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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. XXXI.

NOVEMBER: CONTENTS.

No. 11. 1930

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THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

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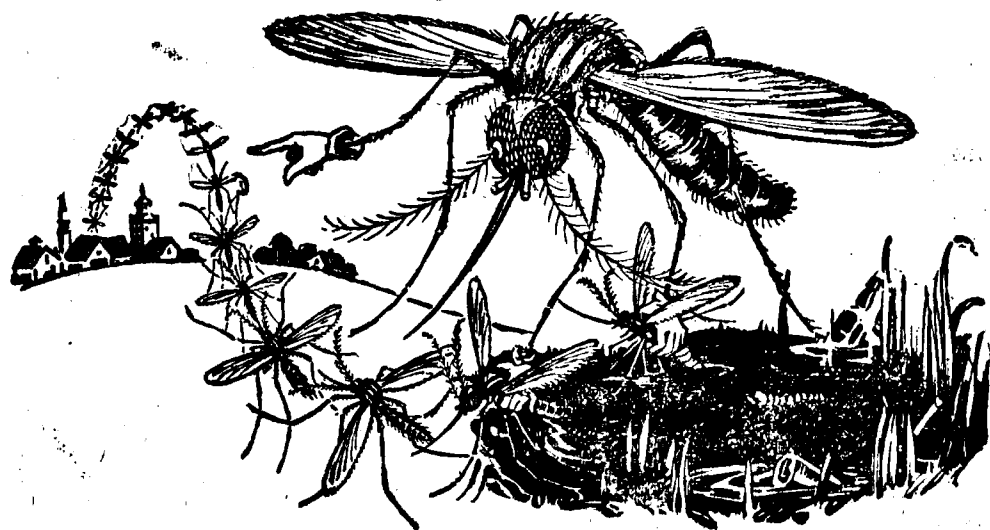
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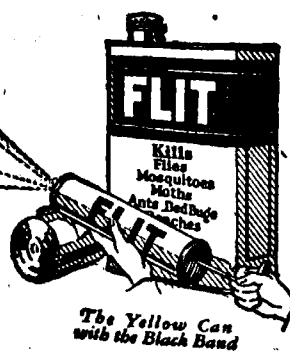
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NOVEMBER 1930

[No. 11.]

The League of Nations and India

BY DR. SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

IT is a hopeful and significant sign of the times that the busy representatives of the nations of the world who are members of the League of Nations at Geneva, amidst their multitudinous engagements and engrossing calls upon their time should have the inclination, and be able to, make time for learning things and matters connected with India, whenever there is an opportunity. During the few weeks that I have attended the League meetings in Geneva, as a member of the Indian Delegation, nothing has struck me more than the acute interest that men and women from all lands, otherwise deeply preoccupied, manifest in matters Indian, even in the most meticulous details. Truth and half-truths find prominence in columns of newspapers representing all ranks and shades of political opinion and presenting to the European mind exaggerated and often absolutely unreliable pictures and stories of what is going on in India in connection with or absolutely unconnected with the constitutional demands engrossing attention in Great Britain and India. These misrepresentations have made no difference to the interest in India which, while phenomenal, is not always grotesque. I have not been asked, for example, as I used to be asked even in cultured circles in South Africa, whether

Paris, but the Cultural Institute of the League is in Rome, and other centres of League activities are to be met with at other important centres. While I press for Indian representation in Geneva, I also earnestly press for the establishment of a League office in some centre of culture in India, like Calcutta or Bombay, or at least in a political centre like Simla or Delhi. This point of view has found favour with League officials and many members of the League, and it remains to be seen whether the idea will fructify or not.

There was hardly an afternoon or evening when I have not been called upon to narrate to crowded, enthusiastic and interested meetings in Geneva what India stands for. The vastness of the subject has made it impossible for me to deal with it in even the most fragmentary way, and the treatment has necessarily been of an extremely casual character. I have, however, tried to bring home to my audience that it is a mistake to think that the rank and file of the Indian population are uneducated in the real sense of the term, or that women in India are oppressed, paralysed and crushed down as some reformers try to paint the picture, or that disorder and disorderliness are the absolute and unfailing objective of the people. Abuses there are, have always been and will be; abuses sometimes of a monumental character lasting over ages. But to think of India as a vivid exemplification of the unchanging East, whether in political, religious, social or economic matters, is one of the biggest mistakes of the century. When after spending a few years or even months abroad an Indian returns home he finds changes in all directions, that at times stagger him. These changes may

not always be on the surface but are, all the same, real though subtle. In the same way the Hindu religion, or to be more accurate religions, is not the same to-day as it was and has been in the ages past. Nor is Hindu society the same. Hinduism viewed and understood aright is but a series of protestantism spread over long-drawn ages. The teachings of the raiders, though allied to, are different from the teachings of its founders. In the same way the teachings of the Upanishads are different from, though interconnected with the teachings in the Purans and other later Scriptures that got inter-mixed with the Buddhist teachings and have at times been seemingly inseparable from one another. To suit the requirements of the times, to keep pace with fast moving times, there have been protests against abuse after abuse, whether of principle or of practice. There has thus been infinite change, though seemingly indefinite, and the enormous elasticity of the religious system and also the social system of the Hindu, has made it possible for him not only to outlive ancient civilizations that find place in history, but also succeed in growing from more to more. Systems that were once the pride and glory of Greece, of Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt and Crete, and of Persia and China in the mid and far East, have now been gathered into the majority. The Hindu still exists, and it is legitimately claimed that, in spite of seeming weakness, all-round strength is really gathering and manifestations of it in all directions will not be long wanting. However backward for the moment we may be politically, however long delayed may be Dominion status, which India insistently and unitedly demands,

the first principles have been acceded to when India was allowed to be a party and a real signatory to the Treaty of Versailles. That is the Covenant under which the League assembles and works, and though with the growing requirements of the times amendments of the Covenant are becoming necessary though the growing popular demands in the countries that have suffered, revision of the Treaty of Versailles and the Pact of Paris will soon be necessary for the real peace of the world, there can be no getting away from the position that, in spite of her political drawbacks, India has been accorded by the united councils of Great Britain at least the technical position of Dominion status. If that was not accorded India would not have a place in the League of Nations.

As a matter of fact, at the start this objection was seriously adduced by many who urged that India, having no responsible and representative Government in the League sense, could not become a member of the League. While the United States, Egypt and Turkey are still outside the pale of the League, India has an honoured and credited position there, and that position has to be made good. It is by bringing home India as she really is to the united representatives of 54 nations that assemble at the League that India's claim will really remain good in the end, and for this purpose proper understanding of her religious, economic and social organisations is of the utmost importance. It is not possible to give even the faintest idea of these vast and multitud

ters of inter-internal politics, or inter-Dominion politics that cannot come before the League of Nations and do not ordinarily do so. These questions furnish difficulties and delicate situations hard to deal with and the Indian who is pressed down with the sense of uncertainty and worse in regard to things going on in his own country, can hardly conjure up strength and fortitude enough to follow his right role in the League of Nations that has been assigned to India under the Treaty of Versailles. He feels that in his uncertainty of position he is more or less toying with the situation and can hardly find strength and insistence enough to make his position felt. Theoretically he has been accredited with all the rights and powers that other nations have, but when it comes to practice he feels that he is acting almost in phantom form.

However much all this may be true of things political and of moral interest, there is no getting away from the fact that even in this imperfect condition of things India can make real contributions to League activities in various directions. In regard to questions of health, for example, it was one of the most important items dealt with by what is known as the Second Committee of the League, officials and experts engaged in the elucidation of health questions in India can make real contributions. India is the home of maladies bare mention of the names of which would take away the breath of the European expert. Malaria, cholera, smallpox, hookworm and kalazar have all their assigned place within that Temple of Unhealth. Active and vigorous research and propaganda work would be possible in all these various directions and

Indian contribution will not and cannot be negligible.

Take again the question of Intellectual Co-operation which also is an important item of activity of the Second Committee. Although for ten years these activities had been more or less in evidence, nothing much has been done in the way of securing co-operation and contribution from India. The Parisian Institute which has charge of affairs in this direction has of recent times been disorganised, and under the new reorganisation scheme, in which Monsieur Bonnet will have a large part, interchange of professors, students and research scholars will be possible. In regard to the library movement, the museums movement, the movement for the protection of rights of authors and scientific investigators, the movement for the protection of art in general and the advancement of artistic ideas, and the movements for collecting bibliographical information regarding all spheres of intellectual activity, India could make a real contribution. Take again important matters like child welfare in its broadest sense, and the subject of illicit traffic in noxious and narcotic drugs, in these the Indian contribution can be considerable. It would not be right, therefore, either for Indian delegates or for the Indian people to think that they have no real part to play in connection with League activities, and non-cooperation with health in the various directions suggested would spell indefinite and infinite injury to the Indian cause in the eyes of the representatives of the world who come together in the Geneva League of Nations. As soon, therefore, as a settled state of things becomes possible in India, everyone's efforts must be correlated for the advancement of League ideas in the directions mentioned above. With growing and larger political powers, other avenues of activities will also soon open, and when that is done India's place in the League of Nations will have been more than justified.

Impressions of South Africa

BY RAO BAHADUR M. A. TIRUNARAYANACHARI, B.A., M.L.

OF the countries overseas where our Indians are settled, I had already visited Burma, Ceylon, the Malay States and Indo-China, and I was desirous of visiting South Africa of which we have heard so much. So, when during his recuperation from his recent illness, Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi extended to me a very kind invitation to visit South Africa as his guest, I readily accepted it.

I left Bombay on the 16th July by the S. S. KHANDALLA, one of the four steamers of the B. I. S. N. Co., which ply between Bombay and Durban regularly once a fortnight and carry the Mails. The sea was very rough for nearly a week after we left Bombay, as it was then the middle of the monsoon. The steamers call at several very interesting places on the way. Our first stop was at the Seychelles, a group of Islands right in the middle of the Indian Ocean 1,500 miles from the nearest land, and getting its tapals once a month. The Islands are very fertile and the rainfall is plentiful. Coconuts are grown largely and without effort, and with Vanilla form the chief export. There also grows the double cocoanut or *cocoa de mer*, the shells of which are used by wandering mendicants in India as begging bowls. Formerly, the islands were ruled by the French, but now they are British. There

dominantly Dutch, the British have lost power with the fall of General Smuts. The British however preponderate in Natal. The party in power wish to throw off the connexion with the British Empire, and talk of establishing the right of secession. They have devised a flag for the Union in which the Union Jack appears as a small speck. The British in Natal are opposed to this policy and also feel that their province is not treated fairly. In their turn, they talk of seceding from the Union, if the Union should secede from the Empire.

However nice the climate and rich the soil, it was painful to see how Indians are treated there—the disabilities and humiliations to which they are subjected. The Indian population in the four Provinces is as follows:—

CENSUS OF 1921

	Indians.	Whites.
Cape Colony	6,498	660,809
Natal	14,336	196,838
Transvaal	3,405	543,486
Orange Free State	176	188,556

Various laws have been passed prohibiting Indians from acquiring land. When the boroughs alienate vacant sites, they add what is called the Asiatic clause, that is, prohibiting the purchaser from selling to an Asiatic. Such a clause has been held to run with the land. Even private owners, when they sell land, add such a clause, and it is considered negligence on the part of a solicitor if he omits to put in such a clause when he draws up a sale-deed.

All traders are required to take out licenses, but while in the case of white men the licenses are granted as a matter of course, in the case of Indians, they are as a rule refused. Indians

cannot reside on or occupy for purposes of trade land held under the Gold Law in the Transvaal, but are confined to locations which are kept in a horribly filthy state and do not receive the attention of the Boroughs or Corporations. Even elsewhere they live in locations more or less under similar conditions. In the extensive and beautiful residential quarters of Durban called 'Berea,' there is not one single house occupied by an Indian.

Indians cannot bear arms and they have not the franchise, Parliamentary or Municipal. save in the Cape Province, where they have the Municipal franchise, and can vote for the Provincial Council but not for the Assembly. Even here, they have been swamped by the recent enfranchisement of white women.

The education of Indian children is practically neglected. While there is free and compulsory education for white children, there is no such provision for coloured children. Of 48,183 Indian children, 8,416 are taught in schools (12 Government and 39 aided schools) while of 338,500 white children, 331,081, are educated in 4,833 schools. There is almost no provision for high school or University or professional training for Indians.

In the public trams, they have to mount up to the top and there occupy two back rows. They are not admitted to theatres or hotels. They cannot sit on the benches in the streets or public parks. Their children cannot ride on Jumbo, the elephant presented to the Durban Zoo by an Indian Maharaja. In the Railway stations, the Post Offices, and even in Courts of Justice, separate places are assigned to white and coloured people, the best positions, of course, being allotted to the former.

Madras, which they often call the 'Injustice party'.

I had the privilege of visiting the Sastri College at Durban, and of meeting the six Professors who have been sent from India. Though called a College, it is only a High school. The buildings have been built at a cost of Rs. 1,70,000 provided by the Indian residents. But the Government maintains the Institution. It is intended to make it a training College for teachers. The Indian Professors came from different parts of India—2 from Madras (1 in Malayalees), 1 from Bengal, 1 from Bombay, 1 from the United Provinces, and one is a Mahomedan.

The Principal spoke well of their work. He said he wanted men who could teach languages (French and Latin) but the India Government had sent Science and Mathematics men. Of course, it was not the latter's fault.

I cannot close without bearing a word of testimony to the great name left behind by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, the first Agent of the Government of India, both among Europeans and Indians. I have heard many a one among the former say that it was a revelation to him to find that an Indian could wield the English tongue with a facility and grace which very few even born Englishmen could hope to attain.

The Defence of India

By M. SWARIAH S. ANDREWS, B.LITT.,

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THE problem of India's defence affords a powerful searchlight on the whole constitutional future of the country. In fact the two are inextricably bound up with each other. The Dominions of the British Empire have not got a baffling defence problem such as obtains in India, and therefore any conception of a dominion constitution for India is complicated by the difficulty of a solution of the problem of defence compatible with such a constitution.

The subject of stationing a powerful standing army, almost on a war footing, is two-fold: to protect the country from foreign invasion and also to protect her against herself, i.e., to prevent the rival peoples and sects from flying at each other's throats. Now, let us examine these in detail, as well as all other

collateral factors bearing on this question of the army in India.

The question of defence takes us back into the dim past of India's history. India has had to endure a series of incursions by foreign invaders who have forced their way through the defiles in the north-west and at other points where a gap was found in the immense mountain barrier which cuts off India from the rest of Asia. Since the mutiny of 1857 there have been 80 expeditions undertaken by the Government of India to ward off foreign invasions, which works up to one invasion a year,—quite an annual function like the exodus to the hills! Events of the last few months prove how easily the frontier may be set ablaze.

An Indian publicist—Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, if the writer is not mistaken—once

suggested that the League of Nations should undertake the responsibility for ensuring the safety and inviolability of the frontier. The suggestion is not quite so easy of solution because behind the frontier lie states and peoples that have not, and never can, come under the League of Nations. The frontier, therefore, is the real bugbear of the whole problem of self-government for India. Self-government and self-defence go hand in hand.

carefully preserved to this day in the historical records section of the museum". These letters, reeking of abominable cruelties and atrocities that put the much-advertised German atrocities in Belgium in the shade, naturally have not been incorporated in the works on the life of this gallant Field-Marshal.

The upshot of the mutiny was this; the fear and distrust aroused by this event, the atrocities committed on both sides, dug a deep gulf of suspicion which affected the army organisation most of all. The granting of the King's Commission to Indians practically ceased. The gunners in the artillery were to be exclusively British and also the scientific corps, the engineers, the signallers, and latterly the air force and the tank corps. In other words, the leadership and brains of the army were to be British; Indians were effectively shut out from real responsibility, and from that experience in the higher commands which is so important in modern warfare. The attitude of distrust also led to the exclusion of Indians from the volunteer corps, until during the crisis of the European war a territorial force was seen to be desirable.

REACTIONS OF THIS POLICY

As a natural sequel of the policy of the British Government, the intelligentsia of India and the old aristocratic families ceased to have their ideals of public service and their sense of discipline maintained by the honourable duties of military service in defence of their own land, with the result the army was recruited as a rule from the uneducated classes producing types unequal for the duties demanded of an officer to-day.

At this point, the question, naturally, might be asked, "would not India have made rapid strides of advance in the direction of self-defence as an integral part of self-rule, had the deep gulf of suspicion and distrust—the aftermath of the mutiny—not existed at all? To this question a fair answer is possible after taking into account two or three fundamental factors bearing on this aspect of the matter.

MILITARY TRADITION

Students of military history realise that a country, to be properly equipped for the arduous task of self-defence, must possess a military tradition, and an aptitude on the part of a large section of its citizen for military life. Judged by this test, it is apparent that the peoples of India are as divergent in their aptitude for soldiering as they are in race and religion. Consequently it has been found impossible to raise an Indian national army drawn from India as a whole in which every member will recognise the rest as his comrades, in which Indian officers will lead men who may be of different races, and in which public opinion will have general confidence. This is a task of the greatest possible difficulty.

Therefore, it becomes possible to form some conception of the difficulties of solving simultaneously the problem of self-rule and the problem of self-defence. At present, the Punjab, the home of the great martial races, furnishes considerably more than half of the entire Indian army. The suggestion that recruitment is deliberately stimulated in certain chosen areas is not true, in view of the fact that, at the height of the great war when recruits from any area were certainly not discouraged, the Punjab contributed about

350,000 of them out of a population of 20 millions, whereas the total for the whole of Bengal, with its population of 45 millions and with a majority of Muhammadans, was not more than 7,000. The province of Madras does not come in the picture at all! Therefore, there can be no question, in fact, about the remarkable contrast between one Indian race and another in their military capacity.

DEFENCE OF INDIA AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

There are wheels within wheels in a consideration of these two questions taken together. Now, let us discuss the defence

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