

Registered B-201

The

# Servant of India

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OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XVII, No. 17 }

POONA—THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1934.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 15 s.

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## Topics of the Week.

### India's Financial Position.

SOME of the opposition in England to the proposed federation is based on what is represented to be its prohibitive cost. This view has secured some credence by reason of the fact that those who propagate it have at one time held responsible positions in this country. Some of these place the cost of federation at Rs. 30 crores and facilely jump to the conclusion that since the money is difficult to find, the project of federation had better be given up. From the review of the country's financial position, however, conveyed to the Assembly last week by Sir George Schuster, there would appear to be no ground for this sort of pessimism. His remarks were calculated to assure all concerned that the condition about India's budgetary position being secure before federation could function had been satisfactorily fulfilled. The proposed measure of financial assistance to Bengal, however objectionable otherwise, is, it must be recognised, in line with the policy which seems to have found general acceptance in the constitutional discussions of the last three years. In fact the White Paper has provided for the transfer of half of the proceeds of the export duty on jute to that province. Pending passage by Parliament of the Constitution Act, the proposed subvention is no doubt of a tentative character designed to enable that province to tide over its immediate financial difficulties disclosed by a succession of deficit budgets. If the present bureaucratic Government had not tackled this problem, it would have doubtless been one of the first things to be attended to by the Finance Minister under the new regime. In this view of the matter the provision of a subvention to Bengal must be looked upon as an attempt to lighten the responsibilities of the Federal Government.

The proposed excise duty on matches and sugar was, Sir George Schuster claimed, also designed with the same end in view. With the increased production of these commodities in the country, their imports were dwindling with a consequent reduction in the customs revenue. In the case of sugar, e. g., the proceeds of the duty had gone down from Rs. 10 crores in 1930-31 to an estimated revenue of a little over Rs. 2 crores next year. These excise duties are expected to build up sources of revenue for use by the Federal Government; and have been imposed in advance of the inauguration of federation so that by the time it is in working order, the revenue from them should be a considerable item on the receipts side.

According to the Finance Member, there are also some other sources which can be tapped without much hardship to the taxpayer. In this category he placed the tax on tobacco consumption which seems to obtain in most countries. Its imposition even on a moderate scale is expected to swell the public coffers to no negligible extent.

### The Kashmir Constitution.

THE new constitutional scheme for Kashmir has been made public. It is the direct result of the public disorders which occurred in the State about two years ago; but it appears, from press summaries of it, to have been so illiberally conceived as hardly to serve in allaying political discontent in the State to any material extent. For one thing, the constitution of the proposed legislature is so devised as to place the popular element in a perpetual minority. The scheme provides for an elective element of 33 in a house, the total membership of which has been fixed at 75. And even such a Council is not given the right of electing its own president who will be a nominee of the Maharaja! For another, the reservations from its purview constitute such a long list that the residue provides but a narrow field for the exercise of such powers as are proposed to be conferred on the legislature.

The procedure laid down for enactment of legislation too appears to be almost without precedent even in the history of Indian States. Under it, it is not necessary for every legislative enactment to be valid to secure the approval of the legislature; it is enough if it is passed by the Council of Ministers presided over by the Prime Minister, in which case on receiving the assent of Maharaja it straightaway becomes the law of the State. With this ready means of securing legislation available to the executive, it would be more than human if it showed excessive readiness to attempt to convince the Assembly of its necessity. As if this procedure did not ensure sufficient expedition in the enactment of legislative measures, the executive is also given the power of issuing ordinances enforceable, as in British India, for six months. It will really be a wonder

if the people of Kashmir take kindly to such a reactionary and undemocratic constitution. In any case, it can hardly be expected to be a lasting solution of the political problem in that State.

#### Agricultural Co-operation in the Punjab.

THE poverty of the Indian peasant is officially ascribed in a preponderatingly large measure to his improvidence in incurring disproportionately heavy expenses in connection with religious ceremonies and marriage and other festivities. Whatever justification there may have been for this view in the past, there seems to be very little for it at the present day. True, the evil habit of spendthriftness cannot yet be said to be absolutely non-existent; but it seems to be definitely on the decline. The statement receives corroboration from the latest report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, who gives an analysis of the purposes for which loans taken by agriculturists from co-operative societies were applied. From this it appears that over 50 per cent. of them were devoted to the liquidation of old debts, the purchase of cattle or the payment of land revenue. Trade, land purchase and building are stated to be the three objects next in importance, while ceremonies and festivities occupy a still lower place. It is also noteworthy that the amount of loans on this account was smaller in 1932-33 than in the previous year and considerably below the percentage of the last five years. This is not to justify or even excuse what is nothing short of extravagance on the part of the ryot; but some consolation can doubtless be derived from the fact that the tendency to indulge in such unproductive and wasteful expense shows a downward tendency. It is regrettable that land improvement is yet far from coming into its own, the proportion of expenditure on that head being still "very small."

It is gratifying to note that the consolidation of holdings on a co-operative basis is reported to be proving a success in the Punjab. In spite of the fact that the supervising staff had to be reduced, thanks to the Government's policy of retrenchment, the area consolidated was greater than during the previous year. Among the benefits resulting from consolidation may be mentioned an increased area available for cultivation, improvement in the standard of cultivation and greater attention to land improvement. In order better to understand the scope and effect of such activities, reference may be made to an instance given in the report. In this case 1,099 scattered blocks of land covering 4,000 acres were reduced to 58, one of the owners who previously owned 835 acres scattered in 194 blocks over 10 villages having now a single block in one village. The fact that voluntary contributions to cover the cost of consolidation are forthcoming seems to testify to the public appreciation of the benefits of consolidation. Legislation intended to promote consolidation is stated to be under consideration by the Government. It may be hoped that this will in due course find its way to the statute book, conferring on the Punjab Government the distinction of being the pioneer in this unexplored field.

#### Temple-Entry in Travancore.

IN a recent issue we congratulated the Travancore Government on the progressive nature of their action on the recommendations of their Temple-Entry Committee in regard to the social uplift of the untouchables and the banishment of untouchability from the State. The recommendations of the Committee on the principal question of the admission of the Harijans to Savarna temples were then not

generally known. With the publication of the Committee's report during the last few days this is now possible and we have no doubt that progressive opinion will be united in regarding the Committee's proposals on that subject as being needlessly halting and unduly cautious. If, as it itself states in its report, it found a large volume of Savarna Hindu opinion in favour of the Avarnas being allowed to worship in Hindu temples, it is difficult to see why it failed to make a recommendation to that effect straightaway. That would have been the proper thing for it to do in the light of evidence led before it. Far from doing that, it only pleads for "greater facilities" to Avarnas for worshipping in caste-Hindu temples. And even the provision of such facilities is to be arranged in such a manner that "the faith of the orthodox Hindus in temples and in the sanctity of the deity installed in them should not be weakened." The Committee thus sets the Travancore Government a problem even more difficult of solution than that of squaring a circle.

The timidity underlying the proposal would have been intelligible if the Committee had been afraid that the admission of the untouchables to temples would be attended by serious breaches of the public peace or lead to other deplorable consequences. It does no doubt apprehend some breaches of the peace following the assertion by the depressed classes of such a right, in case it should be conferred on them; but these, in its opinion, could be prevented by proper precautionary measures. It also mentions other difficulties only to dispose of them in a similar fashion. It is thus clear that it was not the fear of any insuperable difficulties that prevented it from facing boldly the problem referred to it but perhaps its own conservatism.

It remains to be seen how the Travancore Government deals with this part of the Committee's report. Anyhow we hope its treatment of it will be entirely in consonance with its earlier action which has justly earned for it the encomiums of enlightened opinion. When public opinion has so decisively expressed itself in favour of temple entry for Harijans, there is no need for it to stick to the Committee's recommendation against any departure from established practice being initiated by the Government except on the advice of a conference of Hindu pandits. In such cases all that the sovereign has to guard against is that any action that he might take is not opposed to the dictates of public opinion. Any risk of that sort of defiance of public opinion seems to have been effectively removed by the general public sympathy which has unmistakably manifested itself on the question of the admission of Antyajans to temples.

#### Late Sir Sankaran Nair.

THE death of Sir Sankaran Nair on Tuesday last removes a valuable link with the past. He belonged to the older generation of Congressmen whom all talk of direct action as a political weapon left entirely cold and whose faith in constitutional agitation and co-operation with the Government remained unshaken and unshakeable to the end. It may not be known to the present generation that Sir Sankaran at one time stood very high in the Congress hierarchy, a fact evidenced by his being called upon to guide its deliberations in 1898. Soon after he was elevated to the bench of the Madras High Court and made a name for himself as a distinguished jurist. In 1915 he was appointed to succeed Sir Ali Imam as the Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but had to resign his exalted office owing to his differences with his colleagues about the neces-

sity of the continuance of the martial law regime in the Punjab in 1919. Later he served for some time on the India Council; and for years past he had been a member of the Council of State. In this connection it may be recalled that this ex-President of the Congress was fated to set himself in opposition to public opinion by accepting the chairmanship of the Central Committee which co-operated with the Simon Commission, while the whole country had proclaimed its boycott. Such an eccentricity on his part can be accounted for only by his unmitigated abhorrence of anything which savoured of non-co-operation or direct action. But even more than a politician, Sir Sankaran was a great social reformer and did much to popularise the cause of social reform, which suffers a heavy blow by his death.

#### "The Political Future of India."

MR. JAMES JOHNSTON, I. C. S. (Retired), is a Churchillian diehard who is opposed to the White Paper proposals for the reform of the Government of India. In order to stave off the danger he has, in his pamphlet entitled "The Political Future of India", attempted to make the flesh creep by conjuring up blood-curdling consequences that would ensue if the White Paper proposals were carried into effect. The least of them is the failure of the experiment, and their ending in chaos—"result anticipated by almost all who know the real India." Mr. Johnston makes elaborate references to certain barbaric, cruel and inhuman customs that once prevailed in India, such as suttee, infanticide, human sacrifice, criminal punishments like mutilations, trampling under elephants, etc. and then states that "these are some of the practices of the good old days which we are trying to restore." He does not say that these may be the consequences, but asserts that they are the very purpose of the White Paper! Not much light can be expected from such perversity.

Mr. Johnston's claim to have studied the White Paper with care and diligence is not borne out by his

assertion that "from the moment the proposals contained in the White Paper become law, the Indian delegates and representatives will be free to alter their constitution." The fact is just the reverse, except in one comparatively small particular.

His opposition to the federal aspect of the White Paper is much better founded. The Princes, who are autocrats, are given enormous weightage in the federal chambers; they will be represented by their nominees and not by the elected representatives of their subjects; the nominees will act according to the orders they receive from their masters rather than on their own independent judgment; the proposed constitution vests controlling power in the Princes; while the federal government may not interfere in the politics of the States, the Princes will handle, perhaps control, the affairs of British India; the paramountcy of the British will be weakened inasmuch as the British Government will depend on the Princes to get their pet proposals through the federal chambers; the Princes would consider it beneath their dignity to submit their disputes to the federal court; and the party who loses the case will refuse to submit to the decision of the Court and it will be necessary for the British Government to use the British army to enforce it. He goes further and pictures a situation when an Indian Prince, dissatisfied with the decision of the Federal Court and secure against British intervention, will defy the Court even as Japan defied the findings of the Lytton Commission and the League of Nations and annex British Indian provinces! Mr. Johnston forgets that the Indian Army is not to be made over to the Federal Government but retained in the hands of the Viceroy and that the power of paramountcy has not been weakened under the White Paper.

In any event, whatever be the relevance of some of the criticisms of Mr. Johnston, it is obvious that his is no balanced and dispassionate judgment. He had made up his mind and then let his imagination run wild in search of the most malevolent forebodings.

## INDIA'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

WE are loath to believe that the determination by Government of the question of the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly hinges, in their mind, even to a slight extent on the probability of Congressmen offering themselves for election. But despatches in Anglo-Indian papers go to show that the main consideration which weighs with Government is whether, if elections are ordered, they will be used to condemn and discredit the White Paper. Government feel that if Swarajists contest the elections, as they have decided to do, the acceptability of the proposed reforms will be the one issue that will be placed before the electorate and the White Paper will receive a serious challenge. If only they could feel certain, so the Anglo-Indian papers tell us, that those who have participated in the building up of the constitution will stand by it, as they are expected to do, and give a good fight to Swarajists, a general election will be favoured by Government. But Government see no sign of any activity on the part of the Round Tablers who, if they do not like every feature of the White Paper constitution, consider it at least to be good in parts,

to carry on a widespread propaganda in favour of their view. They are relying apparently upon Government thrusting the constitution upon India and themselves being saved the odium of having to say a good word for a thing that is so generally hated. Government are thus seriously considering, it is said, whether it would at all be wise for them to give an opportunity to Congressmen, in face of the deplorable inertia and timidity of the Round Tablers, to prove it to the world that the Indian people as a whole are against the reforms that are being concocted for them.

It will soon be known whether the Assembly will be dissolved or not; but if it is not going to be dissolved, nothing will convince the public at large that Government is not prolonging the Assembly's life in order to avert a popular verdict on the proposed constitution. Government are at present in a strong position in other countries in regard to Indian reforms. They have been able to create an impression, by holding a series of Round Table Conferences and by inviting some Indians to attend and take a minor part in the

work of the Joint Select Committee, that they are conceding to India the right of self-determination and that they are granting to her just the kind of reforms she wants. It is not known outside India that this is a hollow pretence without any reality about it. It is therefore of the utmost necessity that real facts should be made known all over the world about this business, and this will be best done if elections are fought on the sole issue of the reforms. Elections must therefore be held and Swarajists as well as others allowed to take part in them. We must make it clear that this is a matter that does not affect Swarajists alone, but that it affects all progressives in India. Swarajists may be the pet aversion of Government, but if other political parties allow Government to balk Swarajists of election, they will themselves be balked of all chances of asserting the national will on the all-important question of the future constitution. We hope, therefore, that they will use all the means in their power to warn Government that refusal to hold elections will be regarded by every single party in the country as a national affront, and that they will consider it their bounden duty to join with Swarajists in exacting satisfaction on this point by all legitimate means.

It is very heartening to find that on all sides moves towards united action are being suggested, and we were particularly glad to see one who calls himself "A Marxist" making a powerful plea, in the columns of the *Sun*, for all parties sinking their differences on other questions and making a combined attack on the White Paper. One would have thought that even if Liberals, Independents, Democratic Swarajists and Congressmen, both pro-changer and no-changer, agreed to put away for the moment their respective policies and concentrate on offering opposition to the reform proposals, our Communist friends, about whose growing numerical strength no one in India need be in doubt, will somehow try to put a spoke in the wheel. But we are agreeably surprised to know that even they are in a most reasonable frame of mind on this question and are anxious to avoid making any proposals which will embarrass any political party. The "Marxist" writer, to whom we have referred, does not raise the question of working or wrecking the constitution, as he might have been expected to do. Let every party, he says in effect, reserve to itself the freedom of dealing with the constitution as it thinks best, but let all unite to show in the most effective way possible that the constitution that is offered in the White Paper is not acceptable to any progressive group. We think that this is a very sensible attitude to adopt. So far as we ourselves are concerned, our policy is fixed: to us a boycott of Councils is not conceivable under any circumstances; the badness of a constitution is for us only an additional reason for dedicating all our resources to getting the utmost out of it. But where conjoint action among a number of parties with differing policies is concerned, it would be eminently reasonable not to insist on all of them being willing to

work an unsatisfactory constitution. It would be quite enough if those who are of that opinion are not inhibited, by reason of their participation in the anti-White Paper agitation, of taking the fullest advantage, however little it be, of the constitution.

"Marxist" feels that he has a special claim on the attention of the Congress and pleads with it as follows:—

"Now that the Congress has admitted the mistake of its past policy of barren negation, it should hurry to undo some of the harm done, before it is too late. The election under the new constitution is a far cry. Immediately, it should concentrate upon the actual issue of organising a popular opposition to the projected constitution. In this connection the question of accepting or rejecting the proposed constitution does not arise. Since it will eventually be thrust upon us, unless by some miracle it could be prevented, the question is irrelevant. Once it is thrust upon us, we shall simply have to recognise an accomplished fact and adjust the tactics of our struggle for freedom to the new situation. To play the ostrich game will be as silly and harmful in the future as it has been in the past."

This is just the kind of pleading which we ourselves have been making to the Congress and other leftist parties. The question of rejecting the constitution in the present circumstances has no meaning; but it will have a meaning if, as "Marxist" suggests and we all desire, "the future fundamental law of the country should be put to the test of a verdict at least of the enfranchised minority of the people." This writer is apprehensive—and the apprehension is widely prevalent though there is no foundation in fact for it—that the rightist parties may be opposed to the submission of a scheme, which they had a hand in framing, to the will of the people. He says: "It is not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility that the political groups to the right of the Congress, those who directly or by implication are committed to the acceptance of the White Paper scheme on principle would not participate in a united popular demonstration, which would mean a political challenge to the legal validity of the proposed constitution as well as the procedure of framing it." We wish to give the assurance in public that, whether the legal validity of the constitution be involved in it or not, the moderate groups to which the writer refers not only have no objection to joining in such a demonstration, but have long been urging radical groups so to adjust their immediate programme of work as to make a really national demonstration possible. No politician of any consequence is in fact committed, either directly or indirectly, to the acceptance of the White Paper constitution, however prominent a part he may have taken in its discussion. There is no ground whatever for entertaining a suspicion to the contrary about any person in our public life. Some of these politicians have had occasion themselves to ask for a plebiscite. Mr. Jayakar, for instance, challenged Mr. Winston Churchill in the Joint Select Committee to prove by a referendum that the scheme of reforms propounded by him was acceptable to the people in India. Is it conceivable that he will object to the rival scheme contained in the White Paper being

submitted to the test of a popular referendum? Indeed will he not be the first to press for it? What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander too. But what is proposed at present is not a general plebiscite of the kind that Mr. Jayakar offered to Mr. Churchill. It is a much simpler thing that "Marxist" proposes, a mere election on a very restricted franchise on the constitutional issue. No one can be opposed to it and no one is opposed to it.

Indeed, as we have said before, it would not be at all inappropriate, if all the political parties agreed to this course, for us to demand that the new constitution be formally placed before the Assembly elected on that issue, for its judgement, so that the national will may be expressed in an unambiguous manner. This will possibly lead to a revision of the White Paper scheme in the desired direction to some extent. We have recently been referring in this connexion to what is happening in the Philippines. These islands appear to have benefitted enormously by the Independence law of the U. S. Congress passed in the Hoover regime being submitted to the Philippines Legislature. The Legislature consisted of two factions: one which was for accepting the law on the ground that its rejection "would, in the eyes of the American people, constitute a denial of the Filipinos' desire for independence" and that the law "was the best obtainable for the Filipino people" in the existing circumstances; and the other who declared that the existing constitution was preferable to the one that was being offered to them. The first section was led by Senator Osmena and the other by Senator Quezon. Senator Osmena moved a resolution in the Philippines Legislature accepting the Congressional law of Independence, but on account of the strenuous opposition of the Quezon party it was defeated in both houses by decisive majorities. The resolution that was finally passed declared:—

"That the Philippines Legislature, in its own name and in that of the Filipino people, inform the Congress of the United States that it declines to accept the said law in its present form because . . . (and here followed the reasons on which the rejection of the Act was based)."

Among the objections raised by the Filipinos to the Hawes-Cutting Act of Independence one was to the right of the U. S. to retain military and naval bases in the Islands. Now the Filipinos have been promised satisfaction on this point. For, at the instance of an Independence Mission which was sent by them to the U. S. and which was headed by Senator Quezon, President Roosevelt has promised a revision of the Independence Act, relinquishing military bases in the Islands immediately and leaving naval bases as a subject for negotiation between the United States and the Filipinos. This amendment seems to be satisfactory from the point of view of the people in the Philippines. For Senator Quezon, who is the most radical of Filipino politicians and who caused the rejection of the law of 1933, has declared: "The Philippines Legislature, I am sure, will accept the Hawes-Cutting law if and when it is amended in accordance with the President's message" to Congress of March 2 last.

Similarly, the Indian people too may obtain some satisfaction if they insist upon and get an opportunity of recording a resolution in their legislature that "it declines to accept the Hoare law in its present form." We have no doubt whatever that, if such a resolution is presented to the Assembly, those who will oppose it on the ground, similar to the one taken by the Osmena faction in the Philippines Legislature, that "the Hoare law is the best obtainable for the Indian people in the existing circumstances" will be in an exceedingly small minority, and the resolution in favour of rejection will be carried. Rejection of this sort, not involving boycott as a necessary consequence, is a policy common to all the progressive groups in the country.

## CASTE AND OUTCASTE-II.\*

(Concluded from our last issue.)

IT was Mr. K. Natarajan who in his salad days gave currency to the saying which has become classic by now in all discussions about Christian missions in India: "The fear of the missionary is the beginning of social wisdom among Hindus." Modelled on the Biblical proverb, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," Mr. Natarajan's saying was a just tribute to the foreign Christian missionaries for their perhaps unwitting service in awakening Hindu orthodoxy to the fact of the maladjustment in its own fold. When it came to be recognised that it was this fact more than any other, which had caused all the defection from its ranks, missionary activity inspired the fear in the heart of Hindudom that further defections would follow unless it put its own house in order. Even if the missionaries did nothing else, they would have to their credit this indirect service to Hindudom. But Mr. Agarwal is far from giving the missionary devil his due, for he remarks: "Among the many calamities that came in the train

\* "The Harijans in Rebellion: Case for the Removal of Untouchability." By C. B. Agarwal. (Taraporevala.) 1934. 17cm. 121p. Re. 1-4.

Among the Protestant Hindu sects or Samajes our author has a partiality for the Arya Samaj. According to him, while the other Samajes seceded from Hinduism in order to found a new eclectic religion, the Arya Samaj built itself upon the faith of the people, and was therefore a popular success. It is true that, unlike the other reformed Samajes, the Arya Samaj was mainly a revivalist Samaj. Revivalists like the Aryas try to reform away an existing evil custom not so much because it is harmful or unjust as because it did not exist in a particular golden age imagined by them in their country's history. This may be very 'patriotic', but is hardly spiritual. As for their Hinduism, the Aryas did, and even now some of them do, repudiate the very name of Hindu. They disown it as being of foreign origin and derogatory in its original connotation. As for the greater popularity of that Samaj's appeal, the very fact that the movement was of later date than the other Samajes must have helped it to profit by their experience. "The achievements of the Arya Samaj in the task of eradicating untouchability are little known in Maharashtra," Mr. Agarwal regrets, and proceeds to give some facts and figures. We of the British rule, the Christian Mission is not the least" (p. 70).



are told that "the rights of the Dwijas have been extended to the Harijans" by the Samaj, and that "they have been placed on a footing of equality with the caste-Hindus." Is 'Dwijas' here synonymous with 'caste-Hindus'? If the Harijans have been made Dwijas within the Samaj, who then are left to occupy the position of Sudras, the last of the four castes in which the Samaj is said to believe in a way? These questions are naturally suggested to a critical reader, but he is only left to get puzzled or suspicious. Further, we are told, "in Kashmir alone not less than 10,000 converts were reclaimed. In Sialkot 36,000 souls were brought back to Hinduism. Thousands of men and women were similarly won back in Hoshiarpur. This militant Samaj is active in every Province, and reconversion is one of its main tasks."

But reconversion is one thing and removal of untouchability another. The latter is part of Sangathan, and there can be no true Sangathan as long as caste is nourished and cherished. Suddhi without Sangathan will only tend to add some more untouchable castes to the conglomeration of our existing castes all mutually untouchable to a greater or less degree. Shuddhi is popular, because it adds to the number within our fold and evokes a sense of triumph in winning over so many souls from the other fold. But Sangathan, or the removal of untouchability in its wider sense, implies a liberalizing of our outlook and a sharing of our privileges with those hitherto excluded and despised. It is easier to take in a set of people, label them Hindus and keep them apart within the nominal fold than to consolidate lowly sections already in the fold by levelling up their religious status with the rest. All this may not appear quite applicable to the activities of the Arya Samaj said to be anti-caste in practice, but its relevance will be evident from what I am going to say.

Mr. Agarwal's advice to Harijans dissatisfied with their lot and wanting to go over to other religious folds than that of their birth is that they should prefer the Arya Samaj. "By subscribing to the tenets of the Samaj you will get all that you can hope to get either from Christianity or Islam. You will, in addition, save yourselves from the accusation of disloyalty to the faith of your forefathers. Christianity or Islam cannot give you nearly as much as the Arya Samaj can. We, for one, will not feel in the least perturbed to hear that Harijans are joining the Arya Samaj" (p. 73). One can only say that this suggested way of escape for the Harijans is quite illusory. Hindu orthodoxy is willing to treat nothing less than conversion to a non-Indian faith like Christianity or Islam as sufficient to absolve a born Hindu from the obligation to conform to the rules of the Hindu social code. In the eyes of the mentors of the Hindu masses, not only conversion to so close a variety (though schismatic) of Brahmanism as Arya-Samajism but even affiliation to such a distant heresy of it as Buddhism does not free Hindus from the restrictions of caste. The convert from Brahmanic Hinduism to any form of Hinduism is expected to conduct himself, and will continue to be treated by the parent community, as though he were still a member of the caste to which he belonged by birth. Unless, therefore, the whole or almost the whole of the Hindu community in a given region goes Arya Samajist and behaves true to its new creed, the conversion to Aryaism of the Harijans in that region will in practice mean hardly any more change in their caste or religious status than if some Smarts become Vaishnavas within the orthodox fold itself. As things stand, no change of creed within the Hindu or quasi-Hindu limits can secure to the

Harijans immunity from the curse of untouchability, but only a complete walk-over to a non-Indian faith like Christianity or Islam can do it. By this process the convert is known to shed his disabilities as the snake its slough. In most parts of the country, not only is the Harijan recruit to Christianity or Islam free to use the public secular utilities like wells and rest-houses, but even the temple ban is relaxed in his favour. While Harijan children are excluded from public schools housed in temple premises, Christian and Muslim children are allowed to attend. (This may appear strange, but it is explained by the historical fact that the favoured religions are those of the non-Indian rulers of Hindustan: it would not be safe to treat your rulers' co-religionists as untouchables.) A curious instance of this suicidal habit of mind of Hindu orthodoxy occurred a few years ago in the district of Bijapur. A member of an untouchable caste who had been orphaned in early life and then brought up as a Christian was reconverted by a Suddhi agency. As soon as he was made a Hindu, he found that he reverted to his untouchable status in the Hindu community. In the tea-shops, for instance, he was assigned the outermost room and served as an outcaste, while as a Christian he had been treated on a par with the superior castes. Despite the boasted Hindu philosophy, the man then thought he had better be a Christian again. This example should surely set Suddhi enthusiasts athinking. They will soon recognise that Shuddhi before Sangathan is a snare and a delusion. By taking non-Hindus into the fold before those already in the fold are consolidated we shall only be aggravating the problem of untouchability.

On the question of temple-entry for the Harijans the author misrepresents both the present position and Mahatma Gandhi when he says that 'caste-Hindus' have access to the innermost shrine, and that Gandhiji, instead of excluding it from the range of admission to be allowed to the Harijans, wants them to be admitted to the temples "precisely on the same terms as the caste-Hindus" (pp. 97-8). Now the fact of the matter is that though custom varies in different parts of the country and even in different temples in the same part, still it may be stated as the general rule in Southern and Western India that admission to the sanctum is restricted to the Brahmans, while the other parts are open to non-Brahman Hindus except the Harijans, who are excluded altogether. Secondly, Mahatma Gandhi recognised this existing differentiation among 'caste-Hindus' when he laid it down on several occasions that Harijans should be allowed access wherever the non-Brahmans are admitted. Soon after his return from the R. T. C. Gandhiji made a statement explaining the proper ways and objects of a temple-entry satyagraha in view of the one then in progress at Guruvayur in Malabar, and the following words occur in it: "If the temple authorities offer to set apart a corner for untouchables it should not be considered as sufficient. No restriction against untouchables which is not applicable to other non-Brahmin Hindus can be tolerated." (*Young India*, Jan. 14, 1932, p. 9.) The qualification of 'non-Brahmin' makes it clear that Gandhiji recognised that according to the existing practice all 'caste-Hindus' are not admitted to the temples on the same terms.

When Mr. Agarwal blames Gandhiji for his extremism and precipitancy on the temple-entry question (pp. 97-3), he forgets that it is Gandhiji's supposed extremism which has made possible the moderation of his own school. However, as ungrudging as it is remarkable is his tribute to Gandhiji's service to the Harijan cause in general:

"Of the various men and women who are labouring for the Harijans, the Mahatma stands supreme. No one can approach him either in the matter of influence or saintliness. This hero of the people has put all his might and power—and even his very life—in the task of preserving the Hindu Faith. Like a true Sanatanist, he is sparing nothing in the task of removing what he never wearies of describing as 'a stain upon Hinduism.' Success is writ large upon his forehead and his work for the Harijans is by itself enough to put him on the pedestal of immortality." (p. 74.)

Whatever the origin of untouchability, whether it was due to a difference of race or of habits or of both, it is obvious that the ostracism of the Harijans generation after generation is responsible for the continuation of their unpleasant habits. When, therefore, Mr. Agarwal blames the Harijans themselves for continuing their untouchability by their unclean ways (p. 103), he overlooks the fact that when you cut off a man from any society you practically deprive him of all incentive to live up to the standards of that society. He is never likely to behave who feels he is never likely to be put upon his behaviour. The responsibility for the unclean ways of the Harijans belongs, therefore, much more to the ostracizers than to the ostracized; and untouchability will not go until the Touchables realize that the Untouchables are more sinned against than sinning.

If satyagraha is a means of converting the wrong-doer through the voluntary suffering of the satyagrahi, then the nearer the relations between the satyagrahi and the wrong-doer the more efficacious and justifiable must be the employment of this 'moral equivalent of war'. But strange as it may appear, Mr. Agarwal, while prepared to consider the employment of satyagraha for self-government against our alien rulers, will not hear of its use against our own people for the removal of such an admitted evil as untouchability. One would think on a priori grounds that if satyagraha was justifiable or practicable anywhere it was in the sphere of our internal abuses. But our author is of the contrary opinion. For him satyagraha in such cases "does amount to coercion" (p. 108).

It will not be too uncharitable, I hope, if I say that Mr. Agarwal's concluding remarks are calculated to carry the impression that he is pleading for the Harijans less for their own sake than in the interest of the higher-caste Hindus: the latter, he says, being "desperate about Swaraj", require the comradeship of the Harijans in their struggle against the alien Britishers, to whom, we are told, the Harijans "owe no gratitude".

Perhaps the irony of it did not strike him—that all his pleading for the Harijans is in English, the tongue of those alien Britishers! As for the way he wields it, it is surprising that a college professor with British university qualifications should lapse into such solecisms as: "Cow is sacred to the Hindus" (p. 103), "... whether is it advisable..." (p. 102), "Under which Smriti or Shashtra the Brahmans were allowed to adopt these professions?" (p. 80), "spiritualism" (pp. 64, 72 etc.—for "spirituality"), "The uncivilized tribes are, as if, hiding behind shrubs and bushes..." (p. 24, for "... are, as it were, ..."), "the Spaniard and the Portuguese Empires" (p. 53, for "the Spanish..."), "It is time Hindu Missionary Societies are formed..." (p. 24 for "were formed"). Some persistent misspellings are: 'wherever' (p. 54), 'Dyaneshwar' (pp. 64-5, for 'Dnyanesvar'), the '-nath' in the names of certain famous Mahars (p. 63, for '-nak'), and 'Judian' (p. 49, for 'Juddin,' meaning a non-Parsi). All the right-hand pages from p. 65 to the end of the

chapter are wrongly headed "Conflict of Races" (the heading of the previous chapter). The printing and get-up are otherwise satisfactory.

S. D. NADKARNI.

## Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, April 13,

### CREATING PREJUDICE.

IT is interesting to note the methods adopted by the diehards in the Tory Party in their attack not alone upon the White Paper proposals, but upon all serious proposals for effective constitutional reform in India. Methods of propaganda may vary, but the principles remain very much the same, whoever operates them. The Communist doctrine of maligning your opponent by every possible means, in order that you may ultimately bring him down, is no new one. It is as old as the hills, and it has been practised, though not necessarily preached aloud, in all countries from times immemorial. I remember, for example, the very same arguments and views used by the late Mr. Tilak, many years ago, when, excusing, as also explaining, the unscrupulous methods employed by some of his followers towards their then opponents. And if the Tory diehards use the same methods and apply the same doctrine for the accomplishment of their purpose, we need not be surprised, for there is very little new under the sun, as a wise Asiatic admitted in a moment of pessimistic resignation. Variety is lent only by new applications of old and well-tried methods. Two recent illustrations have occurred. At the last Tory gathering just before the Easter holiday an endeavour was made to create prejudice against the Government's reform proposals, not so much by a direct attack, as by a campaign of protest against an alleged attempt on the part of the non-Governmental Party hierarchy to gag freedom of speech and opinion by preventing further discussion of the proposals until after the publication of the Joint Select Committee's Report. It will be recalled that on that occasion Viscount Fitz-Alan, uncle of the Duke of Norfolk and a former Viceroy of Northern Ireland, an experienced and respected figure in the Tory Party, was selected to lead the protest against the Party leaders' ban. The object of the diehards has all along been to capture, in an atmosphere of prejudice and political partisanship, and on a borderline matter not directly affecting the main issue, as many distinguished persons as possible upon whose sense of fair-play and righteousness they seek successfully to play.

### INDIAN PENSIONS.

Another matter in which the diehards have throughout sought to arouse fears and suspicions is the question of British pensions under the reforms scheme. They have sought to propagate the idea that these pensions are in peril, and that the funds to which British public servants in India have contributed so largely may not, under the new regime in India, if and when it comes into operation, be available for its legitimate purposes owing to political opposition and weak government in India, against which there will be no effective safeguard. Unfortunately the wild words of some Congressmen at certain times have done something to arouse and to confirm the danger to which the diehards point, and notwithstanding Sir Samuel Hoare's published

letter of reassurance some time ago, these fears have spread in quarters that might otherwise have been deemed to be immune from them. It is not always easy to catch up with rumours circulated with some assiduity by those who are intent upon making their hearers' flesh creep.

It was not, therefore, altogether surprising to find Viscount Fitz-Alan again selected as the spokesman of the alleged fears of the Services regarding the security of the pension fund, and he sought to interpellate the Government thereon, in the House of Lords, this week, being supported by Lord Charnwood. There was nothing whatever new in the arguments raised by these Peers, and there was also very little true in them. It was no wonder that Lord Olivier commented that the views expressed by them might have more fitly been put in an appropriate manner (as in fact they already have been) before the Joint Select Committee. Lord Halifax, who replied on behalf of the Government, had little difficulty in replying in the terms with which your readers are by now familiar. The interesting feature of his remarks lies in the tone of indignation and serious reproof in which they were couched, and I am inclined to think that the Peers who made themselves responsible for this ill-timed interpellation, must be wishing that they had exercised a much greater caution and that they had awaited the Committee's Report and recommendations.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that, whilst the attack upon the Government's reform proposals is loud and varied, both here and in India, it proceeds from two diametrically opposed view-points, the one in British diehard circles being that the proposed safeguards are ineffective and valueless, the other from Indian Nationalist quarters being that they would provide the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors with such a stranglehold upon the reforms as to render them sterile and of little or no practical value. Unless British opinion is stampeded during the next few months, which seems improbable, it is likely to run along the lines that the truth probably lies somewhere midway between these two antithetical viewpoints. It will probably be held that whilst the safeguards that will ultimately be proposed and recorded in the statute will be real and effective wisdom would lie in the most restricted use of them, and then only in cases of really grave crisis or emergency. The average British voter believes more in political common-sense and political give and take rather than in doctrinaire application upon all occasions of the strict letter of an inelastic constitutional document, and he will look both to the Viceroy and Governors on the one side and to Ministers and Legislatures on the other to deal with practical problems in a practical spirit instead of each trying to score off the other by constant conflict and the creation of crises.

#### EXIT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The news that for whatever reasons Mr. Gandhi has advised the abandonment of Civil Disobedience as a method of achieving Swaraj, except in his own personal case, has been widely welcomed in this country, where it is regarded as a clear and frank admission of the substantial failure of the movement for the attainment of an object so vague and ill-defined. The benediction that he has given to those who have decided upon the revival of the All-India Swaraj Party as a factor in the new political situation, intended for the purpose primarily of contesting the forthcoming Assembly elections, is regarded here as in the nature of a recognition that for orthodox political purposes an orthodox political instrument is required, and that the sympathy of the country with Mr. Gandhi's spiritual weapon employed on a large scale for the purpose of securing a

change of heart, both in the case of the alien rulers and with the terrorist assassins, has disappeared. However that may be, the new orientation of the Congress political method and the selection of an old weapon from its political armoury for the furtherance of Congress policy, indicate a new hope in the Indian situation and suggest the application of more immediately practical and less academic concepts to the solution of the very practical and immediate problems of social and economic reconstruction facing the country. Of course there will be a fresh germinal on the part of the diehards that the heavens themselves are in danger at the prospective capture of the constituencies by Congress. Most thoughtful people will, however, wish that Congress may be brought rapidly face to face with the opportunity and necessity of facing these problems in a spirit of responsibility instead of in infructuous opposition as hitherto. Anything more silly than the attribution of revolutionary motives or intentions to the generality of Congress leaders is difficult to imagine, but these brave diehards of ours are always fearfully looking over their shoulders in terror lest the devil suddenly leap upon them from behind or else they are mopping their streaming eye, at the thought of the unfortunate Indian peasantry left to the tender mercies of their own countrymen.

In these circumstances it is interesting to note that at Stoke on Trent, on Sunday night, Sir Oswald Mosley, the Black Shirt leader, declared publicly that his party's attitude towards the Indian question was "remain and govern." He delivered what doubtless he supposed to be a formidable denunciation of what the *Daily Mail* describes as "the White Paper proposal for surrender in India," and on behalf of his foreign-inspired organisation Sir Oswald declared: "Black Shirts are the only organised movement in Great Britain who challenge root and branch the policy of betrayal in India. They are opposed to the White Paper and the white flag, not on points of detail but on basic principles". He told his audience, among other things, that what was really suggested was the handing over of India to a small governing class of Indians, who were either great capitalists or professional politicians, in the pockets of the financiers. The reason why British capitalists in India and the great financial interests which dominated the Conservative Party were joining in their policy was that the industrialisation of India provided cheap labour and high profits for international finance. Sir Oswald and his friends have actually got themselves to believe that with a free hand behind Indian tariff barriers the exploitation of the Indian masses had been handed over to these great interests, who would exploit their cheap labour on mass-production principles to reach out and to capture the remaining markets of the East from British industry, a profitable game for Indian and British financiers alike. All the rest of the argument, as well as that portion of it that I have quoted, seems to have been a rehash of all the arguments that have ever been advanced in any quarter of hostility in this country, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Sir Oswald lumps Tories and Socialists together with a common condemnation.

### Reviews.

#### ABOLITION OF ARMAMENTS.

**WORLD DISARMAMENT.** By DENYS P. MYERS.  
(World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1932. 20cm.  
370p. \$ 1.00.

DISARMAMENT, as understood by the League of Nations and all the leading Powers of the world.



today, is a convenient, though somewhat misleading, appellation for the progressive limitation and reduction of national armaments 'consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.' The total abolition of armaments in all its forms has never been envisaged either by the framers of the Covenant of the League of Nations or by the delegates to the World Disarmament Conference. The 'No More War' movement, set on foot by religious organisations, ex-army officials and utopian civilians at the end of the Great War, is based upon the fundamental misconception that armaments are a cause and not an effect of the warring tendencies in man. Armaments or no armaments, men can and will always fight with one another. Nails and teeth, small swords and pitchforks, were potent engines of destruction at a time when man had not invented the machine-gun and the poison gas, the military airplane and the man-of-war. In the days of bows and arrows, war demanded personal daring and courage. It was fought by a limited number of people called the soldiers and its territorial extent was strictly limited to the battlefield. But modern scientific, bacteriological warfare is of an altogether different type. It has eliminated the distinction between civilians and soldiers, between neutrals and belligerents. The menace of modern armaments is, therefore, not inherent in the basic warring tendencies of man. It is merely incidental to the development of the social organisation of the world into mutually interdependent units. Its existence is modern and naturally the attempt to expunge it from society is also modern. The Great War marked the stage when the menace of armaments assumed such gigantic proportions as to threaten the very existence of man in organised society. The establishment of the League of Nations marked the stage when man determined to make a great and valiant struggle for existence. The many complex issues of this struggle are lucidly detailed in the book under review and Mr. Denys P. Myers deserves to be congratulated by all (in whom the instinct of self-preservation is not dead) for his thought-provoking survey of the problems and prospects of the current efforts to limit and reduce modern scientific armaments.

The central purpose of the author is to discuss in detail the origins, structure and development of the Draft Convention which constituted the basis of discussions at the World Disarmament Conference. But the lay reader is gradually prepared to understand the Draft Convention by a preliminary study of the political, military and national factors involved in the problem of disarmament and the interrelations of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament.

The story of the disarmament work of the League of Nations reminds one of the machinations of Machiavelli's Prince. At first, the disarmament conferences proved to be armament conferences. Each nation clamoured for the reduction of that type of armaments in which it was weakest and its enemies were strongest. The military experts exercised all their ingenuity in devising plans whereby a general reduction of armaments would result in the relative increase of fighting potentialities of their respective countries. But to do them justice, they managed to frame a working formula for establishing the parity of different types of armaments. Once the technical issue of parity of armaments was settled, diplomatic issues such as Security and Arbitration began to hamper the progress of disarmament. The problems of war and the problem of threat of war were isolated one from the other and separately tackled. Mr. Myers points out how the latter of the two problems forms a kind of inner lining to the former and has,

therefore, engaged the most serious attention of the League of Nations:—

"No government in the world," he observes, "questions that outright war would be an offence against international society and should command its own influences towards stopping it. But to decide which side to support in stopping a conflict is quite another matter. The continuous conference machinery of the League of Nations and the extensive development of pacific settlement, especially the conciliation method, have made it possible to go farther back than the actual outbreak of war in a solution of the problem. ... The test of good faith and good-will may now be said to be the extent to which a state places a dispute, which its own diplomacy has failed to settle, completely in the hands and under the jurisdiction of some type of pacific settlement machinery, before taking any overt acts or resorting to mobilization. In other words, the problem of war—the eventuality for which armament is ostensibly maintained—is now being positively attacked on its inner line, and it is the threat of war which a growing machinery of international agreement is being constructed for handling."

The third and current phase of disarmament relates to the question of equality of status of all signatories to a world disarmament convention. The terms equality and security have universal as well as European implications. To France, security means not so much the abolition of fear of war by a system of pacific settlement of international disputes, but the creation of an International Army or the assurance of military assistance from other powers in the event of a war with Germany. To Germany, equality means nothing more than the abolition of the armament restrictions imposed upon her by the Treaty of Versailles. Such attitudes of France and Germany towards the questions of equality and security soon invested the discussions at the World Disarmament Conference with a purely European colour and rendered the international machinery of the League of Nations an inappropriate medium of settling the squabbles of the European continent. The four great powers of Europe—England, France, Italy and Germany—are now trying hard to compose their differences regarding security and equality, and until they succeed in that attempt the universal character of the World Disarmament Conference cannot be restored.

The present disarmament tangle is chiefly due to the difficulty of harmonising the provisions of the Draft Convention on Disarmament with the Disarmament Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The clamour for the revision of Peace Treaties and for equality of status of Germany is based upon the German interpretations of the Peace Treaties, some of which are reasonable while others are far-fetched and untrue. Take, for instance, the controversy on the war guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles. The official English and French versions of that clause contain the word 'damage' while the German translation contains the word 'guilt'. But for this unfortunate carelessness in translation, much of the bitterness of feeling between Germany and France could have been avoided. Mr. Myers points out: "The chief point on which the German version differed from the French and English was due to choice of expression with respect to the phrase 'for causing all the loss and damage.' In the German version the causation of the loss and damage takes on the flavour of instigation. . . In the popular German literature Art. 231 of Versailles is called the 'Schuldartikel', the article on guilt. . . The article (the English and German versions of which contain the word 'damage') is intended to do no more than to record the legal fact that the central states as a group struck the first

blow." As regards the question of equality, however, certain facts given by Mr. Myers clearly justify the view that the Germans are right and the French and their allies are wrong. The preamble to the armament clauses of the Versailles Treaty expressly contains the proviso: "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow." The Allied and Associated Powers of the Great War have, thus, voluntarily imposed upon themselves the obligation to disarm and they seem now to decline that engagement on the fictitious ground of non-observance by Germany of the armament restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. Myers rightly observes:

"Now, the defeated powers having fulfilled their side of the bargain the question remains to determine what the bargain actually is. The conditions incumbent upon the defeated powers were established 'to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations.' Strict observance of the conditions by Germany and the others is to be assumed unless there are specific allegations to the contrary. If no state has evidence of sufficient gravity to warrant requesting the Council of the League to exercise the right of investigation, it can hardly allege successfully that non-observance by Germany or any other defeated state is sufficient cause for it to decline any engagement of disarmament. Nevertheless, such hints have been made and arguments based upon them."

T. S. RAMANUJAM.

### RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

**RELIGION AND COMMUNISM.** By JULIUS F. HECKER. (Chapman & Hall.) 1933. 22cm. 302p.

DR. HECKER has already distinguished himself as an impartial and objective writer on Soviet affairs and the present book comes up fully to the expectations raised by his "Moscow Dialogues." The first few chapters of the book are devoted to the history of the Russian-Orthodox Church, followed by a short but clear account of the various non-conformist movements. The history of the rationalist movement in the Russian Empire is then traced and finally there is given an account of the anti-religious movement in the U. S. S. R.

In most other countries as in Russia, the religion of the people consisted of a series of performances wholly unconnected with any religious philosophy as such. The Russian organised Church was no exception to the rule, that the Church is always on the side of Might. During the regime of the Tzars the Church was no more than a department of the State, presided over by a Synod nominated by the Emperor. It can well be imagined how useful it must have been for the despotic Tzars to have such an army of priests, bishops and other dignitaries to uphold their authority over the ignorant peasants. After the revolution, the Patriarch made attempts to resist the authority of the Soviet government, but these proved unsuccessful and a few bishops and priests revolted against the Patriarch and drove him out of office. This group of religious revolvers made it up with the government and even "declared capitalism a deadly sin and pronounced the social revolution just."

This shows more clearly than anything else how the Church in Russia is again trying to take up the traditional attitude of supporting civil authority. In Germany, for example, Catholics and Protestants are vying with each other to support Hitler in his

crusade against liberalism, pacifism, and international understanding. In Russia, on the other hand, the Orthodox Church is declaring itself as opposed to capitalism. With the Church, Might is always Right!

In Russia, as in other countries, the Church is the last to revolt against social injustice. The agitation against slavery, the anti-war movement, the amelioration of labour, the temperance movement and a dozen other movements for the betterment of the lot of man have had no active support of the various religions and of the organised Churches.

Of course, today, the Soviet government have given up their former strong opposition to the Church, which, in their opinion, is already in the throes of death. They have only restricted its fields of activity. Thus religious education in schools is prohibited; the Church is not allowed to own any property; persons below 18 are not allowed to be admitted into the schools conducted by the Churches for religious instruction; social work, especially charitable work, has been taken out of the hands of the clergy and entrusted to officials; religious festivals are no longer declared holidays. All these measures have succeeded in confining the Churches to their proper function of satisfying the strictly religious needs of the citizens, if they have any. The natural result has been that many churches, monasteries, etc. became free and have been taken over by the State for communal purposes. The active agitation carried on by the "Godless International" in the Red Army, the Worker's Cells, the Youth Groups, etc. through libraries, radio, magazines, posters and meetings is also bearing fruit and the younger generation is largely atheistic in its outlook.

All atheists will thank Dr. Hecker for this excellent book and wish the Russian atheists every success in their fight against the forces of darkness.

D. D. KARVE.

### LIFE OF JOHN HAMPDEN

**JOHN HAMPDEN.** By HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1933. 23cm. 359p. 12/6.

THIS book represents a piece of good earnest work. Although perhaps there is little which will be new to students of the Puritan Revolution, yet there is a great deal about Hampden which is not found in any book on the period. The work is based on the numerous publications on the Puritan Revolution as well as on the documents of Hampden's time. Of the numbers of these sources, some idea may be formed by looking at the bibliography at the end of the book, but even the long list there given does not exhaust all the authorities of the kind which have been placed under contribution. In short, no work lately published seems to have escaped the author.

It was in 1831 that a biography of Hampden from the pen of Lord Nugent entitled "Some Memorials of John Hampden, his party and his times" was published, and since then, for over a century, there has not been a biography on the hero of the Ship-Money case, except a life-sketch by S. R. Gardiner in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and a short memoir contributed by Sir Charles Firth to the Dictionary of National Biography. The book before us supplies a long felt need. Hampden's work has not been properly appreciated by historians. He had the misfortune to be overshadowed in his lifetime by Pym and to be eclipsed after death by Oliver Cromwell. The author, however, gives a new interpretation of the life of Hampden. "There is far

more truth in the Royalist assertion that Hampden was the prime mover in the 'mischief' than in the Whig disclaimer", says the author. The author points out that Sir John Eliot was the political mentor of Hampden and that in the period before Eliot's imprisonment Hampden was a mere spectator of the stirring events. But in those days Hampden was a constitutionalist, 'as pedantically careful of precedent as was the King himself.' The turning point in his career was the imprisonment and death of Sir John Eliot in the Tower. The incarceration of his political mentor and the refusal of Charles I to let Eliot's body be buried among his ancestors in his Cornish home brought about a change in Hampden's attitude towards the King. Hampden the Constitutional soon developed into Hampden the Revolutionary and the avenger of Eliot. Hampden was convinced that force alone would settle the constitutional struggle and he worked hard to prevent peace without victory.

This is certainly a new interpretation of the life of Hampden. As the book is documented at every important point, it may be regarded as an authoritative publication. We only wish that the author had given some intimate details of Hampden's family life, especially his relations with his first and second wife.

On the whole, the book under review is a sterling book, one which places its writer very high indeed in the ranks of real scholars. We strongly recommend it to all who wish to deepen their knowledge of Hampden and his times. It is a thorough, accurate piece of work, full of information only to be found by very extensive reading.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

### RURAL ECONOMICS OF PUNJAB.

**AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF KALA GADDI THAMMAN (CHAK 73 G. B.) IN LYALLPUR DISTRICT.** By RANDHIR SINGH. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1932. 25cm. 200p. Rs. 4.

THIS is the survey of a Canal Colony village, and a typical one of the newer colony villages brought into being by the irrigation schemes introduced into the Punjab. It has an area of 1856 acres, of which 1363 are irrigated, and a population of 920 consisting mainly of the Sikh Jats. The landholders are peasants who have been given proprietary rights in 1912 on payment of only Rs. 12-8-0. There is a widow who is a rent-receiving landlord and nineteen others who are not dependent on agriculture, but all the others are either landholders, tenants or agricultural labourers. Some resort to cloth-weaving, tailoring, washing, shoe-making, and dyeing, in addition to cultivation of lands, while others supplement their income by renting out their carts for transporting the produce of the village to the market. The cultivators spend their slack seasons in doing work connected with their holdings. Though the Kharif crops like sugarcane, cotton, maize and fodder are paying, the Rabi ones like wheat, torai and fodder predominate. The irrigation is certain and regular and the percentage of failure is about 3. The only manure in use is the farm yard manure, but improved seeds and implements are becoming popular. The internal distribution of water is arranged by the landholders themselves on the basis of the warbandi fixed by the Irrigation Department. There have been no quarrels about irrigation but there have been mutually advantageous exchanges of rotations. The average holding is of 20.2 acres and there is not much of fragmentation. The land revenue which is

collected without resort to coercive processes comes to Rs. 5-0-8 per acre and with the occupiers' rates and other cesses it comes to Rs. 10-10-0 per acre. As usual it has always been increasing. The zamindars are not aware of the facilities afforded to them by Government by means of loans for agricultural purposes and land improvements. Till 1927, the price of land as well as its mortgage value has been rising steadily, though proprietary rights were conferred by the State for a nominal payment of Rs. 12-8-0 in 1912.

There is only one co-operative credit society, of which only landholders are members. There are no consumers' and suppliers' co-operative societies in the village. Some of the landholders themselves have taken to money-lending. The total indebtedness of the whole village amounts to Rs. 96,000, a pretty large sum for the village. Though the price of the land is high, the cash rents are very low. The tenants who are near relatives of the landlords are more or less permanent, but others are often changed. Though a small village, it is typical of the conditions of the canal area.

This survey is full of useful details such as causes of death, a census statement of customary wages of the kamins of the village, the waterings, ploughings, and the manure required for particular crops, the cost of cultivation, an estimate of the yield, etc. Such details, though taxing to a casual reader, have a great significance for a student of rural economics. Strict adherence to a general questionnaire may not bring out the special features of a locality, but it is the only safe way open when data should be obtained for comparison and compilation.

N. S. S.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL.** By SAOHIN SEN. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15 College Square, Calcutta.) 1933. 23cm. 47p. Re. 1.

IN this pamphlet Mr. Sachin Sen attempts to put forward a defence of the system of permanent land revenue settlement established in Bengal in 1793, which has since become the subject of so much criticism. The author proposed to show that (1) the landlords do not intercept a large profit, (2) that the cultivating class of Bengal is not worse off than that of other provinces, (3) that the landlords cannot act arbitrarily, (4) that the Government do not stand to lose by the settlement and (5) that an attack on the fundamentals of the settlement will be a blunder.

But when all is said and done, the fact remains that the zamindars of Bengal are absentee landlords, and, if as the author attempts to prove, they are not well off under the settlement, it is a fact for which they alone are responsible and not any one else. What Mr. Sen says in regard to this does not detract however from the essential truth of the criticisms levelled against the system. In fact everything that he says in defence of the landlords can be turned against the system itself and can be used as an argument for the abolition of a system which does not benefit either landlords, tenants or the Government.

In the first few years after the settlement Bengal may have prospered, but as time went on the very security afforded to the zamindars made them indifferent landlords, and robbed the settlement of the advantages which it was intended to afford. Mr. Sen

says that for the economic prosperity of Bengal not the abolition of the permanent settlement but other measures are necessary. True, but the abolition or at least a modification of the system is also an essential thing.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

**THE NATIONAL SCHOOL.** By F. S. MARVIN.  
(Oxford University Press.) 1933. 20cm. 172p.  
5/-

THIS book deals with the whole fabric of the system of education in England as it exists to-day and traces its development from early years. The author has attempted to describe in short and evaluate what is being done under the name of education in that country. It is interesting to see how the duty of educating the child has been gradually transferred from the parent to the State, and how the dominating place which is now occupied by the State was assumed through the supremacy of the Church, partly from political motives.

After taking a historical survey the author has proceeded to deal with some different types of schools, viz. village schools, private schools and public schools. Besides, there are chapters on topics such as 'examination,' 'the general aim of education,' 'technical training,' etc. Mr. Marvin gives us in this little book a fine panoramic view of the educational system of England and further points out the lines on which future development may take place.

B. D. K.

**THE RIDDLE OF THIS WORLD.** By AUROBINDO. (Arya Publishing House, Calcutta.) 1933. 20cm. 109p. Rs. 2.

THIS small book is a collection of the author's "answers to questions raised by his disciples or others interested in Yoga or spiritual life, and his observations on letters from outside." To understand this book the reader must first be well equipped with the knowledge of Eastern and Western philosophy and the bearings on it of modern sciences. Without such a background the book is unintelligible. Sri Aurobindo's position can be very well explained in his own words:

"European metaphysical thought... does not in its method and result go beyond the intellect. But the intellect is incapable of knowing the supreme... Truth. It can only range about seeking for Truth... Mind cannot arrive at Truth... At the end of European thought therefore there must always be agnosticism, declared or implicit."

And so it is really. Bradley and others have arrived through intellectual thinking at the idea of an "Other beyond Thought". Intellectual speculation and logical reasoning can only go so far. But this knowledge of something "other than thought" compels us to admit that there must be other ways to realise this higher consciousness and one of those ways is yoga. When we take up this position with humility, after realising the helplessness and hopelessness of our reason and intellect, then alone the Divine within and without can be approached under the guidance of a spiritual guru. That such spiritual gurus can confer this power of visualising the Divine is amply demonstrated in the cases of Swami Vivekanand and others whose agnosticism and atheism soon melted away like mist before the rising sun as soon as they caught a glimpse of the Supreme. It comes to this then that there are higher

and "graded worlds," "greater and greater truths," "higher and higher personalities" attainable through several births, and to realise them, the methods are also other than those normally used. When one is driven to this position, then Sri Aurobindo's book becomes intelligible. To those who have not grasped this position, it is only a tangled skein of unintelligible terms. We wish Sri Aurobindo would publish his crystallised system of Yoga for the benefit of those who wish to follow that path.

V. M. BHAT.

**BY INDRA'S AID.** A Glimpse of life in the Vedic Age. By FRANK R. SELL. (Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co.,) 1933. 20cm. 180p.

"MY endeavour has been to depict the Aryans as men having like passions as ourselves. I have attempted to sketch what I may term the probable actualities of their daily lives", writes the author in the preface, and it may at once be said that he has succeeded in his purpose. The details of Vedic life depicted herein assume the guise of a story, and it is not always easy to maintain the story interest without prejudice to historical accuracy. There is the constant danger of the imagination outstepping the bounds warranted by historical data, and it is to the credit of the author that he has sailed clear of this temptation. It is inevitable that in a book of this nature the author should adopt one or other of the many theories regarding the details of Vedic life without at the same time stating his reasons for doing so. But the notes at the end contain sufficient explanation for the course followed by the author in each case. Professedly written for school use, the merit of the book lies in its presentation of Vedic life in simple language and in a manner that will interest and instruct the High School student. The book is well printed and the get-up is attractive.

K. A. N.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CUSTOMS TARIFF.** By C. N. VAKIL and MUNSHI (Studies in Indian Economics, No. 7.) (Longmans, Bombay.) 1934. 22cm. 271p. Rs. 5.
- THE PEOPLING OF AUSTRALIA (FURTHER STUDIES).** By Various Authors. (Pacific Relations Series, No. 4.) (Melbourne University Press.) 1933. 20cm. 327p. 6/6.
- CHILD MARRIAGE: THE INDIAN MINOTAUR.** By FLEANOR F. RATHBORNE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1934. 20cm. 138p. 2/6.
- THE LIVING WAGE IN AUSTRALIA.** By D. T. SAWKINS. (Melbourne University Press.) 1933. 22cm. 64p. 2/6.
- PARLIAMENT OR DICTATORSHIP?** By the MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN and Others. (The Spectator Booklets Series No. 1.) (Methuen.) 1934. 18cm. 58p. 1/-.
- THE LAND AND LIFE OF INDIA.** By MARGARET READ. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1934. 20cm. 144p. 2/-.
- THE GOLDEN BREATH: STUDIES IN FIVE POETS OF THE NEW INDIA.** By MULK RAJ ANAND. (Murray.) 1933. 18cm. 136p. 3/6.
- AFTER DEATH?** By EDWYN BEVAN and Others. (The Spectator Booklets Series, No. 3.) (Methuen.) 1934. 18cm. 57p. 1/-.
- LAND OF WONDER AND FEAR.** By F. A. MITCHELL-HEDGES. (Duckworth.) 1931. 22cm. 265p.