that an ordered society is the first condition for the success of even a Swaraj Government. He was too good a student of politics not to see that no Government can ever satisfy the demands of every section of the people, that several of these demands mean the invasion of the legitimate rights of other sections, that even democratic self-government implies government by a majority connoting the existence of one or more minorities, that the theoretical rights of a majority are conditioned by the tacit acquiescence of at least important minorities, that even small minorities, if prepared to carry things to extremes, can make government difficult if not impossible, and that the most successful popular governments are those in which all parties are fundamentally in agreement about the basic principles of government and have confidence in the good intentions of one another but differ only as regards detailed measures. He wanted India to be a successful democracy in this sense and was therefore ever ready to conciliate minorities and gain their confidence. To achieve his ideal he knew that difficulties must be faced, that unpopular measures must occasionally be taken and that leaders must be prepared not for a continuous popularity but for occasional execrations and abuse.

One of the most important activities of Gokhale was in respect of the condition of Indians overseas. He was drawn to this question by his vivid realisation of the fact that the status of India in the world necessarily depended on the way in which Indians are treated abroad. The beginnings of Indian emigration abroad reflected no great credit on India as the emigrants went under a system of indenture which is almost a kind of semi-slavery. This stigma continued to be attached to Indians even when several of them took to, and prospered in, other pursuits and the name "coolie" is even now applied by the arrogant whites to Indians abroad. Gokhale was, like all true Indians, instinctively opposed to disabilities due to colour and he applied himself vigorously to the task of improving the lot of Indians overseas. His successful mission to South Africa is well known. There he worked in close co-operation with Gandhi and although some doctrinaire leaders here blamed Gokhale for a settlement which was of the nature of a compromise, still I believe even Gandhi thought it satisfactory. His work, which has been brilliantly continued by his successor Mr. Sastri, is still far from complete and can be really concluded only when the political status of India becomes equal to that of the self-governing dominions. He would have played an important part in the negotiations which have been going on all these years and perhaps if he had been living to-day he would have been in South Africa at the present time. As an off-shoot of his work in South Africa the Imperial Citizenship Association came into existence. It may also be mentioned that one of the many items in Gokhale's political testament was the reservation of East Africa as a field for Indian colonisation. The question of Indians in East Africa has recently attained first class importance and Gokhale would have been of great use in the various commissions that have sat on this subject. To the day of his death the question of Indians overseas engaged a large portion of his energies and at the time of his

death he was engaged in private correspondence and negotiations with the Viceroy on South African matters.

Such are some of the aspects of Gokhale's work as a true leader and patriot. The circumstances of his time did not allow him to exercise any important administrative position in which everybody has at times to take unpopular decisions. He could only criticise and such a situation uncorrected by any sense of the possibility of having to shoulder responsibility is fatally apt to lead to an unmeasured flow of words. But though Gokhale had the supreme gift of words he never lost his balance and his words always bore the stamp of responsibility. He criticised moderately and therefore all the more effectively. He advocated measures within the range of practicability and his opponents could not brush him off as an impatient idealist or a mere *doctrinaire*. He had to be answered and in the attempt to answer him the reasonableness of his contentions was often realised by even such a superior person as Lord Curzon. But while this exceptional characteristic of moderation in opposition and ability to see the other side made him especially valuable in the council hall or round a committee table it prevented him from being the idol of the market place. He always tried to appeal to the reason rather than to the passions. He was a teacher rather than a prophet. He never hesitated to say unpleasant things if they were necessary. These characteristics, while they made him far more valuable to his country, served to gain him only the respect of the many and the love of a few of his contemporaries. But his greatness is now being increasingly recognised by all—even by those who were his bitterest opponents during his life and found no words hard enough to attack him. Many have been heard to say that the course of Indian history during the last fifteen years would have been different if Gokhale had been blessed with a longer life.

While politics and finance occupied almost all the energies of Gokhale after he finally retired from the staff of the Fergusson College in 1902, he did not consider that these form the only subject for exercising the activities of a patriotic Indian. Very early in his career he collaborated with Agarkar in the conduct of the *Sudharak* and though Agarkar was mainly responsible for the articles on social reform, Gokhale cordially agreed with the views expressed therein. I have mentioned his intense interest in the uplift of the depressed classes. On all other items of social reform he was equally keen but did not come forward prominently as a social reformer as he felt that a certain domestic circumstance in his life would be thrown in his face and thus indirectly do harm to the cause. His private sympathy was, however, always given to all workers in the cause. He deeply regretted the occasional backsliding of professed reformers. In his own personal life he never pretended to humour orthodoxy by meaningless ceremonies.

To Gokhale belongs the special merit of seeing that public life in India could not remain a mere holiday task but required devoted workers who would consecrate their whole lives to the work. With this object in view he started the Servants of India Society and collected round himself a band of workers who would, each in his own special line, seek to further the national cause without too much thought of self. This Society, along with the Fergusson College, is a lasting memorial to him and it is the duty of all his admirers to support that Society. He realised that every public worker could not expect to be in the lime-light but used to say that the stones that made the foundations of a building though hidden from view were no less important than those that went to form the outer walls and were thus

open to general gaze. He moreover saw that every honest effort, even though for the moment unsuccessful, was all the same valuable. It was given to some to serve their country by their successes; but it was the duty of many others to serve their country by their failures; Gokhale was content to be one of the latter and was never permanently daunted by the apparent failure of his efforts, though the extreme sensitiveness of his nature made such an attitude of resignation specially difficult for him. Perhaps his life would have been prolonged if he had a thicker skin but then he would not have been the Gokhale that we knew and loved, and this very sensitiveness made his work perfect, for he would never allow a word to pass his lips or come from his pen until he could improve it no more.

Gokhale was essentially a public man in that he devoted all his abilities to the cause of his country. Though keenly interested in many games he gradually gave them all up. Early in his career he made a very modest provision for his family and afterwards did not seek to amass any more wealth. Personally he was neat in his dress and methodical in his habits. He was apt to inspire awe in the casual visitor and the number of intimate personal friends of his private life was not great. A detailed life of Gokhale will contain very few pages relating to private and domestic matters. Of him it is almost true to say that he entirely lived for the public. His speeches and writings, his work in the Councils and on various commissions and committees, his efforts to place the institutions with which he was identified on a secure foundation, the influence which he exercised on many a public worker, these form practically the whole of Gokhale's life. An adequate record of these activities will form a chapter in the history of modern India and Gokhale's name will be securely enshrined in the temple of a great and revived India.

Johnson in his dictionary defines patriotism as the last resort of scoundrels. While this may have been true of some of his contemporaries who boastfully appropriated the name of *patriots* in his time, while it may be true even at the present day of many in this as in other countries who affect patriotism to serve their own ends, there are a few choice spirits to whom this remark seems peculiarly inappropriate. Among these in our country the name of Gokhale who dedicated his whole life to his mother-country will be very prominent. His patriotism was pure gold with no element of dross in it. If we have gathered here to-day to render our humble tribute to his memory, let not that tribute be in mere words; let it take the form of a determination to follow in his foot-steps to serve the country guided by his spirit and following his principles, and to subordinate personal ambitions and jealousies to the common cause.

TRIBUTE BY MR. VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA.

Below is given an English version of a Gujarati speech delivered by Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta at the Bhagini Samaj in Bombay on the Gokhale Day, 19th Feb.

WE meet to-day to pay our humble tribute to our great national leader GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE who passed away seventeen years ago, and to see what inspiration for self-sacrifice and service in the cause of the country we can derive from the teachings of a leader to whom life was only an opportunity for service and self-sacrifice. As one who had the rare opportunity of enjoying some personal contact with GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE, I feel

I am performing a sacred duty in attempting to recall to you the memory of his greatness, and in trying to convey to you his message. But at the same time I hesitated before agreeing to speak this evening, as I feel that one like me who has not thoroughly translated that message in his own life is unworthy of speaking of the great departed leader.

My apology, as I said, is that, having come in contact with him in my young and impressionable days, I can say something of his greatness as a man apart from his greatness as a national leader. To know him was to love him, so sweet, gentle and affectionate was he by nature. Though always absorbed in his studies and his thoughts in his leisure hours, which went on diminishing with the growth of his public responsibilities, he was one of the most affable and cultured of companions. He had always a kind word and a kind thought for the humblest of his acquaintances and admirers—whose number was legion—and not only for them, but even for his political opponents and detractors whose number too was not small. He was in his early days undoubtedly the most well-known figure in the political world and his name was better known and respected all over India, and as a representative Indian in England, more than that of any other leader of his time. This was due to the charm of his personality which spread its fragrance wherever he went and to the numerous personal ties that he formed when he went about the country on his political missions. And unlike the leaders of his time, the great Lokamanya for example, his personal influence was not confined only to men, but extended to women. He was a modern in the sense that wherever he travelled, he established contact not only with men, but with women too—with the wives, daughters, sisters of the friends whom he met and among whom he lived. A good deal of his time was spent in Calcutta, and I have very vivid impressions—though it is years since I went to Calcutta—of the affection and love which he won for himself in a well-known Bengali family, that of Mrs. P. K. Roy, who presided over the last session of the All-India Women's Conference. I can also vouch for this characteristic of his from my personal experience when I recollect his deep affection for my mother and my sister. In fact, for some time I harboured a grievance against him when he used to say after reading Browning with my sister that she knew more of poetry and appreciated it better than I did—a one-sided judgment from which I naturally dissented. I mention this little personal incident to bring to your mind the happiness and joy he radiated both among men and women wherever he went, and the great influence he exercised in drawing those he came in contact with out of the rut of routine living and taking them out into the larger world of national service and of cultural uplift.

GOKHALE'S attitude towards women was one of respect and reverence coupled with an appreciation of their capacities, which attitude was not usually shared by the public leaders of his generation. In one of his speeches, for instance, he observes that

women naturally possess more refined sensibilities than men, and have a finer and more delicate aesthetic perception. The generation in which he lived, however, was more interested in the spread of education among women than in their active participation in national work. It is presumably because of this that we find few references in his speeches and writings to the role of women in the public life of the country. There is nothing surprising in this because even in the West women were, until the time of his passing away, unenfranchised in most countries and it is only after the war that women in the mass—apart from individuals—have come to play any very important part in public affairs. In India, during the seventeen years that have elapsed since GOKHAL'S death, we have had a veritable revolution in the attitude of society towards women and in the attitude of women themselves towards public life, a transformation that would, from what I knew of him, surely have gladdened the heart of GOKHALE, who was in his own person the embodiment of some of the virtues for which woman stands—devotion, determination, and unlimited capacity for service.

It is futile to ponder over what departed leaders would have done had they been with us, had crises like those we are passing through now developed in their times. With his intense love for the country, his passionate feeling for the suffering of his countrymen and women, his knowledge of the deep-rooted poverty of the people, I am sure that GOKHALE would have looked upon the intensification of the campaign for Swadeshi in all its aspects as the most suitable contribution any man or woman can make towards national welfare. Speaking twenty-five years ago when the Swadeshi movement had just started, GOKHALE uttered words of wisdom which we may take to heart even to-day, and he analysed the downfall of the country's industries, and condemned the economic domination of one people by another in terms which may be read with profit by all interested in the economic regeneration of the country. To GOKHALE, Swadeshim at its highest represents in his own words, "a deep, passionate, fervent, all-embracing love of the motherland, and this love seeks to show itself not in one sphere of activity, but in all; it embraces the whole man or woman and it will not rest until it has raised the whole individual above himself".

Reading to-day the memorable speech he made on the Swadeshi movement, we feel how keen his insight was; and yet there is a vein of optimism running through the speech which has been belied by the events of the last quarter of a century. Even more than in his days cottage industries have decayed, subsidiary occupations are not available for the mass of the population and "the people are being pressed back more and more on the one resource of agriculture." And of those engaged in industry, it is as true to-day as it was when he spoke over twenty years ago that "the deterioration of the material condition of the people of India is the saddest phenomenon within the whole range of the economic history of the world."

The problem of industrial growth is, as he pointed out, bound up with the growth of political freedom. The struggle that has gone on during the last generation is like the struggle between a giant and a dwarf, and, as he remarks, the unnatural political position of our country is responsible for the "bleeding" to which the country is subjected. However, he felt, and we feel even more strongly to-day, that the fault is partly ours. We have only now awakened to the call of the nation, and there is still a great deal more to be done. We have not organised public opinion, we have not built up the strength of the individual to see that this drain of our resources is stopped. Let us all determine that, at least, in respect of selected articles like cloth and sugar upon which GOKHALE with his shrewd insight wished the attention of the people to be concentrated, we cease to depend upon foreign supplies. Wherever we go let us spread this message. As housewives and keepers of the purse, women are in a better position to enforce this behest of the nation for the practice of true national economy. And on a sacred day like this, there can be no better homage to the memory of the great leader than the undertaking of this valuable task of propagating the gospel of Swadeshi.

I have referred to only one address of GOKHALE, but that address is typical of the many he delivered at various centres to different types of audiences, and throughout all the twenty-five years of his public life. The speeches, one and all, are masterpieces of diction, containing the music of words and flavoured with the delicacies of literature of which he had drunk deep. They were specimens of persuasive eloquence, of close reasoning, and of comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the subject handled, such as has rarely been surpassed in the world of Indian politics, commanding respect and attention wherever he went. To listen to him was, as a writer puts it, "to be convinced by his conviction, and to be warmed by the warmth with which he expressed his conviction." But in spite of this warmth of conviction, the heat and vehemence of his personal feelings, there was a restraint in all he spoke and wrote—as also in his actions—born of ceaseless study and thought, and also due to a natural trait of prudence and caution in his character. There was a sustained passion in all his actions, that passion being an intense longing to serve his country. A biographer compares him to an ardent devotee worshipping at the shrine of his saint, or as a lover in a romance dedicating himself to the service of his beloved. And such selfless, passionate, overpowering love for the country bore fruit in a life of noble service such as, in his days, could rarely be paralleled in this country or in any other country.

And yet, there was no man humbler than he was in spirit. Read his tributes to his Guru Ranade, his leader Dadabhai Navroji, and his kindred in spirit Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. In trying to spiritualise public life he ennobled his own spirit. Of him we may well say, what he said of Mahatma Gandhi

many years ago, that he was a man among men, hero among heroes, and a patriot among patriots.] him—this too he said of Mahatma Gandhi—India's humanity had reached its highest watermark. (such as a man as he was, so exalted in spirit, wedded to the cause of the country, so truly a servant of India, we can, although it is now seventeen years since he left us, hardly speak without deep emotion and pride.

SHORT NOTICE.

PRACTICE OF YOGA, VOL. I. By SWAMI SIV NANDA. (Ganesh & Co., Madras) 1929. 21c. 247p. Rs. 2.

HERE is a small treatise on all the branches of Yoga—something like a correspondence course on Yoga practices. Hence the treatment of the subject scrappy and superficial. It is lacking in the dynamic force of a Rama Tirtha or a Vivekananda and the directness of a Ramkrishna. While skipping over a supremely important and high technical subject like the awakening of *Kundalini* in the course of twenty-five lines, the author waxes eloquent on the vilification of the human body to which he devotes several pages! Such a cynic view of the human body can be hardly appreciated these days of physical regeneration. Again, the author's primitive notions of the psycho-physiology of dreams i. e. "the mind entering the coronary artery, the *nadi* of the heart, thence pericardium, thence the interior of the heart and finally resting on the *maukhya prana* are too antiquated for a modern work on Yoga. However the author has the satisfaction of producing a work on Yoga and we do not grudge it to him.

SEVANANDA.

BOOKS RECEIVED,

- FARADAY. (The British Electrical & Allied Manufacture London.) 1931. 22cm. 133p. 7/6.
- GUIDE TO INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE. By F. ROBERTS. (Gee & Co London.) 1931. 22cm. 318p. 10/6.
- AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF TEHONG, A VILLAGE IN THE JULLUNDER DIST. OF THE PUNJAB. Inquiry conducted by ANOHAL DASS AND H. CALVERT. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1931. 25cm. 345p. Rs. 4.
- THE CROSS MOVES EAST. A Study in the Significance of Gandhi's "Satyagraha." By JOHN S. HOYLAND (Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 20cm. 160p. 5/-
- TALES OF ALL COUNTRIES. 1st Series. By ANTHON TROLLOPE. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 15cm. 270p. 2/-
- ALL ABOUT MYSORE. Comp. & Ed. By D. V. GUNDAPP. (Karnatak Pub. House, Bangalore.) 20cm. 141p.
- CO-OPERATION IN BOMBAY: SHORT STUDIES. E By H. L. KAJI. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1930. 25cm. 373p. Rs. 10.