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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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Topics of the Week.

The Chatfield Committee.

BOTH the personal and the terms of reference of the Committee on Indian Defence will be received with utter disappointment and even indignation by the Indian public. Like the Simon Commission, the Chatfield Committee is an all-British, all-white Committee, with no colour in it. The Defence Committee of the Round Table Conference considered as long ago as 1930 that the defence of India was increasingly the concern of Indians and advocated their association in all matters of defence policy. Since then repeated appeals have been made to the Government to associate Indians in defence matters. The recent international crisis has shown how much Britain needs the co-operation of India. And yet, in a committee appointed *after* the crisis, there is not a single Indian. There are not Indians wanting competent to deal with the financial aspects of the problems. Even from the point of view of military policy there are Indians who are eminently competent to participate in the work of the committee. At any rate, Indians might have been included in the Committee if only to give them a chance to study and learn modern defence

problems, so that when the time comes for the transfer of responsibility, there will be some Indians whom even the British authorities might accept as competent. Even a loose association would have been better than this studied exclusion.

NOR are the terms of reference satisfactory. It is not conceded that there is an Indian point of view, which alone is the primary concern of any committee dealing with Indian defence. The Committee is not asked to consider the objectives of the Indian Army, nor its reorganization on the basis of rapid Indianization.

Mr. Tyson's Deputation.

THE selection of Mr. J. D. Tyson, I. C. S., to help the Indian communities in the West Indies to present their cases before the Royal Commission on the West Indies will be widely welcomed. The fact that he is a British member of the I. C. S. need not, in his case, prejudice Indians against him. He was Secretary to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri when the latter was deputed to South Africa as the first Indian Agent-General, and discharged his duties with commendable loyalty and zeal. So much so that when the next Agent-General, Sir K. V. Reddy, was disabled by ill-health from leading evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill, Mr. Tyson was again despatched from India to take Sir K. V. Reddy's place. The confidence which he won of the South African Indian community should commend him to the Indians in the West Indies.

WHILE we welcome the selection of Mr. Tyson to act as the friend and advisor of the Indians in the West Indies, we still hold and urge that Indian interests should be represented, not only before the Royal Commission, but also on it.

The Indian Planning Committee.

THE President of the Indian National Congress announced the names of nine out of the

ten members of the National Planning Committee, exclusive of the Chairman. Broadly speaking, the personnel consists of capitalists, scientific experts and economists, and is a very good team. It is regrettable, however, that no labour expert has been included. It is true that the Chairmanship has been offered to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is, however, not yet certain if he will accept the place. Even if he did, the inclusion of a special labour representative as such will have great psychological advantages. If it is going to be *national industrial* planning that the Committee is to consider, it is well worth to enthuse labour about it from the very start and let it feel that it is a partner in the high enterprise with a place at the council table.

* * *

East African Immigration.

THE Government of Kenya has issued a brief notification which has large and dangerous implications. It runs thus:

It is notified for general information that His Excellency the Governor proposes to establish a Board under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Land and Settlement for the purpose of advising the Commissioner of Police on such matters as may be referred to it for consideration in connection with immigration into Kenya. The Kenya Association and the Associated Chamber of Commerce are being invited to submit the names of persons for appointment to the Board.

The notification does not state the case for the appointment of such a Board, or the types of cases which will be referred to the Board, or the proposed composition of the Board. One thing is clear: the Board will be an all-white Board. The notification states that only two non-official organizations were invited to send nominations. One of them is wholly confined to the whites, and the other almost so. The Indian Associations, both political and commercial, have been completely overlooked. And the African Natives, whose interests have been solemnly acknowledged as paramount, have been equally ignored in spite of avowals to the contrary. Replying on behalf of the Government on the debate on Jewish refugees in the House of Commons on the 29th July last, Earl Winterton said, "It is a delusion to suppose that in the case of the Colonial Empire His Majesty's Government can act without regard to the opinion of the white settlers and also to the opinion of the native population."

* * *

CONSIDERING the background of race politics in Kenya, the constitution of this new all-white Board gives room for considerable misgivings. We trust that the Government of India will effectively intervene, and at least secure some Indian representation on the Board.

* * *

T. U. C. Day.

THE Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress has decided to observe from this

year the 30th of October of each year as the T. U. C. Day. It was on this date in 1920 that the Trade Union Congress was founded. In this connection, Mr. R. R. Bakhale, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has requested the Provincial Committees, Affiliated Unions and Members of the General Council to observe the Day by holding public meetings, mass demonstrations and processions and by passing resolutions emphasizing the solidarity of the Working Class Movement, "insisting upon the Central and Local Governments to guarantee to the Indian Working Class its fundamental rights and demands as enumerated in the T. U. C. Constitution."

* * *

IN the same connection Mr. Bakhale very appropriately writes:

I may inform you that the Bombay Provincial T. U. C. has decided to declare in the Bombay Presidency a one-day strike on the 7th of November as a protest against the Bombay Trade Disputes Bill which the Government of Bombay is rushing through the Bombay Legislative Assembly in spite of the united and universal opposition to the measure from the entire working class movement. The Labour M. L. A.s in the Assembly have been putting up a stern and resolute fight which has won the admiration of the public. It will indeed strengthen their hands and those of the Bombay Presidency Trade Unions if the Trade Union Movement from outside the Bombay Presidency show their united sympathy and support to their herculean fight against the Bill. On the T. U. C. Day, therefore, the entire working class movement in India should pass the Working Committee's resolution on the Trade Disputes Bill, hold public meetings, demonstrations, processions, etc., and give its moral support to the B. P. T. U. C.'s one day strike. I may point out that the Bombay Bill is the thin end of the wedge. If it is passed in Bombay, I am afraid, it may be introduced in other provincial legislatures as well, particularly where there are Congress Governments in office. It is therefore necessary that the whole working class movement should guard themselves against this impending danger and unitedly show, by all legitimate, peaceful and democratic means, their resentment against this draconian Bill.

We are sure this circular from the General Secretary of the T. U. C. will be enthusiastically acted up to all over India.

Articles.

PALESTINE.

I

RECENT events have made it more and more inevitable, as it was always wise and just, that the idea of creating a Jewish National Home in Palestine, which would gradually develop into a Jewish National State, should be abandoned once for all if peace is to be restored to Palestine and if larger conflicts are to be avoided. It will be readily granted that this solution at this stage is not without its drawbacks, disappointments and humiliations. But a dispassionate consideration

of the problem will lead to the view that the idea of a Jewish National Home and State was a mistake, one of the several which the Peace Treaties of Versailles had perpetrated and for which the world is still paying very heavily.

In Palestine itself there has been no peace. In June last the accredited representative of Great Britain, Sir John Shuckburgh, admitted before the Permanent Mandates Commission that the situation in Palestine was nothing less than a "state of war." Since then the situation has only worsened in every sense, and violence of very kind has been on the increase. Sir John admitted that "the large surpluses of recent years have been transformed into deficits, and the territory's surplus balance which had stood at £6,200,000 at April 1st 1936 had by the same date in the present year, been reduced to £2,300,000." It is fairly clear that Palestine can be governed by Great Britain only with the aid of martial law. But that will only exacerbate further the antipathy between the Jews and the Arabs and the British.

The local situation has been greatly aggravated by external pressure and example. As evidenced by the resolutions of the Moslem Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Cairo last week, the sympathies of the whole Moslem world are with the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. This sympathy found constitutional expression in the League of Nations itself during its last session. The representatives of the Moslem States in the Assembly of the League supported the contention of the Palestine Arabs.

The tone of the Cairo resolutions savours of an ultimatum. One of the resolutions stated that the acceptance of the Arab demands was the only solution of the problem, and that if they were not accepted, all Arab peoples would be asked to consider the British and the Jews as the enemies of Islam. The firm and uncompromising tone of the Cairo resolutions cannot but be due, in part at any rate, to the example and instigation of Hitler and Mussolini. Both these Dictators are anti-Jewish and anti-British as well, and for that reason, pro-Arab. They would not hesitate to exploit any occasion which embarrasses the Jews and the British. It is clear that unless all the Moslem States form a confederation, they will not be able to shake off European hegemony. Until that day dawns, no single Arab State can stand by itself, and each must seek the protection of some big State. And each of the Big Four, Germany, Italy, England and France, are competing with each other to offer its hegemony to the Moslem States. Since England and France are already in possession of influence, Germany and Italy are out to destroy that influence. Thus, in dealing with the Arab demands in Palestine, the British Government have to deal not only with the local Arabs, who are a tough enough problem in all conscience, but with the whole of the Moslem world and with the machinations of Germany and Italy.

As against this formidable combination, there is the pressure of the Jews in Palestine, supported

by the whole of the Zionist Organization with its world-wide financial influence to contend against. There is, besides, the United States of America to take into account. For, not only is the Zionist Movement strongest in the U. S. A., but the Government of the U. S. A. has retained formal and official right of consultation in matters concerning Palestine. That Government concluded a special Convention with Great Britain in 1924 which not only secured to American all the rights which members of the League of Nations had, but secured American rights independent of any modification of the mandate unless the U. S. A. consented to such modification. Above all, there are the selfish and imperial interests of Great Britain herself to consider. It is true that British honour is also concerned inasmuch as it was England that encouraged the creation of a Jewish National Home which was to develop into a Jewish State. But there is enough statesmanship in England to get round the awkward consideration of honour with "honour", as was done recently in Munich.

II.

The Moslem Conference in Cairo, by its own unilateral action, declared null and void the Balfour Declaration which supported the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, which was ultimately to develop into a Jewish State. It then proceeded to demand that further Jewish immigration into Palestine should be stopped immediately, that the proposal of the Peel Commission to partition Palestine into Arab and Jewish States and a British permanent mandate should be abandoned and that a constitutional government should be set up. There is nothing new in these demands; the only difference is in the peremptoriness with which they are now urged. On their merits it is difficult to resist them. The land belongs to the Arabs. The Arabs of Palestine have seen other Arabs attaining Statehood, and naturally aspire to similar status. The Peel Commission has admitted their fitness to rule themselves. They cherish no animosity towards the Jews as such, for they are willing to extend full rights of citizenship to the Jews already in Palestine. They are willing to recognise the imperial interests of England and offer to sign a treaty. All that they object to is the creation, of set purpose, of an alien Jewish State to rule over them.

As we stated above, the whole conception of a Jewish National Home or State was a mistake as far as the Jews are concerned. There are some fifteen million Jews in the world. Even a bare majority of them are not likely to uproot themselves from their present moorings and migrate to Palestine. If they did, there is no room in Palestine for them. After some twenty years of colonization, inspired thereto by Zionism and driven thereto by German and Polish persecution, the number of Jews in Palestine has come up to only 400,000, a mere drop in the

ocean as far as Jewry is concerned. Even if in course of time the Jewish population should become the majority in Palestine and develop into a Jewish State, the State will be so small that it cannot survive without the consent of the neighbouring Arab States or without the protection of some powerful State like England. The Peel partition scheme will make the Jewish State even smaller and less independent. The Jewish State can only be vassal state but never an independent one. It is true that at the moment there are Moslem States which are vassals of England, but one day they have hopes of combining and shaking off the British hegemony. But the Jewish State has no such prospect. There is not even the hope that the Jewish State will be permitted to lead a neutralised life as Switzerland or Belgium. The Moslem powers know only too well that the Jewish State was not promoted by Great Britain purely out of consideration for Jewish sentiments and ambitions, but to subserve her own imperial interests. It was another of her many Machiavellian manoeuvres to profit at the sacrifice of others. She wanted a dependent and dependable puppet perched among the Moslem

States as a spy. If England were really thinking of finding a home for the Jews, she would easily have given them a home in her own Dominions which are so sparsely populated that they are crying out for immigrants which England, cannot spare. The Jews being Europeans or whites, the white Dominions would not have raised difficulties on the ground of colour. In wishing to plant a European Jewish puppet State in the midst of Asiatic Moslem independent States, Great Britain had only her own strategic interests in view. A Jewish State in Palestine is a mockery of the Jews, a danger to the Moslem States.

It will certainly be a great disappointment for the Zionists to have to give up their long cherished ideal, which seemed to be on the way to realization. But they will themselves recall that from the beginning there were eminent Jews who did not favour the idea of a Jewish National Home and State. They preferred that Jews should continue to be citizens of the several States and at the same time have one religion to give them unity. The Jews may continue to belong to many nations but to the same denomination.

POLITICAL BLACKLEGS IN ANGUISH.

WE congratulate the Government of Bombay and the Bombay Legislative Assembly upon having passed the Bill to provide for the restoration of lands forfeited during the Civil Disobedience Movement for the non-payment of land revenue and other sums due to the former Government. The Bill is intended to extend to the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

It is pointed out in the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill that "in and after the year 1930, landholders in several parts of the Province declined to pay land revenue in pursuance of the Civil Disobedience Movement. As a result of such non-payment of land revenue, hundreds of acres of land of the then market value of several lakhs of rupees were forfeited to Government." The lands were subsequently sold by Government for prices which varied from three times the assessment to nearly forty-five times the assessment; but "this forty-five times the assessment was, perhaps, in one case and that too for a very small area. In most of the cases the prices were below eight times the assessment, and on the average the prices came to three and three and one quarter times the assessment." This shows that the prices paid for the lands by their present owners were "ridiculously low and practically nominal." To give instances: Nearly forty-two acres of land in the Jalalpore Taluka were forfeited for non-payment of assessment of Rs. 152 and were disposed of for Rs. 73; about 54 acres of land were in one place disposed of for two to three times the assessment.

In one place land was disposed of for half the assessment!

It is true that the sale of these lands was perfectly legal as the lands were sold under the provisions of the Land Revenue Code for non-payment of revenues due to Government. But the object of the former Government which effected the sale was evidently not only to realise sums due to them but to break the back of the C. D. Movement which was a mass movement undertaken for the political emancipation of this country. The intention of the Government was to inflict irreparable loss and administer deterrent punishment to the militant sections of the peasantry. The vindictive nature of these transactions become evident from the facts that large number of the present owners of these lands were not regular bidders at auctions; that people generally were not even willing to buy these lands; that Police Sub-Inspectors had to wander round the rural areas in search of prospective purchasers; and that in some cases Government had even to suspend the rule preventing Government servants from purchasing such lands. In some cases people were brought from Indian States with the promise that the transaction would be final and official protection would be given. In fact, the mass of the population was on strike against Government as far as these transactions were concerned and Government had to hunt out political blacklegs for the purpose of purchasing these lands even for a song.

The present Government now propose to restore these lands to their original holders. They tried to do so by means of private negotiations with the present holders who, however, took up an unreasonable attitude and asked for fancy prices, being perhaps under the impression that under the Government of India Act the Bombay Government cannot achieve their object by legislation. Hence arose the necessity for this new piece of legislation which vests in Government the necessary powers.

Before being deprived of the lands, the present owners will be reimbursed, broadly speaking, to the extent of actual expenditure incurred by them on account of these lands plus $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest and 15 per cent. compensation, minus the profits received by them from the lands from time to time. In this connection it was pressed by some members of the Opposition that the present owners should be given the full current market value of the lands. If this was not done, it was said, great injustice would be done to them. We fail to see the propriety of this appeal to the sense of justice. We hold that the present owners, however good they may be as individuals, were in the country's fight for freedom, no more and no less than political blacklegs and as such do not really deserve any compensation whatsoever. It is true that the present Government cannot confiscate their lands without compensation, for they are prevented from doing so by Section 299 of the Government of India Act. They could have, however, made provision for a nominal compensation to be paid to the present holders of these lands and given them and others of their kind a deterrent warning against their blacklegging activities. Instead of doing so, Government are showing great consideration to them by paying them back what they actually spent. And still our friends, the lovers of justice, writhe in agony at the thought of their worthy friends being deprived of advantages secured by conspiring with an oppressive foreign Government at the cost of their own countrymen who were fighting in the cause of freedom.

A big noise was made by Mr. Bramble against the principle of the Bill, in the name of the sanctity of private property. We confess we are not at all enamoured of this variety of sanctity as far as the State is concerned. Discussing the question of private citizen's lands and the rights of the State relating thereto, Mr. N. M. Joshi declared on the floor of the central Legislative Assembly on 7th September 1933 :

It is wrong for any Government, before they secure the right of life to their citizens, to go into the question of securing the rights in property. . . . Government may require land for the good of the community, for securing the lives of the citizens, in order to make the life of the citizens secure. Government may not have the money to pay compensation. If, out of 350 millions, about which my friend Mr. Das talked the other day, 340 millions are

in danger of being starved, simply because the land belongs to the other 10 millions, will not the Government be justified in taking away the land of the 10 millions even without compensation in order to protect the lives of the remaining 340 millions?

It may be pointed out here that in their particular case no question of starvation arises; but it may be said in reply that if there is no question of starvation, there is no proposal for confiscation without compensation also. The argument from artificially created sanctity, therefore, does not hold water.

The former Government had gone out of their way for securing purchasers for the forfeited lands. They had even gone to the extent of promising the purchasers that Section 211 of the Land Revenue Code would never be used against them as far as the transactions regarding these lands were concerned. That Section empowers the Governor in Council and any revenue officer from the Collector upwards, "to call for and examine the record of any enquiry, or the proceeding of any subordinate revenue officer, for the purpose of satisfying himself as to the legality or propriety of any decision or order passed, and as to the regularity of the proceedings of such officer." In the Section it is also provided that, "if, in any case, it shall appear to the Governor in Council, or to such officer aforesaid, that any decision or order or proceedings so called for should be modified, annulled or reversed, he may pass such orders thereon as he deems fit." This was the Section which the former Government were shameless enough to promise not to utilize. Under these circumstances, nobody interested in the cause of India's freedom would have blamed the present Government if they had decided to disregard what the former bureaucratic Government said in the matter and made proper use of the section. The Section could never have been utilized for a better purpose.

We, therefore, give our wholehearted support to the principle of the Bill. We make it absolutely clear that we have no sympathy for persons, especially in colonial countries, indulging in political blacklegging for personal ends. We have always maintained that "no one should be made to undergo suffering whose action is based upon an impulse to do good to the country." We may, however, be permitted to emphasize that this salutary policy should be brought to bear on all cases of suffering undergone in the country's cause, whatever be the political persuasion of the sufferers. It is thus up to the Congress Government in Bombay to see that losses of all persons, Congressmen or otherwise, who had had to suffer them for political purposes are immediately made good. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta cited on the floor of the Assembly a few instances of the kind. We gather that Government have refused to refund the security of Rs. 40,000/- taken and forfeited by the former Government from the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay. It is cases like these

that are liable to create the feeling in the mind of the public that this move on the part of Government to restore the forfeited lands to the original owners is only a move to strengthen the Congress Party.

The wording of Clause 4 of the Bill also is not very reassuring in this respect. The Clause says: "The Provincial Government, if it is satisfied that any of the forfeited lands be acquired for a public purpose namely that of restoring it to the original holder, may make a declaration that the said land is needed for such purpose." The Clause suggests the possibility of the Provincial Government *not* being satisfied in certain cases that forfeited lands should be restored to their original holders. The Clause lays itself open to be used discriminatingly and even against the interests of persons who may not be of the same political persuasion as the Congress Government. We hope the Government will not make any such discrimination. That will be detrimental to the cause of freedom for which they avowedly stand.

Lastly, we may make reference to the cases of certain persons who are the present holders of some of the forfeited lands. These are the *dharalas* in the Surat and Kaira districts and others like them who were landless labourers before they came into possession of these lands and who will be absolutely thrown on the street when they are dispossessed of their lands. We do not say Government should make an exception in their case and should not restore lands in their possession to their original holders. For the sake of principle Government should do that. But Government should also regard it as their duty to see that these landless labourers are provided with some form of livelihood. The best form would be to give them for cultivation waste land belonging to Government. There is no dearth of such land and nothing would be lost by giving it to landless labourers. After all, people faced with starvation and destitution deserve fundamentally different consideration than mere political blacklegs in auguish.

CAWNPORE EMPLOYERS SEE RED.

WE are sorry to find that our gloomy predictions regarding the recognition of the Mazdoor Sabha of Cownpore are unfortunately coming true. Discussing the nature of the settlement of the last general strike of Cawnpore in our issue of the 7th July last, we had said:

The nature of the settlement will arouse mixed feelings, as the issue regarding the recognition of the Mazdoor Sabha has not been decided in favour of the workers. A Labour Commissioner for the United Provinces will now be appointed and the Sabha will be recognized after this officer, "subject to certain conditions," satisfies himself that it has been properly reconstituted. It would have been well if these "certain conditions" had been clearly defined. During the negotiations for the settlement of the strike the Mazdoor Sabha was, for all practical purposes, recognized not only by the Government but also by the employers. The only thing that remained for the employers to do now was to grant recognition *de jure* where recognition had been granted *de facto*. The Mazdoor Sabha had accepted most of the known conditions under which the employers were willing to recognize it. If, even under these circumstances, the employers chose to remain immovable, one wonders whether it would be uncharitable to think that the "certain conditions" under which the Mazdoor Sabha may be recognised, are such as may not be acceptable to the Mazdoor Sabha. It is regrettable that Government should have been unable to persuade the employers to recognize the Sabha before the strikers went back to work. We are afraid the Mazdoor Sabha will have to wait for its recognition longer than it suspects.

Since then, tripartite negotiations regarding the recognition of the Mazdoor Sabha have been going on between the Sabha, the U. P. Government represented by the Labour Commissioner, Mr. Khareghat, and the Employers' Association of Northern India. Some sort of a working agreement has been reached on most of the points of

dispute arising out of the question of recognition. On one point, however, there seems to be fundamental differences between the Mazdoor Sabha on the one hand and the employers and the U. P. Government on the other. The employers insist (and the U. P. Government agree with them) that the Sabha should include in its aims and objects "the promotion of harmonious relations between workmen and employers." This, the Mazdoor Sabha is not willing to do and the Labour Commissioner is understood to attach much importance to such a clause in the constitution.

We cannot possibly blame the Mazdoor Sabha for steadfastly refusing to include the 'harmonious relations' clause in its constitution. The Sabha is affiliated to the Trade Union Congress whose fundamental aim is the establishment of a socialist republic in India. Under a socialist republic, the private ownership of the means of production will be done away with and the means of production will be socially owned. That is to say, the present owners will be deprived of their ownership of the means the production. In fact, the present employers' class will, as a class, be abolished altogether and individual employers will remain as ordinary citizens with obligation to work. Now if the Mazdoor Sabha were to aim at the establishment of "harmonious relations between workmen and employers", that would mean aiming at the perpetuation of the existing capitalist system; because such a thing presupposes at least the continuance of the two classes—the employers and the workers, whereas a socialist society will be a classless society. That the Sabha should find itself unable to do so is not at all surprising. On the contrary, it is perfectly

consistent with its socialistic ideological affiliations.

If the employers were permitted to carry their insistence on the 'harmonious relations' clause to its logical limit, there is nothing to prevent them from further insisting upon the formal disaffiliation of the Mazdoor Sabha from the T. U. C. and in fact, anything that smacks of socialism, before recognition was granted to it. If all the employers in the country were to adopt such an attitude towards the question of the recognition of Trade Unions, that would mean either that the present T. U. C. as a central labour organization will have to be finally disbanded or that Trade Unions, as a rule, will have to go without recognition. There is, however, a third theoretical possibility. All Trade Unions may be fashioned exactly according to the liking of the employers and developed into excellent 'Company Unions' which can be no more than Slave Unions, whose aim would be the perpetuation of the existing capitalist system. But the hands of the clock cannot be put back and socialism as a creed cannot now be banished from the minds of men, unless, of course, Fascism of the Central European variety is introduced in this country also. The industrial potentates may not stand to lose even by such an arrangement but a preponderating majority of the people of this country do, and therefore, that possibility as an alternative solution of the problem may be left out of consideration.

The two alternative courses, then, that remain open would be either to reduce the whole Trade Union Movement to the degraded level of Company Unionism or to allow genuine Trade Unionism to plod its weary way without the recognition of the employers, at least as long as it is not strong and militant enough to exact recognition. We are sure the first course cannot now be forced on the Indian working class movement which has gone ahead of the Company Union stage. We, however, find that the second course, that of discouraging active Trade Unionism by neglecting the question of recognition is being actually adopted not only by the Government of India but also by the new responsible Provincial Governments including the Congress ones. It is true that working class organizations should be strong enough to create in the minds of the employers the persuasion that it would be to their own advantage to recognize, rather than not, the Unions of their workers. But it is also true that in India, the Trade Union Movement is yet very weak and that it is the duty of responsible, popular Governments to make it strong.

We, therefore, fail to appreciate the alleged move on the part of the U. P. Government finally to inform the Mazdoor Sabha that unless the Sabha reconsiders its attitude towards the suggested class collaboration clause in its constitution,

it would not be possible for Government to support the cause of workers by recommending the recognition of the Sabha to the Employers' Association of Northern India. The U. P. Government may not believe in the principle of class struggle, but the Mazdoor Sabha evidently does; the U. P. Government may even be opposed to socialism, but the Mazdoor Sabha is not; the U. P. Government may be able to visualise permanent peace in industry even under the capitalist system, but the Mazdoor Sabha is of the view that under the present system, peace means only truce and nothing more. These are fundamental differences of outlook, and it would not be wise to insist upon their reconciliation before any working arrangement for conducting ordinary routine is arrived at, for that is what recognition means. If the U. P. Government registers the Mazdoor Sabha under the Act of 1926 and so recognizes it even for the purpose of political representation without taking into consideration its social and political creed, why can it not advise the employers to adopt the same reasonable attitude and recognize the Sabha irrespective of its outlook on labour problems?

We believe nothing can be gained by adopting an adamant attitude in this respect. Nobody can possibly effect a change in views which other people hold, only by refusing to deal with them before such a change is effected. The only effect of such a policy in Cawnpore would be that, if there are any members of the Mazdoor Sabha who are not yet convinced about the fact of class struggle in a capitalist society, they will be so convinced; and the possibility of introducing the class collaboration clause in the Sabha's constitution will be more remote than ever. We, therefore, request the U. P. Government to adopt a more realistic attitude towards this question and persuade the employers of Cawnpore to recognize the Mazdoor Sabha without any further delay. Government may point out to the Employers' Association of Northern India that employers in most other capitalist countries do generally recognize the Unions of their workers even though the latter may be influenced by extremist doctrines. These doctrines have nothing to do with the day-to-day transactions for which recognition is meant, and it is, therefore, improper to make a bogey of extremism and refuse recognition on that score.

We may perhaps go a step further and request the U. P. Government to give their own support to a private member's Bill for the recognition of Trade Unions that is now pending before the U. P. Legislative Assembly and see that each and every Trade Union that is registered by Government is also recognized by the employers.

RATE-WAR AND NATIONAL INDUSTRIES.

(CONTRIBUTED)

A rate-war in any industry affecting the economic interests of India should be avoided, but a rate-war militating against the growth and expansion of the national shipping industry should be prevented. The national shipping industry is the only industry in India which is not protected and which has hence to struggle against the powerful attacks of vested British interests. It is further recognised that the development of a powerful Indian merchant marine is essential not only for protecting the national economic interests of India, but also for promoting an effective national policy of defence at sea. The merchant marine of a country has been truly called the "Navy of supply" and without this "Navy of supply" the "Navy of defence" cannot carry out effectively the task of defending our coasts and harbours, our trade and our merchant marine. It is therefore, obvious that all efforts should be made to ensure that the direction and control of our navy remains in our own hands so that a free India may be able to defend herself at sea and secure the much-needed strength to hold her own in the growing economic struggle in the international sphere. This is the back-ground against which we should consider a rate-war in the shipping industry.

It is now nearly two years since a rate-war started in the Konkan trade and there does not seem to be any sign of its coming to an end. Three shipping companies are involved in this struggle: The Bombay Steam, a larger proportion of whose capital is in Indian hands, a fair proportion of whose directors are Indians, but whose management is entirely in the hands of a cent. per cent. British firm of fair standing in the City; the Indian Co-operative, a real Swadeshi concern, whose shares are held by poor or middle class people on the Konkan coast and the Ratnagar, which came into existence owing to the efforts of the well-known industrialist, Sheth Mafatlal Gagalbhai. The advent of the Ratnagar Company in the trade was the signal for a rate-war. The Indian Co-operative with its poor resources suffered the most and had it not been for the very timely assistance rendered by that dynamic force in the world of shipping, Mr. Walchand Hirachand, it would have gone out of existence. From all the statements and counter-statements that have been issued, it is clear that all efforts for rationalising the tonnage and the sailings and the fixing of quotas for putting an end to the rate-war amongst the three companies have failed. One broad fact that emerges out of this whole controversy is that the issue is not merely an economic one, but it is really a national one. Rationalisation of an industry under such circumstances can only proceed after the control of an industry passes into the hands of the nationals of the country. Indianization of the industry is, therefore, the

fundamental problem and we wonder whether the problem that is arising on the West Coast can be successfully solved either by ignoring or evading it.

It is not our purpose to enter into the merits of the various proposals that have been put forward for establishing peace among shipping interests on the Konkan coast. What strikes us, however, as a matter of great importance and which gives us a clear perspective of the situation, is the growing consciousness in the country that those who are at the helm of our industries and who manage them from day to day should serve the real interests of India first and last. Judging from this national test, it is difficult to concede that the cent. per cent. British firm, managing the affairs of the Bombay Steam for the last three decades and more, showed any signs of real solicitude about national interests, much less of patriotic fervour to further the cause of national shipping and stand up for the rights of that shipping against the continuous in-roads of vested British interests. It is this conflict between the nationals and the non-nationals which has to be faced and will have to be solved if India's industrial future is to be assured. Had these British managing agents of the Bombay Steam been inspired by a national outlook and had they acted from that broad national viewpoint, it is certain that the problem with which shipping on the Konkan coast is now faced would not have arisen.

The managing agents of a concern really control that company, for it is they who have to deal with its affairs as they arise from day to day. In as much as it is they, the managing agents, who shape the destiny of a joint-stock company, Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee of the Congress have stated in unmistakable language that no concern can be called Swadeshi, unless it is managed either by a managing director or by managing agents, who are Indians. This is the real issue that comes to the surface out of the various conflicting statements with which the Press has been flooded. It is not, therefore, merely the division of the trade which requires settlement. The larger interests of the national shipping industry are at stake. It is not difficult to imagine that with the management resting in non-Indian hands, it will be impossible for them to throw their lot with national interests for building up a powerful Indian shipping industry in this country. The question, therefore, is that of the Indianizing of the capital, directorate and management of the shipping industry first before it is rationalised to serve the needs of a particular trade. Will it be too much to express the hope that all those distinguished Indians who are connected with these three shipping companies in the Konkan trade will put their heads together before long, so that they all may work, not for the prestige of any individuals

but for the sole object of promoting the growth and developing the economic strength of the national Indian shipping industry, which is essential for the free India of the future?

Reviews.

WORLD HISTORY.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF HUMAN HISTORY.

By S. R. SHARMA. (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2.) 1938. 19cm. 248p. Rs. 2-4-0.

THOUGH World History has been included among the optional subjects in the Bombay University, it has not yet become popular with the students. This is partly due to the absence of a suitable book written from an Indian view point. There are undoubtedly many good books in English on World History, but most of them, if not all, have been written from the European point of view. As has been said by Prof. Sharma in the preface of this book, World History is certainly more than the history of Europe and America. Prof. Sharma has written his book to put the events of the East, particularly of India, in their proper perspective. Even great writers are not free from the temptation of "reading history backwards and applying the standards of present times to measure the heights of nations in the ancient past. This does a good deal of injustice to the civilisation of the East" for, although as Prof. Sharma says, Europe may be at present the workshop of man and Asia his dormitory, time was when the reverse was the case.

In this volume Prof. Sharma has brought the "Survey of Human History" from pre-historic times to about 600 A. D. It is not an easy matter to compress such a comprehensive march of man within about 250 pages. Much has to be left out and selection is largely a matter of individual judgment. Prof. Sharma has generally put the catalogue of political incidents in the background and emphasised the cultural, the material and the spiritual progress of mankind and described it in greater detail. The writer is at ease in the treatment of the subject and has presented successive scenes and developments in a panoramic manner. In his chapters on the "Heart of Asia" and the "Medley of Cultures" he has presented a synthetic view of India and China in the former and of Phoenicia, Palestine and Persia in the latter, thus trying to adhere to Lord Acton's standard that the World History is something more and distinct from the history of all the nations put together. We are of opinion that sufficient justice has not been done to China and Persia in these two chapters. In writing chapters on Egypt and Babylonia, Prof. Sharma has unfolded the subject before the reader as it became known to the modern world through excavations and through a study of archaeology and anthropology. But of all the chapters Prof. Sharma's treatment of the Indian civilisation is by far the best. This is probably the first book on World History that does proper justice to the Mohenjodaro civilisation and later Aryan civilisation in India. Prof. Sharma's treatment of the prophets of religion such as Gautam Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster or even Jesus Christ and their gospels is far from satisfactory.

While there is much to be said in favour of the cultural treatment of the subject, our experience

is that boys are at sea in the comprehension of such incidents as it is difficult to show distinctive landmarks in such a treatment. A few prominent political incidents have to be fixed in the time chart and the social and material progress has to be knit round them. In presenting the second edition of this book we would request the author to give a well-classified time-chart, not a simple chronology of events, so that the readers can take a chronological review of the progress of mankind. A glaring defect, in our opinion, is the absence of the enumeration of the various races of mankind. One more glaring deficiency in the book is want of a suitable index. Descriptive contents are no substitute for it.

Prof. Sharma is eminently qualified to write a book on World History, for he possesses what may be called historical imagination. The past stands before him and he makes it stand before the reader with vivid reality.

R. V. OTURKAR.

JAPANESE EXPANSION

JAPANESE EXPANSION ON THE ASIATIC CONTINENT. Vol. I. By YOSHI S. KUNO. (Cambridge University Press.) 1937. 24cm. 373p \$ 4-00.

"THE problems of the Far East are the world problems of the next 50 years and more," said General Smuts in addressing the Imperial Conference in 1921. It was therefore a happy idea that suggested itself to the North-Eastern Asia Seminar of the University of California under the direction of Professor Robert Kerner to undertake researches and investigations into the relations between Japan, China and Russia, and thereby to give a sounder and more objective basis on which to judge events in the Far East. The present volume which is the first of a series of three volumes deals with the history of Japanese expansion on the continent of Asia from its origins to the end of the 16th century when Emperor Hideyoshi planned the establishment of a Japanese Empire in Asia.

The learned author of the book should be congratulated for his method of treatment. In 178 pages he has given in an easy style the main facts in the expansionist policy of Japan from the beginning to the end of the 16th century, and in another 175 pages he has published Japanese, Chinese and Korean documents which have been utilised by him in the preparation of his work. The advantage of this method is that while the ordinary student gets a lucid presentation of the Japanese expansionist policy, the specialist is able to revel in a maze of documents. The book can therefore be placed in the hands of the lay reader as well as the specialist.

In this volume the learned author points out how Japan's desire for expansion on the Asiatic continent manifested itself even in the early centuries of her national life. It was over Korea that she frequently came into conflict with China. In the seventh century, Japan and China had some sort of suzerainty over the several kingdoms into which Korea was divided, but after the unification of Korea only China established a sort of supremacy over the whole of Korea. In the 16th century Hideyoshi, (1586-1598) the Japanese Emperor planned the invasion of Korea and died just before the battle of Sushuan when a Chinese force led by a Ming general was thoroughly defeated. The death of Hideyoshi proved convenient

to China, for at that time the weak Ming dynasty was replaced by the Manchus, and a Manchu Emperor reconquered Korea, and made it a tributary state of Manchuria.

This war between Japan and China over the control of Korea popularly known as the "Seven years' war" was called in Japan Ryo-ta-Ja-bi (the Dragon-head and Snake-tail campaign) because it began with the grand plan of conquering the Asiatic continent and ended with accomplishing hardly anything. Thus Professor Kuno disproves the opinion long held by occidental historians that Korea was prior to 1894 under the joint suzerainty of Japan and China and that the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 was centred round the question of their respective rights in Korea. He shows clearly that over a period of 600 years ending in 1894, actual sovereign and tributary relationships were established between *China and Korea*, and never at any time did *Japan* exercise authority over the whole of Korea.

We congratulate the author for throwing fresh light on the conflicting and often puzzling international relationships in the Far East. What strikes the candid reader of the book is the extraordinary firmness of grasp maintained by the author over every part of the theme. If Professor Kuno finishes his work as he has commenced it, there can be no doubt that it will be the most complete and authoritative book on the Far Eastern international relationships that has yet been written. We await with pleasure his succeeding volumes.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE MATHEMATICAL PROBLEM OF THE PRICE INDEX. By J. K. MONTGOMERY. (King.) 1937. 20cm. 74p. 6/-

I must admit feeling disappointed after reading through the book. Instead of clarifying our ideas, Mr. Montgomery has added bewilderment by introducing a number of formulae many of which, it appears to me, are unnecessarily complicated and could have been derived in a simpler manner; a number of them could have been omitted without in any way interfering with the main theme of the book.

In chapter I the author states the problem quite clearly, and after showing that under the usual assumption the price index and the quantity index appear as a product remarks, quite correctly, that these quantities cannot be evaluated separately without further assumptions.

Chapter II starts with these assumptions. But now begin the difficulties. In spite of "speaking more precisely" the idea expressed in the first sentence of the second paragraph on page 8 is not clear, for, to find out the contribution to the value of a product due to a factor, it is essential to know the value of the product with and without that factor. But the latter value has no place in the method employed by the author, who, besides, does not say precisely how this contribution is to be measured! After some lengthy calculations we come to certain expressions (on p. 11) for R_a , R_b etc. The author does not appear to have realised that by his method he has been trying to obtain expressions which

are "symmetrical" with respect to a, b , etc. That is to say, the expressions are such that from R_a (for example) one could derive, say, R_b by merely interchanging a and c in the expression for R_a . These expressions can, however, be obtained in a much simpler manner.

The author then proceeds to apply his lengthy and tedious method to different expressions. That he is not always successful in obtaining the simplest expressions can be seen from the expression for R_a given at the bottom of p. 17 which is more complicated than the following, namely,

$$R_a = A(abc\dots - 1) \frac{a}{a+b+c+\dots}, \text{ which is also}$$

admissible.

This shows that there are many other such expressions, a fact which is perhaps, not realised by the author.

Very complicated expressions are derived for P_{01} and Q_{01} in chapter III but it is not the intention in this review to indicate how simpler expressions could be obtained. The rest of the book is devoted to the derivation of some more expressions and their use.

The main point of our criticism is that the splitting up of the product, referred to at the beginning, can be done in an infinite number of ways. The author has obtained expressions (for these factors) which are "symmetrical" with respect to the primary quantities, but as similar and simpler expressions can be derived, it is very doubtful whether the results obtained by the author will have wide acceptance.

S. R. SAVUR.

LITTLE YELLOW GENTLEMAN. By HENRY JOHN MAY. (Cassell.) 1937. 20cm. 269p. Rs. 7/6.

IN this interesting book the author proves beyond doubt that the causes openly alleged for her invasion of North China do not correspond with the motives which really govern Japanese policy towards China. According to the author the real causes for Japan's latest offensive against China, are the resources of North China, the terrible economic conditions at home and the control of Japanese Government by the military and naval authorities. The interest of the book does not merely consist in exposing the so-called charges of the Japanese Government against the Nanking Government. In part I of the book the author shows with the help of newspaper reports that Japan has been provoking the Chinese to be anti-Japanese, that she has set up dummy administrations in parts of China, and that she has been deliberately creating incidents so as to justify her invasion of China. Though this part of the book is based only on newspaper reports, we believe that those who have made a deep study of the Far Eastern problems will agree with the main thesis of the author.

The book makes delightful reading, and we would specially recommend to the reader chapter 12 dealing with Dr. Sunyet Sen and Marshal Chaing-ki-shaik and chapters 11, 13 and 14 describing the real causes of Japanese aggression in China.

The author should be congratulated for not over-burdening the main text with documentary statements, but confining them to the appendices. The book is well illustrated with maps and

pictures. The book is one of the latest ones dealing with Japanese aggression in North China and no one who is interested in contemporary history should be without it.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Miscellaneous.

Speech broadcast by the Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru in Australia, on September 8, 1938.

THE British Parliament passed a measure of constitutional reform about three years ago which it believed to be of a generous character, to reconcile Indian with British interests. It has, however, failed to bring about political appeasement. Both the Provincial and Federal sections of the constitution have been subjected to severe criticism, but opposition is directed mainly against the constitution of the Federal Government.

Before speaking, however, of the Federal part of the Constitution, I should bring to your notice the fact that new Provincial Governments are functioning in all the provinces. Seven out of the eleven provinces are being governed by Congress Ministries. One of them is the Northwest Frontier province, more than ninety percent of whose population is Moslem. This should dispose of the myth that Moslem political interests are different than those of the Hindu, and that Moslems prefer British rule to Indian rule. All the provincial governments have begun well. They have taken social measures in hand. They are all concerned with agrarian reform, the relief of rural indebtedness and problems of a similar kind relating both to factory workers and agricultural tenants and labourers. They have proved thoroughly successful in maintaining law and order and have not hesitated in the face of public criticism to use strong measures when, in their judgment, they were called for. It is recognized on all hands that popularly elected Ministers have shown no weakness in this respect. Even when communal disturbances have broken out, the Ministers belonging to homogeneous cabinets have been able to deal quickly and effectively with them. This should provide good proof of Indian capacity in the provincial sphere.

Now I shall deal with the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act.

The first thing to be noticed in this connection is that India's demand for equality of status with England and the Dominions has not been recognized in the statute. This has produced a very adverse effect in India. Now take the other features. What do we want popular governments for? We want them, I take it, to raise the standard of living of the people, to improve the social services, to build up other economic resources and to develop our industries. We should, therefore, try to see how far the Government of India Act places the power to do these things in our hands.

Taking first the constitution of the Federal Legislature, one third of the members of the Federal Assembly will be the representatives of the States. The States, which, generally speaking, are autocratically governed, will be under no obligation to allow them to be elected. Their representatives may therefore be to a large extent nominated. How will the two sections of the Legislature, one owing responsibility to a popular electorate, and the other to princes whose will is law, be able to work together? Will it be possible to form stable national ministries for giving effect to popular wishes, or will the nominated section be a drag on democracy and load the scales in favour of conservatism? Instead of giving my own opinions on this subject, I will quote to you the words of Berriedale Keith, whose authority as a constitutional writer is recognized throughout the Empire. "For the federal scheme", he says, "it is difficult to feel any satisfaction. The units of which it is composed are too disparate to be joined suitably together, and it is too obvious that on the British side the scheme is favoured in order to provide an element of pure conservatism, in order to combat any dangerous elements of democracy contributed by British India. It is difficult to deny the justice of the contention in India that federation was largely evoked by the desire to evade the issue of extending responsible government to the central government of British India."

I shall now take the financial and economic provisions of the Act. It has been laid down that a Britisher domiciled in the United Kingdom, a British Company incorporated in the United Kingdom, and a ship registered in the United Kingdom will be free from any conditions or restrictions which any Indian law might impose. Suppose a Federal law lays down conditions with regard to the proportion of Indians in the directorate of a company, or the proportion of capital in Indian hands, a company incorporated in the United Kingdom need not observe them. It will be supposed to have complied with them just as if it were an Indian company registered in India. I will give you one more illustration. You know how important the shipping industry is both from the economic point of view and from that of defence. You belong to the British race, but notwithstanding this, you have taken steps, in view of the important considerations I have pointed out, to reserve your coastal trade to Australian ships. Indians, however, will not be able to take any such steps under the Act. Indian coastal trade will continue to be dominated by British interests. Take another case, that of currency and exchange. You realized the importance of these matters during the depression. When your trade declined and the prices paid for your exports went down, you took steps to regulate your exchange in such a way as to promote the interests of your people. Although you are British, you did not keep your currency linked

with the British pound. Even though it had depreciated, you chose a new rate for yourself in order to enable your people to receive a proper return for their goods. Indians, however, will be powerless under the Act to do anything of the kind that you did. No measure relating to currency can even be introduced in the Indian legislature except with the previous permission of the Governor-General. The Governor-General will be controlled by the Secretary of State for India, who, it may be presumed, will be influenced by City interests. I leave it to you to decide whether the Act with the limitations that I have placed before you can reasonably be accepted by India.

All political parties are united in opposing it. There is still some chance that the obnoxious features may be modified in such a way as to enable democracy to function effectively at the same time. We shall know the intentions of the British Government after Lord Linlithgow's return to India. If the British Government decides to force the unmodified Act on us, you must not expect peace in India. There is already a very important section of the people, led by the Indian National Congress, which has accepted the creed of independence. It wants to secede from the Empire, and if the Act is enforced as it is, this section will gain considerably in strength.

There is one other subject I wish to mention before closing. It is a subject concerning the relations of India and the Dominions. One result of the awakening which has taken place in India within the last thirty years is that Indians take a keen interest in questions relating to permits to settle abroad.

There are restrictions on their entry into certain parts of the Empire and the disabilities they labour under in certain other parts have been among the potent factors colouring their feelings and determining their attitude towards the Empire. The best way in which India's demands of equality with other members of the Empire can be emphasised is to allow the Indians the same freedom of government and settlement as is enjoyed by the people of other

States of the Commonwealth, consistent with such safeguards as may be found necessary to protect the standards of living of the people. This policy seems to be involved in the idea of an Empire claiming to be based on moral ideas, and to regarding capacity and character of greater importance than race or religion.

So long as this is not conceded it is obvious that there can be no identity of interests between the various members of the Empire, and that racial feelings and distrust will injure their political relations with one another.

Appeals to the non-British nations in the Empire to defend its interests can, in such a case, only appear to them as an invitation to help in the consolidation of the Empire for the benefit of those who regard themselves as belonging to a superior race.

In theory the right to control the composition of the population is implied in the idea of full self-government. India has accordingly acknowledged the right of the Dominions to decide whom they will allow to become the premier part of the population. But the exercise of a legal right may be an undeniable moral wrong.

The immigration policies pursued by the Dominions, although their legal validity cannot be questioned, have created an intense feeling throughout India. In such a situation, frankly speaking, even though India may remain in the Empire, she cannot regard herself as belonging to the Family of Nations constituting the British Commonwealth. She cannot with equanimity regard a situation in which, while her children are prevented from entering the Dominions, Italians and Germans are, comparatively speaking, welcome. The relationship between her and the Empire must therefore be more in the nature of a political alliance which is based on temporary considerations of self-interest, and in which sentiment and morality have no part.

The instability of such a relation is obvious, and it ought to be the task of statesmanship to place it on a more enduring footing.

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