

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE extend our hearty welcome to our roset, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, on his return after a long and trying tour in Europe. The nation is not a little indebted to him for raising the cultural status of India abroad through spreading the message of our forefathers—the spiritual kinship of the human race. May he live long to serve the mother land and humanity!

THE Liberal Federations that meets at Akola next week has important work ahead if it is to be a live body. The recent elections in some of the provinces have shown that with organised propaganda among the people they could be convinced of the need for adopting Liberal principles in the present state of the country. Liberalism suffers if at all, only from lack of advocacy and earnestness on the part of those who profess to follow it. The delegates that meet at Akola will do well to awaken themselves and their leaders from torpor, formulate a fighting programme both inside and outside the Councils and, above all, spare nothing to set up a net-work of organisations throughout the country so as to establish contact with the masses and conduct them along the right road to democratic freedom.

THE A. P. I. informs us that as a result of the consultations between Mahatma Gandhi, Jammalal Bajaj and Rajagopalachari efforts will be made at Gauhati to arrive at a common working programme to which no party will have any objection, the Council programme being left entirely to the choice of the different parties. We wish we had more details of the new move so that we may judge how it makes an advance on the present conditions towards unity. There is, already in the field Gandhiji's constructive programme thrice blessed by the Congress, nodded to by the Swarajists and left to be worked solely by the no-changers. We have oftentimes pointed out how its prosecution at present is retarded by the refusal to seek Government aid and the obstructionist policy of the Swarajists. In regard to the former Mr. Rajagopalachari's suggestion in his written memorandum to the Agricultural Commission of a Government subsidy to establish hand spinning as a cottage industry in the country marks no doubt a distinct improvement in the attitude of the no-changers. Mahatmaji has also set his seal of approval on the suggestion by publishing it in the leading columns of *Young India*. It is to be hoped that the common working programme to be evolved at Gauhati will give a clearer lead to the workers who should be not a little handicapped now by the ban on official aid and contact. As a necessary corollary, we might also observe, the Council programme should not be left entirely to the choice of the different parties. For the Councils and ministerial offices, wielded properly, could be utilised in a considerable measure to promote constructive work.

MR. LANGFORD JAMES should have felt considerably relieved last Tuesday when he freely unburdened himself before the viceregal presence of all his fears about the fate of his community in a free India. But the general body of non-official Europeans in India, we are sure, are not feeling quite grateful to him for his reckless performance. For he has by his insolent outburst raised a veritable hornet's nest against them and provided an unpleasant controversy in the Indian press which neutralizes the work of a few zealous spokesmen of the community to establish harmonious relations with the people of this country. Some Indian papers and politicians are, perhaps, paying to Mr. James' after-dinner effusions more attention than they deserve and only emulating his indiscretion by adopting his challenging tone in answering his hollow threats. On his own admission, he is incompetent to speak on some of the topics he was stupid enough to refer to in his address. We are not also sure

that, though he is the president of the European Association at Calcutta, he represents the major or the saner section of his community. The Viceroy therefore did well in ignoring in his reply many of the points raised by his host. The Indians too could well afford, under such circumstances, to view the speech with scornful indifference. The points at issue are plain enough and should easily be grasped by the general body of Europeans in this land. There is ample room for them here, as for all foreigners in other free countries, provided, of course, they are prepared to help in the progress of the country and confine their activities to their legitimate spheres. But the days of the Europeans as the dominant, ruling race in the land are certainly numbered, if not yet actually over. Mr. Langford James and his brethren will, therefore, surely have to come down from their present privileged position, shed themselves of all unfair advantages they are now having to the moral and material injury of Indians, and claim no higher rights than those enjoyed by Englishmen in any of the self-governing dominions of the Empire. This is a prospect which no sensible or fair-minded European need view with any sense of humiliation or anxiety, unless it be that he woefully mistakes his calling in India and attempts the obviously impossible task of perpetuating his rule here. The European community is a mere drop in the ocean of Indian humanity and cannot afford to lose the good-will of, much less to antagonise, the awakened masses. The Viceroy was thus a truer well-wisher of the community than Mr. L. James when he (the viceroy) admonished the Association to give up its communal outlook and realise that the role of the European in India was one of service, not suzerainty.

* * *

AT a time when we in India are intently watching to see whether the Governors of provinces will, in order to ensure the joint responsibility of Ministers,

Extern
Ministers.

nominate only the Chief Ministers and leave it to the latter to select their colleagues, it is interesting to observe that Ireland is about to discard as unsuccessful the novel constitutional experiment, tried by it for the last four years, of the so-called Extern Ministers. These Ministers are nominated not by the President (who, in the Irish Free State, corresponds to the Premier of England), but by Parliament and are responsible only to the latter for the administration of their departments. That is to say, they do not stand or fall with the Ministry, but remain in office even when the Cabinet is defeated, provided that, in the administration of their own department, they retain the confidence of the members of Parliament. This new departure was made in the constitution of the Irish Free State with the object of securing the advantages of responsible government while removing the evils of the party system. The experiment has however, not given satisfaction to the people of Ireland and the Government of the Free State has already introduced a Bill seeking to get rid of Extern Ministers as destructive of Cabinet solidarity. Another amendment which the Government is seeking to make in the present constitution is intended to secure the unopposed return of the Chairman of the Dáil, corresponding to the President of our council. The proposal is to make the Chairman's constituency the Dáil itself, and unless he indicates before a dissolution his intention to resign, he shall be deemed, without any actual election, to be an additional member of Dáil Eireann."

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WE cordially welcome the third edition of Dr. Norman Leys's *locus classicus* "Kenya", which was published by the Hogarth Press in London on

18th November. This is a cheap edition of the book sold at 4s. 6d. a copy and the author has specially brought it out with a view that it should be within the reach of all. India has an intimate relation to Kenya and no Indian who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs can afford to be without a copy of this book, which, as we said in noticing the first edition of the book, may well be compared to the works of the late Mr. M'Neal on the Belgian Congo. This third edition of "Kenya" has a new preface of 22 pages, which gives in a summary form events that have happened since the publication of the first edition, clearly showing the significance that attaches to them. In noticing the first edition we pointed out an error of fact, viz. the alleged repeal of the provision making desertion a criminal offence. It was the only error that was pointed out by any reviewer, says the author, and this has now been set right in the preface. The offence is now made non-cognisable by the police, but it still remains a criminal offence. In view of the discussions that are now taking place on the increase of the poll tax on Indians, Dr. Leys' comments on the system of taxation and its comparative incidence on different communities will attract wide attention. We commend the book to the warm reception and close study of the Indian intelligentsia.

* * *

AT the September Assembly of the League Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Bri-

those "Trustees" and severely criticized the policy of the Permanent Mandates Commission relative to the question of the hearing of the petitioners in person and the list of questions for annual reports of the Mandatories. The Japanese, Belgian, New Zealand and South African delegates entirely associated themselves with the views expressed by the British and French representatives. The British Foreign Office has addressed a note to the Secretary General of the League supporting in detail the views expressed by Sir Austen Chamberlain. The note remarks that "there is nothing to lead to the conclusion that it was ever intended that the Mandatory Government should be called upon to submit annually for confirmation or criticism by the Council or the Commission all the details of its administrative and legislative activities." This, however, is the exact reverse of the spirit embodied in the report of August 1920 by M. Hymans concerning the duties of the Mandates Commission which was adopted by the Council of the League. M. Hymans made it absolutely clear in his report that the supervision of the Mandates Commission should extend over the *whole administration* of the Mandatory Power. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the Mandates Commission has gone outside its competence in issuing a long question, larger than heretofore, for the guidance of the Mandatory Powers in drawing up their annual reports and in suggesting that in exceptional cases and under proper safeguards the Commission should hear petitioners in person. The Mandates Commission can never be too vigilant in its supervision of the administration of the Mandatory Powers and prevent it from drifting into abuses which result in events like the risings in German S. W. Africa and Syria. If the Mandatory Powers are weary of wearing the mask they may throw it off without accusing the Mandates Commission of pursuing an inquisitorial policy.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS.

IN his speech at the Calcutta European Association Lord Irwin laid stress on some fundamentals of the Indian political problem which are of vital importance to its satisfactory solution. The speech no doubt suffered in certain respects from having been addressed to a European audience, and being made in reply to a most unprovoked attack on the Montagu reforms. But for that, the Viceroy would not have expatiated at such length on the civilising mission of Great Britain in this country and reiterated all the stock-in-trade arguments for exercising caution in training India along the path of self-government. We may well pass by these sanctimonious futilities therefore, as not being intended for our ears. We have dealt with them often enough in the past. Our British friends are free to draw inspiration from their missionary zeal, gain more adherents to the Indian cause by advancing, on their side, any arguments that will enthuse or flatter their fellow countrymen and lead them to concede our demands. We shall welcome support from all quarters, whatever may be the grounds on which it is offered. But we, on our side, as a self-respecting people, can base our claims to freedom only on our own inherent and indefeasible birth right for national self-realisation. The people of Great Britain might at any time disclaim any civilising mission or refuse to fulfil it in time. But India cannot give up her demand for self-government on that score, or afford to wait till our "benefactors" choose to discharge their "trust". She should rely more on herself, on the strength of her own national self-consciousness, organised action and popular awakening than on any external benevolence for the attainment of her goal. This is a position which, we are sure, such a profound student of political philosophy as Lord Irwin will not fail to understand or appreciate.

It is good for India that at this critical juncture we have a Viceroy who seems to have a love for fundamentals. For, our case is never more strong than when it is based on the basic principles of political science and national rights. Further, there is little room for difference of opinion when we look at things with the eye of an honest, impartial critic. Lord Irwin seems to have studied the working of the present constitution from this disinterested, academic point of view. That is why he has so readily agreed with the standing complaint levelled by all schools of Indian politicians against Dyarchy, that it badly suffers from the divorce of power and responsibility. It has been pointed out by all who have worked the Reforms that many of the creakings in its machinery are due to this cardinal defect. The Viceroy bases the case for a better adjustment of responsibility to power on the ground that the popular representatives in the legislatures indulge in irresponsible criticism. This is unfair to a large number of our duly elected representatives. Without seeking to defend all that has been uttered

in the Council chambers and the Assembly hall, we may point out that the absence of responsibility in the wielders of power under Dyarchy has more often led to irresponsibility on the official side than on the popular side. The need for adjusting power to responsibility arises as much from the desirability of restraining official action as from that of curbing the criticism of the Councillors. Responsibility is a double-edged doctrine which cuts both ways in an ideally adjusted constitution. Lord Irwin has done a distinct service to the cause of Indian constitutional reform by drawing attention from his high eminence to the importance of this principle and the evils that follow from its violation. We hope that when the time for revision of the Reforms comes he will stand for the rigorous application of the maxim he has so well enunciated in his speech, remembering at the same time that there is need for a dual enforcement of the doctrine.

Another fundamental on which the Viceroy lays some stress is the condition which India must satisfy if she is to be deemed fit by the British Parliament for a further instalment of reforms. He says, "The root of the whole question lies in the problem of the average political sense of a wide electorate. An educated electorate is the only sure basis of Democracy. Without it politics are the possession of a small class of intelligentsia and the leaders of political thought who must be pioneers of political development would be the first to recognise that in these conditions, the political system, instead of resting broad-based on intelligent popular judgment is insecurely poised on an inverted apex." As a statement of the importance of education for democratic development this is as unexceptional as the Viceroy's reference to the need for adjusting power to responsibility in a constitution. But as justification of the denial of self-government to India, the argument is faulty if not specious. This is no new method of attack on the Indian cause. Others have answered this by pointing out that Great Britain is estopped from advancing this ground because she alone is responsible for keeping the Indian masses in such ignorance. It is also usual for our politicians to ask how far the other free countries in the world, including Britain and her self-governing dominions, fulfil this test.

These answers are effective enough and should suffice to silence those who wish to sit in judgment over us. There is yet another fallacy lurking in the Viceroy's argument. It arises out of a confusion between the issues of national freedom and democracy. We readily concede that there is intimate relation between the two in the present state of our country. The freedom that we claim is not for the few but for many. India is as much for democracy as she is for freedom. But the two questions are clearly different and should be kept separate. One relates to the form of government and the other to the substance,

the very life principle of self-government, of national existence and healthy growth. England was free even before she built up her system of representative institutions. India's claim is for the same freedom. The problem of democracy faces not only India, but almost every civilised country in the world. It is on its trial in Europe where autocracy and dictatorship are seen enthroned in more than one free nation. But Britain is not surely going to establish her sway in such countries on that score and train them along the path of Parliamentary government. These purely internal problems are best left to be solved by the people of the countries concerned. The proposition that India is fit for freedom only when she is fit for democracy goes against all canons of common sense, not to speak of natural rights and political science. Further it has to be pointed out that a sound and enduring system of Democracy cannot be built up without laying the foundations of national freedom. If Britain is keen on the former, as she professes to be, she cannot reasonably refuse the demand for the latter.

NOMINATIONS TO MADRAS COUNCIL.

THERE were 25 nominated seats in the last Council out of a total of 127. In the present Council the corresponding figure is 30 out of 132, the increase being made in accordance with the recommendation of the Muddiman Committee for giving more adequate representation to labour and the depressed classes. Of the 25 seats in the last Council, one was earmarked for the Agency Tract and 5 for the depressed classes, so that the Government were free to nominate officials to 19 seats. As a matter of fact, however, only 5 officials were nominated, including the Advocate General. The other official seats were distributed partly among the depressed and the backward classes, and partly among a number of castes and communities including such diverse elements as Anglo-Indians, Protestant Christians, Nambudiri Brahmans, Jains and Lingayats. There were in all 8 representatives of the depressed classes in the last Council. Of the 30 seats in the present Council, the one intended for the Agency Tract has gone to a Zamindar, as on the previous occasions, 11 have gone to the depressed classes, 8 to officials and the remaining 10 to various communal and other interests.

The most notable among all the nominations is that of an Indian lady, who is the first woman to sit in any British Indian Legislature. The Government of Madras deserve to be heartily congratulated for being the first to nominate a lady and also for making so happy a selection as Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy. This lady is a graduate of the local medical college of more than 10 years standing, and recently spent about a year in Europe specialising in diseases of women and children. She has always been an earnest social reformer and was one of the Indian delegates to the last Women's International Conference held in Paris.

She is particularly interested in lessening the social evil and elevating the Devadasi community. Being the only lady in the Council she will feel somewhat lonely and it would no doubt have been better if the Government had nominated at least one other lady. The Women's Indian Association had suggested four names, one of which was that of Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay who put up a plucky fight in the South Kanara district for election, but was defeated. The Government were quite right in ruling her out on that ground, but could have nominated another lady, say, Mrs. Cousins. It is to be hoped that the example set by Madras will be followed by other provinces, particularly Bombay, where talented ladies are more easily and plentifully found to enrich the Legislature.

The depressed classes nominations call for a few remarks. Out of eleven only three are chosen from Telugu districts and the other eight are from Tamil districts in which the City of Madras is included. Even of the three, one is a Tamilian who is temporarily sojourning in a Telugu district. The Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam districts justly feel aggrieved at this preponderance of Tamil nominations and it is hoped that hereafter at least such inequalities will be avoided. Again, of the eleven persons nominated, five continue from the last Council and two of them from the earlier Council. If renomination depends on a member's record of work, there can be no objection to it. Otherwise, it becomes the monopoly of a few favoured individuals. In the present case renomination seems to be a reward for unquestioning support of Government. In the last Council one nominated member of the depressed classes, Mr. Veerian, was more active than all the others put together and ventilated the special grievances of his community without caring for the frowns of Brahmans, Non-brahmans or Government. If anyone deserved renomination, it was he. But his name is conspicuously absent from this year's list, though a number of public meetings of the depressed classes had strongly urged his renomination. Of the new nominations, three are indeed happy—those of Mr. N. Shiva Raj, Swami Sahajanand and Mr. S. Venkayya. The first is a High Court Vakil and lecturer in the Law College and holds a unique position among members of the depressed classes. Between him and Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja there should be no difficulty in giving adequate and authentic expression to the needs and aspirations of the depressed classes. Swami Sahajanand is a respected *sanyasin* of the depressed classes who is devoting himself to their spiritual and moral elevation at Chidambaram. Mr. Venkayya has done during the last 10 years notable temperance and co-operative work in the villages of Krishna district and is devoting himself entirely to the service of his community.

One aspect of nominations that should make one think furiously is that they draw quite a crowd of supplicants to preferment's gate. Literally, hundreds flock to the metropolis and spend there

at least a month urging on various persons and authorities their respective special claims for nomination. They wait on this member of Government and that, on the outgoing Minister and the incoming Minister, on the leader of this party and the leader of that, see the Commissioner of Labour and his subordinates of the second and third degree, run to their own Collector and run back with a letter of recommendation from him, and execute many other interesting movements. The process is inevitable when so many nominations have to be made and that too on communal grounds. Nevertheless, it is an unhealthy one: those who succeed feel too much obliged to Government and could hardly be independent, and the others—98 or 99 per cent.—go back bitterly disappointed. Happily, before the next nominations are due, the Royal Commission will have sat.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

AGRICULTURE AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

III.—A SURVEY OF THE EVIDENCE.

THE Commission started its investigation with an admirable address from the Chairman, Lord Linlithgow. His enunciation on the work of the Commission, and his emphasis on the similarity of the economic condition of the individual farmer in all provinces will prove a very solid basis for any recommendations the Commission may make. One feels that he can wholeheartedly endorse the sentiments of his Lordship when he says: "I recognise that the result of our work will depend in a large degree upon the extent to which we may be able to commend any conclusion at which we may arrive, sound as I hope they may be, to progressive and intelligent Indian agricultural opinion." One can only hope that if any recommendations should prove unacceptable, such non-acceptability will not be put down as due merely to lack of progressiveness or intelligence.

Taking a general survey of the evidence tendered at Simla, one is struck with the unanimity of the demand for strong central organisations by most of the witnesses. Centralisation, especially of research, has been urged as against provincialisation. In this one cannot help sensing a strong desire to circumvent popular control which is being exercised to a certain extent on the agricultural and allied departments in the provinces. The main reason urged for this centralisation is the alleged lack of co-operation between the Provincial Departments and the Imperial Department of Agriculture. This proposal, of course, has invariably been accompanied by a demand for more money. Leaving aside the proposals with respect to Irrigation and Education, it is worth while to lock a little closely into the proposal for the creation of an All-India Board of Agriculture with an Advisory Council and an Executive Committee. The creation of this Board is to be followed by the

establishment of experiment stations in different parts of the country, independent of the provincial departments and manned and controlled by Imperial officers.

A study of the research work that is being carried on at Pusa and in the different provinces makes it plain that there are very few problems of Agricultural Research that are really of an All-India nature. Most of the problems are of a provincial nature and are best tackled locally. Since our provinces are not agricultural units, but political units, there is a likelihood of work being duplicated in different provinces. While such overlapping cannot be absolutely avoided, and is good within certain limits, such limits may soon be passed if proper precautions are not taken. Here arises the need of some organisation to see that overlapping of work in different provinces is not excessive. All that need be done is that the heads of the provincial departments of agriculture should meet once or twice a year and thoroughly discuss the research work that is being done and that should be done at all the research stations in the country. This should prevent undue overlapping of work and provide a channel for complete co-ordination of work in all the provinces. There seems to be no call either for the subordination of the Provincial departments to the Imperial department or for the setting up of two agencies working on the same lines in each province. Such problems as are decided to be of All-India importance can be worked out either at Pusa or at some other convenient centre under the direction of properly qualified men. It is, however, desirable that a central bureau for the collection and free dissemination of the results of research work at various centres be established.

It was brought out in the course of the evidence that the present system of Agricultural Education was not quite satisfactory from the point of view of training farmers. A suggestion has been made for giving facilities to students passed out of Agricultural Colleges for practical work on land for a few years, so as to make them efficient managers of farms, presumably of the big zemindars. While this is good as far as it goes, the scheme might be taken a step further and made more complete by properly organising such training and, what is more important, by helping such of those as can not find employment under zemindars, with facilities in the shape of land and capital for becoming independent farmers themselves. Such a scheme seems to be absolutely necessary if we are to get the fullest value out of our agricultural institutions. The suggestion of the Chairman in this connection about the leasing of Crown lands to cultivators on certain conditions is excellent and a step further can be taken in this direction and lands leased out on easy terms to those trained in agricultural institutions.

The use of cinema films to bring home to the village people the utility of various improvements

was rightly stressed by the Chairman. To this can be added a frequent use of the ordinary magic lantern and charts pictorially depicting the results of improved methods of cultivation, manuring, marketing etc. Thus, hand in hand with education imparted in fixed centres, as is at present done to some extent, must be carried on educative work in the rural parts. If we have to wait till the rural population gets literate and is able to utilize the literature issued by the Department of Agriculture, more fully, we shall have to wait for a very long time indeed. Charts displayed in suitable positions in villages and propaganda by means of lantern talks would go very long way in bringing the results of research work to the doors of cultivators. In addition to these, the more progressive of the cultivators must be induced to try out on their farms the methods proved useful at the experiment stations. There is somehow a bias in the mind of the ordinary cultivator against the results shown on Government farms, but when such results are obtained by one of themselves without the intervention of Government, there is a greater chance of such result being emulated. The agencies that can be utilised for these purposes of education and propaganda must be largely determined by local conditions. There is no necessity for establishing new associations for this purpose, as these would again arouse the villagers' suspicions. As has been suggested, the Village Panchayet could be organised and made a channel for this kind of propaganda. It would then mean that only such items as meet with the approval of the village elders will be taken up, and here comes the element of selection by the farmers themselves and, incidentally, scope for the powers of persuasion on the part of the propagandist. This kind of work can be pushed on rapidly if Government assumes responsibility for compensating the cultivators for any loss that they may incur in their attempt to adopt the methods advocated by its officers.

As has been remarked in the evidence, the effect of literacy on the villager is a point of some importance. The imparting of literary education in however small a dose to the village youngsters, often creates in them a distaste for actual work on the farm. But at the same time some education is necessary before training in agriculture is undertaken. The mentality that education is merely a passport to enter Government service has to change, and this change can easily come about if a larger and larger number of educated men take to agriculture. Amenities of life in rural parts should be gradually increased and an agricultural bias should be given to the education given in rural schools. The fear that rural folk may become more and more supercilious about manual labour should not make us discourage or decry educational institutions: but, on the other hand, these institutions must be made centres for fostering a proper kind of mentality.

The question of proper seed supply has been

mentioned in the evidence. This is a very important matter and has not received adequate attention. The seed trade has not been properly organised in this country and it is almost left to chance whether good or bad seed is used. There has not been any concerted attempt made for the supply of the very best kind of seed to the farmer. As has been pointed out in the evidence, Government has to take the initiative in this matter of organising the seed supply of the country. The same has to be said about the marketing of produce. The producer gets only a small fraction of the profits of his labour, the bulk of it going to the middleman between him and the consumer. It may not be possible, in all cases, for every producer to get into direct touch with the consumer, but it must be possible to reduce the number of middlemen by proper organisation. As it is, the farmer is practically helpless; he is at the mercy of the grain merchants who are merely brokers, take most of the profits and, above all, shove the risks on to the shoulders of the farmer. A properly organised grain and produce market at important centres should surmount this disparity in the shouldering of the burden of market fluctuations.

A good deal has been said about Indianisation, but it is very difficult to come to any definite conclusions on the evidence tendered. We find fulsome praise of the Indians as perfectly suited for all kinds of research work, and we also find it stated that it is a mistake to insist on the Indianisation of Pusa. We are told that the Imperial officers here get very much more than what their compeers get outside, and that the officers who took advantage of retiring on proportionate pensions had good appointments elsewhere. One aspect of this question, viz. the loss to India of the experience gained by officers who were admittedly paid on a liberal scale, must be stressed. When we know that the places of most of these officers who retired from the provinces have been taken by Indians, when we are told that these retired officers were some of the best men in the service, and that Provincial departments are now better manned than before, we are driven to the conclusion that Indianisation is not only not a bad thing, but that it should be carried out as fast as possible. It is needless to state that facilities must be freely forthcoming for giving the requisite number of Indians the highest possible training whether in India or outside. Whenever necessary, Indian officers must be encouraged to gain experience outside India. This does not mean that experts from outside should not be appointed for definite purposes and limited periods. Especially in agriculture, where experience counts for a good deal, every precaution must be taken to see that the experience gained at the cost of much money and labour should not be lost to the country.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

EUROPE AFTER THE WAR.

By T. G. P. SPEAR.

V.—RUSSIA.

SINCE the time of Peter the Great, Russia has been the ogre of modern Europe. Her steady advance westwards, her absorption of Turkey and Poland, and her final dictation of terms to Napoleon in 1814 compelled respect for her power, and her distance and strangeness increased this respect into fear. With the war, the Russian dream of securing Constantinople and an outlet into the Mediterranean seemed about to be realised with Allied consent; and Italy's example over the Treaty of London affords some idea of the size of the skeleton which would have emerged from the Allied diplomatic cupboard had Imperial Russia been present at the Peace Conference.

But in Imperial Russia there was, in Shakespearian phrase, "something rotten in the state of Denmark." A country of peasants was controlled by nobles who took little interest in their estates, and ruled by officials whose imperialism was inspired by the needs of a small group of industrialists. The resulting friction was evidenced on the one hand by the plots of Anarchists and Nihilists, and on the other, by a harshly repressive régime. The war proved the final blow to the already creaking Government machinery, and the Revolution was the joint result of a soldiery demoralised by defeat, of officers who had lost faith in the Czar, and of workers needlessly hungry.

The success of the first revolution was due to the support given to the breadless rioters of Petrograd by the soldiers sent to repress them. It placed in power not the Socialists, but the Liberals or "Cadets" who were the predominant party in the Duma. The new Provincial Government intended to call a Constituent Assembly to settle the régime and meanwhile to carry on the war. But it was soon beset with difficulties. The armies were already war-weary and dispirited, and their democratisation was hastened by the rash Army Order No. 1 abolishing the death penalty. Committees or Soviets of soldiers and workmen sprang up everywhere, and soon nothing could be done without their consent. The peasants were no less war-weary and saw in the revolution chiefly an opportunity of seizing the landlord's land, while the industrial workers, hungry and intoxicated with success, were the prey of every agitator, and would follow anyone who promised them bread, peace, and power. Thus the Provincial Government had no firm basis to its power, and was with its policy of continuing the war in effect opposed to the national feelings.

Rivals were not long waiting to exploit this weakness. The chief of these were the Socialists, split before the war into the Bolshevik or Majority section, who believed any methods justifiable for the attainment of power, and the Menshevik or

Minority Section (also known as the Social Revolutionary party) who believed in democracy. The Cadets, who only represented the microscopic middle class, were soon compelled to call in the Mensheviks as representing the factory workers, and in July the Cadet Prime Minister, Prince Lvoff gave way to the Menshevik leader Kerensky. Both these parties believed in the continuance of the war, and the appointment of Kerensky was signalled by a new attempt at an offensive. The Bolsheviks on their part, as soon as their leader Lenin could reach Petrograd from Switzerland, consistently promised everything which they thought might attract the masses. They promised land to the peasants, peace to the soldiers and nationalisation to the factory workers, and their cause was much helped by the military rising of General Korniloff, which Kerensky defeated by arming the Petrograd workers. The people followed, as people will, the men who promised them their heart's desire and in November, a few weeks before the Constituent Assembly was due to meet, the Provisional Government was swiftly overthrown by the people of Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had reached their goal.

But like their predecessor, they were beset with difficulties, and no one anticipated a long spell of power. The Germans were deep into Russia, revolts broke out in Siberia, S. Russia and the Ukraine, and the Social Revolutionaries were plotting in their midst. Lenin first dealt with the Mensheviks, and dispersed the Constituent Assembly as soon as it met. He then determined on peace at any price with Germany in order to give Russia a breathing space, and signed in March 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which ceded Poland outright and left a ring of border States, from Finland in the North of the Ukraine in the South under German influence. Then he turned to the Civil War, and made Trotsky Commissar for war to to organise the Red Army. The rising of the Social Revolutionaries in July was met by the institution of the "Cheka" or counter-revolutionary tribunal, which organised the Red Terror, and by Trotsky's energetic measures Admiral Koltchek in Siberia, Denikin in the south and the Poles were successively defeated. After the failure of the Bolshevik attack on Warsaw in 1919, peace was gradually made with the various border States and by 1920 the Bolsheviks were secure in Russia, though they had been repulsed from Western Europe and were fenced with a ring of succession States.

The Bolsheviks were now free to develop their internal programme, defined in "the declaration of the rights of working and exploited people" as the abolition of exploitation and of classes, and complete nationalisation. The two parts of this policy were the nationalisation of industry and of land,

The first was accomplished easily enough, all factories being nationalised and all private trading forbidden, but when the Bolsheviks came to the land they met stubborn opposition. On the outbreak of the Revolution, the peasants had quickly occupied the land without waiting for any expropriation, and they had since supported the Bolsheviks in the Civil War largely because the "Whites" had shown signs of restoring the land to the landlords. When the Bolsheviks nationalised the land, they refused to send supplies of grain into the towns, and when a Food Army was organised to seize supplies in the villages, they replied by burying their grain and not sowing the crops. Famine soon faced the country, with disease hard in its wake. Lenin, with his accustomed realism, then saw that concessions were necessary and he seized the opportunity of the rising of the Kronstadt garrison in 1921 to force on the Communist Party the "New Economic Policy." "The mind of the peasant is made up," he declared, and he therefore abolished requisitioning and allowed free trading and, while maintaining the nationalisation of the land in theory, recognised the occupational right of individual peasants. In the towns petty trading was allowed, though the factories remained under State control. In the primitive and semi-wild economics of Russia, Lenin considered such a step a blessing; it has certainly restored confidence and some prosperity, and he has been followed by the reopening of communication with the West by means of trade agreements.

The death of Lenin in 1924 was a great blow to the Bolsheviks who replaced him by a triumvirate, of whom Stalin is now the accepted head, and who still retain an empty chair at the head of the table at their meetings. But it has not interrupted the new policy, and Trotsky's recent disgrace as the advocate of further reforms has been balanced by an equal disregard of the old orthodox communists.

The new Russian State has been organised as an elaborate system of federated national republics. At the centre is a Federation of Russian Republics to which are united, under the name of the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics, all those national republics which first proclaimed their independence and later were reduced to submission. The executive unit is the Soviet or Committee and the administrative unit is the village. Direct election is used only for the village Soviets, which themselves elect representatives to the Volost and so on through all the old governmental divisions of Vezd, Province and Government to the All-Russian Assembly of Soviets at Moscow. This is the nearest approach to the Western democratic Parliaments, and meets once a year to ratify the acts of the Executive who are called the People's Commissars.

Parallel to this organisation is the Communist party, which also has its provincial committees and its annual Congress and its supreme Council. The connection between the two is

maintained by the prohibition of all other political parties, by a ban on all their political meetings and by the intimidation of voters. The Soviet system is, in fact, the shell which surrounds the communist kernel, and the annual meetings of the Communist party Congress are quite as important as the All-Russian Assembly for settling policy. Separate in theory, again, but also manned largely by the same men, is the Third International whose object is to foment world revolution. The Bolsheviks maintain that it is an entirely distinct organisation, but as they avowedly sympathise with its aims they can hardly complain if foreign powers frequently connect the machinations of the one with the agents of the other.

In Europe, Bolshevik foreign policy has been limited to agreements like the British Trade Agreement of 1921, and the more recent treaty with Germany. In Asia, however, they have had a clearer field and they have exploited every anti-Western movement as a means of pressure on the Capitalist Powers. They honourably evacuated Russian troops from Persia, are on friendly terms with Turkey, and have supported the Cantonese and the Kuo-min-Chun in China. How far this is the work of the Bolshevik Government, and how far of the Third International, it is difficult to discover; and it is this very difficulty which is the chief obstacle to the renewal of normal relations between Russia and the rest of Europe.

The Bolshevik Government is essentially undemocratic. It seized power by force and retained it by terror, and to-day it rules its Communist supporters, a tiny minority of the whole population, by means of the army and its local Communist agents. "What's for their good, not what pleases them" has been their Cromwellian maxim of government—a paternalism tempered by terror. In their methods they show, as will have been noticed, a striking resemblance to the Fascists; their exploitation of a confused situation to hoist themselves into power, their systematic extinction of all opposition, their semi-deification of their leaders, and their decentralising tendencies are all strikingly similar; only in their ultimate aims—socialistic and international as against capitalist and nationalist—do they diverge. The future of Bolshevism is uncertain, but it seems probable that the Bolsheviks must either abandon their principles and develop Russia as an industrial State, or continue to govern, as in effect they are doing to-day, in defiance of their own principles. In either case, they must lose the enthusiasm which belief in an idea has given them, and tread the way of most oligarchies which begin as governments of the best for the many and end as governments of the worst for the few. But this day is yet far distant, and meanwhile we may watch with interest the moral possibilities of their system, which by making service to the State the mode and the amassing of wealth disreputable, divert into more fruitful channels the immense energies devoted in

the West to the race for fortunes. Should the system last, it might give a moral superiority to Soviet Russia which would outweigh the greater technical efficiency of the capitalist West. It is this which makes the present Russian situation so interesting and prompts us to agree with Dr. Keynes when he recently remarked: "Out of the the cruelty and stupidity of the old Russia nothing new could ever emerge, but in the cruelty and stupidity of the new Russia some spark of the ideal may lie hid".

THE CHINESE SITUATION.

II.—THE CRISIS.

IN the prevailing chaos the growing Chinese nationalist movement offers the only hope for the future of China. While the government at Peking recognized by the Powers has steadily grown weaker year by year, the Southern government at Canton founded by the Kuomintang with Sun Yat Sen as its leader and claiming to be the only constitutional government in China, has increasingly won popular support. Though the death of Sun was a great loss, the government at Canton continue to enjoy popularity and confidence of all self respecting and progressive Chinese. Kuomintang is the direct descendant of the Tungmenghui, the secret revolutionary society that brought about the revolution of 1911 and the downfall of the Manchu dynasty. From a secret society the organization became a political party under the present name in 1912. The principles on which the party is based are popularly known as the "Three Principles of the People." They were formulated by Sun Yat Sen and may be briefly described as (a) the Principle of the People's nationalism, (b) the Principle of People's sovereignty and (c) People's livelihood or Socialism. Sun himself pointed out their analogy to Lincoln's famous phrase 'Government of the people, by the people for the people.' Sun did not hope to establish an all-China government based on these principles all at once. He recognized three stages in the execution of this programme. "The first would be that of military dictatorship when peace and order would be established. The second would be the period of political tutelage, when the prime task would be to 'educate our masters.' The third and final period would be the constitutional period when a written constitution would be the fundamental law of the land (Dr. C. C. Wu in the *China Weekly Review* September 25, 1926) The Kuomintang is now victoriously marching northward and at present controls Kwantung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Hupeh. According to a recent Reuter cable, the headquarters of the Southern government is to be transferred from Canton to Hankow. It is expected that the Kuomintang army will soon capture Shanghai.

It is important to remember that the fight between North and South is not a fight between the northern and southern people. In Hunan and Hupeh the civil population welcomed the Southern

army as it marched past the roads. Foochow beflagged itself on the entry of the Cantonese army. The real struggle is between mercenary militarism and progressive forces in China. The rival 'constitutionality' of Peking and Canton government will soon lose all significance, for Canton will cast aside its disputed claim to 'lineal legal authority' and base its claim on political revolution.

To an outsider Chinese political developments appear very confusing, the unfamiliar names of generals and military chiefs adding to the confusion. The following conspectus of the Chinese situation in the middle of October last is taken from the *North China Daily News*, and may prove helpful in understanding the Chinese political developments.

- (1) Chang Tso Lin—the Mukden warlord is alleged to have the support of Japan, controls Manchuria and a corridor into Peking via Tientsin, is reported to have been requested to take up the government at Peking after the recent resignation of the Cabinet.
- (2) Chang Chung-Chang; Shantung and Chihli to Kalgan—is in alliance with Chang Tso Lin.
- (3) Sun Chuang-Fang; Kiangsu, Kiangsi, Fukien (since captured by the Cantonese), Chekiang and Anhui.
- (4) Chiang Kai-Shek; Kuantung, Kwangsi, Honan and Hupeh. Has since captured Fukien—at the head of the Cantonese Northern Expedition.
- (5) Wu Pei-fu; a small area in Honan which he holds by the consent of his subordinates; was a powerful military leader of the North sustained crushing defeat at the hands of the Southern army; alleged to have had the support of Great Britain; has ceased to be a force in China.
- (6) Feng Yu-hsiang; Kansu with Sinkiang hinterland; Mongolia which he holds by virtue of his association with Soviet Russia and a moving corridor into Shensi; usually known as the Christian General, was a subordinate of Wu Pei-fu whom he deserted and fought against him in alliance with the Kuomintang army; founder of the Kuominchun (People's Party) is marching southward to effect a junction with the Cantonese army.
- (7) Tang Chi-yao; Yunan, Kueichow.
- (8) Yen Shih-Shan; Shansi.
- (9) Szechuan is divided among inferior military controllers of small areas.

The Western Powers have never concealed their contempt and hostility towards the Southern Government at Canton, not the least reason being that it is Bolshevik and in active alliance with Soviet Russia. That the Canton government have Russian advisers and a section of radical young Chinese have Bolshevik sympathies are admitted by those who know the present day affairs in Canton. But whether for that reason the Southern government can be called Bolshevik is open to question. In the words of the 'Christian' General

Feng who enjoyed the confidence of the Western Powers until his recent visit to Russia and his alliance with the Canton Government, "The Bolshevik propaganda is blazed out to scare the Western public. I term that nonsense. When we appeal for justice and the Western Powers answer with gunboats, it is natural that my countrymen will welcome any kind of allies" (quoted in *Foreign Affairs* (New York), October 1925). It is the ruthless injustice of the imperialism of the Western Powers that helps Russia to convert Asiatics to her theory of government and State. These Powers isolated Russia in Europe, almost forcing her to accept the rôle of an Asiatic nation. If she consents to play the part assigned to her by Western diplomacy and becomes an Asiatic power, "this would mean more than a loss to Europe of some 150 million young, alert and gifted Europeans, and the subtraction of vast territories with incalculable wealth. Asia would, through the expulsion of Russia from Europe, become not only richer as Europe became poorer, but would have found in the Russian people leaders in her possible fight with the West (Michael Farberman in *Europa Year Book*, 1926). The latter part of the above statement finds support in the declaration of Leon Trotsky. "What is the use of sending to the East and to the West secret agents with Moscow gold in one pocket and poison and dynamite in another, when such agent cannot accomplish a thousandth part of the revolutionary educational work done by foreign capitalists and by the foreign press in China." (Quoted in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1925.)

In the meanwhile, the Cantonese army continues its victorious march northwards. Its remarkable discipline, complete abstention from plunder and scrupulous regard for the civil population have won it the devoted support of the people of the provinces it has brought under its control. The Kuomintang represents the best and the most progressive forces operating in the Chinese life today. It is due to its activities that the Chinese have slowly outgrown the superstition that the sanction for China's existence as a sovereign State is the assent of the Powers. The march of the Cantonese from Canton to Hankow has synchronized with a remarkable change of attitude towards the Southern government on the part of the Powers. Their erstwhile contemptuous hostility is swiftly changing into tolerance and before long will become recognition and support, if only the Southern Army maintains and extend its present position of power. Britain and France have already signified their willingness to recognize the 'Red' Southern government as the government of China, provided it agrees to a revision of treaties and not their abolition. The history of privileges has never been a history of voluntary abdication and China knows it too well to consent willingly to any agreement which dwarfs her territorial sovereignty.

A Chinese Republic with a truly democratic government and efficient system of administration

will greatly influence the outlook of the people and the policies of governments in all Asiatic countries, particularly in Southern Asia. The leaven of the new spirit is working in the East manifesting itself in the activities of the Kuomintang in China, in the freedom movement in India, in the independence movement in the Philippines, in the "Bolsheviki" risings in Java and in the reform movement in Korea and Indo China. If not frustrated by the superior might of the Powers all these movements will lead to the enfranchisement of countless millions to a richer and fuller life. The national consolidation of China will open a new chapter in Asia no less significant than the one which opened with the end of the Russo-Japanese war.

J. B. SEN.

OUR PARIS LETTER.

Paris, November 30.

THE GARIBALDI AFFAIR.

THE Garibaldi affair which still continues to attract attention has now assumed certain proportions. The real inward cause of its importance is the repeated Fascist provocations against the French, culminating in the recent frontier incidents and the conviction in France that Il Duce tends rather to overlook the fanaticism of his followers; and it must always be remembered that the French are peculiarly sensitive of their Nationalism and resent any slight to it with characteristic Latin jealousy. It is now understood that the issues to which these incidents gave rise have been settled, or are in the way of being settled to the satisfaction of both the governments, and Signor Mussolini has not disdained to bow before the storm to render suitable apology when he found it was inevitable. The ultimate fate of Garibaldi and Macia is still a matter of conjecture, but it is said that the French Government are not content with merely expelling them from France, but are bent on prosecuting them on the technical charge of being in unlawful possession of arms so as to deal an exemplary punishment in the case of the present offenders with a view to discourage similar activities on the part of foreigners on French soil which have become quite numerous. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the Government are in no need at present to complicate their relations with Italy when their hands are full of the burden of internal affairs. Besides, as some of the French papers such as *L'Action Francaise* have pointed out, the altercations between the two Latin peoples serve only to give an occasion for jest and even mischievous intrigue to certain powers.

FRANCO-ITALIAN RELATIONS.

As the day of the preliminary Geneva Arms Conference approaches, the possibility of interviews paving the way to it is foreseen. One of these is between Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand. A writer in the *Echo de Paris* asks: "Arbiter between France and Germany, will Sir Austen Chamberlain interpose in the same capacity between France and Italy? For several days it has been mentioned and repeated. The French and English Ministers will meet with Signor Mussolini not in Geneva, but in some southern village, perhaps Locarno or Stresa, which has not yet been designated. Towards Italy, as well as towards Germany, the British Foreign Office feels called upon to negotiate a deal between those who wish

to enlarge their possessions and those who wish to defend their possessions. We have already observed that the hour for the Franco-Italian negotiations has not yet arrived."

FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

Nor are the Franco-German relations much more reassuring. Alluding to the several anti-Republican manifestations that have recently occurred in Germany, the *Figaro* concludes: "From these diverse demonstrations by German Nationalists one practical conclusion may be drawn. It is evident that the Reich after attempting without great success a tactful diplomacy, endeavours, on the eve of the reunion of the Council of the League of Nations, to impress us with arrogance of its attitude. Its tactics are too apparent to hoodwink us. It will furnish us once more with information and recall to us that, regardless of goodwill, proved by the Thoiry conversations, we should take precautions and think of our security." And the tone of *L'Echo de Paris* is much the same: not long ago it had a leading article under the heading "The Criminal Evacuation" referring to the evacuation of the Rhineland. Further, M. Briand in an interview with Herr Von Hoeseh, German Ambassador in Paris, at the Quai d'Orsay is stated to have told him that he did not agree with the major portion of Herr Stresemann's recent speech and bluntly added that a different policy must be pursued by the German Republic if they were to reap the full benefits of the Locarno Agreement. The French Foreign Minister pointed out that he disagreed totally with Herr Stresemann on five points: (1) That German disarmament is complete and the mission of control should be withdrawn at once. (2) That the question of German secret societies was purely a domestic one. (3) That the question of German disarmament was related to general disarmament. (4) That Germany could not accept the plan of military investigation prepared by the League of Nations. (5) That the policy of Locarno presupposes the evacuation of the Rhineland. M. Briand on behalf of his government indicated that France held exactly opposite views on all these five points. Are the rejoicings of Locarno a little premature?

FRENCH FINANCE.

Since M. Poincaré took over the control of the French finance events have marched as to the man of the hour, and everything that happened has favoured his course. The miners' strike, or rather the coal situation in England, eliminated the most serious competitor to francs from the commercial field. And international speculators have marched hand in hand with the French Prime Minister who hit them so hard in the spring of 1924 when he ran the franc up from 123 to 70 to the pound in a few weeks at their expense. Now these very speculators are just as eager to force the franc upward as M. Poincaré appears to be, and it is reckoned that not only have they made good their former losses, but handsome profits besides; and they count on capturing a lot more to add to the thousand of million francs they have made. Settlement days are reported to have been very unpleasant on the Paris Bourse and there has been compulsory selling of shares at heavy loss to provide funds to meet commitments. It is said that the Boursiers of Paris are in a state of alarm for they see foreign speculators not merely making huge profits on the francs, but simultaneously getting their grip on big slices of French industry by picking up the shares at gift-prices. The forcing up of the franc from 240 to the pound—the level it had reached under M. Herriot

to 14)—it touched 121 a few days ago—is a spectacular feat, but the French manufacturers who have been caught in a very difficult situation by this astonishing revalorising are showing signs of playing for safety. The raw materials for the goods which they are at present exporting were bought several months ahead, which is to say, that they were paid for at the highest rates during the low period of the franc. So long as the franc remained low they could undersell foreign competitors abroad and at home through assistance from factors such as lower taxes and lower salaries in their turn rendered possible by lower prices of food-stuffs, etc. But in the past few months internal prices have soared up and heavy new taxes have been imposed. Thus the immense advantage which the French manufacturers enjoyed have been taken away from them when they have to face the problem of renewing their stocks of raw materials. Furthermore, they have to keep in view the continued possibility of the franc improving as the Prime Minister has created the impression that he will pursue the policy of revalorisation. The imports for October this year were a million tons less than in October of last year, which would seem to indicate that they would prefer to do less business in order to reduce their risks.

M. Poincaré's success has been singular in more than one respect. The budget which has been the touchstone of meteoric French Ministries has been dealt with by the veteran in his characteristic manner. He gave to the Chamber and the Senate a time-limit of fifty days for noting the whole measure and he got a parliamentary success in obtaining by a large majority the consent of the Chamber at the first sitting of its special session to examine no other business until the budget was completed. This exceptional postponement of the usual discussion on interpellations on the general policy as the first business of the session, though extremely resented by the radical party, has generally speaking met with the country's approval. The reason for this is that, tired of unending parliamentary dialectics, the people welcome the execution of a central policy. The desire for such central authority stands manifest today almost everywhere in Europe in the several dictatorships of continental countries, and I think the present Conservative government in England had its genesis in some such cause. In France itself there is a party represented by *L'action Française*, who stand for the restoration of monarchy on the ground that it would give a co-ordinating power to the policies of the state and whose protagonists are mostly young men of the middle and higher classes who could be seen on a Sunday selling the newspaper representing their cause to the crowds emerging from the Churches.

REACTION AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

The problem of Democracy is not the problem for India alone, but one which exercises the whole of the civilised world to-day, and not the least among them countries who have grown grey in parliamentary traditions. Here is what a recent writer says in *L'Echo de Paris*: "Absolute Democracy is no more able to solve the problem of authority than absolute monarchy was capable of resolving it in its own time. Unlimited, ceaseless, uncompensated, with all the consequences it bears in itself and cannot fail to produce, Democracy is a rough government which puts culture down fatally and paves the way for barbarism. It is a government, petty, unsafe, voracious, one that has no future in the spirit because it despises the spirit."

and cares for no tomorrow." Severe as this indictment may seem, it is the reflection of the finer spirits of a nation finding themselves in a political impasse, "The first thing" the same writer lays down "to do is to break with the mortal fancy of an order, a government, a state, gathered exclusively from numbers; and the second thing to do is to limit the omnipotence of parliament." Oddly enough, at about the same time this article was published the continental *Daily Mail* had a leader on the same subject where, with its usual vehemence, it pleaded for limiting the suffrage and depriving those who lived on the dole of some of their political rights. All of which affords ample material for our reflection.

REVIEWS.

KIPLING'S STORIES;

DEBITS AND CREDITS. By RUDYARD KIPLING.
(Macmillan & Co., London.) 1926. 7½ × ¾
pp. 416.

APROPOS of a certain poem of Kipling's, written after his critical illness in 1899, Mr. Stead animadverted in *The Review of Reviews* in these terms: "The *sequelae* of disease are sometimes worse than the malady itself. Take for instance the sad case of Rudyard Kipling. Ever since his serious illness in New York he has hardly written a line that is worth reading. The doctors saved his life, but the disease carried off his genius." But since then the vitality of his genius has been vindicated and the prophecy belied often,—so refreshingly. Nor are any dreaded *sequelae* of last year's illness apparent in his latest book of poems and tales published under the modest title of "Debits and Credits"—modest because, if the balance were to be struck, there would only be credits and no debit in the author's literary accounts. Not that one does not find in this book plenty of the mere ashes of genius, but that they conceal much of his wonted fires. Containing as it does tales, fantasies, fables, episodes, short stories, extravaganzas, and poems that are pitched in different keys from the Old Kiplingian to the New serious-ethical, the book can hold its own for sheer versatility with any other of Kipling's youth. His mind is now no longer in India with Anglo-Indian civilians, clerks, soldiers, and policemen, but with soldiers and sailors returned from or engaged in the late War, and with other characters and their fates at home. And this vintage of the author's green old age has at its best a mellow bouquet of its own that we do not expect from the heady, full-bodied wine of adolescence.

Two stories in the book, *The Wish House* and *The Eye of Allah* are the work of a master whose craftsmanship and truth of portraiture, marvellous as is the one and inspired as is the other, are but ancillary to imaginative vision. In *The Wish House* two old Sussex dames, Mrs. Ashcroft and Mrs. Fettle, each with a dubious past, reminiscing over old times garrulously, for the embers of memory regarding a tragic love affair in the life of them, Mrs. Ashcroft. She (Mrs. A.) had loved Harry with a love strong as death, and he had deserted her. She becomes a victim to headache, till a little girl devoted to her, who had learnt from Gypsies the mystic art of *wishing* oneself into another's troubles, and so freeing him or her from them, comes to Mrs. Ashcroft, *wishes* away her headache and takes it to herself. A few days pass and Mrs. Ashcroft hears that Harry had fallen ill of a septic

wound on his leg; her heart burns in tender love to nurse him, but he would not allow. Well she thinks herself of the Empty House, by ringing the bell on the door of which and by "wishing her wish through the slit of the letter-box" the little girl had transferred the malady to herself like a garment. The sequel: Mrs. A's lover becomes whole and she develops the lifelong agony of cancer—the wages of self-forgetting love! And now, on the edge of her grave, in calm matter-of-fact tone, she was recounting the wealth of her love and its unplumbed tragedy. The quiet close throbs with a most moving pathos. Mrs. Ashcroft asks her old, purblind friend (Mrs. Fettle.)

"But the pain do count, don't ey think Liz? The pain do count to keep 'Arry—where I want' im. Say it can't be wasted, like.

Mrs. F: "I'm sure of it sure of it, dearie. You'll ave your reward.

The nurse entering just then to dress the wound. Mrs. A desires her friend in a feeble whisper to look at it.

"Mrs. Fettle looked and shivered. Then she leaned over, and kissed Mrs. Ashcroft once on the waxy yellow forehead and again on the faded grey eyes."

The dialogue at the beginning of the story, with its aimless inconsequentialness, is exactly a page torn from life, and does not in the least look like being directed by a deft hand from behind with a view to develop the story; Kipling has the cunning to forge the very handwriting of Nature and of 'lying like truth.' As we wind along in the prattle of the two crones, we find utterances that light up, as by a flash, whole spaces of life. The language and colour of the story are drab, but its stuff is of iridescent lustre. In the heart of a humdrum creature, of the earth earthy, like Mrs. Ashcroft, we see love awakening the sleeping Angel, and the soiled clothes hardly veil its burning wings. In the Epilogue-poem—"Rahere"—that flanks the story, the author appears as chorus and bids the reader to penetrate through the strange cozenage and mask of things and value the spiritual Radium that lies hidden in the heart of self-surrendering love. Gilbert, the Norman King's physician, remarks to the Jester, Rahere, when they come across a woman, whole and clean, tending a leper, faceless, fingerless, obscene—mere Corruption swaddled man-wise:

"Tis a motion of the Spirit that revealeth God to man
In the shape of Love exceeding, which regard is not taint or fall
Since in perfect Love, saith Scripture, can be no excess at all".

The *Eye of Allah* takes us to thirteenth century England, wrapping us in the atmosphere of the middle Ages as we read it. With a weird power, Kipling clothes the revelations of the microscope (as it was first introduced into England) with the circumstances of Mediaeval superstitions, and an artist is made to embellish the borders of an illuminated M.S. of St. Luke with unimagined, bizarre shapes of devils—being none else than animalcules elongated, globular and annular, seen in a drop of water through the microscope, the "Eye of Allah"! The fearful, tremulous anticipations of Science in the Middle Ages, that sought obscure corners and aborted under the stifling air of the Church, the guilty conscience with which scientific minds quenched the glimmerings of light within them, the martyr's courage that those ages demanded from seekers after positive knowledge like Roger Bacon, are vividly carved as it were on one-inch ivory by a wizard hand, a casual flourish of which is enough to conjure back the Spirits of a long-buried Past!

It is while reading such fantasies and stories that one willingly waives one's quarrel with Dixon Scott and approves his well-known assessment of Kipling's virtues, extravagant as it might seem if it were to hold good for all his Anglo-Indian stories. "They find beauty in his work, they find magic and strangeness, they find hints of inscrutable forces and mysterious powers, and constant reminders of something unimaginable beyond; they experience that rich commotion of the blood we call romance, and are thrilled and renewed by it much as others are supposed to be thrilled and renewed by past poetry. . . ."

Among other stories that bring up the rear in various degrees of excellence we may mention *The Bull that Thought*, the story of a human-brained, veritable Napoleon or Foch among bulls (!) told with the gusto, sympathy and humour that mark the master-hand at animal stories that Kipling has been; *On the Gate*, a droll skit, rich with a "veined humanity," that either the author of *The Penguin Island* or of the *Dialogues of the Dead* might have written in their less ironic and more genial moments; *Propagation of Knowledge*, the far better of the two Stalky & Co. stories, contains all the racy, acid humour that Kipling called into play when holding up to ridicule that prototype of all pompous and narrow pedagogues—King, of the Army Class—whom the less a professor or teacher resembles the better for him. In the other stories Kipling's remarkable command of telegraphese dialect and slang in dialogues runs to waste, for they do not lead to anything significant—but merely ply up and down like a saw that cuts no wood. Readers whose nice palates have been whetted by the exquisite artistry and economy of O. Henry, Stevenson, Hawthorne, Hardy or Bret Harte, may find some of the stories not mentioned here, if not exactly dull, at any rate perilously near it.

Each of these prose sketches is precluded by a poem doing the office of a motto, and some are also escorted at the close by another standing for a *l'envoi*. We have all known two Kiplings: an inferior one—"the banjo bard of the Empire"—the jingo poet who celebrated the untutored material strength of the Empire, often in doggerel and barrack-room slang, and the other, the nobler singer of *The Recessional* and the inspiring lines called "If". If in the poems in this volume Kipling has not risen to the level of a *vates*, if he does not rise to the height of

"A poet who was sent
For a bad world's punishment,
By compelling it to see
Golden glimpses of To Be
By compelling it to hear
Songs that prove the angels near,"

neither has he sunk back into his inferior phase—his sloughed-off self, let us hope. There is many a line among them that compels re-reading. On the whole, a good book—though, coming from the old Kipling, it should have been less unequal.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF
THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. By
CHARLES E. MARTIN. (Oxford University-
Press, New York.) 1926. 9×5½ pp. 440.

BOOKS on the American Constitution are a legion. Yet the special interest of Professor Charles Martin's work, is that it is a study of the forma-

tion and development of the American Constitutional system and of the ideals upon which it is based with *illustrative materials*. Professor Martin does not follow the traditional method of treating the subject; he tells the story of the formation and development of the constitution by a reference to the important constitutional documents, important cases, and the lives of leading men.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part the author deals with the formation of the American Colonial System from the time of English and colonial origins to its framing and adoption. Beginning with the legal and political ideas of the British system finding a place in the Colonial system, the author gives a sketch of the constitutional organisation of a Royal or Provincial colony like Virginia, a proprietary colony like Pennsylvania, and a corporate colony as Massachusetts. Proceeding the author enumerates the classes of colonial society based upon economic status and points out their relation to political power. The general features of British constitutional control in the colonies like veto, appeals, control of the monetary system by the British Parliament, control by the Governor over colonial legislatures, appointment of judicial officers and regulation of trade—are next dealt with. Coming to the period of the Revolution, the author points out how leading Americans like Otis, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Paine, and Alexander Hamilton deserted their doctrines based upon constitutional documents and seized upon the theory of natural rights. As the author says in p. 18, "In framing a formal justification of the Revolution, however, the colonists adverted to the philosophy of actual rights"

The Revolution began and revolutionary institutions were set up to carry on the government. The government under the Articles of Confederation was tried and found wanting, and hence statesmen of the Revolutionary period urged a reorganisation of the government. The call for a convention was made. The Annapolis convention met in 1786, but only five states responding to the invitation, Alexander Hamilton moved a resolution recommending the Congress to ask the States to send delegates to Philadelphia for the purpose of considering the Articles and suggesting changes to strengthen the Union. Chapters VIII to XVIII deal with the work of the Philadelphia Convention. In those chapters the author briefly, yet clearly, places before us the views of leading statesmen on the powers and status of the different organs of the constitution, points out their merits and defects, and finally tells us how the federal government was adopted.

Part II of the Book is devoted to the evolution of the American Constitution from the time of its first trial to the present day. If this part of the book proves anything, it is that the American constitution is not merely a "government of laws," it is also a "government by men." The decisions of Chief Justices Marshall and Taney are given, and the author very ably points out the difference between their interpretation of the Constitution and its rights. To quote the author (p. 125,) "Taney began his construction of the constitution freely for the state and narrowly for the individual, while Marshall regarded the end of Government and the purpose of the Constitution as protecting individual and private rights. Taney regarded the happiness and prosperity of the people and of the community as paramount." The author traces in Chapter XXIV how the spirit of *nullification* developed into the spirit of *secession*. To quote his

own words, (p. 130). "The spirit of *nullification* which is the retention of membership in the Federal Union, but refusing to be bound by certain of its laws, continued until it developed into a spirit of *Secesion*, which means withdrawal from the Union as a Sovereign in the just exercise of its rights, through the repeal of the act of ratification." Then came in Civil War and the strengthening of the Federal Union. The author then proceeds to narrate the history and importance of the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Amendments. Very rightly he discusses on p. 154 the *due process* clause, a clause of greatest interest. As the 14th Amendment includes important provisions relating to citizenship, the author before dealing with the 15th Amendment devotes a chapter to citizenship. It is one of the most interesting chapters of the book dealing as it does with the definition and sources of citizenship, naturalisation, the doctrine of double allegiance, expatriation and the citizenship of women.

Speaking about the 18th Amendment, Professor Mistri says that prohibition was not 'forced upon the people', for three-fourths of the States were already dry by popular vote, and 46 out of 48 states ratified the 18th Amendment. Regarding the future of prohibition the learned author seems to be very optimistic. He quotes Professor Charles A. Beard in support of his optimism thus (p. 191): "But notwithstanding all the scandals and excitement connected with 'rum-running' and 'boot-legging' there are no signs of a return to the old days of the wide-open saloon". This optimism of the Professor is, we should think, not warranted by facts. Witness for instance the growing predominance of the 'wets' in the recent elections. Part II of the book closes with a chapter on the recent and contemporary constitutional controversies like the proposed child labour amendment, Congressional claims to supremacy, recall of judges and of judicial decisions and suggested changes in the amending process.

Professor Martin seems to be enamoured of the Presidential system. Under the Captain "shall we change our form of government" (p. 224 seq), he points out the advantages of the Presidential system, answers the arguments of writers such as Dr. William Macdonald and Mr. Chester H. Rowell who condemn the irresponsibility of the American Executive and speak sarcastically of "Elections by Calendar". He concludes thus (p. 231), "The functioning of the American Government during War under its ordinary power is unparalleled in history. What was accomplished in parliamentary governments by deep rooted changes was done here through ordinary legislation."

Part III of the book begins with a fairly exhaustive chapter on "Fundamental Legal Rights." The author truly lays down the real character of the American Constitution when he says thus (p. 269). "The fundamental principles of the Constitution include, among others, the federal idea, the doctrine of popular sovereignty, a written constitution, the separation of powers, the doctrine of judicial supremacy and the presidential government. These ideas have to some extent been modified by constitutional interpretation and by political practice. Little effort has been made to introduce fundamental alterations in them and in the main they have been strengthened by the flow of time." After remarking on the nature of the American Constitution, the author proceeds to discuss the principles and ideals of the American constitutional government *seriatim*,

The last chapter of the book entitled "American International Ideals" is devoted to proving that "the United States has often led in the promulgation and application of humane and liberal measures and principles which have grown out of our foreign relations and out of our application of international law." The principles for which America stands in foreign affairs—principles which are ably dealt with in Chapter XXXIX—"embrace the principles of non-intervention, of neutrality, of the *de facto* recognition of States, of the legal equality of states, of Pan-Americanism, of international arbitration, of the 'open door', of world-peace and of democracy in foreign relations." To a student of foreign affairs the last chapter must be specially interesting.

The book, as the title indicates, is only an introduction to the study of the American Constitution. If anyone wishes to find in the book the actual working of the American government, its good and bad features, the party organisation, the influence of Tammany Hall and 'Bosses', he would be sadly disappointed. The author's object is only to present the student of the American Constitution with an historical background. It is therefore in the fitness of things that two-thirds of the book should be devoted to the formation and evolution of the Constitutional system and the rest to the spirit of the Constitution.

A book such as the one under review is therefore a welcome addition to the many books on the American Constitution. The text of the Articles of the Constitution and the 19 Amendments is given, which may be found useful by students of Constitutional law. An exhaustive list of books where information of a more special kind can be sought is given at the end of each chapter and at the end of the book. There is a very useful appendix containing valuable Constitutional documents and list of cases. The subject has been presented under suitable headings for the convenience of the student and reader.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.) 1926. 9 × 5½. pp. 428. Rs. 8.

THESE "snapshots of world movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education," as Prof. Sarkar aptly describes this latest contribution to his long array of penmanship, are a real aid to the proper understanding of post-war European conditions on the part of those who are not in the fortunate circumstance of acquiring first-hand information on abstruse problems that usually confront governments and statesmen in the process of reconstruction after a devastating war. The book is a collection of writings of the author published in *Commercial News*, Berlin, which he was editing for some time, supplemented by others contributed to various Indian periodicals. Prof. Sarkar had been conducting, as it were, a continental tour since 1920 for four years, presumably as an inquisitive traveller, noting down in his diary his impressions of agricultural, commercial and manufacturing activities of France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Turkey etc. through which he passed. "The object of these sections," Prof. Sarkar tells us, "is to furnish an objective basis of interpretation and attempt an estimate of India's present place in the scale of materialism," and from the mass of useful and interesting statistics and account embodied in four

hundred and odd finely printed pages, we would say he has succeeded in a great measure in his attempt. The book is divided into forty-six sections which are not arranged on any principle, and appear like stray pages in the diaries of a tourist. Some methodical arrangement according to subjects or countries would have given the book a more readable and attractive form.

To the Indian reader accounts of agriculture, banking and currency, and fiscal policies of European governments have an educative value, much as they differ from the Indian in various ways. In Europe the national government plays an important rôle directly and indirectly in fully equipping its citizens to stimulate the growth of scientific training in all these branches. Besides a number of regular agricultural institutions for boys, women's school at *Coet logon*, Rhennes, in France, where women teachers are trained at state expense, will strike us as certainly unique. Germany has no less than thirteen agricultural universities maintained by the state. If breaking of large plots into small holdings is the chief cause of agricultural prosperity in Denmark, Germany and Belgium, in Japan the Government have to undertake the reverse process, as this principle is extended too far. Today our industrial backwardness is proverbial and our knowledge of scientific banking in its infancy. From this view-point we invite special attention of the reader to chapters XI and XV which are descriptive of the achievements of the German government and its people in the social, economic and cultural life of their nation. "The health, strength and comfort of every single individual in the German nation is being consciously, although silently, looked after by automatic processes of legislation." Chapter XXIII has significance from the Indian view-point, as in Italy under Mussolini Indians will find a type of government that brings about a change from mediævalism to modernism in the economic life of the people in a very short time. An essentially agricultural land like Italy, its transition to an industrial state was only possible on account of Mussolini's policy and his hypnotic influence with the people.

During the last few years no two words in the economic life of this country have been more in vogue than the terms deflation and exchange. Indians are fighting tooth and nail against the deflationary policy of the government, which has the effect of rigging up the exchange from its natural course. In Europe deflation in currency is practised to prevent depreciation from the face value of the monetary standard, but in India we have got the unusual phenomenon of resorting to it to effect appreciation from the pre-war parity. At such a juncture when the atmosphere is surcharged with currency controversies, chapter XVIII would enlighten the reader on the methods of finance ministers in Europe and the advantages of depreciated currency in successfully withstanding foreign competition.

We mention these subjects because of the peculiar importance attached to them when the Agricultural Commission and currency problems are the principal topics of absorbing interest at the present moment. Although we are in general agreement with the views of the writer expressed in the comparative treatment of the subjects dealt with, we feel that at times his views are exaggerated and conclusions unduly pessimistic. On page 343 the author says industrial insurance is unknown in India. The Workmen's Compensation Act is a step in that direction. On page 347 we find the following:—The new fiscal policy of

discriminating protection "indicates in the most concrete manner the attempt of Great Britain to industrialise India as an equipment for the next war. In the second place it is intended to serve as a distinct invitation to British capitalists to come to India and exploit the Indian resources in men and raw material." We think such statements are unnecessarily alarming.

S. Y. PONSHE.

JUVENILE LITERATURE.

BAL VARTAVALI. By HANSA MEHTA. (Kumar Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.) 1926. pp. 72. Rs. 1-8. FIVE years back there were hardly a dozen Gujarati books which children could read by themselves and understand, not to say of enjoying. Even when stories were written for children the idea was to stuff their brains with "useful precepts such as obedience to parents and preceptors, philanthropy, etc., by specially separating a five-lined moral which the children were required to swallow willy-nilly. The child's own state of mind was absolutely ignored, its individuality suppressed.

But with the new idea on education, emancipating the child from the tyranny of the elder, there has grown up a healthy crop of refreshing literature for the child. Some workers of the Gujarati Vidya-pith and others from the Bhavnagar Dakshinamurti have devoted themselves to this cause, with the result that genuine literature is coming up, based upon a real study of the child mind.

The present book has its origin in such an enlightened atmosphere. Two years back a meeting convened under the auspices of the Bhagini Samaj resolved to publish certain books for the young people. The authoress, already well known for her travels and enlightenment, took up this useful cause, and, after a good deal of work of thoughtful selection and representation, has come forward with this elegant volume, a collection of a dozen stories for children. The stories are popular in matter, but in their new form they breathe a new life. Now that the "grandmother institution" has well-nigh disappeared, such stories require to be saved from oblivion and brought to the permanency of print.

The stories impress the child both in their subject matter as well as treatment. Moreover the book is couched in language with a rhythmic structure of sentences, which makes it all the more fascinating and readable, with an emphatic appeal to the ear of the child. No attempt has been made to give morals at the bottom, wisely and on principle.

Mention must be made of the high quality of the printing and get up of the book. The stories are printed in fine large type especially meant for the eye of the young readers. But what makes the present collection so very prepossessing is the excellent illustrations done by the well-known artist Mr. Raval, who is an enthusiast in this line and who with great effort conducts a first rate magazine for the young.

J. M. BHATT.

SHORT NOTICE.

INDO-ARYAN POLITY. By PRAFULLA CHANDRA BASU. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 146. 7s. 6d.

THE book under review gives an interesting and readable account of the life of the Indian Aryan

people in all its aspects—social, economical and political—as depicted in the Rig Veda.

After a brief but lucid introduction, the book is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter deals with the family life of the Aryan people; the second with their conception of morality; the third with their castes and classes; the fourth with their village community; the fifth with their polity; the sixth with their agriculture, the seventh with their arts and crafts; the eighth with their units of measurements and exchange; the ninth with their trade and commerce and the tenth with their economic concepts. In each chapter, the author studies the various concepts that are relevant to the purpose. For instance, in the chapter which treats of the family, he takes into consideration various conceptions like *Gotra*, *Jnati* (kinship), *Dampati* (husband and wife), *Matri* (mother) and *Pitri* (father), &c., and his conclusions are based on a close analysis of the text.

The task of giving a constructive account of the social and political life of the early Aryans is admittedly beset with difficulty. Most of our information is based on the inferences drawn from the passages of the text. By the occurrence of the term *rajan* in the text, we infer that there was kingship in those days. By the frequent use of the term *samiti*, we conclude that the assembly was a typical Aryan institution. It should, however, be remembered that the meaning of these terms has undergone considerable changes during the course of time. Before we arrive at a definite conclusion on the occurrence of such expressions, we have to understand what meaning exactly they conveyed to the Vedic poet who used them. In determining the meaning of a passage one has to take account of the spirit and the context of the environment. Further various passages are interpreted differently by different scholars. An interesting example of this is *samudra*, which is variously interpreted as meaning sky, the mouth of the Indus river, and so on. In such cases one has to weigh all the interpretations and show how his own is the most relevant. This part of the work is well done by the author and his discussions are illuminating. Besides, now and then he compares and contrasts the Aryan with the Greek, Roman and the Teutonic institutions, which gives an additional value to the work.

H. S. R.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE RACE PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA. By W. A. COTTON. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1926. 7 x 4½. pp. 144. 2s. 6d.
- THE CONQUEST OF PHILIPPINES BY UNITED STATES 1898-1925. By M. STOREY AND M. P. LICHAUCO. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.) 1926. 8½ x 5½. pp. 274.
- CHINA TODAY. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1926. 7 x 4½. pp. 151. 2s. 6d.
- WORKING DAYS. By MARGARET A. POLLOCK. (Jonathan Cape, Ltd.,) 1926. 8 x 5. pp. 276. 6s.
- WEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE BENGAL DELTA. By S. G. PANANDIKAR. (Calcutta University.) 1926. 9½ x 6½. pp. 364.
- BILINGUALISM. By MICHAEL WEST. (Bureau of Education, India—Occasional Reports, No. 13.) 1926. 10 x 6½. pp. 354. Rs. 2-4-0.

- LIFE OF BARRISTER SAVARKAR. By CHITRA GUPTA. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras) 1926. 8½ x 5½. pp. 144. Rs. 1-8.
- SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926. (H. M. S. Office, London.) 1926. 9½ x 6. pp. 61. 1s.
- REPORT ON THE VISIT TO WEST AFRICA, 1926. By W. G. A. ORMSBY GORE. (H. M. S. Office, London.) 1926. 9½ x 6. pp. 188. 3s. 6d.
- A HANDBOOK TO THE DRINK PROBLEM. By W. REASON. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 7 x 4½. pp. 110. 1s. 6d.
- GOVERNMENTS AND WAR. By F. MAURIOE. (William Heinemann, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8½ x 5½. pp. 171. 8s. 6d.
- ECONOMIC ANNALS OF BENGAL. By J. C. SINHA. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 274. 12s. 6d.
- EARLY EUROPEAN BANKING IN INDIA. By H. SINHA. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 274. 12s. 6d.
- THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. By W. B. MUNROE. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 1926. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 782. 18s.
- SOCIAL INSURANCE. (Faber & Gwyer, Ltd., London.) 1926. 9½ x 6. pp. 248. 5s.
- SIR MORTIMER DURAND. By SIR PERCY SYKES. (Cassell & Co., London.) 1926. 9½ x 6½. pp. 356. 25s.
- CHARLES BULLER & RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. By E. M. WAONG. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. 352. 15s.
- THE VANISHED EMPIRE. By PUTNAM WEALE. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. 379. 15s.

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