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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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Topics of the Week.

Hooliganism in Poona.

ON Saturday last a public meeting held in the Deccan Sabha to initiate the Liberal Party's election campaign was broken up by organised hooliganism. In his presidential speech Sir Cowasji Jehangir described Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the "spoilt child of the Congress." These in fact were not his own words; they were borrowed by him from, we believe, an eminent Congress leader who is opposed to the Pandit's socialistic activities. This shows anyway that there is nothing in the expression which is either unparliamentary or unseemly. Nor is it true, as is generally assumed, that the uproar took place because the audience resented these remarks. From the beginning deliberate attempts were made to disturb the meeting, and the obnoxious phrase was only a signal for bringing matters to a head. Sir Cowasji Jehangir himself and other speakers who were prevented from addressing the meeting took all this in perfect good humour, but it does little credit to those who were guilty of rowdyism.

WE are glad to find that the *People* condemns this hooliganism in unmistakable terms. Its condemnation receives added weight from the fact that when Bhai Parmanand was recently howled down, which drew protests from Pandit Jawaharlal, this paper wrote in defence of those who prevented Bhai from speaking. "A calumniator should not be allowed to persist in his slander," it said, referring to the alleged libel of Congress women in which Bhai Parmanand indulged. The *People* does not approve of Sir Cowasji's criticism of Pandit Jawaharlal

either, but it says that Sir Cowasji's criticism was such as ought to be allowed, if freedom of speech is to have any meaning. The paper says:

No sane man but would unequivocally condemn the demonstration of the overzealous people who interfered with the Poona meeting. Sir Cowasji did not compel them to stay and listen to him. They could have got away from the gathering if they disapproved of his speech. But they were guilty of deplorable rudeness in having broken up his meeting. At this rate public life would become impassable and the only thing that could prevent such a development would be the tyranny of men who are incapable of self-restraint. In fact, the wreckers have injured their own fair name.

Independent Party.

LIKE the Democratic Swaraj Party of Maharashtra, the Nationalist Party also has found it necessary to enter the lists of elections on a programme of its own apart from the Congress. These parties on most other points follow the Congress policy, but they do not subscribe to the "non-acceptance and non-rejection" formula of the Congress in regard to the communal award. This formula underwent a change at the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and the Independent and Democratic Swaraj parties appreciate the change as a step in the right direction. The Congress is now for rejection of the communal award, and will allow, and indeed expect, all Congress members to vote against the communal award, if occasion arises for their voting in the legislatures. Formerly, they could not even do that much; they had to remain neutral.

BUT there is still one disability which the Congress imposes upon its members. They cannot make an organised effort to attack and thus reverse the award. The reason which the Congress advances is that it is only the Hindu members who will make such an effort, and it will inevitably lead to bad feeling among the Hindus and Mussulmans. The communal award can be changed only if these two communities come to a mutual understanding as to the way in which it should be changed. Nothing, therefore, ought to be done (says the Congress) which will hamper rather than help such an understanding. This decision is unacceptable to the Independent and Democratic Swaraj parties who wish to preserve full liberty to take such action against the award as they deem best. They have, therefore, perforce to run their own candidates in opposition, if necessary, to the Congress, though, where possible, they will try to divide the various constituencies among themselves and the Congress so as to avoid any unnecessary conflict. The Democratic Swaraj Party has also taken this opportunity to remove the condition which attached to its membership so far, viz. that one who would join the Party should be a member of the Congress.

Dr. Pattabhi's Tour.

THE great Congress leader, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitarayya, made a tour of the States of Maharashtra last week in his capacity as this year's President of the Indian States' People's Conference, and the General Secretary of the Conference, Mr. Balwantray Mehta, accompanied him throughout his tour. This is the first time that a British Indian leader of high eminence undertook a campaign of political education and agitation in the States. The Maharashtra States are of a better variety, less advanced than the States of South India like Travancore, Cochin and Mysore, but more advanced than the States of Northern India. Generally speaking, the States' people are allowed to hold public meetings. Special permission had to be asked for only in Kolhapur State, and, thanks to the Kolhapur Durbar, it was readily accorded. In other States there was no question of asking for, and receiving, any special permission.

THE tour must have been of a strenuous character, but we have no doubt that Dr. Pattabhi's labours were well rewarded inasmuch as his tour put new life into the people of the States and gave them concrete proof that British India would not neglect the States any longer. Dr. Pattabhi has a fighting quality which few leaders possess. He is insistent, dominating, aggressive, militant, relentless. He never puts his demands except at their highest, and yet he does so in such an agreeable manner and with such a suave temper that no ruling Prince who hears him (and some rulers did receive him in audience) can ever feel resentment or even embarrassment. So far as the States' people are concerned, his inspiring speeches translated the objectives of the Indian States' People's Conference into the minds and hearts of his audiences unshakably. Dr. Pattabhi is going to tour all the States in India during the year, and his drive and energy will, we are sure, do more for the States' people within a year than what many others could achieve during a generation.

A Well-Deserved Snub.

ON Monday, the opening day of the autumn session of the Assembly, the issue of nomination vs. competition as a method of recruitment to the I. C. S. was raised over an adjournment motion and Government were severely censured on their adoption of the former method. We have no doubt that in doing so the Assembly has faithfully voiced public opinion. From the arguments put forward by Government spokesmen in favour of selection, it was obvious they were not on firm ground. It was explained on their behalf that British candidates were not offering themselves in sufficient strength for the competitive examination so as to render the observance of the 50-50 proportion of recruitment laid down by the Lee Commission possible. But really why should the 50-50 proportion, even though it may have had the imprimatur of the Lee Commission, be looked upon as so sacrosanct that it must be observed at all cost? If the required number of British recruits are not forthcoming, the proper course for the Government is to secure an alteration of a proportion, which is obviously unsuited to existing conditions. Instead of adopting this course of action which both experience and commonsense dictated, they go and hug an obsolete and discredited method of rectifying the deficiency, which is rightly condemned by all impartial men as opening the door to evils of nepotism and as tending in consequence to lower the efficiency of the Service. Well did they deserve the snub which the Assembly administered to them.

Compulsory Education in Hyderabad.

THOUGH a system of free primary education has been in force in Hyderabad State for nearly fifteen years, it has not resulted in any appreciable improvement in the literacy position of the State. The public dissatisfaction with this state of affairs has recently found expression in two bills which a Hindu and a Muslim member of the State Legislative Council intend to bring before it. To judge from press comments and proceedings of meetings of literary bodies in the State, the principle underlying the bills has a large volume of public opinion behind it. The principle is the introduction of compulsion in regard to elementary education, without which, it is generally felt, it is futile to look forward to any marked improvement in the general literacy level.

THE sponsors of the bills are Mr. Vamanrao Naik and Mr. Khan. Mr. Naik's scheme of compulsion seeks to bring within its purview all children, and not only boys as Mr. Khan's does. In this respect the latter is more cautious, though, in our view, needlessly so. He would have compulsion apply only to boys in the first instance, its enforcement in the case of girls being left to the discretion of the Government. Seeing how governments are usually conservative, one may hazard the prophecy that this power would remain largely unused.

WHAT is the machinery for the enforcement of compulsion? Mr. Naik appears to us to deal with the question more realistically than Mr. Khan. According to Mr. Naik, municipalities and local bodies are conspicuous by their absence in Hyderabad. Curiously enough, however, Mr. Khan proposes to leave the operation of his compulsory scheme in the hands of these non-existent bodies. Probably he contemplates their being brought into existence so as to make his scheme effective. If he makes his scheme depend upon the birth of local self-government in Hyderabad, we are afraid he stands in danger of seeing his child still-born. Mr. Naik gets over the difficulty by proposing the creation of school boards in areas notified as compulsory education areas.

MR. NAIK'S scheme also takes account of cases of poor parents to whom even the small earnings of their children by labour on the fields is a great help. The children of such parents would, under Mr. Naik's scheme, be exempted from attendance "during agricultural seasons." We hope such exemptions would be confined to really necessitous cases. In any case every care ought to be taken by the State authorities that the provision is not misused to defeat the purpose of the measure.

Wastage and Stagnation in Education.

THE report of the sub-committee of the Madras Provincial Economic Council on elementary education has been published. The problem before the sub-committee was two-fold: (1) how to stop the wastage involved in the fearful stagnation in the lower standards and (2) how to make compulsion yield more solid and lasting results. It will be generally admitted that compulsion is resorted to, not for the benefit of classes who show a proper appreciation of the value of education, but for the benefit of those who do not. Broadly speaking, it could be said that the benefits of education are realised to a greater extent by town-dwellers than those residing in rural parts. It stands to reason, therefore, that compulsion, if it is really to serve its purpose, ought vigorously to be pushed on in the villages rather than in the cities. In actual practice, however, the reverse is generally the

case, with the result that great inequalities exist between the levels of literacy of the different communities. The sub-committee, therefore, suggests that compulsion should be applied primarily to rural rather than to municipal areas and to areas where backward communities predominate rather than to advanced ones. This is far from saying that municipalities are to bestow no attention on the education of the advanced classes. What is desired by the sub-committee is a much greater concentration of effort on their part on the educational improvement of the backward classes.

FOR a like reason the sub-committee insists upon greater attention being paid to the spread of female education. The present tendency is to exclude girls from the operation of compulsory schemes—a tendency deplored by all thoughtful people. The sub-committee feels that women rather than men are destined to play a very important part in the extension of elementary education in the future. It follows that it would be wrong policy thus to neglect the education of future Indian mothers. The sub-committee's plea that compulsory schemes should comprise boys as well as girls is therefore based on sound logic.

COMPULSION to be effective must be real. That is to say, it must be strictly enforced in the case of classes who exhibit a habitual tendency to evade the obligations of compulsory schemes. In such cases, the sub-committee rightly feels that no mere threat of fines or penalties will have the desired effect. It is not enough in such cases to stop with the imposition of fines. It is necessary to devise measures for their recovery. Such fines, it is suggested, should be spent on the education of children in the compulsory area where they are collected.

THEN again, if the present wastage of educational effort is to be prevented, it is not enough compulsorily to bring children to school but to make them stay there till they become literate. Equally clear is it that any expenditure incurred on the education of a child approaching the upper age-limit is largely a waste of public funds for such a child cannot be made to remain at school for more than a short time. If, e.g., a child of 11 is compelled to attend school, it can be made to imbibe school instruction only for a year which will do him but very little good. It is, therefore, the sub-committee's recommendation that compulsion should be enforced not indiscriminately in the case of all children falling within the lower and upper age limits, but only in the case of children of appropriate age, who could be made to remain at school for very nearly the full, if not the full, compulsory period. The evils of wastage and stagnation in education are not restricted to Madras alone. We have no doubt therefore that the recommendations of the sub-committee will receive careful consideration at the hands of educational authorities elsewhere as well.

Land Settlement in Malaya.

INDIAN opinion in Malaya on the proposed scheme to settle Indian labourers on land so as to ensure a permanent labour supply for the plantations is sceptical. A writer in the *Indian* points out some practical difficulties in the way of the smooth working of the scheme. In the course of his comments he says:

My aim in bringing this matter of goat trespass on plantations is simply this: Allotments on estates are analogous to small holdings in the neighbourhood of estates. These allotments may even be made in swamps

within the estates, which always prove better ground for growing vegetables, and when one's allotment is surrounded by the plantation's property on all sides, there will be neither ingress nor egress for the allotment-holders and their cattle and goats except through the plantation's property. Besides, these allotments may be so small (I know of cases where 1/20 of an acre is considered sufficient for an Indian labourer's family) that unless one can keep some cattle and goats, there may be no material benefit for the holder. Such cattle and goats are bound to come into the plantation's property for grazing or for strolling, and there will always be friction between the manager and the allotment holders. On these grounds, amongst others, I don't think the idea of labour allotments will work smoothly.

Criminal Tribes Settlements.

THE Backward Class Officer's report on the working of criminal tribes settlements in 1935-36 is as usual a record of highly valuable work in the direction of turning persons belonging to criminal classes into useful citizens. But before drawing attention to the activities of the Department we must say that a word of praise is due to the writer of the report for the promptness, so unusual in Government departments, with which it is made available to the public. The report deals with the work of the Department till the end of March last. That the public should have been enabled to know about it by means of this administration report within six months of the period covered by it reflects great credit on all those who had anything to do with the preparation of the report. If other departmental heads were capable of equal promptness, their reports would cease to furnish food merely for the historical researcher as they do now but would sustain the interest even of observers of contemporary events in their doings.

THE population of the criminal tribes settlements numbering 16 is 8,183. During the year 158 registered persons with 283 dependents were interned in the settlements on the recommendation of the police, while 41 persons living in settlements and free colonies were registered and interned as it was unsafe to release them from settlements or to allow them to reside in free colonies. As against this 541 persons in all were released on licence and 114 persons recalled to settlements owing to breach of conditions of their licence. It is gratifying to find that the population of the free colonies increased from 6,865 to nearly 7,100.

EDUCATION in the settlements is compulsory for both boys and girls. As a result every child of school-going age is at school. Thus out of a total population of 8,183 of the settlements, 1,856 children were attending day schools and 357 night schools. Similarly out of a population of about 7,100 of the free colonies, the corresponding numbers were 1,294 and 223 respectively. In addition 335 children from settlements and free colonies attended outside vernacular schools and 16 English schools. Arrangements for giving vocational education to boys of the criminal tribes are also made by the Departmental officers. In consequence 73 lads were apprenticed in various trades such as carpentry, tailoring, smithy, weaving, motor-driving and chappal-making. There were 206 children in the manual training classes of the settlement schools, and agricultural training was being imparted to 44 lads in agricultural settlements.

Penang's Sesquicentenary.

ON the 11th of last month was celebrated the 150th anniversary, or sesquicentenary as it is called,

of the foundation in 1786 of Penang, which, as is well known, depends upon this country for a large part of its labour supply. The day was declared a public holiday throughout the island and the local paper, *Straits Echo*, issued a special number in commemoration of the event. Among those who sent messages for publication in the paper was Mr. Barron, the Deputy Controller of Labour, who drew attention to the fact that India's connection with Penang dated much further back than the day of its official foundation. He pointed out that long before that date Indian settlers were found in Penang, probably borne thither in small native boats which avoided the open seas and kept near the coast as far as possible. By 1794, i. e., eight years after Penang was founded, about 1,000

Indians from the Coromandel Coast, were settled in Penang, and the number gradually went on being added to year after year, with the result that the present Indian population of Penang exceeds 28,000. Mr. Barron took the opportunity to pay a tribute to "the spirit of tenacity and loyalty" that has been the general characteristic of the Indians that have gone to the Emerald Isle of the East. The Hon. Mr. Abdool Cadar, reciprocating these sentiments of cordial good-will, was able to testify to the existence of "the happiest relations" between Indians and members of other communities. He was also glad to state that Indians had enjoyed the fruits of the land in Penang and had contributed their own share to its growth and development.

PEACEFUL MODIFICATION OF A CONSTITUTION.

AN essential ingredient of a good constitution is that it should have in it a fair element of elasticity or fluidity. However adequate a constitution may appear, when framed, to its immediate needs, it is always found that with the lapse of time it requires to be modified in important particulars, and every constitution must keep in view not only the needs felt at the time but the calls that may be made on it in future. Unless a constitution satisfies this requirement, unless, that is, it is capable of easy amendment so as to respond quickly to the calls that will be made on it in future, it will undergo violent changes. For change is the law of nature. Dynamic forces are always working around us. They cannot be suppressed for long. If they are not allowed to flow in normal channels, they will cut for themselves new channels in unexpected ways, but the stream will keep on running continuously. All political scientists, therefore, take care, when they fabricate a constitution, to canalise these forces by providing in the constitution an amendment procedure of reasonable facility. To make a constitution too rigid is to invite recourse to illegal force. India's new constitution is the most rigid of all the constitutions in the world. In the first place, the treaties by which a federation of British India and the Indian States is to be brought into being are perpetual; in the second place, the treaties are so made that no major change is possible in them. This is the gravest defect in the constitution, but sufficient attention is not given to it by the public.

This defect is called once more to our attention by the address delivered by John Foster Dulles at Princeton University in March last on the subject of "Peaceful Change within the Society of Nations." He shows in this lecture how, unless the League of Nations takes measures to facilitate changes in the existing treaties, it will provoke rather than prevent war. The one purpose for which the League exists is to persuade all its members to use pacific instead of warlike means in their dealings with other countries. If these countries are to renounce violence, it follows that violence should be made unnecessary. Till now war was always resorted to in order to bring about changes in national boundaries. These changes were sometimes just and desirable and sometimes wholly

unjust and wholly undesirable. But no territorial adjustments, however necessary, could be made without the use of force. The League, if it is to prevent war, must provide a pacific instrument of change, by the use of which such adjustments could be brought about. Wrongful aggression it should restrain, but along with this it ought to make possible changes which will correct existing inequalities and injustices. However, the League, as constituted at present, is not equipped for this task. It seeks to perpetuate the *status quo*, and by thus shutting out the forces of change it only brings war nearer, war being the only means available to countries of changing the *status quo* in a way demanded by the circumstances surrounding them.

Let Mr. Dulles speak in his own words:

The society of nations is founded upon the concept of "sovereignty." What is "sovereignty?" By every definition it is the right to be free from change by outside forces. It is the essence of sovereignty that the sovereign can do as he pleases within his jurisdiction, no other nation having the right to interfere in any respect. What is his jurisdiction? That defined by national boundaries. Boundaries thus in fact become barriers and, from the Roman days, have been treated as such by writers on international topics. The society of nations is, in theory, a group of sovereigns, each endowed with barriers through which outside influences may not penetrate, except with consent. In the practical exercise of sovereignty, such consent is generally withheld.

The idea that we can have any units perpetually free from change except by consent is, of course, inherently unsound. It ignores all that we learned, or should have learned, from our knowledge of the dynamic character of our world. Sovereignty thus constitutes that obstruction to change which the constant recurrence of violence led us to expect must exist.

The world has indeed, up to the present time, been practical enough to recognise that the concept of sovereignty involved, as a necessary corollary, the use of violence to effect change. Until recently war has always been regarded as an entirely lawful procedure. This has not been because war has at any time been regarded as desirable or because the killing of human beings has been looked upon as a beneficent pursuit. War has at all times been recognized as a curse and peace as golden. However, there has been no other escape from the consequences of sovereignty. Its rigid barriers to movement have had to be broken down in the only way left available, namely by force, and consequently force has been recognized as a legitimate measure as between nations. Even

such conferences as the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 and 1907 did not seek to abolish war. Rather they sought to evolve "rules" of war, so that the institution of war could be kept within reasonable bounds.

President Wilson from whom the inspiration for the establishment of the League of Nations was derived had hoped first to create an elastic world in which peaceful change and movement would be facilitated, and having created it, then to provide it with collective action in order to protect it against violence. His programme was as follows: "As to the seas, there would be complete freedom, in peace as in war, from the encroachments of individual sovereignty. As to the colonial areas, the 'mandate' or 'trustee' principle would be substituted for that of national domain. As to other land which is already highly nationalised, there would be a large measure of economic fluidity, through the reduction of trade barriers, and some degree of political elasticity through the periodic review of all treaties." Instead, in the League of Nations that came to be founded, the principle of national sovereignty found an apotheosis, with the result that the institution was wholly perverted from its original aims. Mr. Dulles says:

Wilson's programme, of course, completely failed of realization. The peace treaty was barren of any reference whatever to the freedom of the seas. The mandate system was, in form, applied to ex-German and Turkish colonies. Actually the Wilson concept was so perverted that its intent was wholly defeated. The mandatory powers are, to all intents and purposes, absolute sovereigns; and the mandate system, instead of developing colonial areas in the general interest, merely confirms and extends the old concept of national domain. The treaty contains no provisions designed to eliminate trade barriers or to assure a measure of economic movement over national boundaries. Treaty revision was accepted in form but, as in the case of mandates, nullified in fact. The Wilson draft of the Covenant of the League combined the boundary revision and the territorial guarantees into a single article, so that the League guarantee was not the guarantee of a rigid structure. In the final treaty the non-aggression covenant appears as an unqualified undertaking (art. X) supported by the sanctions of article XVI. The treaty-revision article is postponed to article XIX, where it appears as an isolated and diluted provision, for the application or enforcement of which no machinery is provided. It there becomes no more than a pious hope and is, in practical effect, a dead letter.

The only feature of this peace programme which found place in the treaty was that for banding the nations together to prevent the use of force. This proposal, when isolated from its context, was, of course, highly acceptable to the victorious European powers. Their prime objective was to retain their war gains. If the treaty made no provision for peaceful change, and created an alliance to perpetuate the *status quo*, it would, they vainly thought, admirably serve their purpose.

Thus the treaty emerged as a triumph of the old principles of sovereignty. The world would be maintained as an area cut into numerous subdivisions by boundary lines serving as barriers to the interplay of dynamic forces. The pledge of mutual assistance against war merely meant that the barriers might, with apparent impunity, be made the more impenetrable.

This invitation to extreme nationalism has in fact been accepted. The consequence is that our post-war world not only perpetuates, but indeed accentuates, the conditions which have always been provocative of war. Peace efforts, instead of effecting some fundamental change in

world system, have been left to develop along purely superficial lines.

In order to give elasticity to the world order in the political sphere, article XIX of the League Covenant which relates to the revision of treaties and the shifting of national boundaries must be implemented. Two measures have been proposed, one of a moderate character and the other of a more radical nature. The first measure proposed is that no treaty should be perpetual, but that all should require re-negotiation on their merits at the expiry of reasonably limited periods of time. Boundary treaties might have a longer normal tenure of life than commercial treaties, but even so, boundary treaties too should be subject to re-negotiation at least once each generation. The second measure proposed is that all countries in regard to which change of boundary is proposed under article XIX should accept the decision of an international body as the decision of the World Court is accepted in legal disputes. In the first proposal no infringement of the sovereign rights of nations is involved. The nations are summoned to attend a discussion; the questions at issue are thrashed out periodically; but no decision is imposed upon a country against its wishes. In the second proposal, however, national sovereignty is deliberately tampered with. The nations have to accept a third-party judgment. The Next Five Years group in England consisting of many distinguished members of all parties has also made a proposal which involves acceptance of a third-party judgment by the League members. These are yet proposals it is true, but they show the trend of thought among political thinkers. It is at any rate admitted by all that in the League of Nations it is impossible hereafter for the States members to retain their full sovereignty in important matters.

Compare this with our Indian constitution. In all federations it is recognised that sovereignty belongs to the Central Government and not to the Local Governments. But in the Indian federation each federating State is recognised as a sovereign State, and, except in regard to matters which it has agreed to cede to the federal Government, it retains its full rights of sovereignty. The federation itself is perpetual, not subject to revision at any time, not permitting of withdrawal on the part of any unit. To any vital amendment of the constitution each federating State must give its assent if the amendment is to take effect in its territory. Under this arrangement no amendment is possible just as no revision of treaty is possible in the League of Nations under article XIX. "It has now been made certain," says the *People of Lahore*, "that the Princes might be used effectively to prevent any change in the constitution, so that the advance of the country may be frustrated." This is very true. A greater political rigidity is inconceivable. The League may be reformed; how is the Indian federation to be reformed? No avenue for peaceful change is left open.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN TREATY.

THE signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on 26th August was certainly a feat of statesmanship which few people were sanguine enough to hope for some months ago. The negotiations over the military clauses took as many as five months to reach an agreement, and when an understanding was arrived at on this point, the three other reserved points presented no serious difficulty, though it was felt that the Sudan question would give a great deal of trouble. The military clauses are in substance the same as were agreed to between Mr. Henderson and Saad Nahas Pasha in 1930. When the negotiations started indications were that the British Government would offer uncompromising opposition to the removal of the Army of Occupation in the Canal zone. The most authoritative expression to British hostility on this vital matter was given by Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons on 5th December last year when he said :

I was myself, as Foreign Secretary, the negotiator of one treaty with Egypt, accepted by the Prime Minister of his day but rejected by the Egyptian Representative Assembly. The late Mr. Henderson negotiated another treaty in which he went further than the Government, of which I was a member, were prepared to go, and consented to the removal of British troops from Cairo and Alexandria. I think that is unsafe, and I do not think that provision ought to reappear in any treaty of the future.... After all, it should surely be possible for them (the Egyptians) to be brought to understand that geography has placed them and us in a relationship which we cannot break, that it imposes on us certain duties to our own people, to our own safety, to the other communities of our British Commonwealth, which we cannot neglect, and that if they will once recognise the necessities of that geographical situation they will find none more ready to promote their liberty and advance their fortunes than the British people and this House of Commons.

There was at the time a spate of articles in British newspapers and magazines pointing out the danger of agreeing to a concession which the Labour Party had offered to Egypt. In the Treaty now concluded, however, His Majesty's Government has agreed to the removal of British troops, and one cannot but agree with the Cairo correspondent of the *Times of India* in wondering "why the British Government made such a strong stand for the maintenance, and in some respects the extension, of the *status quo* in regard to the disposition of the British military forces in Egypt only in the end to accept terms which by comparison represent an enormous concession."

It is true that the Treaty provides for the retention in Alexandria of the British forces now stationed there, but these forces cannot stay there for more than eight years, and although such an article did not figure in the draft treaty of 1930 it means really no concession on the part of Egypt. The removal of the British forces in Cairo too is to take effect only after the Egyptian Government has built barracks in the Canal zone and constructed certain strategic roads. This is expected to take from eight to ten years, and Mr. Henderson too had contemplated this interval before the British garrison could be moved from the cities. The forces which the British Government is to be allowed to maintain in the Canal zone, accord-

ing to the terms of the Treaty, are not to exceed 10,000 in ground troops and 3,400 in air personnel. In the earlier draft treaty a somewhat lower limitation was placed, viz. 8,000 land forces and 3,000 air forces. It is agreed, now as in 1930, that these forces would be maintained in the Canal zone during the continuance of the Treaty in force for twenty years, and that the question of withdrawing them might be raised after this period is over. If both the contracting parties agree that the presence of the British troops is no longer necessary for guaranteeing security of navigation of the Canal, then of course the troops will be withdrawn. But if there is a difference between the contracting parties the question will be submitted for settlement to the League of Nations. A British military mission would take the place of British officers at present in the Egyptian army. The removal of the Army of Occupation to which the British Government has now agreed is a great triumph for Nahas Pasha. Really, no difficulty should ever have been raised by the British Government, for the Milner Commission itself had recommended in favour of this step, recognising that so long as the Army remained in the towns Egypt's independence could not be real. Now, however, the Government has agreed to it, it is admitted that "with the advance made by aviation and mechanical transport the removal of the British garrison from the towns is not as serious today as it would have been ten or fifteen years ago. For, in the event of trouble in those towns, it would be possible for help to be available in a remarkably short time." Any possible danger which was apprehended would be removed by the proposed increase of garrisons in Palestine and the Sudan, Cyprus and Gibraltar.

On the question of the Sudan, over which the negotiations of 1930 broke down, Egypt seems to have made a considerable gain over the terms that were offered to her by the Labour Government. Egypt has all along claimed that her nationals should have a right of unrestricted immigration into the Sudan. Mr. Henderson was prepared to provide that no discrimination would be made between British subjects and Egyptian nationals in the matter of immigration, but he was not prepared to go any further. Egyptians, however, regard the Sudan as part of their own country and insist upon free immigration being allowed. The new Treaty, it would appear from the reports to hand, meets the Egyptian demand in full. In justification it is said : "There is, however, really not much to be feared from the point of view of Egyptian immigrants, since the conditions in the Sudan have never appealed to the ordinary Egyptian who continues to regard the country as a land of exile, just as his predecessors did." Egyptians have also secured a reversion to the status of the Sudan existing before 1924, when after the murder of the Governor-General Sir Lee Stack the Egyptian units of the Sudan army were removed. The Egyptian troops will now be readmitted to the Sudan on the former basis. The joint sovereignty of Britain and Egypt over the Sudan established by the Convention of 1889 will be

maintained, but the Condominium will be made a reality instead of the make-believe that it now is. Although the Governor-General of the Sudan is appointed by the King of Egypt and the flags of both countries fly over the public offices in that country, Egypt bears no share in the administration except that it contributes £E750,000 every year to the cost of administration. After 1934 Egyptian troops and Egyptian officials were made to leave. Under the terms of the new Treaty, however, "a certain number of Egyptian officials," says the Cairo correspondent of the *Hindu*, "will be appointed to the Sudan Government service, including a senior official upon the Governor's Council and two senior officials, one for finance and the other for justice." The civil service will be recruited mostly from the Sudanese, but, says the *Times of India* correspondent, "pending the provision of an adequate number to fill the posts, these are to be shared equally between British and Egyptians. There is to be a senior Egyptian irrigation official," apparently to give no ground for complaint about the Nile water supply.

In the matter of assuming responsibility for the safety of the lives and property of foreigners Egypt has made considerable progress. At the time of the occupation when this responsibility was taken over by Britain from other foreign countries, it was thought that the maintenance of the British forces in Egypt, of British officials in the Egyptian civil service and of the British element in the police force was necessary to enable Britain to discharge this responsibility. In all these respects, however, great changes have already been made and more changes are under way. The European Bureau of the Public Security Department will disappear; only for the first five years after the ratification of the Treaty the Egyptian police in the cities will be under the command of British officers. This was exactly what Mr. Henderson had offered to do in 1930. The theory that British personnel must be retained in key positions of security services in order to be able to fulfil Britain's individual responsibility has long been given up, and although the British Government will soon cease to have all power over the police, it has made over to the Egyptian Government its own responsibility for the safety of foreigners. In regard to the immunities and privileges which have been conferred upon the nationals of some thirteen foreign powers and which go by the name of capitulations, the British Government for itself has already declared its willingness since 1929 to abandon these special rights. The Mixed Courts established in 1876 already exercise the jurisdiction of the consular courts in civil cases. The question is whether these Mixed Courts shall also have penal jurisdiction, and whether, after a transitional period, the Mixed Courts themselves shall transfer the whole of their jurisdiction to the ordinary native courts. Apart from the problem of law and order, the inability of the Egyptian Government to alter customs tariffs, change rates of taxation or adopt legislation affecting foreigners as well as Egyptians places grave restrictions upon the power of Egypt to cope with the urgent problems that face

her. The Milner Commission admitted this long ago. It said: "The exemption of foreigners from direct taxation, other than the land and house tax, cripples the Government in raising revenue, since it is in practice impossible to impose on Egyptians taxes which foreigners are exempt from. Thus, although the wealth of the country is rapidly increasing, the administration has been for some time past compelled to starve essential public services such as education and the public health." The Egyptian Government has always agreed to the demand made by the British Government that legislation, which will be applicable to foreigners will not be inconsistent with the principles generally adopted in modern legislation of such nature and that fiscal legislation will not "inequitably discriminate against foreigners, including foreign companies." Britain will use her good offices with other powers in persuading them to renounce their capitulatory rights, but if Egypt does not succeed in securing the abolition of the capitulations she is going to denounce them unilaterally.

Reviews.

A FRIEND OF INDIA.

THE EMPIRE IN INDIA. LETTERS FROM MADRAS AND OTHER PLACES. By EVANS BELL. Ed. by C. S. SRINIVASACHARI (Natesan.) 1935. 21cm. 455 + 1vip. Rs. 5.

MAJOR EVANS BELL was a great friend of India and, I must add, a true well-wisher of England as well. He believed with John Bright that "India must be governed, not for a handful of Englishmen, nor for their Civil Service whose praises are so constantly sounded—India may be governed, if you like, for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channel of the good of India." His passionate pursuit of this principle cost him his job, though, in fairness to Lord Canning, it must be admitted that after being "disgraced" for "official insubordination," Bell was appointed to other honourable offices. It was acknowledged even by the Secretary of State that, though his insubordination was reprehensible, his "proceedings had been honest, fearless and unselfish."

The times in which Bell was called upon to serve this country were the most momentous and exciting in our recent annals. He came to India, at the age of sixteen, in 1841. He began his career in the East India Company's Madras Army. At the time of his dismissal for insubordination, in 1860, he was Assistant Commissioner and Assistant A. G. G. at Nagpur. His only offence was his fearless and persistent advocacy of the just claims of the Bhonsla family which had been disinherited by the tempestuous policy of Lord Dalhousie. Impatient at his official superior's dilatoriness, Bell addressed the Government of India direct. The result was that both Bell and his superior, George Plowden, were dismissed—the former for his hasty behaviour and the latter for his being too slow! Bell's consolation, apart from his compensation in his new appointment at Madras as Deputy Commissioner of Police and President of the Municipal Commission, is to be found in his letter to his brother, dated 11th May, 1860: "All the measures of compensation to the Bhonsla family recommended by me have now been approved and carried out by Lord Canning." Bell sought no greater guerdon.

The cause of the Bhonslas was only one out of the many for which Major Bell so nobly fought. Eighteen of his letters are included in the volume under review. They deal with the Carnatic, Tanjore, Mysore, Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi succession disputes and escheats, besides other very important questions of imperial policy. The Mutiny was for him pregnant with meaning. Without being either an "alarmist" or a "prophet", he declared: "There never yet was a rebellion, since the world began that did not bring a lesson and a warning to the ruler, to be neglected and despised at his peril." He wanted his countrymen to "determine to govern India on English principles". "We cannot give and withhold at the same time", he said.

If ever the policy that Bell condemned was embodied in a single personality, it was in Lord Dalhousie. His characterisation of Dalhousie is typical of his manner and spirit:

Lord Dalhousie was a man of talent and ability, but not a man of genius; none of the sacred fire of the poet and of the great statesman burned in that passionless bosom. He was no prophetic soul. He thought of nothing but the ways and means of the day, of some immediate, tangible, showy result to be produced. He wanted even the most ordinary foresight, that elementary moral instinct without which power must lead to tyranny. He knew not that an unjust decision is from its origin null and void, will not be accepted, and contains within itself the germs of an endless brood of discreditable difficulties that cannot be set at rest so long as the first injustice stands.

Whatever the shortcomings of Bell's practical suggestions regarding administrative matters, his letters breathe in every line the noble spirit of the Queen's Proclamation. "Whatever tends to facilitate and promote intercourse and harmony between the higher classes of India and the higher classes of Great Britain will tend to assimilate their habits and modes of thought, and to diffuse new ideas and new wants among the mass of the population." The history of India since Major Bell wrote is, in a sense, the history of the slow but steady recognition and adoption of the wholesome principles sought to be inculcated by him with the fervour of an evangelist.

No review, however brief and cursory, of Major Bell's writings can be complete, or even adequate, without a reference to his constructive attitude towards the Indian States.

What we want (he declared) is an Imperial policy for India, that shall be more than tolerant of Native States, that shall recognise their corporate nature. . . . We want a policy that shall practically acknowledge the duty of instruction to be inherent in that of protection. . . . The Indian despatches of Wellesley, Wellington, Munro, Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone, show that the men who created an Empire out of scattered provinces, and brought virtual supremacy out of a chaos of obligations and claims, did not despise the views of Indian Princes or of their Indian ministers, or arrogate to themselves, even after a conquest, the right of over-riding or over-ruling at will, all separate interests.

Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, the Editor of these letters of Major Bell, is a veteran scholar of South India. He is familiar to the readers of the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras) under his ubiquitous initials "C. S. S." There is hardly a subject bearing on any branch of Indian history that he is not capable of illuminating with his familiar knowledge. His erudition is equally in evidence in every page of this valuable collection of letters he has so ably edited. He has indeed laid students of modern Indian history under a deep debt of gratitude by this most welcome publication. However, one should have liked a topical rearranging of the letters and the bibliography. The latter would also have proved

more helpful to the student reader if further classified according to the nature and importance of each as an original or secondary authority. The very ably written Introduction, in my humble opinion, could also have been distributed topically as Prefaces to the letters severally instead of being given at the beginning. But these alternatives regarding the mechanics of arrangement do not materially detract from the value of this substantial production which does honour to both the publishers and the editor.

R. S. SHARMA.

WORLD'S LEADERS.

LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE AGES. BY
GEORGE MACMUNN. (Alexander Maclehoze.)
1935. 22cm. 354p. 10/6.

AT a time when great leaders dominate the stage of European politics, a book like the one under review is bound to interest everyone. In the book before us. Lieutenant General Sir George Macmunn gives excellent sketches of some of the great leaders in history. He rightly points out that the qualities of a great leader are courage, both physical and of the mind, enthusiasm, sincerity, and the capacity to build. It may be that many have been born with all these gifts, but if there are no occasions calling forth the employment of these qualities they may all remain mute inglorious Miltons and Cromwells guiltless of their countries' blood. After thus explaining the conditions that call the leaders into being and the psychological causes of leadership, the learned author gives a masterly survey of leadership from Moses to Mussolini and Hitler. The book contains brilliant sketches of Moses, Alexander the Great, Queen Elizabeth, Cromwell, Empress Tsen-Hi, Abraham Lincoln and Mussolini. There are also thumbnail sketches of Joan of Arc, John Wesley, Napoleon, John Nicholson, Queen Victoria, Disraeli, Gladstone, Lloyd George and Hitler. What strikes the candid reader of the book is the extraordinary firmness of grasp maintained by the author over every part of his major sketch. The author has used the most recent authorities in writing his interesting chapters on Cromwell, Elizabeth, Lincoln and Empress Tsen-Hi.

There are, however, two defects in the book. In the first place, there is a lack of proportion in the treatment of great leaders. While the author devotes a good deal of space to Moses, Alexander the Great, Cromwell, Lincoln, and Empress Tsen-Hi, he gives only tabloid sketches of Napoleon, Lloyd George, Hitler and Joan of Arc. In the case of Joan of Arc at least it may be said that she played a small though important part in the history of France in the Middle Ages; but Napoleon strode like the colossus over the European stage in the eighteenth century, Lloyd George won the Great war and Hitler has given self-respect to Germany. To dismiss these great leaders in short sketches while devoting much space to Empress Tsen-Hi and Moses shows a lack of proportion. The author does not offer an explanation for his brief notices of Lloyd George and Hitler. With regard to Napoleon he says that he is brief because there is a large literature on Napoleon. But we may point out that there is an equally large literature on Cromwell, Alexander the Great, Mussolini, and yet the author has thought fit to give elaborate sketches of these heroes.

Another defect of the book is the total omission of such brilliant leaders as Lenin of Russia and Kemal Pasha of Turkey. Lenin and Kemal satisfy the author's definition of a leader and the conditions in Russia and Turkey were such that there was a 'call' and these leaders came forward not only to lead but also to *build*. We are therefore surprised at their

omission in a book entitled, "Leadership through the Ages." With regard to Lenin's exclusion the author gives this wonderful explanation on p. 7. It is doubtful if Lenin, or Trotsky, or Stalin, can come within the circle of leaders whom history will accept, however dynamic or subtle their personalities, and we have yet to wait and see what will come of it." To deny a place in the book to Lenin who not merely led the Russian people from 1917 to his death but who has built an enduring edifice known as the Soviet system shows lack of historical judgment and prejudice towards the Communist leader. If "we have yet to wait and see" about Lenin's work, so must we about Mussolini's and Hitler's work and yet the author gives the last two Dictators a place in his book. We can only say that the author's prejudice towards Communism has clouded his historical sense. And what about Kemal Pasha? He is not a Communist. What are his sins of omission to be omitted in Macmunn's survey of world's best leaders?

Despite its lack of proportion and omission of important leaders like Lenin and Kemal, this book will be found an interesting and in many ways a valuable survey of Leadership through the Ages. We hope that Sir George Macmunn may be persuaded to enlarge this volume by the addition of sketches on Lenin and Kemal, for we feel that this book deserves a second and more comprehensive edition.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

ART.

ART AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION.
By ERIC GILL (John Lane), 1934, 20cm, 158p, 2/6.

THE author writes with feeling and insight, convinced of the necessity of "debunking" art. He deplors the divorce effected to-day between work and art. No workman is an artist and the tragedy is that no one expects him to be. "Industrialism has reduced the workman to a subhuman condition of intellectual responsibility". We live in a world of make-believe and hypocrisy. "Manufacturers talk as though they wanted to employ people while all the time they are improving machinery so that they may save labour and thus do away with employment. Politicians talk about curing unemployment while all the time they are the obedient servants of the financiers who finance the manufacturers." Work, which has been until our time mitigated by art, is now separated from art. We have "made foolishness of both". And "a century of industrialism has destroyed the initiative for independent working", resulting in the problem of unemployment.

The "problem" can only be understood if we are clear in our ideas of art, work and man. "At bottom it is mistakes about man, misunderstandings as to the kind of creature he is, that cause all the other troubles."

Things are made for men and it is men who make them. Art is the creative activity of man. "The idea, the material, the tools, the will, the skill—all these are necessary." It has its objective, and subjective aspects. If art means skill, it also abides on the side of the mind. "There is no escape from intellectual responsibility." A synthetic view of art regards it both as a combination of utility and the human affections. The idea of service is inseparable from the idea of art.

In order to understand the position of art and the arts to-day we must understand their position in the past. There were no "gentleman painters" and "gentleman architects". The architect was the builder, the man who did the work, the man who employed the various tradesmen. He was a tradesman himself.

Builders and architects, "built according to the traditions of the trade, traditions constantly changing, welcoming every new dodge or improvement, but going back to earlier and, as they thought, outworn methods of building or styles of ornamentation." So with all the other trades. Painting and sculpture were trades. The work and relations between men were different in the ages that have gone by.

Man, it was held, was a responsible being. He was responsible for his acts and for the intended consequences of his acts. He is responsible for his work and for the quality of his work. The beautiful thing is that, which being seen, pleases, and useful things could not be anything but beautiful. Beauty could never be divorced from usefulness.

"The idea of work, the idea of art, the idea of service and the idea of beauty were, and are, in spite of our peculiar century, naturally inseparable; and our century is only peculiar in that we have achieved their unnatural separation." This catastrophe is due to the government or "political form" under which people live. The nineteenth century is oligarchic, individualistic, and religiously undecided and sought by every kind of legal device to make the organ of government, the Parliament, subservient to the conditions of men of commerce and money-lenders. Art became the business of "tickling the fancy of the rich"; and the function of government to preserve and encourage the responsibility of the artist was not recognised. The idea of good came to be defined as that which "will sell" and not in the nature of responsible things. The idea that national greatness shall be measured by enormity of possessions; that the law shall favour ownership and ownership shall carry with it no obligation of service; and that all men shall bow before money; that the responsibility of the common people has no basis in fact; the workman is therefore a tool in the hands of his master—these ideas came to be paramount. "And, as to art, the paramount idea shall be that the workman works for the profit of his employer and not for the good of the work; and the only works which are to be regarded as good in themselves are those works of painting and sculpture, poetry and music which minister to the enjoyment of the rich and those who have leisure.

The artist shall no longer be a collaborator with God in creating or so fancy himself. He shall be a critic of creation. He shall no longer make things; but only pictures of things and, first of all pictures of what rich patrons fancy and paint as such patrons fancy them. The idea of art shall no longer embrace all making. "The obedience of men to masters, the obligation of the wage-earner to do, in return for his wages, precisely what he is told and to leave all intellectual responsibility and initiative to the owners of the means of production, shall release the workman from any necessity of being an artist."

This tragedy is not to be attributed entirely to machinery, although it has meant the growth of capitalism and the dispossession of the peasantry. It is true that the origins of machinery were neither humanitarian nor artistic, but purely commercial. But machines in themselves have always been works of art. To the engineer as to the toolsmith, the machine like the tool is worth making for its own sake.

But "it is with reference to the things made that the question of machinery is chiefly of importance here. And it is precisely the things made which have been machinery's main failure." From its first beginning the use of machinery has been exploited simply as a profit-making instrument. "You can make things by machinery; but you cannot express emotion in them. You can jangle people's nerves in a power house; but you have no power to say what it

feels like. Factory articles are the product of the herd; they are not the product of the self-consciousness of any individual." You can make all sorts of noises; but you cannot write a tune by machinery, still less an orchestral symphony. "For painting and sculpture and music, for poems, detective stories and psychological novels, you need the individual mind controlling the individual hand and responding to the individual eye or ear. . . ."

So rambles on the author in this fascinating book. Considered in its entirety, the book must be recognised as a great book. We earnestly hope that his passionate plea for moral integrity which is Holiness shall not pass unheeded. Holiness is Loveliness. Man, the artist, is man experiencing himself as God, collaborating with God in creating, his imagination formative of things and not formed by them. It is fatal to separate Religion and Art.

PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI.

FREEDOM AND CULTURE.

FREEDOM AND CULTURE. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. (Natesan.) 158p. Re 1.

DR. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN occupies a position of rare eminence among the educationists of India to-day. A great interpreter of Indian philosophy, Sir Radhakrishnan combines with his learning the gift of rare eloquence, which has made him almost the idol of the student public. It is no wonder, therefore, that he has been invited by most of the universities of India to deliver their convocation addresses. The addresses which Sir Radhakrishnan has thus delivered cover a wide range of highly important subjects, about which it is necessary that the students should have a thorough and proper understanding.

Throughout his addresses Sir Radhakrishnan strikes us as a man, pre-eminently modern in outlook. He is against slavery and superstition in any form, always holding aloft the banner of light and reason. He argues, and argues passionately, against any kind of domination, physical, intellectual or moral. It is against his mental make-up, therefore, to be in sympathy with the dictators who dominate the situation in Europe to-day. He believes, and believes rightly, as a true democrat that, however wise and powerful the dictator may be, he has no right to thrust his wisdom or power on people who have no faith in him. A patriot of a very high order, Dr. Radhakrishnan is greatly distressed by the miserable situation of India to-day. But for this he has none else to blame than the Indians. If the Indians, who form one-fifth of the human race, continue to be ruled by the English people, it is because they are weighed down by the dogmas of the Pandits and the priests, the Maulavis and the Maulanas. They war against each other on most trivial occasions. To gain independence, India must nurture the spirit of tolerance, the spirit of unity and brotherhood. It is for this reason that Dr. Radhakrishnan lays the greatest stress on proper university education, for it is the students of the university who in after-life become the leaders of men. For him, a university necessarily connotes a corporate existence, "a like-mindedness in basic aims and ideas". "Conformity," he says, "has been the dream of despots political as well as religious". "The ideal of university is the promotion of liberty of mind or freedom of thought."

University education, according to the learned professor, should not make a man merely intellectual. It ought to make him cultured as well. "Culture is an attitude of life which finds nothing human alien, common or unclean". It is the breeding of this culture which should be the aim of university education. How much we wish this ideal of education to animate

the students of our universities. If our students can be made to develop a broad sympathy for their suffering countrymen, then it would be a very happy day for India indeed. We congratulate the publishers on their most timely and useful publication.

S. S. MISRA.

SHORT NOTICES.

WOMAN EAST AND WEST. By MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD. (Heinemann.) 1935. 22cm. 321p. 12/6.

AS stated on the jacket, "this is the record of a leisurely lecturing tour round the world by the famous expert, Magnus Hirschfeld. . . ." Some readers may perhaps think that the title is not entirely justified; but the author has minutely observed the marriage and sex customs and usages in different parts of the world and commented on them, and even the descriptive portion of the book is not without interest. The ordinary reader hardly knows that matriarchy can be seen at Darjeeling and that the women there go marketing with "their pipes in their mouths, magnificent in their confident stride and followed by from three to five husbands, all loaded down with heavy burdens." Or that a Chinaman's first wife is chosen by his parents, but he can choose all the others himself, the number of wives being in proportion to his dignity. That in Japan, if there are only girls born in a family, a son is adopted and that he then marries one of his adoptive sisters, which would be considered horrible in other countries. That in Bali, women are the stronger sex and that, in consequence, they go about naked upto their navels, except the prostitutes who cover themselves in order to excite curiosity, that the men wear flowers and are coquettish and colourful! It is also probably due to the higher position of woman that a man may not sit on a seat which has been occupied by a woman till after two hours have elapsed. That in Java, natives were not allowed to wear shoes or European dress or use the Dutch language twenty-five years back. Of course at present they can, and a Dutchman can even be punished for striking a native!

Of course it is practically impossible for a foreigner not to make mistakes which seem ridiculous to us. Thus, one may smile at the statement that "one no longer speaks very much of Vishnu and his wives, the goddesses Lakshmi and Parvati," and that Shiva's consorts are Durga and Kali.

His general conclusions are stated in the preface, one of which reads: "Every people (and every religion) is convinced that its own morals constitute morality in the *objective* sense. Consequently there is a universal tendency to dismiss all other morals as more or less immoral."

Holding the opinion that no nation has any right to keep another in slavery, he makes some scathing remarks about British rule and Indian independence. Dr. Norman Haire, in his Introduction, pretends that Dr. Hirschfeld, being a German, felt irked by the evidences of British dominance everywhere in the East. It is quite natural that an Englishman should not appreciate remarks made by an impartial foreign observer. Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld was certainly not the type of man to whom one can attribute such petty feelings, as Dr. Haire ought to have known, and as any impartial reader will see from this book. He speaks in the same strain about the colonies and possessions of all European nations and the United States and proclaims his sympathy with the ideal of a world-federation of states on a basis of equality.

R. D. KARVE.

THE FUTURE OF COLONIES. By LEONARD BARNES. (Hogarth Press.) 1936. 19cm. 46p. 1/-

THIS valuable little booklet presents a new orientation to the problems of colonial policy and is calculated to provoke thought on the part of the careful reader. The author states the case for such dynamic powers as Germany, Italy, and Japan which need colonies but find the world closed against them. He proposes that the Mandatory system of the League of Nations should be so extended as to cover the entire colonial field and that there should be a new assignment of colonies which would do justice to both the static powers, such as England, France, and the United States, and the dynamic powers. Colonies should in fact, as well as in name, become trusts of civilisation and should be fitted for self-government as speedily as possible. The author opposes such devices as the "closed door" and "imperial preference" and considers them of doubtful advantage even to their supposed beneficiaries. In return for their share in the colonial world, the dynamic powers (as well as the static powers) should, he says, be obliged (a) "to work the trusteeship principle in terms of the suggested reforms in the mandate system, (b), to sign a disarmament convention, and (c) to enter into a system of co-operative defence."

While no one may have serious objection to many of the sentiments expressed by the author, the all important question is, how is the end pointed by him to be brought about, seeing that the prevailing attitude of the static powers is: "What we have is enough, and what we have we hold." The author does not give special reasons why consideration should be shown to the dynamic powers in the manner suggested. Their insistent clamour for possessions is not enough to justify their claims. Besides, the behaviour of Japan in Manchuria and of Italy in Abyssinia and the perverted sentiments of Hitler on race and imperialism do not fill us with much hope for the future.

E. ASIRVATHAM.

WARNING FROM THE WEST INDIES. By W. M. MACMILLAN. (Faber & Faber.) 1936. 21cm. 213p. 8/6.

THE publishers, according to their custom, have made a very pleasant volume with a clear and useful map of this new book by Professor W. M. Macmillan author of "The Cape Colour Question", "Bantu, Boer and Buton", and "Complex South Africa."

His research has brought him to the twin conclusions, that political freedom is not a panacea for social and economic disabilities, and that a white minority cannot maintain its dominant position on an unsound economic basis.

He recommends a considered policy of expenditure and scientific guidance among peasant owners, who form the majority of the population, to make up for past neglect. This is to be aided by the Colonial Development Fund, from the British taxpayer's money. He frankly admits the difficulty of combining the power of revived tribal institutions with the influence of non-tribal intellectuals of both colours, if the final goal is to be full enfranchisement and a full colonial democracy. This very liberal-minded study of West Indian conditions is another of the books that deal with this question. Does the peasant owner most need representation in a democratic assembly, or firm, just rule by a sectional minority? When this question has been answered in theory and in practice, the solving of the economic and educational problems will have followed.

S. A. WAIZ.

Miscellaneous.

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO.

MR. KUNZRU'S VIEWS.

Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru was interviewed by the Leader on the Congress election manifesto. In the course of the interview, Mr. Kunzru said:

THE senile reformists in the Congress, who put a curb on their president's communistic activities a few weeks ago, have asserted themselves once more. The Congress election manifesto refers in its introductory portion to all the ideas for which the Congress president stands. It calls attention to the international situation, to the need for ending the exploitation of the masses and so on, but its operative part is a clear manifestation of the bourgeois reformist spirit. While making pious declarations about independence and the right of Indians to convene a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for the country, it recognizes in effect the inevitability of gradualness and tries to be all things to all men. It attempts to please the landlord and the tenant, the industrialist and the labourer, the supporters of office acceptance and its opponents, and Gandhites and Malaviyaites. When it refers to the need for reforming the system of the land tenure and payment of rents, it is careful enough to mention the need for reforming the land revenue system also. When it asks for relief for agricultural tenants, it assures the peasant proprietors and small land-holders also that their interest will be safe in the hands of Congressmen. When it advocates the amelioration of the condition of the labourers it shows its anxiety not to alienate the sympathy of the industrialists by adding that proposals in regard to this problem must be such "as economic conditions in the country permit." The handling of the question of acceptance of office betrays the same cautious mentality and the same desire to please all sections of opinion.

The paragraph relating to the communal decision embodies the views of the president regarding its incompatibility with democratic principles and national unity. This enunciation of principles is not, however, allowed to lead to any change in the policy to be followed by Congressmen in relation to the communal decision in practice.

Even a cursory perusal of the manifesto makes it clear that it has been drafted by men who keep their ears close to the ground and are anxious to do nothing which would bring them any unpopularity. The social programme outlined in it is by no means distinctive of the Congress. It closely resembles what non-Congress progressive parties have put forward from time to time. What is distinctive of the manifesto is either unreal or, I fear, places tactics above higher considerations.

The election manifesto may enable the Congress to catch votes but it is certainly not a document of which men, who claim to be the highest embodiment of the national spirit and the sole defenders of the rights of the people, could be proud.

MR. KODANDA RAO IN THE WEST INDIES.

(A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.)

IN June last letters from Trinidad correspondents appeared in some Indian newspapers bringing two charges against Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, a member of the Servants of India Society: (1) of

having posed in the West Indies as a representative of the Indian National Congress and an envoy of Mahatma Gandhi, and (2) of having given expression to anti-nationalistic views, particularly with respect to Hindi and of even having advised the officials not to mind the demand of local Indians for provision for Hindi in schools.

These letters were sent to Mr. Kodanda Rao, and now we know from him the facts of the situation. It is true that he was represented by some newspapers, both in Trinidad and British Guiana, as being a representative of the Congress and of the Mahatma. But for this misrepresentation the newspapers concerned were responsible. Mr. Kodanda Rao never disguised his true status. He says in a letter to the Servants of India Society:

In the very first interview that I gave to the *Trinidad Guardian*, I made it clear that I represented nobody, not even the Servants of India Society, though I had letters of introduction not only from the Mahatma but from the Government of India as well; that I came neither in a representative capacity nor to make representations either to local Governments or local Indians, neither to preach or teach or carry on any kind of propaganda; that I had come as a private student, as it were. Unfortunately I did not keep a cutting of it. In every speech of any public character I repeated with monotonous insistence that I not only did not represent the Mahatma or the Indian National Congress but expressly avowed that I was his critic.

Mr. Kodanda Rao has, however, sent a cutting from the *Port of Spain Gazette*, Trinidad, of 5th April containing a report of his speech. This report says:

The purpose for which he had come to this country was to learn something of the problems of the country and particularly as they affected the Indian community. His purpose was not to speak so much about India, but to learn from them about the conditions in this country. He had not come to this country as the representative of any organisation or body at all, neither had he come in the capacity of an expounder of public affairs. He came as a student of public affairs in his own capacity and with no authority representing any person or organisation in India, nor had he the power to make representations to anybody or to preach to or teach anybody at all.

Referring to Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Kodanda Rao said in this speech:

He must confess at the outset, because it was well that they should know, that he did not belong to the same political party to which the Mahatma belonged. . . . It had been his misfortune as Editor of the *SERVANT OF INDIA* to criticise some of the policies of the Mahatma with which they differed. . . . He had confessed on previous occasions—and he confessed again—that though he had criticised Gandhi severely, yet his relations with him were of the most cordial nature.

In a report of Mr. Kodanda Rao's first speech in Trinidad, soon after landing, published by Mrs. Beatrice Greig in the *Port of Spain Gazette* of 29th March, the following passage appeared bearing on this point:

Mr. Rao spoke with reverence and affection of Mahatma Gandhi and explained that though, as Editor of the organ *SERVANT OF INDIA*, he had often to oppose the Mahatma's policy of civil disobedience, yet the greatest friendship existed between them. . . .

On the second point Mr. Kodanda Rao writes in a letter:

As regards Hindi, I am entitled to my views as long as I do not commit anybody else. Even so I spoke at a literary society and not at a public meeting. Nor, if I

remember right, did I advocate any particular course; I raised a question and asked them to discuss it a little later. My reasons for my view I have expressed summarily in the interview enclosed.

This is an interview published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in the issue of 28th May. It says:

Another matter which seems to have caused a great deal of misunderstanding in this country is my attitude towards the Hindi language in this Colony.

I spoke on this subject at a literary society with a view to promoting discussion on this subject. It would take me too long to explain in full. My opinion, which I know is not shared universally, either here or in India, is that from an educational point of view, it is an unnecessary hardship to compel Indian children to learn Hindi in the Colonies. There is a notion that culture is correlated with language—a very common belief, which I do not share. I believe that language and culture are two different things—the one can be had without the other. . . . The sacred cultural languages of Hindus and Muslims are really Sanskrit and Arabic, rather than Hindi and Urdu. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, the *Hindu epics*, are not read in Sanskrit by everybody, but in Bengali in Bengal, and in Tamil by the Tamils; so language and culture are not necessarily linked.

To-day the best pieces of literature put out in Indian culture are in English; and one could get the best of Indian culture through the English language to-day, though there is nothing to prevent any individual who wants to do it from studying Hindi or any other European language. My own feeling is that while an educational system in the Colony should make provision for Hindi or Urdu, on a par with French, German and Spanish, no child simply because he is of Indian parentage, should be compelled to learn one of these languages. It should be optional.

From this it will be seen that the allegations made against Mr. Kodanda Rao are wholly unfounded.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE INDIAN STATES AND PRINCES. By GEORGE MACMUNN. (Jarrolds.) 1936. 24cm. 287p. 18/-
- SECRETS OF JAPAN. By CHAMAN LAL. (Kenkynsha Printing Co., Tokyo.) 1935. 24cm. 211p.
- SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION. By ESTHER LUCILLE BROWN. (2nd Edn.) (Russell Sage Foundation.) 1936. 20cm. 120p. 75 cents.
- POVERTY AND PUBLIC HEALTH. By G. C. M. M'GONIGLE and J. KIRBY. (Gollancz.) 1936. 20cm. 273p. 6/-
- THE POST-WAR WORLD: A SHORT POLITICAL HISTORY, 1918-1924. By J. HAMPDEN JACKSON. (Gollancz.) 1935. 20cm. 520p. 6/-
- A BOOK OF ESSAYS. Comp. by N. C. DAS. (The Cuttack Trading Co.) 1936. 19cm. 333p. Rs. 2.
- THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM IN AMERICAN WORK. By JEFFREY R. BRACKETT. (Russell Sage Foundation.) 1936. 21cm. 37p. 25 cents.
- WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE WORLD. By G. W. L. DAY. (Stanley Nott.) 1935. 20cm. 90p. 1/-
- THE ROOTS OF WAR. (The Hogarth Press.) 1936. 72p. 6d.
- AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF BHADAS. By F. L. BRAYNE and SHIV DIAL. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1936. 24cm. 236p. Rs. 3.
- FARM ACCOUNTS IN THE PUNJAB, 1933-34. By SARDAR KHARTAR SINGH and SARDAR ARJUN SINGH. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1936. 24cm. 287p. Re. 1-8.
- THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF A GREAT RULER. By A. PADMANABA IYER. (Wednesday Review Press, Trichinopoly.) 1935. 19cm. 59p.