

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

A Party of Obscurantists.

WHAT we have said in our leader about Mr. Jayakar's speech in Satara holds good of the speech made by Sir Homi Mody at the Ripon Club in Bombay on Tuesday last week. Sir Homi's fling at the Liberal party for taking up an attitude of uncompromising opposition to the Reforms Bill we would fain ignore. Sir Homi, unlike the Liberal party, is in the happy position of being able to welcome any constitution, however halting and unsatisfactory, and he can always indulge in jibes against those who have been insistent on a better constitution.

HE also threw a stone at the Liberal party for flirting with the Congress for an alliance with it. In fact there is no such attempt at an alliance, but we would beg Sir Homi to take it from us that the Liberal party would not consider it shameful, as his criticism implies, to co-operate with the Congress on mutually agreed lines, if it seemed possible. In any case it would be a smaller disgrace for it to co-operate with the Congress than with the party of reactionaries whose establishment he advocates.

SIR HOMI'S watchword too, like Mr. Jayakar's, is compromise, and he looks for a nucleus of his party in the "vast body of opinion in this country which is innately conservative in its outlook." We know what this compromise means; it consists in throwing a bone at labour and a piece of meat at employers. With this sort of compromise we hope the Liberal party will never be tempted to have any truck. Be it the monopoly of those innate conserva-

tives on whose chests Sir Homi wishes to pin a medal for constructive statesmanship.

IN Europe the essential struggle at present is between those powers whose ambitions were satisfied by the Peace Treaty and those whose ambitions were left unsatisfied, between the supporters of the Versailles status and the advocates of its revision. Similarly in India will develop a struggle between the privileged and the unprivileged, between those who will contentedly work the Hoare constitution and those who will seek a radical modification of it at an early date. It will be impossible for the Liberal party to throw in its lot with the former; its place is unquestionably with the latter. But, in whatever manner future parties may evolve, there is no doubt that there is going to be a struggle. To think that by a little adjustment here and a little adjustment there friction will be avoided and the constitution will run smoothly is to indulge in pipe-dreaming.

In a Tight Spot.

THE rulers of Indian States, like their subjects, are dissatisfied with the Congress Working Committee's statement issued from Wardha. There is really no middle ground between exclusion of the States' people from the Congress and full participation by the Congress in their movement. It is clearly illogical to admit them into the Congress fold as members, take their help in British Indian agitation of an extreme character and then refuse them help on some pretext or other even in milder types of agitation in the States. This flaw in the Congress position has been clearly shown in the recent issue of *United India and the Indian States*, a champion of the rights of the Princes. It says:

The Congress has again and again held that it has no right of direct interference in the affairs of the States. It has again and again held that the question of internal reform in the States is a domestic one between the Ruler and his subjects. The impression to the contrary is caused by the present anomalous constitution of the Congress which spreads its net far and wide in Indian India for its recruits. So long as this recruitment is continued, Indian States' subjects will get into the Congress and then it is a question of what their function in that body is. The fact that this question was not tackled at Wardha but was only postponed shows that it is going to be a difficult job to decide. We feel sure that if the Congress decide that the Congress as such has no objective in the Indian States, it must decide that subjects of Indian States have no place in the Congress. So far as the Congress treats Indian States as foreign territory, it must cease to deal with its subjects as apart from the administration. The fact is that the Congress constitution has got into an awful and illogical mess due to the emotional Congress politics of the past and nothing but a bold and a states-

manlike and courageous policy can get the Congress out of it. It is the policy also of logic and common sense.

Our contemporary's point of view is entirely different from ours, but its logic is irrefragable. The Congress is no doubt in a tight spot in solving this question, but it cannot postpone the solution indefinitely.

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The Press Conference.

THE third session of the press conference held at Calcutta last week-end was a great success, thanks to Mr. C.Y. Chintamani's able guidance of it. Meeting as the Conference did in Bengal, it was only to be expected that the problem of terrorism would be more than passingly referred to in the president's address. This expectation has been amply fulfilled. Those who know Mr. Chintamani and his politics can never accuse him of any manner of sympathy with the activities of the terrorists. He can have no use for violence as a method of political agitation. While therefore he would desire to see an end of the terrorist cult as early as possible, he would insist that the measures for that purpose "should contain in them elements of success, that they should not be more severe than necessary, that they should be administered justly and with moderation and discrimination, that they ought not to be directed against the innocent along with the guilty, and—this is most important—that they should be accompanied by healing measures of constructive relief, measures economic and measures political." Observers of contemporary affairs will see for themselves how the present Government policy in regard to terrorists violates all the essentials mentioned by Mr. Chintamani. British statesmen point to the Reforms Act as a genuine endeavour on their part to appease political discontent in this country. Mr. Chintamani does not enter upon an exhaustive examination of this claim. But his view of the Act is clearly shown by the appropriate appellation he has coined for it; he calls it the "anti-India Act for the perpetuation of British domination." To expect any improvement in the relations between England and India so long as such a reactionary measure remains on the statute book is to expect the impossible.

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MR. CHINTAMANI very properly devotes a portion of his address to a discussion of the question whether any repressive laws are really needed when there is on the statute book section 108 of the Cr. P. C. In his opinion, which is also the opinion of most of his countrymen, this places in Government's hands enough power to prevent the delivery of seditious speeches or utterances likely to embitter communal feelings. "What is it," he asks, "which any Government desirous bona fide of preventing the press from becoming criminal but not of suppressing legitimate freedom, cannot achieve by the application of this section?" Barring one or two exceptions, during nearly forty years this section has been on the statute book Government have successfully invoked its authority for preventing mischief; but this has not succeeded in quenching their thirst for coercive legislation. Why? The only reason that Mr. Chintamani can advance is that "the proceedings under that section are judicial, albeit the judicial authority is an executive magistrate, an officer subordinate to the Government, one whose prospects in service depend upon the good will of the Government." Mr. Chintamani's diagnosis of the official mind will be generally regarded as correct.

* * *

Firing in Loharu State.

WHENEVER a serious breach of the public peace is feared or takes place in an Indian State and the situation gets out of the control of the State officials, military help is requisitioned for from the Government of India who are never slow in responding to such requests. It is natural that the Government should abstain from putting awkward questions to the authorities of the State concerned when the first essential is the re-establishment of peace and order in the State. But when this very essential task is accomplished the Government of India as the ultimate authority to prevent misrule in the States should make it a point to look into the State affairs with a view to ascertain for themselves whether the public discontent was well or ill founded.

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SUCH a course seems to be urgently demanded in the case of Loharu State in Northern India. The State authorities, apprehending trouble, appealed to the Government of India for military assistance. A small mobile column was sent from Delhi on the 5th inst. and has successfully helped in putting down public disorders and restoring peace to Loharu, though not without there having been some bloodshed three days later. The firing that was resorted to on the 8th inst. is stated to have resulted in about 20 persons being killed and 50 being wounded.

* * *

THE immediate objective of the re-establishment of peace in the State having been attained, the Government of India must not shrink from facing two questions: (1) whether the firing was justified, properly controlled and not excessive, and (2) whether there is any oppression or misrule in the State. In the accounts of the firing incident appearing in the press repeated complaints are made that if firing was necessary, it was not properly controlled and went beyond the needs of the situation. As to the larger question of the public discontent in the State, it appears even from the Durbar's version of the occurrence that the peasantry have grievances against the land revenue administration of the State, which, in spite of strong public agitation, have remained unredressed. Taxes like those on camels and marriages of widows whose celebration is under a ban in the State except with a permit for which a heavy price has to be paid also seem to have helped to fan the flame of public discontent. To what extent is such opprobrious taxation needed on financial grounds? Cannot some less unpopular sources of taxation be tapped? All these points need and will, we hope, receive careful attention on the part of the Government of India.

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BUT their duty does not seem to us to stop here. They must use their good offices with the Nawab in the matter of the establishment of representative institutions which yet seem to be conspicuous by their absence in the State. It is high time the Government of India exerted their undoubted influence with Indian States in general in order to equip them with organs of public opinion like legislative assemblies and local self-governing bodies like municipalities and local boards. They need not wait for a popular conflagration to spring up in each and every State for doing this their obvious duty.

* * *

Reservation of Highlands.

IN the debate on the Colonial Office vote in the House of Commons on 25th July, Sir Robert Hamil-

ton, ex-Chief Judge of Kenya, raised the question of the proposed statutory reservation of the highlands in Kenya for European settlers. It will be remembered that one of the terms of reference to the Land Commission of Sir Morris Carter was "to define the area generally known as the highlands, within which persons of European descent are to have a privileged position in accordance with the White Paper of 1923." "A privileged position" are the key-words here, and they were defined by the then Colonial Secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, to involve:

(1) The right of Europeans to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in an area now to be defined and to occupy land therein ;

(2) That no person other than a European shall be entitled to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in such area or to occupy land therein.

* * *

THE white highlands policy has been in force in Kenya for the last 30 years, but the privileged position which it conferred upon the Europeans had no statutory recognition. In law the Indians and African natives had just as much right to take up land in the highlands as the Europeans. Now the prohibition is to be embodied in statute. Sir Robert Hamilton, tracing the history of the Colony from the early occupation of the white settlers, remarked :

When the invitation was issued to (white) settlers first to go into that country, the highland area, it was on the understanding that an area would be reserved for them. The country was then a Protectorate, and the Indians who were there wished to have an opportunity of taking up land in that area. Lord Elgin, who was Colonial Secretary at the time, was most unwilling to pass any legislation of a discriminatory character against British subjects, and he therefore directed that as a matter of administration titles to land could only be issued to Europeans by the Governor, and that any transfers of land should be subject to his approval. That procedure has been continued for nearly 30 years. It is merely a matter of administrative procedure. The Protectorate has since become a Colony, and it is now proposed that a law should be passed by Order in Council reserving a defined highland area entirely for Europeans. In other words, that means passing legislation discriminatory against our own British subjects—British Indian subjects and British African subjects, and excluding both of them from any right of holding land within that area. If that were to be done it would be a thing that has never before been done in a British Colony. It would not exclude, say, an Italian or a Frenchman, but it would be in the nature of a colour bar against the Indians and against the Africans.

The Secretary of State has been asked whether it would not be possible to publish the projected Order in Council in draft so that it might be criticised, but he replied that it was unusual and contrary to constitutional procedure that Orders in Council should be published for criticism. May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that in the Government of India Bill, which was recently before this House, provision was definitely made for certain definite important Orders in Council to be submitted to Parliament before they are passed into law. This is a matter of vast importance. There is the possibility of creating a precedent of a character in the British Empire which it would be impossible to do by Order in Council in regard to a mandated territory. It is proposed to do in Kenya, one of our Colonies, something which we could not do in a territory over which we hold a mandate.

* * *

MR. LUNN, speaking on behalf of the Labour Party, joined with Sir Robert Hamilton of the

Liberal Party in protesting against giving "an exclusive legal right of ownership" in the highlands to Europeans. He went further and pledged his Party to the upsetting of the whole policy when it would come into power. "I am bound to say," he observed, "that a Labour Government could never agree to that idea and we will repudiate it as soon as ever it is possible to do so." The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, in reply twitted the Labour Party with having allowed administrative discrimination to continue without question when a Labour Government was formed and could not see why the Party should oppose the same discrimination being embodied in law. He was unable to say whether the Order in Council on the subject would be placed before Parliament for discussion as are going to be Orders in Council under the India Act. He said :

The hon. Member for Rothwell (Mr. Lunn) spoke about the proposed Order in Council with regard to the Kenya highlands and expressed a good deal of horror at the idea that European settlers only should be allowed to settle in those parts of the Colony. He said a Labour Government would never tolerate any legalising of the present position. In fact both Labour Governments accepted the administrative practice. In effect they accepted completely the practice of a good many years that only Europeans should be allowed to settle on land in that part of the country, and even if an Ordinance were put through which legalised the position, in effect it would make no alteration in practice. With regard to the question of legalising it in an Order in Council, all I can say is that the matter is under consideration now and no decision on the actual point has been taken and I cannot say any more than that at the present moment.

* * *

Import Duty on Zanzibar Cloves.

COMMENTING in our issue of July 11 on the proposal to levy a prohibitive import duty on cloves from Zanzibar as a retaliatory measure against the Zanzibar Government, we expressed a fear as to whether the remedy might not turn out to be worse than the disease. An Indian friend who as a resident of Kenya for years past is in close touch with the Indian situation in the East African territories writes to us from London to assure us that the fear is groundless. Explaining the reasons, he says :

You know that the present marketing legislation, called the C. G. A. (Clove-Growers' Association) legislation hits admittedly the exporters who are mainly Indians and only Indians. His Excellency the British Resident in his memorandum in answer to Mr. Menon's very able report has frankly acknowledged this fact. So even without the measure suggested, Indian merchants are to be eliminated from the clove export trade *altogether*. When India is open to buy Zanzibar quality cloves for which the main market is India, the Indian merchants cannot handle that trade freely under the present legislation. Where is the fear then in the event of adoption of a retaliatory measure, if only the Government of India could be made to adopt it? I may mention that the bulk of the Indian population does not depend on the clove export trade. It has import trade and petty shop-keepers' trade. It is for the Zanzibar Government and the advocates of this policy to see what will happen to Zanzibar cloves if India, the main market, is shut out. It is exactly in order to open the eye of the Government that this measure is being suggested. . . .

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STEPPED OUT IN PUBLIC!

EVER since the India Bill came before Parliament, the Indian public have been eagerly expecting an authoritative statement of their views from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, who more than any other British Indian leaders played a significant part in the formulation of the Government proposals, on the nature of the proposals as they were presented to Parliament and as they left Parliament. What is their final estimate of the measure that has now received Royal assent? Indians are naturally very anxious to know it, but they are not yet vouchsafed any information on this score. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have latterly become such cloistered politicians that they do not care to come out into the open and place their considered views before the public. It is, therefore, a source of comfort to find one of them, Mr. Jayakar, breaking his silence on this subject at long last and speaking to a gathering of students in Satara last week. In his speech, however, he studiously avoided considering the merits of the Reforms Act and telling the Indian people through his immediate audience to what extent, in his judgment, the provisions of the Act, by and large, would help the country in achieving its objective of a self-governing democracy.

What he did say incidentally on the subject was of a highly unsatisfactory character. There was nothing to show that the progressive retrogression which the original White Paper proposals underwent, first, in the Joint Select Committee's Report, and, then, in the Houses of Parliament had produced an unfavourable reaction on his mind; he gave no sign of his sharing in the unqualified condemnation which the measure had received in all quarters; he had not a word of reproach for the British statesmen who were responsible for making the constitution so reactionary and then imposing it upon the country against its wishes.

He seemed rather anxious that the Indian people should avert their gaze from the centre, in regard to which of course the constitution is far more unsatisfactory, and instead fix their eyes upon the provinces, which could plausibly be shown to contain some element of progress. "Whatever may be said in other quarters," he observed, "it cannot be denied that the proposed constitution in the provinces is a large advance on the existing conditions." There were no doubt safeguards to consider; even he could not entirely ignore them. But he had an explanation ready. "Most of the safeguards and the provisions giving special powers to the Governor in the new constitution were directly attributable to the divisions amongst Indians. . . . All these safeguards were the outcome of extravagant speeches made by certain politicians." So, if there is anything in the constitution which is not quite what it should be, it is all due to our own folly; nothing is due to the illiberal policy of the British Government!

Why is Mr. Jayakar so anxious, we wonder, to find a scapegoat for Britishers? He seems somehow to consider that at least a part of the discredit for the

utterly unsatisfactory constitution that India is being saddled with attaches to him personally and to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. He is really unjust to himself and to his more distinguished colleagues. They did their best to redeem His Majesty's Government from its colossal mistake; they submitted a memorandum and obtained on it the signatures of all the British Indian delegates to the Joint Select Committee. But H. M. Government did not even pause to look at it, and he need not make himself or any of the British Indian delegates vicarious victims of the disgrace which really falls on the Government. (What happens then, by the way, to his theory that the blame for all the safeguards must be placed on our internal dissensions, since the Government did not accept a single suggestion embodied in a unanimous memorandum of all the British Indian delegates?). But the truth is that Mr. Jayakar is not in a mood for a balanced judgment. He says, for instance, that the Joint Memorandum "went very near the establishment of Dominion Status in this country." A man who can say this can say anything; he can even say that the new constitution is quite satisfactory. We are certain that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru will never be guilty of such a gross exaggeration.

II.

The more important question, however, is the one to which he devoted the greater part of his remarks: what are we to do about the new constitution? His emphatic answer is that we must not boycott the machinery; that we must not try deliberately to overthrow it either; but that we must work it in a spirit of good will and with a determination to make a success of it. Our first criticism of this opinion is that it is not related in any way to a considered judgment of the possibilities open to Indians under the constitution. One gathers the impression after reading his speech that Mr. Jayakar would have expressed the same opinion even if the constitution had been still more reactionary. Let us suppose, for instance, that the provincial upper chambers were not merely delaying and revisory bodies but, like the Council of State in the centre, had been endowed with co-equal authority with the lower chambers; or that the provincial legislatures were given the *liberum veto* on constitutional amendments that the States governments have been given; or that similar other outrageous provisions had been made. We fear even then his opinion would not have varied. Naturally a man who counsels co-operation irrespective of the nature of the reforms with which co-operation is invited can convince nobody. Mr. Jayakar has nothing whatever to say to those who believe that the ship of the new constitution is entirely unseaworthy; that if put out to sea it will be a total wreck beyond any possibility of salvage; and that the only way out is a completely new vessel. It is no use saying to such people that anyhow they cannot blow up the craft, and that, therefore, all that they can do is to explore a route of comparative safety

and so to avoid the dangerous rocks. Even if people cannot blow up the craft they will in sheer desperation always be trying to blow it up regardless of consequences, unless one can prove to them that such a desperate remedy is unnecessary; that within the framework of the constitution a good deal of advance is possible; and that at any rate, if the advance is small to-day it is capable of becoming great tomorrow. But, to prove this, the merits and defects of the constitution must be coolly considered, and this is just what Mr. Jayakar avoids.

If it is impossible to wreck the constitution, is it possible to work it smoothly and successfully, as Mr. Jayakar desires? Mr. Jayakar knows very well the necessary condition for a smooth and successful working of the constitution. The condition is—compromise all round. Mr. Jayakar says: "The one good feature of the proposed constitution is that it leaves scope for compromises at every stage. Further progress is by compromise—compromises with the Governor often working as conventions; compromises with the Opposition; compromises with European commerce, the minorities, and so on." The constitution "does not leave scope for compromises at every stage", as Mr. Jayakar euphemistically puts it. It makes it essential for everyone who would make a success of the job to compromise at every step; and the kind of compromise that is required here is not merely the exercise of good nature and kindly tolerance which is necessary in every undertaking, but a *fixed resolve to leave undisturbed those classes who have a privileged position and perhaps even to gratify any new demands that they may make to strengthen their position still further.* Of course if we all make up our minds to such abject surrender, the constitutional machinery will run smoothly. We are also prepared to grant that if we all resolve never to talk back to the Princes, never to step on the toes of the British commercial men, never to cross the path of the dominant Indian owning classes, never to give any cause of dissatisfaction to communalists and thus never to occasion a clash with the Governor or the Governor-General, the constitution will have a certain measure of success and we shall also have achieved within narrow limits some political progress. For there are certain things which can be done without displeasing anybody. If our policy is steadily and unswervingly oriented towards keeping every vested interest *khush*, successful working of the constitution is possible. But on this basis why is not overthrow of the constitution equally possible? If we all resolved to bring about political crises and force the Governor and the Governor-General into a collision with the legislature, the political machinery would fall immediately into ruin about us. But this is not possible, in view of the crisscrossing of people's ambitions. They will never unite on such a programme. But will they unite on the other programme of letting all those who are on top to stay there in perpetuity and never undertaking any measure of social reconstruction? It is, humanly speaking, impossible.

It might have been possible in old days, when a

few leaders could make pacts behind the backs of people as it were and keep them in force for quite a number of years, but the masses even in India are now sitting up, if one may say so, and watching attentively what is happening around them. They will do so more in future. If the new constitution will do nothing else it will widen the franchise; and the hole and corner methods and opportunist policies of former days will not be practicable henceforward. This is the one hope that we place in the constitution. But if it is to be realised even to a small extent, it means that the strategy which Mr. Jayakar contemplates and which is indispensable if the constitution is to be successful will no longer be possible—the strategy, namely, of never attacking privilege and never attempting a shift of power from the higher to the lower classes. Mr. Jayakar too is not quite content with the constitution as it is. In fact he recommends the working of it because he believes that this will enable us to outgrow its limitations most rapidly. If only we allow the safeguards to fall into desuetude, we can go to the British Parliament, he says, and ask for their formal abolition. But this request must proceed from every class in the country, those who are overprivileged and those who are underprivileged. If all ask for constitutional amendment, the British Parliament will not refuse. This is his reasoning. But may not the British Parliament then say: "Since constitutional limitations have never stood in the way of your progress, why insist on their repeal? You have always been extraordinarily reasonable so far to every party concerned; must you be so mistrustful of us? The limitations will remain only on paper. What harm are they going to do to you? Consider the matter as practical politicians, and not as theorists." Constitutional amendment will not come in this way at all. It will be thought of only when it is realised by the British Government and the Princes, who are to be the parties in future to such amendment, that the smooth working of the constitution itself needs it. Constitutional amendment is not to be a reward for the smooth working of the constitution but the price of it. Mr. Jayakar's outlook is thus totally different from ours, but the point that we wish to make just now is that the one condition that he desiderates, and rightly desiderates, for making the constitution successful is not capable of fulfilment any more than the condition necessary for overturning the constitution.

III.

We have only one more word to say, and it is of transcendent importance. Even if it were possible to work the constitution without coming up against the safeguards it would not be desirable. However inflexible our determination may be to travel in the well worn ruts, we shall soon be jolted out of them. But what is the good to the country of our keeping to these ruts? We do not want self-government merely for emotional satisfaction, in order that we may enjoy the feeling that Indians now rule in the

place of the Britishers. In fact even such a feeling would be illegitimate, for behind the facade of Indian self-rule that we may succeed in putting up there will always be British control. But a mere change of masters, even if it were real, would satisfy nobody. We want self-government only as a means of introducing fundamental changes in society, as a means of abolishing privilege, as a means of transferring power from the ruling class, whether white or brown, to the broad masses of people, as a means of establishing a democratic and equalitarian regime. If our self-government is such as to foreclose all these momentous issues, as on Mr. Jayakar's hypothesis it does, we have no use for it. We do not want our future legislators to make it the one ambition of their lives to keep steadily to the right lest, if they allowed themselves to stray into the sheep-fold of the leftists, they might give an excuse to the Governor or the Governor-General to invoke his reserve powers. On the contrary we want them to sponsor drastic measures for the creation of a new social order and challenge all the vested interests and the Governor and the Governor-General together to do their worst. To make the constitution successful is not our objective. Our objective is and must

be to revamp our social and economic structure, and if even in taking one forward step in this long and weary process we come into collision with the holders of power and privilege, as we are afraid will be the case, for such collision we must be prepared, whatever the reaction of it may be on the constitution. We are of course under no delusion that any but very small and tentative items of a programme such as we have in mind can even be attempted for a long time, for the vested interests can halt any radical programme without ceremony. But the tendency and direction of the programme should be stated clearly at this formative stage. In any case we do not want those who would go into the legislatures to be the errand boys of our Princes, commercial and industrial classes, landlords, communalists, services and the Governors and the Governor-General. On the contrary we want front-fighters, whose character opposition will only harden to iron. This is not the time to indicate details of a programme; we had to mention its general character only to show that, if overthrowing the constitution is an illusion, as Mr. Jayakar says, the process of making it a success, as he understands it, is also an illusion.

A TRUSTEE AND HIS WARDS.

THE boast of Great Britain is that her colonial administration is carried on strictly in the interests of the natives of her colonies, for whom she considers herself to be a trustee; and that, in fact, she has always been following in the colonies under her control the principles laid down by the League of Nations for observance by the mandatory countries in the mandates given to them. In the Colonial Office debate that took place in the House of Commons on 25th July members took an opportunity to point out some of the instances in which Great Britain's policy was in flagrant contradiction to the mandate policy. As we have observed under "Topics of the Week" elsewhere, Sir Robert Hamilton showed very clearly how, in reserving the highlands of Kenya for the White settlers, not merely administratively but statutorily, His Majesty's Government was doing something which it could not do in the neighbouring country of Tanganyika, which it is administering under the League's supervision. Similarly he pointed out that, in imposing a policy of imperial preference upon the Crown Colonies, the Government was going clean against the policy of the Open Door prescribed for all mandatories by the League of Nations. In the case of self-governing Dominions it is different, because any tariff concessions that they may give to the United Kingdom are given by them of their own free choice; but in the Crown colonies the tariff policy is dictated to them by the British Government and the concessions are not free will concessions but are wrung from them by superior authority.

WEST AFRICA, SINGAPORE, CEYLON.

Sir Robert Hamilton gave specific instances of Imperial Preference by compulsion. He said:

When we were a free trade Empire the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was able to say that we were the trustees for the commerce of the world. The Colonies in all quarters of the globe were in the habit of growing those things which suited them best and selling them in the markets which suited them best without any interference. Their revenues were raised largely on Customs duties, but they arranged the Customs duties themselves and, in fact, throughout the whole Empire there was an open door to the trade of all nations. When we look at our far-flung Empire, stretching right round the globe, it will be realised what a valuable factor the open door of free trade to all nations was for preventing the jealousy of foreign nations and ensuring the peace of the world. When the Ottawa policy was carried out by our great Dominions, and they made their arrangements and bargains with this country, it was done under a system of free Parliamentary government, it was done with the consent of the majority of the people of the Dominions, but when the policy is carried out in our Colonial Empire it is carried out in an entirely different manner. It is carried out mainly on directions given by the Secretary of State from this country.

On the 7th May last year the President of the Board of Trade in this House said:

"The Governments of the Colonies and Protectorates for which such action would be appropriate will be asked to introduce import quotas which, except in the case of West Africa, would apply to all foreign imports of cotton and rayon goods. . . . In the most important of the West African Colonies there were treaty obligations which preclude differentiation in favour of our own goods. It was for this reason that on the 16th May of last year notice was given to release the West African Colonies from their obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Treaty."

That action was taken purely in the interests of our home exporters. The natives in these Colonies were not asked whether they would prefer being compelled to buy, or go without, Lancashire goods which they could not afford to buy, or being prevented from buying Japanese goods which they could afford to buy. It is clearly obvious, with conditions as they are to-day, that very

great pressure indeed can be, and is being, brought by the manufacturers in this country not only on the Colonial Office but on other Departments as well to see that every possible assistance is given them to export their goods at a profit. While one may not entirely complain of manufacturers wishing to get every market they can in the present circumstances we should be careful to see that in giving them assistance we are not subordinating the interests of people in our own Colonies to the interests of those people at home who wish to export.

Let me give another instance. In June, 1934, a unanimous unofficial opposition was outvoted by the official members of the Legislature in Singapore on a motion imposing quotas on foreign textile imports, and as reported in the *Times*, I find that the Committee of the British Association of Straits Merchants wrote the following letter to the Colonial Office:

"Since the earliest days of the Colony, the freedom of its ports has been the foundation of its trade. Owing to the recent decision of the Dutch East Indies Government to control imports into their territories, the Committee submits that there has never been a time when the arguments for adherence to the policy which has served the Colony so well in the past were stronger than at present."

That measure was forced through the Legislature at Singapore in direct opposition to the unofficial members.

In July, 1934, in Ceylon, which has a legislature of a higher status than that which is to be found in most of our Crown Colonies, the legislature objected to imposing certain proposed preferential duties which were suggested to them by this country. They would not take any action, and as they refused, an Order in Council was passed in this country giving the Governor power to fix textile quotas. Those are two cases in which a Colonial legislature has been overridden by this country in the interests of exporters at home.

TANGANYIKA.

Another instance that Sir Robert Hamilton quoted of imposing preferential duties and restrictions upon the Colonies in the interest of the home manufactures is very remarkable. A British Cordage Company complained to the Colonial Secretary against the competition of a Tanganyika Cordage Company and suggested that prohibitive duties should be levied upon cordage exported by the Tanganyika Company on the ground that it was manufactured by cheap native labour. Promptly wrote the Colonial Secretary to the Tanganyika Company: "You must come to a mutual understanding with the British Company; or else His Majesty's Government will be compelled to put a prohibitive duty on such commodities imported into this country from the Colonial Empire!" And as if to drive the iron into the soul of the Tanganyika Company, the Colonial Secretary very blandly added: "This duty would, of course, be confined to colonial products and would not be applicable to imports from the Dominions." The British Company thereafter took the matter into its own hands and informed the Colonial Company that "His Majesty's Government have decided to take steps to ensure that this competition, and any other such competition, will cease henceforth." Naturally the Tanganyika Company had to come to an arrangement with the British Company, and it did. But it serves to show the British Government's policy of colonial exploitation in all its nakedness. As Sir Robert said: "Not

only do we get the Colonial Office in one instance forcing through legislation and overriding the local legislatures, but at the other end we get it threatening the imposition of penal duties on the importation of goods made by cheap native labour in what as a matter of fact is a mandated territory.

CONGO BASIN TREATIES.

Sir Robert Hamilton gave one more instance. He said:

Finally, there is a matter which is engaging the attention of the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade, upon which no action has yet been taken. A big attack is being made again on the Congo Basin Treaties. As is known to the House, these Treaties cover a large area stretching across the centre of Africa, which was settled at the time of the Berlin Conference in 1885. That Conference being, as they stated, "concerned as to the means of furthering the moral and material well-being of the native population in that area, declares that the trade of all nations with that area shall enjoy complete freedom." That has been the case up to now. Of course, if you want to put on preferential duties you have to put on duties all round, so as to enable you to give a preference and the attack which is being made now on these Congo Basin Treaties is with the object not of consulting the interests of the natives and the ability of the natives to purchase goods, but in order to give a preference to British goods over foreign goods within that area.

It was complained that on account of these treaties (the General Act of Berlin, 1885, the General Act and Declaration of Brussels, 1890, the Convention between Great Britain and France, 1898, and the Declaration of 1899, also the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1919) it had become impossible to check the competition of Japan in the West, Central and Eastern African territories affected by the treaties, these territories being the Belgian Congo, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, parts of Portuguese East Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Portuguese West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland. A great portion of this extensive territory is under the British. The British Government has applied the quota system to the Colonies in general in order to overcome Japanese competition in cotton piece-goods, and, as Capt. P. D. Macdonald showed in the House of Commons on 18th July, on account of the quota system the exports of British goods have increased in some cases by 400 and 500 per cent. But, under the Congo Basin Treaties, the Government is precluded from applying this policy of quotas to the African Colonies, with the result that Japan, being checked in other Colonies, is penetrating rapidly in the African Colonies. In 1927 Japan exported 25 million yards of cotton piece-goods to these Colonies. The exports increased to 48 millions in 1931; 58 millions in 1932; 73 millions in 1933 and 87 millions in 1934. British exports correspondingly dwindled. They were 18.5 million yards in 1929 and only 8.5 in 1934. In value the British exports were £260,000 in 1934 and the Japanese exports £964,000 in the same year. British manufacturers and merchants are therefore very anxious somehow to escape from the obligations of the Congo Basin Treaties. The trouble is that these treaties can neither be revised nor abrogated. They are irrevocable; and the only

hope for Lancashire and Great Britain is that some loophole may be found in their wording which will enable the British Government to get round the prohibitions. The matter is being considered by the Board of Trade for several years and British commercial interests are getting impatient. This feeling of impatience was expressed by Capt. Macdonald when he said: "However obscure the wording of the Treaties may be, it is not beyond the wit of man to find some means of getting out of treaties which were entered blindly or hastily, at any rate stupidly, because there is no clause allowing for revision or reconsideration." Thus international pledges are to be circumvented in order to bring relief to Lancashire.

PALESTINE.

The same kind of complaint that was made against the Congo Basin Treaties was made against the Palestine Mandate. It is said that Japan is dumping silk and other goods into Palestine and the terms of the mandate make it impossible to afford the necessary protection to British and other manufacturers against Japan's unfair competition. The mandate provides that Palestine may impose whatever tariffs she may consider necessary to develop her natural resources and safeguard the interests of her population, but these tariffs must be of a non-discriminatory nature. Article 18 of the mandate forbids discrimination, in order that the mandatory country, which in this case is England, should not claim exclusive exploitation of the mandated territory and that no monopoly should be established. The British people, however, now desire to exclude Japanese goods from Palestine, and the mandate stands in the way. There again industrialists are clamouring for such an interpretation of the mandate as practically to annul Article 18. It is obvious that, while the British Government may find it somewhat difficult to get over the difficulties resulting from treaties and mandates, it is forcing upon the Crown Colonies under its undivided control a policy of differentiation in favour of British manufacturers.

HINDU MORAL IDEALS.*

THE criticism of foreign observers that the social and economic backwardness of India is principally due to the quietistic, negative and pessimistic outlook of Hindu religious thought is now fairly old. It has been demonstrated over and over again that all religions preach the gospel of quietism and by their very nature tend to exalt the moral over the material ideals of human beings. It is also clear by now that the material progress of the West is not brought about on account of, but in spite of, the teachings of Christianity which has always emphasised the spiritual virtue of poverty. Both the evolutionary study of Hindu moral and religious thought as also the evidence of India's past history combine in support of the claim that the Hindu religion does more to promote a balanced and

sober outlook on the material aspects of human life than most other religions. And lastly, it is now widely recognised that the psychological equipment necessary to induce an Industrial Revolution will be obtained not by a piecemeal modification of religious thought but by relegating religion to the purely individual sphere of private conduct. Morality in its social significance is now definitely based on rational considerations of individual and collective betterment and not on any outward objective standards.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, the venerable scholar, judge and publicist of South India, accepts the inherent and immediate claims of individualism and patriotism in his new book on 'the Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals.' The author observes on page 198: "While the cultivation of individualism is likely to be beneficial in India, it may not be equally so in the case of countries where it has been already developed to a maximum. Similarly while nationalism and patriotism are virtues to be encouraged and developed in India, the spirit of nationalism has reached undesirable lengths in Europe and America." It is doubtful whether nationalism, even in the European and American countries, deserves the censure that is so frequently heaped upon it nowadays. It is certain, however, that there is need to be a little more emphatic about the claims of individualism and nationalism in the India of today. Individualism unaccompanied by nationalism is likely to be more destructive than positive. Both individualism and nationalism need for their vigorous and healthy development a rational and unprejudiced outlook on life which is most ill developed in India. Sir Sivaswamy seems in many places in his book to approve of the advance of rationalism, but he is extremely cautious in his support of the claims of a rational morality. For our part we feel convinced that if ever social and material progress is to come about in India it will be the result not of detailed modifications introduced in the Hindu code of morals and religion, eminently adaptable though it is, but of a liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of an authoritarian ideology. Alongside of individualism and nationalism, and in fact prior to them both must be placed the claims of rationalism in India. It is a happy sign of the times that such widely respected and eminently responsible members of the older generation of public men as Sir Sivaswamy should so unmistakably indicate the triple creed of renaissance India.

In delivering the Kamala lectures of the University of Calcutta in 1935 and in publishing them in a very attractively produced book, Sir Sivaswamy was principally addressing himself to the Hindu orthodox party which has recently revived its opposition to social reform in general and to the use of legislative enactments to bring it about in particular. Sir Sivaswamy has no difficulty at all in proving beyond the shadow of a doubt the hollowness of the Sanatanist claim that the Dharmashastras are eternal and immutable. It is a simple historical fact that all the Shastras have undergone material

* *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals.* (Kamala Lectures). By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer. (Calcutta University.) 1935. 22cm. 242p. Rs. 2-8.

alterations in the past at the hands of learned and respected authors. If, therefore, the preservation and progress of Hindu society require at the present moment a further substantial alteration in Hindu law and practice the same can be brought about by interpretations and new compilations from authoritative sources. With respect to the role of the Legislature in bringing about the reform of the social practices of the Hindus, the position of Sir Sivaswamy does not err on the side of boldness or logical rigour. Excepting cases of gross inhumanity or social menace Sir Sivaswamy would make legislative interference dependent on the support of the majority of the community concerned. Surely none of us is such a bad student of reform movements as to forget that all reforms which liberated the mass mind were the outcome of the pressure exercised by an enlightened and insistent minority. Without wishing to belittle the importance of movements calculated to educate the public mind it must be asserted that the strict rule of majority opinion in such matters as legal reform can hardly be very relevant. Nor does the presence in the legislature of members belonging to other communities reduce the competence of those bodies to legislate with regard to the social practices of any class of citizens. Once we accept the claims of a rational and subjective moral standard it is unjustifiable to deny to the constituted social authority the full right of taking such steps as in its opinion are necessary to promote the cause of national progress. If the Sanatanists study the Dharmashastras as well as Sir Sivaswamy has studied them, they should constitute him a new Smritikar, the author of a new Smriti. We for our part would be willing, as the highest common measure of agreement with our coreligionists, to abide by the modifications authorised by Sir Sivaswamy. But in the nature of things this is impossible. The moment relativity of the Shastras is conceded the citadel of orthodoxy and authoritarian morals is handed over to the assailants. With obstinate opposition the Sanatanists hold to their position. The surest way to bring about lasting social and material reform in India consists in spreading the gospel of individualism, rationalism and nationalism. When these imbue the Indian mind, the several religions and Hinduism amongst them will inevitably undergo the necessary modifications and they will be relegated to their proper position of comparative social insignificance to which alone they are entitled in the twentieth century. The grasp of principles, texts and details, the broad liberal philosophy and the eminently correct and attractive style of Sir Sivaswamy endow his book with an attraction which few students of Hindu social progress can or should resist.

D. G. KARVE.

Reviews

GIDE AND CO-OPERATION.

CO-OPERATION AND CHARLES GIDE. Ed. by KARL WALTER. (King.) 1933. 22cm. 178p. 8/6. CO-OPERATION, it is said, is a via media between capitalism and socialism, absorbing good features in

both and eschewing scrupulously the equally indispensible drawbacks of both. But few have been able to appreciate correctly the independent status of the movement. Even in England, the home of co-operative practice on the consumers side, co-operation has been recognised only as one of the three aspects of the development of Labour, the other two being the Labour political party and the trade union movement. This trinitarian view still persists in the English mind. As such the co-operative doctrine in its purity is not clearly identifiable in the writings of English co-operators.

It is to Charles Gide—the French savant, that one has to turn for clear and independent thought on co-operation. He forms a link between the academic mind and the practical demonstration of new economic laws which the co-operative movement embodies. "We have nobody like him. No English economist has broken away as he did from the traditional school and with data scrupulously collected year after year and doctrine developed in lecture after lecture, established a living body of knowledge and theory from which can be drawn not only instruction of unusual clarity and personal originality but insight and courage in the face of present economic perplexities." To Gide the "co-operative movement is not the herald of Socialism nor is it the means to combat it. The co-operative synthesis lies deeper than this. It centres about a common original impulse of man which inspires him, whatever be his environment, to make his weakness strength, by the simple plan of joining with others who are similarly conditioned, in the pursuit of a goal which can be attained in proportion as he is prepared to co-ordinate his own interests with those of his fellow members."

He did not accept the inevitability of co-operative progress and therefore it was very essential to regulate its study also. He noted the increasing number of persons who were interesting themselves in the study of the movement. In order to keep co-operation pure, unsullied by Socialist influence, its doctrine must be studied by students in that scientific spirit necessary to appreciate its beauties. Though the universities had taken up the study, there was no common meeting ground for persons interested nor an international centre for the exchange and study of data and ideas for a really academic development. To provide this was the purpose of the International Institute for the study of Co-operation founded by him in 1931. "It is in no way in competition with the International Co-operative Alliance nor does it in any way aspire to the direction of the movement. It is, as the title implies, a Study Association among those whose work is the teaching of co-operation, whether in their professional capacity or by their books."

In the book under review, the publication of the International Institute for the study of co-operation, the various problems of co-operation are presented in a readable form grouped round the charming and original personality of the great French teacher of economics and founder of a school of co-operative doctrine. No better auspices could be thought of for the thoroughness of the treatment of the various subjects dealt with by persons of international repute.

The book is divided into two parts. The first one deals with the life and teachings of Gide, being a collection of essays by different authors published after the death of the professor. The other part consists of the papers read at the second meeting of the Institute in Paris in 1932 by the members of the Institute.

The first part brings out vividly the personality and the doctrines of Gide in the different aspects of his life. The co-operative doctrine which he held

out so prominently in all his teachings is displayed in bold relief and to us co-operators, this is of great importance. In his essay "Charles Gide and Consumers' Co-operation," Prof. Bernard Lavergne emphasises the distinct contribution of Gide when he writes, "To have proudly pitched our camp facing on the one side the liberal school of classical economists, and on the other the Marxian doctrine in the ascendant for fifty years among the Socialists of every European country—that was the great achievement of the leader we have just lost. Unaided he was able to give to an inspiring doctrine its ground work and its limpid precision of detail which have counted for so much in its success."

In the second part, the Chapter on "The Universities' Services to Co-operation" is interesting. The author pleads for a *rapprochement* between the student of theory and the practical man in the movement and concludes that once this takes place both parties will profit. "Science has much to give; it is also prepared to learn much from the practical man." A practical appreciation of this pleading is of inestimable value for the development of the movement on right lines. The last two essays—"Co-operative Finance in Capitalist Economy" by N. Baron and "Co-operative Methods in Tropical countries" by Strickland follow the usual lines familiar to those in touch with the other writings of the respective authors.

The present publication serves a three-fold purpose. It enables us to visualise the personality and remember what we owe to the Great Teacher. The International Institute for the Study of Co-operation is prominently brought to the notice of the co-operators of the world. Finally, attention is focussed on some of the problems of co-operation reviewed by some of the great co-operative thinkers of the day. Each one of these deserves the respectful attention of every co-operator. The value of this publication which combines all the three cannot therefore be over-emphasised.

S. GOPALASWAMY.

GERMANY UNDER HITLER.

THE SECRET OF HITLER'S VICTORY.

By PETER & IRMA PETROFF. (Hogarth Press.)
1934. 20cm. 128p. 3/6.

IN this book is given the history of the origin and rise of the Hitlerian regime in Germany, its *raison d'être* and the causes for its essential strength. The authors point out that one of the principal favourable factors for the rise of national socialism was the fact that the Republican sentiment in Germany was never deep-rooted and that even though the form of the constitution changed, the old monarchical-cum-military spirit continued. A second reason for the rise of national socialism was that the working classes were not properly organised and the idea that man's misery consequent upon the economic crisis in the country would automatically result in socialism and Marxism failed to come true. The Social Democratic Party which was in the beginning of the Republic a force for cultural and social regeneration failed to show qualities of the required leadership of the masses at the time of the economic crisis and was powerless in the face of the combination of the Reichsweher and big industry. It became gradually an instrument of its own destruction and of the tree of social liberty and progress it had itself reared. "The rights of parliament, the liberty of the press, the wage level, social insurance, unemployment benefit, municipal self-government—all

this was systematically crippled by way of emergency orders, and the responsibility for all the deeds of the Brüning Government was thrust on the shoulders of social democracy in the eyes of the workers." The result of this reaction and weak-kneed surrender in a period of crisis was the increase in unemployment. The discontent and unrest were waiting to be mobilized and brought under proper leadership to be a new force by itself, and the Nazi movement took advantage of the situation and brought in Hitler. As the author graphically writes:—

The growing Nazi movement understood how to take advantage of the widespread longing for a saviour and some of them proclaimed Hitler as a second Christ; the 'Heil Hitler' had an electric effect and made the mediocre figure of the Bavarian soldier from Austria proper, in the imagination of his followers, as a hero and a saint. At last, here in real life, as in a trashy novel, there was a case of a non-entity playing the part of a great hero. And he played it well.

The purpose of the Nazis was "to make use of the rage of the masses directed against capitalism and twist it for the struggle against democracy." The 'system' understood differently by different men was attacked by the Nazis so as to suit all tastes. The mistakes of the Social Democratic Party and the Brüning Government proved to be the advantage of the Nazis and Hitler, while the excesses of the Communists proved their own undoing. In between them Hitler slowly but steadily acquired power and influence first in Prussia where in the elections of April 24, 1932, they became the strongest party and subsequently in the Reichstag.

In picturesque language, the authors describe the events following the election, the Von Papen regime, the usurpation of control over Prussia and demoralization of the Social Democratic Party, the subsequent election resulting in a shining victory for Hitler and the Nazis. They point out that the event was possible on account of the vacillation and lack of leadership of the Social Democratic Party, which tamely surrendered to dictates from outside in a time of crisis and on account of the combination of capitalist-cum-Nazi forces as against the weakened communist-cum-Social Democratic forces. Hindenburg whom the Social Democrats wanted to use as a bulwark against the Nazi onrush himself appointed Herr Hitler Chancellor on January 30th, 1933.

The authors in their characteristic picturesque language go on to narrate the subsequent history of Germany under Hitler's regime, the suppression of the press, the abolition of freedom, the gagging of opposition. They write that "Goering burned the Reichstag and tried to put the blame on the Communists"—a theory hotly denied by the Nazis but repeated again recently. 'A crusade of extirpation against Jews and Marxists' then set in.

The culminating point was reached when on July 14th, 1933, the Nazi Government promulgated a law declaring all political parties except the Nazi party illegal. Culture, journalism and education, art and everything else was prostituted for the Nazi lust for power and hatred of opposition. Next followed a thorough-going process of Nazification of German institution which is synonymous with 'Hitlerising' them. But the authors point out that 'however totalitarian the Fascist State in Germany may appear, it nevertheless rules only the surface. Below, subterranean Germany ferments and simmers, undismayed and unconquered.' But there is little hope that the ferment will break out again in any revolutionary shape for a long time, thanks to the ruthless suppression of opposition by the Nazis. In

concluding the survey of Nazi activities the authors declare that the dictatorship must be stamped out, and that democracy must be defended. And for that purpose a clear-cut socialist policy must be devised.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

SEVA SADAN WORK.

SILVER JUBILEE ALBUM OF THE SEVA SADAN SOCIETY, 1935. (The General Secretary, Poona Seva Sadan Society, Poona, 2.) 25cm. Rs. 10.

ANYONE who has visited the Poona Seva Sadan Society will be amazed at the variety of its activities and the far-reaching character of its influence in shaping the women of the land into self-supporting useful citizens. The institution was started twenty-five years ago by Mr. G. K. Devadhar with the help of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and a number of local ladies and in commemoration of its quarter of a century of useful activities for the womanhood of India the Society has brought out a very well-illustrated souvenir album containing a review and report of the activities of the Society and its branches.

The Society's activities aim at the all-round progress and well-being of the women of India. The Society provides facilities for women for medical education, training as teachers, adult education, special English classes, high school education, training in domestic economy, hygiene, industry, music, public health, nursing, etc. In all, the headquarters of the Society at Poona runs 58 classes which are availed of by 1800 women of all classes. Besides, the Society maintains in Poona six hostels for women students studying medicine, nursing and midwifery. The activities of the Society have extended beyond Poona City. All over India from Madras in the distant South to Jodhpur in the North it has got branches. The students trained by the Seva Sadan are holding responsible posts in the various hospitals, dispensaries and infant welfare centres, either in independent positions, or in the branches of the Society. Within the last twenty-five years, the Society has been able to send out 1320 trained workers. This is no small achievement and the great services rendered to the institution by Mr. Devadhar since its inception cannot at all be overestimated. The publication contains a number of useful and instructive charts.

The album is nicely got up. It contains 592 pages, 270 of which contain 310 blocks. These illustrate as much the varied nature of the Seva Sadan activities as that of its workers and friends. In a Foreword to the album written by the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon warmly commends its study to all those who wish to know something of the Seva Sadan and its work. From his close contact with Mr. Devadhar and his help-mates during his Governorship of Bombay, Lord Willingdon testifies "to the selfless ideals they have set before themselves in order to advance the well-being of their countrymen," a testimony fully shared by the Countess of Willingdon, as her signature to the Foreword shows. The extracts from Government reports and publications, and from speeches and remarks of ex-Viceroy and their wives and ex-Governors of Bombay appended to the album make interesting reading and bear witness to the widespread popularity of the institution among people of all races and creeds and in all parts of the world. This impression is strengthened by the tributes to its work paid by newspapers from time to time which also find a place in the album. To go through the album

itself is a liberal education. All public workers will find this book a source of inspiration.

The album deserves the patronage of the public.
S. R. V.

SHORT NOTICE.

SCIENCE, RELIGION AND MAN. By WILLIAM JOHN JAMES CORNELIUS. (Williams & Norgate.) 1934. 22cm. 387p. 15/-

THE book under review deals with many subjects of scientific, religious and human interest, such as creation and evolution, God and immortality, the origin and progress of man. Through careful reading and devoted study, the author has been able to put together many bits of useful information bearing on many serious problems and ultimate issues, which he presents in the present book. The Rev. Dr. Cornelius has unearthed a flint Hache or Celt (reproduced in the frontispiece), a tool probably belonging to the man in the Neolithic age, at Newhaven in Sussex where the Piltown man was discovered. We get in Chapter I, a highly abridged account of the "Phenomenon of Life" as it must have appeared on earth some forty million years ago. Since only a hundred thousand years man has separated himself from the animal world, lived in caves and entered upon the great march of civilization and progress extending over centuries. The author finds that the teachings of revelation and that of biology agree as regards the emergence of existing life from some antecedent life, and that there is a correspondence between the order of creation in genesis and the geological accounts of a succession of created events, and that science cannot go against the teaching of religion as regards personal God and his creation of man and Nature. The chapter on "More about Man" is very informative on the recent discoveries in anthropology concerning the pre-historic man. The two chapters on Magic make a very interesting reading, and show how even in this so-called civilized age men and women do believe in superstitions, magic and even witchcraft. The last chapter "After This Life" gives considerations for a belief in personal immortality as taught by Christianity. The book, on the whole, endeavours to reconcile the religious dogmas with scientific theories. Though not constructive and systematic, it is nevertheless written in a truly studious spirit and is intended "to give to those who are interested in origins, developments and issues as they affect human life, some ideas, facts and suggestions." This professedly humble aim of the book may be said to be eminently fulfilled by its execution.

D. G. LONDHE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- PLANNING FOR EMPLOYMENT. A PRELIMINARY STUDY.** By SOME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT. (Macmillan.) 1935. 20cm. 97p. 2/-.
- VALMIKI RAMAYANA.** By Prof. P. S. S. SASTRI. (Natesan.) 1935. 18cm. 420p. Rs. 1/4.
- GOLD BOOM OR SLUMP.** By L. L. B. ANGAS. (St. Clements Press.) 1935. 34cm. 38p. 5/-.
- THE INCIDENCE OF DELIQUENCY IN BERKELEY, 1928-32.** By HERMAN ADLER, FRANCES CAHN and JOHANNES. (University of California Press.) 1934. 24cm. 102p. 9/-.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGES. By L. L. B. ANGAS. (Macmillan.) 1935. 24cm. 273p. 20/-.

THE INDIAN PEASANT AND HIS ENVIRONMENT. By N. GANGULEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 22cm. 230p. Rs. 7.

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY. Vol. II. By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. (Kitabistan, Allahabad.) 1935. 22cm. 615-1569p. Rs. 9.

CENTRAL BANKING IN INDIA, 1773-1934. By OM PRAKASH GUPTA. (The Author, Finance Dept., Government of India.) 1935. 22cm. 290p. Rs. 5.

A SELECTION FROM THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA. (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad.) 1935. 22cm. 505p. Rs. 5.

PARSI CHARITY RELIEF AND COMMUNAL AMELIORATION. By JAL FEEROSE BULSARA. (Author, Pudamjee House, 2 Cumballa Hill, Bombay.) 1935. 22cm. 452p.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE. By LEYTON RICHARDS. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1935. 20cm. 160p. 4/-.

WORLD PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY EXPLAINED FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. By HEBE SPAULL. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1935. 20cm. 125p. 3/6.

THINKING ABOUT MARRIAGE. By ROY A. BURKHART. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1934. 20cm. 156p.

CHRIST AND COMMUNISM. By E. STANLEY JONES. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1935. 20cm. 318p. 5/-.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA. By K. NATARAJAN. (Author, Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay.) 1935. 20cm. 150p.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By NARESH CHANDRA ROY. (Book Co., Calcutta.) 1935. 90cm. 297p. Rs. 2/8.

LITERATURE AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By PHILIP HENDERSON. (The Twentieth Century Library Series No. 15.) (John Lane.) 1935. 20cm. 180p. 3/6.

THE TOWN AND A CHANGING CIVILIZATION. By DAVID V. GLASS. (The Twentieth Century Library Series No. 17.) (John Lane.) 1935. 20cm. 148p. 3/6.

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