

# Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE—Office : Servants of India Society's Home, Poona ( D. G. ).

VOL. XII, No. 4. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1929.

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

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

ANOTHER ministerial crisis has overtaken the Central Provinces and the province is at present without Ministers, the Governor having temporarily taken over the administration of the Transferred Departments. The resignation of the Ministers was due to the insistence of the Legislative Council upon changing their measures in a manner unacceptable to them. To give an instance, the Council carried an amendment to the State Aid to Industries Bill, by which Government would be required to give grants-in-aid to the hand-spinning industry without being in a position either to have any voice in their expenditure or to call for accounts or even to insist upon their being duly audited. In the circumstances the Ministers took the only course open to any self-respecting ministers and sent in their resignations. The attitude of the Council towards their measures was very deplorable. Personalities seem to have had a good deal to do with it; else it is difficult to account for Mr. Deshmukh's opposition to a Bill of which he was himself the author and which had cost him a good deal of labour. It remains to be seen which other political combination will make a ministry possible in C. P. and whether it will be such as to be a faithful interpreter of national feeling in regard to the Simon Commission, as the C. P. ministries have so far been. The indications however are that with the Council as at present composed no stable ministry is likely; indeed in some quarters a dissolution of the Council is advocated as the only way out of the difficulty. In opening the current session of the Council, Sir Montagu Butler, the Governor, deplored the Council's refusal to appoint a committee to cooperate with the Commission. At the same time he made it clear that the Government had no intention to place before the Council

a motion for its appointment. While Sir Montagu Butler deserves praise for acting in this matter as a constitutional Governor would be expected to do, it is to be hoped that he will not follow Lord Irwin's vicious example in nominating a Committee when the Legislature had refused to elect one.

SINCE the advent of the Simon Commission the Europeans in India have shown themselves more and more apprehensive of the loss of their so-called rights and imaginary dangers under a more democratic constitution. On

this occasion we have to notice the utterances delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Madras section of the European Association during the last week. Sir A. MacDougall's speech can hardly be said to point to any *via media* between the European and Indian points of view. In expectation of the coming Reforms he said that Europeans must be prepared to supply one European Minister to the new Cabinet. He advised the Europeans to spend a few years before their final retirement in an endeavour to assist India along the new road. He would however like Indians to appreciate and sing the praises of the British connection instead of talking about the injuries India has suffered through it. As for his claim that everything that the Europeans have done so far has been done for the advancement of India's interest, even a tyro in economics would be inclined to laugh at it. He is right however in believing that Indians will welcome increasing co-operation from non-official Europeans; we want them as co-workers and friends but not as masters. As for his emphasis on the great blessing of established law and order we can only say that the theme has become too old-fashioned. His other theme also of the poverty in India being due to peculiar social laws of India has been overdone and would not bear much scrutiny. Curiously enough, he said that the Memorandum submitted to the Commission by the Association had been favourably received throughout the country; what he meant probably was that it had been welcomed by Europeans and reactionary Indians because all progressive Indians have already characterized the Memorandum as a bye-word of reactionaryism and ultra-conservatism. Lord Goschen in his reply assured the European community that his Government were taking steps to carry out the various recommendations of the Linlithgow Commission and that the consequent progress of the industry will react on the other industries in which the community is interested. He assured his hearers and through them perhaps the Indians outside that the feeling in England towards India is one of a desire to help those who are loyally endeavouring to find a peaceful settlement of the questions before us; we do not know whether by 'loyally' he means in accordance with the advice and pre-conceived notions of the official and non-

official Europeans. We are glad to find that Lord Goschen proclaims that the Britishers desire that India should remain a member of the great family of the Commonwealth; we only wish that he would exert his influence to translate the desire into some sort of action instead of allowing it to remain as an otiose desire. With all due deference to him we do not think we can agree with H. E. Lord Goschen in describing the Memoranda of the several European Associations as offering an unbiased contribution to the current deliberations. Every page of them is bristling with biases and pre-conceived ideas which refuse to fit into the modern environment. But whatever Indians may say, the fact is beyond doubt that Europeans wield with the Government an influence quite out of proportion to their numbers. This is a fact too well known to the Indian public. But the position has been recently described in unmistakable terms by the *Statesman* which remarks,

"In coming to any decision as to the future form of government the British people will be deeply influenced by the view of their compatriots who are in India, whether in Government service or engaged in trade, commerce and industry. These, it will be recognised at Home, are the people who have to carry on their lives under the new conditions whatever they may be, and only so far as they are willing to consent to changes and to work under them will Parliament be inclined to grant the needed alterations in the constitution. The extent of the opposition to any reforms that will manifest itself in Parliament will be determined largely by opinion among Europeans here."

So it is not the fitness of Indians or their capacity to manage their affairs that counts; what really matters is the opinion of non-official Europeans who must certify that a further step in political advance may safely be taken!

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THE news is received that the Nizam has released some *Paigah* estates he had taken under his personal supervision and control some fifteen years ago. We have looked in vain through some recent administration reports of Hyderabad for some enlightenment on the nature of these estates; but it is stated that the estates were given to their respective holders in exchange for the troops they were expected to furnish in case of any public disorder. The British Government having made itself responsible for the maintenance of public peace not merely in British but Indian India, the estate-holders were not required to render the service stipulated for. That however can be no justification for the Nizam's arbitrarily taking over their control. The estates are stated to be yielding a yearly revenue of Rs. 40 lakhs and comprise as many as about 8 lakhs of human beings. That the Nizam could appropriate them and keep them under his personal care for as long as 15 years without the consent of those to whom they properly belonged vividly shows the autocratic nature of his none too enlightened rule and constitutes a justification for the powers of intervention enjoyed by the Paramount Power in the administration of Indian States in case of oppression and misrule. One wonders if in the absence of such power vesting in the suzerain power these estates would ever have reverted to their legitimate owners. There is also the question as to how the yearly revenues which must have come to about Rs. 6 crores during all these years were expended. Though the estates have been handed back to their holders, their jewellery etc., it is reported, is to continue in charge of the Nizam to be given to them for use when needed. We fail to appreciate the logic of an arrangement under which the more valuable part of the property is restored to its owner, the less valu-

able remaining with one who apparently has no right to it. The whole transaction appears to us to be shrouded in mystery and calls for a thorough and searching inquiry by the British Government.

A STRIKING feature of the scheme of so-called reforms prepared by the U. P. Government—*Retrogression in Excelsis*—or rather the two executive councillors—is the attempt to tighten the bureaucratic hold. They have of course rejected the Nehru Report; and no wonder. The report is designed to confer real power on the people, which is far from the intentions of the framers of the U. P. scheme. Adult franchise is ruled out on the ground that its special merit, viz. that it makes the voting ratio correspond with the population ratio, is secured even under the existing voting arrangements and that adult suffrage is impracticable. It is of course a mercy that the authors of this scheme did not recommend the abolition of direct elections. Their advocacy of communal electorates would do credit to an extreme communalist; but they fight not merely for the retention of communal electorates for Mahomedans, but for their present excessive representation to be allowed to remain intact. Though the Mahomedans form only 14 per cent. of the population, their political importance, according to the authors of this scheme, demands their being secured in the enjoyment of their present 30 per cent. representation. One should have expected that with their proposed bicameral legislature the authors of the U. P. scheme would have been generous enough to do away with nomination, at any rate in regard to the Lower House; far from doing that, however, they have suggested an increase from 3 to 10 in the number of non-officials that can be nominated by the Governor! They recognise the great disadvantage of diarchy in that the association of ministers with the reserved half places them in an unenviable light in their relations with the Legislative Council; and yet they find that until a decided improvement in Hindu-Muslim relations takes place parliamentary government for U. P. is out of the question. While Hindu-Muslim unity is a consummation devoutly to be wished, one fails to see how the one is related to the other. Political thinkers lay emphasis upon the development of a sufficiently large electorate as a condition precedent to the conferment of more power on the people. The authors of the U. P. scheme have no such scruple; for they hold a parliamentary system to be workable "even though the electorate was very restricted and practically confined to the aristocracy." Designed as the scheme is to strengthen the position of the bureaucracy, it contains a proposal to invest the Governor with larger powers of intervention in the administration of the transferred departments. E. g., in the name of the "maintenance of financial stability and adherence to canons of financial propriety", which is given as one of the grounds on which he can overrule his Ministers, an unsympathetic Governor can veto all schemes involving any expenditure that may be prepared by a Minister at considerable cost of labour and time and in fact make any progress in the nation-building departments impossible. Similarly, the Governor's powers of certification of bills, which is now limited to legislation affecting reserved subjects is sought to be extended to all provincial departments. The framers of the scheme must indeed be hopeless optimists if they really believe, as they appear to do, that such a scheme will "receive a large measure of support from politicians of the moderate school." All we can say is that if that be their belief, they must prepare themselves for a rude shock.

THE action of the Mysore Government in withdrawing their permission for the publication of four newspapers seems to have created a storm of indignation amongst its subjects. We for our part would not have believed this to be possible under the enlightened rule of the present Maharaja, but for the fact that it has actually taken place. If a newspaper tries to foment sedition or to promote ill-feeling between different classes of the Maharaja's subjects, the Government have their remedy in a court of law. People in Mysore think that if the Government felt offended by the writings of the newspapers concerned, they should have been prosecuted under the law in force in the State. But to proceed against them in the high-handed and arbitrary manner in which the Mysore Government has done is extremely unfair and most unjust. Moreover, the journalist who was responsible for the conduct of the four journals in question is, from all accounts, a gentleman who owing to his long experience, deep learning and advanced age—he is 86—must be presumed to know his job and ought to have been credited with a greater sense of responsibility than the Mysore Government are prepared to do. We do not say that because he is an experienced editor, therefore he should be immune from punishment. If he has erred, the State can proceed against him, but it must do so only under the usual legal processes. The Mysore Government's action is also very unfortunate at a time when the existing oppressive press regulation is under promise of repeal by His Highness's Government. It is a great pity that opportunity was not taken earlier to banish it from the statute book and it is to be hoped that nothing will be allowed to interfere with the Mysore Government's intention to repeal it.

IT is clear from recent evidence tendered before the Mill Strike Enquiry Committee that the workers have not a good word to say about the standardisation scheme. The burden of most of the evidence was that the scheme meant substantial reductions in wages and withal it involved increased labour in many cases without a proportionate increase of wages. Many of the witnesses stated that it would not be possible for them to work three looms. A number of female workers definitely stated that after the strike their wages had gone down considerably and that they suspected a reduction in the rates. Now it is incumbent on the owners' representatives to explain the reductions referred to. Miss Wingate, Industrial Secretary of the Y. W. C. A., while admitting the need for efficiency, pointed out the mistake of supposing that there was no inefficiency on the part of the management. She suggested that all other reforms suggested by the Tariff Board should be tried before wages were touched in order to reduce costs. One very good suggestion made by her was that poor efficiency workers and those who habitually earned less than the average wage should be taken in hand by trained welfare workers who should find out the remediable causes of their lapses. In order to prevent women workers from getting very low wages owing to slackness of work or repairs—a very common grievance—Miss Wingate suggested a fixed minimum wage.

THE Indian Conference in Malaya, the second session of which was recently held at Ipoh, is a welcome indication of the desire on the part of the more enlightened and well-to-do section of the Indian community there to look beyond their own selfish interests. No doubt a very large proportion of the Indian

emigration to Malaya is labour, but there is also a fair sprinkling of those who go there to improve their prospects in life by engaging in commerce, Government service and other professions. These alone can be in a position to safeguard the interests of their less favoured brethren. The Conference is clearly the result of an increasing realisation on the part of this section of their duty in this behalf and deserves to be strengthened as much as possible. It is a great pity that the Indian merchants, the wealthiest portion of the Indian community, have consistently kept aloof from all movements having for their object the betterment of the Indians settled there. It is time they realised that if they did not give up their indifference in these matters, they would be letting a valuable opportunity slip. The President, the Hon. Mr. Veeraswamy, did well in emphasising the need of the Indian community in Malaya doing all they possibly could to help the Indian labourer on the plantations, for though the Government of India have an agent of their own in the colony, it is too much to expect that the Indian labourers would get all the attention they need from him alone. From the eulogistic references made to him at the Conference, we are glad to note that his work is much appreciated. His outstanding achievement is the standard wage for Indian labourers. As the president pointed out, one very useful activity to which the community should turn its attention is the provision of a maternity home for women labourers from this country. Looking to the educational backwardness of the Indian community, the Conference was right in asking for more extensive educational facilities. It is a source of much gratification that the value of a daily organ of Indian opinion is appreciated and that efforts are going to be made to start one. But the one resolution upon which we should like to congratulate the Conference is that relating to the establishment of what is known as the Labourers' Defence Fund. This will enable our better placed brethren to give some tangible proof of their sympathy for those toiling on the plantations for the bare necessities of life.

THE question which created considerable stir at the All-India Women's Educational Conference which met at Patna early this month with the Rani Saheba of Mandi in the chair was whether the Conference should widen its scope by including social reform in its programme or whether it should continue to concern itself only with the education of women for which it was primarily intended. The discussion on the point culminated in a compromise which seems to have found general favour. Under this, the standing committee of the conference would be split up into two sections, one dealing with educational, and the other with social, problems. The opposition to the inclusion of social reform in the scope of the conference was, we think, sentimental and we are glad it was unable to carry the day. Both the Chairman Mrs. Mazharul Haque and the President declaimed with all their might against the evil custom of the Purdah and put forward an earnest plea for better and more widespread education among women. The Rani Saheba of Mandi is no believer in education which would fit women only for the needs of motherhood and domestic life, which she characterised as "a narrow view". In expressing this opinion she felt fortified by a similar sentiment expressed by Mr. Sastri, who viewed with increasing satisfaction the desire of young women to obtain university distinction, to learn science or mathematics, or to stand the same test as their brothers and cousins of the other sex.

### THE HILTON YOUNG REPORT.

THE Report of the Hilton Young Commission, of which an abstract has been supplied by the Government of India, shows that the apprehensions of the people in this country, to which expression was given in the Legislative Assembly on the publication of the Amery White Paper, were well founded. There is little of Closer Union in the Report, although it was the principal term of reference to the Commission, but there is much of Constitutional Change, which extends far beyond what is required by the Commission's recommendations for a unified policy among the East African countries. The appointment of a High Commissioner to "inaugurate enquiries and joint discussions" &c., is in itself quite unexceptionable and in fact desirable in the interest of the future growth of East Africa, but there was no need for this recommendation being accompanied by another introducing what the White Paper of 1923 justly regarded as a "fundamental change" in the composition of the Kenya Legislative Council, viz. the abolition of an official majority therein. There is in fact no logical connexion between a common policy in East African countries and an expansion of the white element in the Legislature of Kenya; and the main objection which Indians urged to this Commission, viz. that, under the guise of exploring the possibilities of federation, His Majesty's Government was altering the constitution of Kenya to the advantage of Europeans and to the disadvantage of Indians, is thus amply justified.

The constitutional changes now recommended are of course in full consonance with the new lines of policy laid down by Mr. Amery. In fact the whole report is inspired by this "new conception of the relation of the Imperial Government to non-self-governing dependencies," the conception, namely, of associating immigrant communities in the responsibilities of trusteeship. Those of our countrymen who were inclined to acquiesce in the policy of the new White Paper, on the persuasion of Sir M. Habbulla, because under the changed policy the Indian community would share equally with the European in the additional powers that would be conferred upon them, would find that they were cruelly deceived. For, according to the Commission's recommendations, the whole benefit accruing from the proposed change is to go to Europeans, Indians being left high and dry in the distribution of power. Ostensibly, of course, the natives alone are to receive an increase in representation on the Legislative Council, all the others—Europeans, Indians and Arabs—are to have the same representation as at present. The Commission may therefore even claim to have had in view the interest of the natives before that of any other section of the population, in accordance with the Devonshire dispatch of 1923. But the fact that the natives will not be represented by themselves, but by Europeans, obviously throws the additional four seats allotted to the natives into the lap of Europeans. It cannot be urged surely that the native interests can in the existing circumstances be represented only by the Christian missionaries, and that Indians, never

having cared as much for them as the European missionaries, the Imperial Government cannot be blamed if the representation of native interests goes to tilt the balance in the constitution in favour of Europeans. For, in the first place, the European missionaries of Kenya as a class have not shown themselves as the best protectors of the natives from those who are most likely to practise oppression on them, viz. the European planters, and the sitting representative of the natives has proved a complete failure in this respect. In the second place, could not five natives be secured by nomination, capable of truly ventilating their grievances and voicing their aspirations? Thirdly, if natives are not yet in a position, whether by the channel of nomination or election, to represent their own interest on the Legislature, it only means that time has not yet arrived for advancing the political constitution of Kenya, as is now proposed, by replacing an official majority by an unofficial majority. For, the Hilton Young Report does not merely give additional seats to Europeans under cover of increasing native representation, but it decreases to that extent the number of officials on the Council. This surely was unnecessary. Granting the necessity for strengthening native representation and assuming further that Europeans alone can represent the natives, there was no need for reducing the official strength while increasing the native (or really European) strength. And herein lies the chief source of mischief. Power is no doubt reserved to the Central Authority to override the unofficial European majority now created when inter-racial justice would require it; but everybody knows how the Central Authority, viz. the High Commissioner or Governor-General will intervene to "ensure inter-racial justice" when, as he will be, under the influence of the local Europeans. This reduction of the official element is again intended only "as a first step in progressive reduction of the proportion of official members." Why should so much anxiety be betrayed to increase the unofficial, which in this particular case means the white, element, if the unofficial members are to be given, as the Report professes, no greater power than they now possess?

This recommendation for the abolition of the official majority is in direct opposition to the terms of the Devonshire White Paper, which first invoked the principle of native trusteeship. "Nor indeed, would they (H. M. Government) contemplate yet (the Paper said) the possibility of substituting an unofficial majority in the Council for the Government official majority. Hasty action is to be strongly deprecated, and it will be necessary to see how matters develop, especially in regard to African representation, before proposals for so fundamental a change in the constitution of the colony can be entertained." Things have not developed at all in regard to African representation; Africans remain to-day as unworthy of representing their own race as they were when this dispatch was indited, and yet proposals for the fundamental change which for their own purposes the Imperial Government deprecated only six years and a half ago are now not merely entertained.

but initiated, by Government. Things have not progressed very rapidly, in the matter of native representation, but they are progressing with phenomenal velocity in the matter of European representation. Only in July 1920 (less than ten years ago), Lord Milner, the then Colonial Secretary, declared, "Having regard to the very embryonic condition of the institutions of the country, and to its very early stage of development, I think that that position will have to be maintained for a considerable time—the position, that is to say, of an official majority in the Legislative Council." But the embryonic representative institutions of the time have within less than ten years become full grown, and what was then considered impossible "for a considerable time" is about to come to pass. Need it be said that responsible government, i. e. white planter rule, which the Hilton Young Report too declares to be out of the question for a long time to come, will be quite ripe for establishment possibly within the next decade?

No one, we hope, will be deceived by the sop of a common electoral roll thrown to the Indian community. The establishment of a common electoral roll such as the Hilton Young Commission contemplate does not mean leaving it to the voters who are enfranchised on a common suffrage to elect as many as they like from each community, but just so many of one community and so many of another. Add to this the fact that the very great disparity that exists at present between Indian and European representation is to be considerably increased immediately and will very likely be increased still further in the near future, and then it will be found that the advantage of a common register is reduced to vanishing point. When an elective element was first introduced into the Legislative Council, the disproportion between Indian and European members was sought to be excused by the fact that since the decision on any question rested with the official majority, which was not to be changed "for a considerable time," it was not of much moment how many representatives Europeans had to voice their grievances and how many Indians. Lord Milner then said, "In these circumstances it seems to me that the question of the number of elected representatives—seeing that they are in a minority in any case—and the method of their election is not of the first importance. What is of vital importance is that the view of every section of the community should be adequately voiced in the assembly." But now that the official majority is to be abolished, and that the officials are to undergo a progressive declension within the coming years, the proportion in the number of European and Indian representatives acquires greater importance than the method of their election. We feel the disparity all the more because it is the result, a necessary but undesigned result, so it is pretended, of increasing native representation. If native representation were increased *bona fide*, Indians would not complain, but rejoice that the natives have come up to their own level. But we are sure that the native Africans would feel as much wronged by this recommendation of the Hilton Young Commission as the Indians do,

and the two races will have to work in co-operation, to avert the common danger of European domination.

The only right thing for Indians to do now is to reject the whole policy of the so-called association of immigrant communities in the responsibilities of government and to urge Government, as the Liberal Federation in a resolution on this subject did in 1927, when the Commission had been appointed, "to retain all political power in its own hands and not to advance the political status of either immigrant community till a fair proportion of the natives attain the franchise on a common property and educational qualification and can obtain an effective share in representation by election on a common register." To do so is not merely just to the natives but expedient to ourselves.

### THE COMMISSION IN BENGAL.

A SUMMARY of two memoranda submitted to the Commission by the Bengal Government is vouchsafed to us by the Free Press. It shows that they do not recommend any advance in the direction of greater responsibility. The Bengal Government are said to have strongly condemned the Swarajist methods and policies and cited the administration of the Calcutta Corporation as an example of the barrenness of these methods and policies. They are equally critical of the Muslims who in their opinion have no principle except that of the advocacy of communal interests. The electorates have made no progress in their competence and the Council has done nothing but to obstruct the administration; local self-government has distinctly deteriorated. On these grounds the Bengal Government declare the province to be unfit for the exercise of political responsibility. They contend that Diarchy had not received a fair trial owing to Hindu extremism in the second and third Councils and they prominently mention the deep hostility displayed by the Legislature and the Press towards officials, both Indian and European, and especially towards the police and the magistracy. After considering various alternatives they recommend an intermediate stage between provincial autonomy and the present system; the Nehru Scheme is rejected as making recommendations revealing a lack of touch with realities. They propose a Cabinet consisting of seven Ministers of whom two will be official Ministers having charge of finance, law and order and European education; which means that the key departments will be kept free from pollution. The Governor is to have extensive powers of forbidding and staying the orders of the Cabinet, restoring budget demands, and certifying Bills. A deadlock is provided against by the device of the Governor incurring expenditure according to the previous budget plus a 5 p. c. increase till the general election has put in a new Legislative Council. They recommend the retention of the separate electorates and declare against the extension of the franchise.

In keeping with the above, they recommend the creation of a Second Chamber which will have no powers in the matter of official legislation and money bills. Some members of the Government however propose that the Second Chamber should be given the right to propose amendments to money bills. In the event of disagreement between the two Houses a joint session will declare the final verdict by majority. A statutory council is suggested for each department under official Ministers which will consist of two senior officials and the Minister; in case of



disagreement between this council and the Minister the matter will be placed before the whole Cabinet, the statutory council having the right to plead their views and to appeal to the Governor in case of the rejection of their proposal by the Cabinet. The memorandum proposes 200 as the strength of the lower chamber of which the nominated proportion will be one-eighth; while the upper chamber will consist of 80 members with 45 elected members and the remaining nominated. Even the promotions, postings and transfers of provincial services will be controlled by a Board specially constituted for the purpose.

Nawab Ali Chowdhary strangely enough says in an appended note that Diarchy should be continued some time longer as it has not so far received a fair trial. On the question of franchise however he is more radical and favours adult franchise and reservation of seats for Muslims in proportion to population. Sir P. C. Mitter is in favour of transferring all provincial subjects. He differs from the Bengal Government in recommending a larger number of members from special constituencies out of whom he would assign 15 to the landlords and 14 to European Commerce. He is the only member of Government who has made bold to declare for the abolition of communal electorates. Nawab Musruff Husain wants to see a convention established that the Cabinet should represent all communities. He makes a suggestion which is rather out-of-date to-day, viz. that the finances of the Reserved and Transferred halves should be separated and a Minister should control the latter. The Bengal Government in a separate note point out that annually Rs. 3 crores more are needed in order to meet capital expenditure which is long overdue and additional recurring expenditure. In order to obtain the additional revenue they recommend an excise duty on jute levied by the Provincial Government and the return to the province of a share in the income-tax represented by one anna per rupee and they declare that any new Reforms will be a failure unless this financial adjustment is brought about. It is clear from the general tenor of the recommendations of the Bengal Government that they are too much obsessed with the spectre of a Swarajist domination of the Council to desire a progressive polity.

Mr. Cassels in his oral evidence explained that the Meston Award was based upon the estimate of the expenditure of Bengal during a sub-normal year and hence the straitened finances of the provinces. The depressed classes deputation asked for a reservation of seats for them in proportion to population and for separate electorates and due representation in all services; this due representation was further explained as being equivalent to 40 per cent. These are certainly extravagant claims. Lastly, the Planters' Association in Darjeeling opposed the inclusion of the district within the Reforms on the ground that it would upset the labour of the tea-estates. Surely this is a fragile argument, since it is tantamount to saying that political education should be sacrificed to the needs of economic life; apart from this weighty argument it is absurd to suppose that occasional elections would upset the normal life of an industry. The apprehension of the Association that under a Minister's control education and sanitation of the district would suffer is still more absurd. But what else could be expected from tea-planters than systematic opposition to the claims of labour?

#### A FEDERATION SCHEME.

THE scheme for a Federation of British Indian provinces with Indian States, outlined in a memoran-

dum which has been adopted by the Trivandrum Conference, is intended only to serve as a basis of discussion. We may therefore be permitted at this stage to offer some criticism of it with a view that it may undergo the necessary modifications and be rendered entirely acceptable. The first thing that we notice about the scheme is that the federation proposed is not of the normal type. A federal union is formed, we suppose, by the merger of a number of political communities for the administration of certain affairs of common concern to all the constituent members. A federal system implies a central government with a common legislative and executive organ for the regulation of such matters as are deemed of common interest. The totality of governmental power is variously distributed in different federal unions between the central government and the governments of the individual states or other territorial circumscriptions of which the federation is composed. Some matters which in one federal system may be supposed to require uniformity of regulation and thus be held fit to be placed under the control of the central government may in another be judged appropriate subjects for local regulation permitting of diversity of control and thus be left to the care of the local governments. The spheres of the national and local governments may accordingly vary in different federal systems, but all the systems have at least this in common, that, wherever the line may be drawn between national and local concerns, all matters entrusted to the central government are administered by all the component parts together. In so far as these matters are concerned the political communities, of which federal unions are formed, merge their separate existences into a new and larger state, and each of them has the right, the same as the others, to participate in the collective will.

If this is an invariable feature of all federal systems, the one that Sir M. Visvevaraya and his supporters at the Trivandrum Conference would like to see established in India lacks it. For, according to their scheme, the central legislature will deal with two distinct categories of subjects: one of common interest to British Indian provinces and Indian States and the other of interest to either of the two. On questions belonging to the second category, the provinces or the States, as the case may be, which are interested therein, will alone have the right to vote, and the others may perhaps discuss (this is not quite clear) but are debarred from voting on them. That is to say, even after federation, the component members are to retain their separateness in regard to a few of the subjects which are entrusted for administration to all of them jointly. This is contrary to the maxims and practices of constitutional government. If any subjects are to be kept immune from the control of some of those who form the federal union, the right way to do so is to include them within the domain of the local governments. But when once they are included within the domain of the central government, nothing can be done to restrict the competence of any member

of the federation to deal with all of them. The retention of their separate entity by those who form the federation is also observable in other parts of the Trivandrum Memorandum. It is provided that to the composition of the Central Cabinet, which is to consist of from 12 to 20 members, four must be contributed by the Indian States. That is to say, it is to be made incumbent upon the Prime Minister, who is to choose his own colleagues, to select four from among the representatives of the States, and, what is more, he must assign to them "portfolios pertaining to the States". It is but a minor defect of this provision that such limiting conditions are entirely inconsistent with the principle of joint responsibility. The more serious defect is, as we have said, that the individual states, which must lose themselves into the federal state when once they have formed it, still retain their individuality. There cannot, after the act of federation, remain any matters within the sphere of the national government which can fitly be said to be matters pertaining to any of the members composing the federation. No demarcation can thus be made between portfolios pertaining to Indian States and those pertaining to British Indian provinces. All distinctions are blotted out, so far as the central government is concerned, the moment federation takes place.

The defect of dualism persisting after federation is achieved, which we have pointed out above, and which we consider vital, runs through the whole of the scheme. The Memorandum contemplates, to give a further instance, that the Central Government will perform some special services for the British Indian provinces which it will not perform for the Indian States or which the Indian States may not require. Consequently, it becomes necessary for the authors of the Memorandum to suggest that separate accounts should be maintained of the revenues and expenditure of the two parties to the federation; and that a balance should be struck at the end of the year. A sort of dyarchy that will thus be created in the central government is, in our opinion, fatal to federation. Indeed it would appear, from all these recommendations discriminating between the various members of the federal union, that what the authors really have in view is a very much looser form of association than is implied by federation; perhaps a confederation rather than genuine federation. Indeed, the idea at the back of the minds of the authors is the necessity of removing the injustice from which it is assumed that the Indian States suffer in the matter of economic and financial relations with British India. The States claim a share of the customs revenue, the proceeds from tariffs, the profits of currency and coinage, the income from railways, posts and telegraphs, and opium and salt; and also a share in the direction of policy in regard to all these matters. We gather from the scheme that the representatives of the Indian States are to occupy their seats in the Federal Legislature or Cabinet just for the purpose of safeguarding these interests. It is a question whether this limited purpose is sufficiently inspiring to bring about and sustain a federation

which, it must never be forgotten, involves sacrifices. These economic relations again are matters of mutual agreements between the States and the British Indian Government. Is it intended that the rights and obligations flowing from these agreements are to be voluntarily set aside and a fresh start made as if no prior rights and duties existed? Apparently such is the intention. But we notice a tendency in the Memorandum to maintain intact previous agreements where they are in favour of the States. For instance, the scheme provides that "the cost of defence should be regulated on a uniform basis with due regard to the responsibilities of the Central Government and the individual States respectively." Presumably what the authors of the Memorandum mean is that the British Indian Government has already undertaken the defence of Indian States, which ought not therefore to be burdened with its cost. In making financial adjustments therefore the British Indian provinces will be required to pay for the entire cost of defence while the States will go scot-free, on the strength of the obligation which the British Indian Government has already undertaken. If this obligation on the part of the British Indian Government is to be adhered to, why not those on the part of the Indian States? A great many of them have signed away their right to a share either in the control of the policy or in the proceeds of some of the items in regard to which the authors of the Memorandum assume, without exploring the question, that injustice is at present being done to the States. The economic and financial relations cannot be adjusted by absolving the States from their part of the mutual agreements and holding the British Indian Government to its. The question of financial readjustment requires far greater study than the authors of the Memorandum seem to have given to it.

The Memorandum is again silent about some of the essential features of the scheme of federation. It proposes that members of the Federal Assembly will be elected by the people in the States and provinces on the basis of adult suffrage, which means, roughly, that the voting strength of the constituent members of the federation will be in the proportion of their population. This is quite fair. It is further tentatively proposed that representatives to the Upper House of the Central Legislature should be selected by the Governments of British Indian provinces and Indian States. This at once opens up the question of the proportion of their respective representatives. If all component members of the federation have equal representation on the second chamber irrespective of their area, population or revenue, as is usually the case, it is obvious that the British Indian provinces are likely to be submerged by the States even though the smaller States are grouped together. This is not a question of mere detail, but it is one on which the fate of the whole scheme may eventually depend. And, in a scheme overloaded with such unnecessary details as the strength of the Provincial and Central Cabinets, &c., an indication ought to have been given by the authors of the

Memorandum of what they consider to be a fair proportion. Whatever our criticisms may be of the scheme as formulated, it has the great merit of having initiated the discussion in a practical manner of the whole question of federation. Some of the Princes are found dallying with the idea of federation. It is however quite manifest that they express themselves in favour of it without realising the implications thereof. The Memorandum is a challenge to them to translate their hazy notions into a practical scheme and put it forward for the consideration of British India. British India too, we hope, will give its best consideration to this extremely knotty problem.

### OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, December 28.

#### LIQUOR ACT.

REFERENCE has already been made in previous letters to the adverse effect, both imminent and prospective, of Sec. 102 of the Liquor Act and other sections on the employment of Indians in licensed premises. The Indo-European Council in Johannesburg sought an interview with the Minister of Justice in order to plead that pending a final decision by Parliament of the question, the Indians now in employment in the liquor trade should be allowed to continue. But the request has been refused. And 80 Indians in the Transvaal are under sentence of dismissal on New Year's Day. The Licensing Board in Durban has operated Sec. 87 (b) of the Act and demarcated European bars from Indian bars. The employment of Indians in the European bars has automatically become illegal in Durban. There is nothing to prevent other licensing boards in Natal following suit.

The *Cape Times*, the *Star*, the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Natal Witness* have all supported the Indian case. But no redress is yet forthcoming, nor even in sight. Even if it came a month or two hence by Parliamentary action, it will come too late, for in the meanwhile much harm will have been done. Many Indians will be thrown out of employment, much distress caused, and the faith of the Indians in the Cape Town Agreement and the *bona fides* of the Government rudely shaken.

#### HINDU CREMATION IN THE CAPE PROVINCE.

Apart from the general disabilities regarding immigration, the Indians in the Cape Province have no special grievances. There is however one comparatively small matter which is made a grievance of by the Hindu community. It is difficult to withhold sympathy altogether from it; it is equally difficult to sympathise with it either. There is a small Hindu community in the Cape Province whose religious injunction requires that their dead should be cremated, not buried. The bulk of this community is in Cape Town, the rest being spread out over the province. Even in Cape Town the average number of cremations is about two per year. Though the law did not until 1926 recognise cremation, the local Burial Board had done so in practice and for over a long period of time permitted cremations and provided special facilities for them. In 1903 the Hindu community raised some money with which they built an open crematorium surrounded all round by a high compound wall on a site set apart for the purpose by the Burial Board. In 1926 the Cape Provincial Administration passed an Ordinance to recognise cremations and to regulate them. It

forbade cremations otherwise than in crematoria certified by the local Administration. It did not, however, lay the obligation to provide crematoria on any person or body, but simply permitted burial boards or private persons or associations to build them after securing the sanction of the Administration for the site and the specifications. Now the local burial authority declines to build a crematorium in Cape Town; because the annual average number of cremations does not justify the expenditure of something to the tune of £2,000, which would be the cost if the Burial Board undertakes to build a crematorium according to the specifications that will commend themselves to the Administration. The Hindu community is very poor and cannot foot the bill either. In the meanwhile Hindus will die and must be cremated; there is not certified crematorium, and cremation otherwise is illegal! So every time a Hindu dies, an acute and painful situation is created; the community is driven to commit an illegal act, and cremate the body in the existing crematorium. The simplest solution would be for the Hindus to bury their dead and not insist on cremation. But that would be a violation of their religious obligations. It is absurd to insist on building a modern enclosed crematorium for the few cremations. The only alternative is to recognise the existing arrangements, though they are a bit crude. That step the Administration has not taken; and the Hindu community are sorely distressed about it. Apart from the religious, there is yet another difficulty in persuading the Hindus to give up cremating their dead and to take to burying them. They will complain that a vested right they enjoyed all these years for the preservation of which they had spent money is being taken away.

#### MR. SASTRI.

Mr. Sastri is spending the Christmas Week in Cape Town. He bids farewell to it on the 2nd January and proceeds to Johannesburg. Thence he goes to Durban, arriving there on the 16th January. He sails from Durban by the *Karoo* on the 28th January and proceeds direct to Bombay, arriving there on the 16th February.

Sir K. V. Reddi is expected in Durban on the 23rd January. The two Agents will spend some five days together before they part. The South African Indian Congress proposes to hold its annual session during that interval to review the situation, welcome the in-coming and bid farewell to the out-going Agent.

### REVIEWS.

#### THE FUTURE OF LIBERALISM.

THE BRITISH LIBERAL PARTY. By HAMILTON FYFE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8¾ x 5¾. pp. 272. 10s. 6d.

Is Liberalism dead or dying in England that so many historical accounts of it have appeared of late? The latest historical sketch of the British Liberal Party is that by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, the well-known journalist. In his pleasantly written book well-illustrated by informing anecdotes and telling quotations from private correspondence he traces the history of Liberalism from its first beginnings which, according to the author, are due to Bright rather than to Gladstone, through the glory of the Great Administration (1868-1874) which saw the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the first of a long series of Irish Land Acts, the abolition of Army Purchase and the Ballot Act, through the trials of the Home Rule split, the long period of exile from power from 1895 to 1905, the recovery and



recall to power in 1906 which lasted for an equally long period and the final *debacle* in the elections after the war. He shows how the strength of British Liberalism lay at first in the political reforms (extension of the franchise, justice to Ireland, equalisation of educational advantages) and later in social enthusiasm (Old Age Pensions, ill-health and unemployment insurance, equalisation of wealth through taxation). He accounts for the fall of the Liberals by two causes—one personal, the rivalry between Asquith and Lloyd George, the other the drying up of the enthusiasm for social reform due mainly, according to the author, to the persistence of the Whig element represented by men like Lord Grey, Churchill, Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Simon and others. In passing it may be interjected that it is difficult to see how men who had contributed to the establishment of the Irish Free State, the abolition of the vote of the House of Lords, and the social reforms referred to could be called Whigs, old or new! Any hopes of the revival of the Liberal Party the author bases on the millions of Mr. Lloyd George's political friends, the adoption of a policy of social reform under the leadership of Lloyd George and the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Samuel, and the final reconciliation of the Asquithian and Lloyd Georgian Liberals.

Are the hopes of Mr. Fyfe justifiable? Can we look forward to a revival of the power of the Liberal party? Lloyd George's millions no doubt are a factor to be reckoned with in modern elections. The unity of the Liberals will no doubt contribute to the efficiency of the Liberal organisation. Will the Liberal programme prove to be superior to the Conservative and Labour programmes that will presently be placed before the British electorate? The author quotes Sir Herbert Samuel's programme—the improvement of industrial relations, the public control of the coal industry, land reforms, lighter taxation, electoral reform. How will this fare against the more dazzling programme in regard to the same matters that the Labour party will place before the country? For the difference there is between this Liberal programme and a possible Labour programme is a difference only in degree, not in kind, and no one can blame a democracy for preferring the more to the less of the same political dish. The real opposition in policy is that presented by the Labour and Conservative parties. And according to the rules, the swing of the pendulum, if swing there is going to be, will bring the last and not the last but two or three party to power. This debate however about the future of the British Liberal Party cannot be settled by any amount of speculation—but only by the facts of the election which will take place in six months. Meanwhile we may be thankful to Mr. Fyfe for narrating the history of a great and historical English political party in so interesting a manner.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

### AN EXPOSITION OF THE SOCIALIST DOCTRINE.

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM. By A. W. HUMPHREY. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 272. 12s. 6d.

IT is inevitable that most books on socialism should be more destructive than constructive. They are generally more successful in discrediting the existing economic system than in constructing the new. Mr. Humphrey's book is no exception. His exposition of socialist doctrine is all too perfunctory. He appears to uphold the Marxian theory of value but in doing so he does not face the arguments of the modern economist. Present-day econo-

mists lay much stress on the demand side of value and have developed the marginal utility theory. No socialist doctrine can afford to ignore this theory and it is surprising that Mr. Humphrey does not take any notice of it. Again, in a brief final chapter, he gives his support to what has come to be known as Guild Socialism with only the barest indication of how it would work. It is however only fair to say that the author is conscious to some extent of this weakness of his book. In his preface he warns us, no doubt, that he does not attempt to develop socialist doctrine and that he has left important aspects of socialism untouched.

Mr. Humphrey is very guarded in his statement of the methods by which the socialist goal is to be attained. Though he believes in the class war and tries to prove that it is a fact, he does not glorify it and he does not explicitly preach the violent expropriation of the bourgeoisie. He realises that "the only sure foundation for socialism is a preponderating public opinion understanding and accepting the socialist faith". "In ever widening circles the belief spreads among the working masses that the goal can be reached. Believing thus, they will find a way, organising as circumstances demand, facing every problem as it arises".

We may close with a reference to what we consider the special merit of this book, namely, its modern setting. By a careful and skilful marshalling of facts relating to the latest developments in the economic situation of England the author proves very convincingly that capitalism is digging its own grave. As those facts are not easily accessible to the ordinary reader, the author has rendered a very valuable service in digging them out of reports, periodicals and Government publications and presenting them to us in consummate order and arrangement and with much persuasive power.

C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

### PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. By NIKHOLAS BUKHARIN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1926. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. 318. 12s. 6d.

BUKHARIN'S outlook is communistic and his whole book is an apologia for his idea. The book runs into eight chapters and each of the chapters has a philosophic flair in presentation.

In his introduction Bukharin starts with the idea that "the working class at each step in the struggle is brought face to face with facts and it is necessary for the working class to foresee how these classes would behave." This seems to us to start at the wrong angle in the study of social evolution and the whole book suffers from this class conception.

Some of the important questions discussed are: determinism and indeterminism, the equilibrium between society and nature, the equilibrium between the elements of society, the classes and the class struggle. Bukharin is an advocate of the doctrine of 'determinism' in the field of social phenomena, but he distinguishes it from 'fatalism'. He says that social phenomena are accomplished through the will of men (p. 51.) He explains that socialism will come inevitably, because it is inevitable that men, definite classes of men, will stand for its realisation, and they will do so under circumstances that will make their victory certain. Marxism, says Bukharin, does not deny the will but explains it.

In the chapter on 'Dialectic Materialism' Bukharin defends 'revolution' as merely a reconstruction, 'a structural alteration of the system.' He says such

a revolution is an inevitable consequence of the contradictions between the structure of society and the demands for its development (p. 82).

The author remarks:—

"It is impossible, in any society, for the system of its dominant manners and customs to be in permanent contradiction with its fundamental economic structure. Such an opposition would mean the complete absence of the fundamental condition for social equilibrium. In capitalist society, the capitalist controls things, a condition which is reflected in the laws of the state, in the so-called right to private property, which is protected by the entire apparatus of State power. Similarly 'moral consciousness' of capitalist society reflects and expresses its material being. In the field of private property, honesty and the inviolability of the property of others are inculcated. Without this, capitalist society would disintegrate" (p. 158).

But what morality would develop under the communism of Bukharin or what kind of state will emerge we have not been able to appraise properly.

Bukharin attempts to trace the nature of the revolution he is out for. The first stage is to be found in the creation of a new psychology and ideology, the second stage is the political revolution, i. e. the seizing of power by the new class. "The seizure of power by the new class is not and cannot be merely a transfer of the same state organization from one hand to another." The third stage of revolution is the economic revolution.

According to Bukharin, the new class now in power would make use of its power for economic upheaval and begin to erect new relations in contradiction with the old order. He quotes with approval Marx's description of the process:—

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat as a ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. Of course in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production, by means of measures, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which in the course of the movement outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production."

Brilliant description, but hardly convincing to the student of the economy of normal life!

"The last phase of the revolution is the technical revolution. New tools are introduced, a new technical foundation is created." But what do all these mean in detail?

The more one examines the foundations of the philosophy of communism, including state capitalism, the more the conviction is forced upon one that the result would be either a return to barbaric simplicity or an iron autocracy where freedom of the individual would be a worse chimera than now. The question is whether the world wants it. Russia's experiment, though interesting, is a series of "climb-downs" from the philosophy of extreme socialism.

Bukharin concludes by saying that a classless society in the future is possible. But how? He does not explain. Will hero worship cease, and will the more intelligent and able be content to remain on an equal level with the others? Will the strong man be content to be weak? Will communism based on violence breed peace and good-will among mankind? Does communism propose to exterminate the vanquished in the struggle for the establishment of the new order? These are questions to ponder over.

Bukharin naively adds: "In the society of the future there will be colossal over-production of organisers, which will nullify the stability of the ruling groups." One must have a new psychology indeed to realise all this.

Bukharin's communism or scientific communism does not take us very far. Its road is red; its hopes are based on a psychology that is yet to be and at best it is a gamble. At its worst the scheme is as anti-social as the system which it aims at destroying. If the history of the past is any index to the future, Bukharin's ideal must wait for a very long time indeed.

S. V. AYYAR.

## PROGRESSIVE ECONOMICS.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR SOCIALISM. By A. G. F. MACHIN. (Simpkin, Marshall.) 8 x 5½. pp. 79. 2s.

BEING disgusted with the methods of communism Mr. Machin suggests new methods of arriving at the goal of socialists and communists, which are far from being "outrageous" and which would avoid a world revolution. He thinks it is high time that individualism should take the offensive and capture the idealists into their camp. For this purpose he examines the principal economic problems to show how individualism could solve them successfully. Unfortunately we find little trace of individualism in his proposals. We must say that Mr. Machin's analysis of rent in the beginning does not make one very hopeful about following him; to say that rent should be used to pay for experimenting in production and discovering the processes by which we increase production appears to us perfectly unmeaning. Similarly the purpose of interest is said to be its use in the increase of capital; as a matter of fact it is, we think, rarely used for productive purpose except by misers, most of the interest being spent on unproductive consumption. The author's analysis of profits is, we believe, one of the most confusing we have ever come across. The author thinks that a man has no right to neglect his property, but he does not suggest that his right should be taken away from him; he only says that he would lose it by degrees—rather a poor defence against socialism. He advises the capitalist to hand over his property to the workers when he finds that they can put it to a better use; but what capitalist would follow this advice willingly? The workers should in his opinion buy shares in the firms they work; this is of course practicable to a certain extent. But his suggestion that property should be completely restituted to the users is hardly distinguishable from socialist schemes. The author deprecates the use of gold coins and notes as a crude or barbarous custom and would settle everything by means of banking accounts which however he thinks ought to be made public and published along with an account of their property. And his remedy for all trade depressions is the increase of markets. But we are not told how the thing is to be done except that people ought to be taught in the critical appreciation of commodities. As for the cost of maintaining children he thinks all the money for this purpose should be pooled together and each mother should draw out of the fund in accordance with her needs; now this is certainly socialism with a vengeance, instead of being a substitute for socialism. Perhaps what distinguishes it from socialism is the fact that he would like the State to hand over the taxes collected for educational purposes to the mothers to enable them to purchase the education of their children, instead of educating the children itself.

The author thinks that the deceased owners' property, instead of being inherited by descendants, should be sold to the highest bidders and the proceeds distributed to those who have arrived at manhood in accordance with their capacity which is to be determined by a scheme which he describes and which in our opinion is fantastic to a degree unknown. If, as the author repeatedly says, the best user of the wealth is sure to obtain it there is no longer any reason why he should suggest intricate schemes to bring this about. If any one fails in business then also in his opinion he has a call upon this inheritance fund collected by selling the property of the deceased. But again he cannot tell us precisely how the worth of these men or their capacity which should be the measure of their claims is to be ascertained. Mr. Machin displays a great passion for the betterment of society, but we do not think that clear thinking is the strong point of his book.

V. N. G.

## SHORT NOTICES.

**THE CONTROL OF THE MIND.** By ROBERT H. THOULESS. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1928. 7½ × 5 pp. 211. 5s.

THE closing sentence of Dr. Thouless' extremely suggestive little book "that mental inefficiency is an offence against the God whose instruments we are" is an effective summing up of the motive that should impel us towards co-ordinating and controlling the activity of our minds. Essentially a psychological text book dealing with mind-culture, the book is however singularly free from the scientific terminology which would deter many interested in the study of the subject from pursuing it. The commonplaces of psychology which find their way into the hands of youngsters in the form of correspondence courses with all urging titles but at prohibitive cost, are here brought together in a form that would appeal to the lay reader, while at the same time they are presented in their proper sequence and perspective. A study of the book will be good preparation for and will create interest in, a deeper study of the science of psychology. The chapters on instincts and their sublimation, and fatigue and rest, are very suggestive. Dr. Thouless has the gift of presenting his case with a skill that is usually associated with the forum. His references to the *hatha yogis* and his rating of their methods of mind-culture, interspersed throughout the book, are obviously coloured by his profound ignorance of *yogic sadhanas* and their true objective. The *reductio ad absurdum* method might successfully be used against almost everything under the sun by a process of selection. Nevertheless, stress on the objective of mental effort is by no means superfluous. The chapter on concentration is, in spite of the doctor's onslaught against the *yogis*, eloquent testimony to the value of *sadhanas*. That the book has, within eight months of its publication, gone through a second impression is doubtless indicative of the interest which the reading public takes in psychology, as much as of Dr. Thouless' able method of presenting his subject.

M. V. G.

**BHAGAVAD-GITA.** By VASANT G. RELE, (D. B. Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1928. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 186. Rs. 4-12.

THIS is a new study of the Gita and its special standpoint is indicated by the sub-title which is: 'An Exposition on the basis of Psycho-philosophy and

Psycho-analysis.' The author is of opinion that the mind of Arjuna is put out of action by the sudden release before the battle of the feelings of hostility towards his wicked cousins which he had for so long repressed; and that the Gita is designed to restore it to normal working order. In the words of the book, Arjuna's mind is deranged and the aim of the teaching is to repair it. There is a psychological bias running through the work; and one of the most striking illustrations of it is found in the interpretation that is put upon the metaphor of the *asvattha* that occurs at the beginning of Chapter XV. According to the author, the *asvattha* represents not *samsara* or transient empirical existence as commentators like Sankara take it, but 'the nerve-tree in the human body with its roots in the brain'—an interpretation which, by the way, resembles the one that appeared, we remember, in the *Hibbert Journal* several years ago. The reader who is not an expert in psychology cannot help feeling that the exposition, however interesting, is a little far-fetched. The book is written in a simple and readable style. It contains a diagrammatic representation of the *asvattha* in the sense of the nervous system and a chart intended to show 'the composition of the living body, its working and its relation to the Divine'.

M. HIRIANNIA.

**HINDU ETHICS.** By GOVIND DAS. (Natesan.) 7½ × 4¾. pp. 162. Rs. 2.

THE subject of Hindu Ethics is a rich mine for constructive research for scholars, as is amply proved by some recent treatises on it, especially Dr. S. K. Mitra's "Ethics of the Hindus". I therefore naturally opened Babu Govind Das's book with certain definite expectations.

This book is a sequel to the author's earlier work on "Hinduism" (1924: Natesan). In his preface to the latter, the author says: "The work was planned out in four parts: I. Basic Principles; II. Basic Rites; III. Ethics; and IV. Religio-Social Reform." Of these the first two constituted the earlier work already referred to and the two remaining (though ready even then) were intended to be presented later and separately. The book under review is presumably this expected publication. I am afraid, however that the third part of the original scheme is missing altogether from this volume, thus rendering the chief title of the book a perfect misnomer. There is not Ethics at all in the whole of the book, and one wonders if the author of this work, who is both a widely read scholar and a keen social enthusiast, knew at all what the central problem of Ethics is. Nor is the sub-title any way less misleading. There is in the book very little or no discussion of 'Principles' as such and worth the name.

What one misses most in this book is the very necessary atmosphere of patient deliberation and cool judgment. There seems to be a political, and probably even a communal, bias, which means a sure death to all scientific inquiry. There is a good deal of demagogic and rhetorical haranguing, and cheap and popular platitudinizing throughout the book. I had read the author's earlier "Hinduism," and though it then failed to satisfy me, it at least succeeded in making me curious to look into its sequel. I confess to an entire disappointment in that respect. It is indeed a pity that Babu Govind Das with his very obvious learning did not do better.

D. D. VADEKAR.

**HEALTH PROBLEMS IN ORGANIZED SOCIETY.** By ARTHUR NEWSHOLME. (King.) 1927. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 253. 12s.

THIS is a collection of addresses and lectures given by the author at various American Universities or to Medical or Public Health Societies in England. The book deals with the subject of Public Health chiefly from the social point of view and is useful in the hands of a Public Health worker. As is now well known, the keynote to Public Health is prevention of disease. A very large proportion of incidence of disease and of consequent mortality is preventable and it has been the practical experience of several of the civilized countries in the west that if preventive measures are adopted in good time, not only is the mortality rate in general lowered, but the incidence of several of the fatal and disabling diseases is lowered too and thus a large amount of unnecessary suffering is obviated. We may mention malaria, cholera, typhoid fever, dysenteries, plague, tubercle and so on as some of the diseases that have been brought under control by the science of preventive medicine. Then there are others of a social nature due to the absence of limitations on liberty in communal life such as syphilis and alcoholism, the far-reaching consequences of which are entirely preventable if the laws of sex-hygiene and morality are observed. The author has dealt with all these and several other important problems in his addresses and put forth his views forcefully for the benefit of the public. He has laid special stress, and quite appropriately, upon the educative side of Public Health problems for unless the masses in any country receive elementary education as to laws of health and prevention of disease, no advance is possible. The book can be conveniently fitted in to the curriculum of a Public Health School.

P. V. SHIKHARE.

**RURAL ECONOMICS IN INDIA.** By SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 30. Re. 1.

THE condition of rural India is pathetic. Though it is the back-bone of the country there is very little life in it. Its agricultural methods are primitive and unremunerative, the arable land suffers from depleted fertility, and the pressure of population on it is more than it can bear. Sir Alfred Chatterton has given his best thought to this baffling problem and we have before us his Russell Lecture on "Rural Economics of India", which contains valuable suggestions for stimulating the dull village into intense activity, so that it is able to produce the necessaries of life to its maximum capacity and be in other respects as attractive as the town. He believes that, given proper training and facilities through a fully alive co-operative society, the solution of the rural problem is easy. If in addition to them the services of the engineer and the chemist are brought to bear on it for opening fresh transport conveniences, cutting new irrigation canals, modernising the methods of cultivation and exploiting all the available resources of the village, so as to make them feed the cottage industries, rural prosperity is assured. Sir Alfred Chatterton's lecture must be read by all thoughtful Indians who are anxious to reconstruct the village of India.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

**WEALTH, BEAUTY AND YOUTH FOR ALL.** By J. T. SUNDERLAND. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 9 × 5½. pp. 95. Re. 1-8.

THE name of the author must be familiar to all Indian readers. He is an American who takes great interest in India and his contributions to the press here are always marked by keen sympathy and understanding. In the present book he discourses on Wealth, Beauty and Youth and thus shares with us the results of his wide study and deep thought. Wealth is not, he says, what one has but what one is, not external but internal. It is "whatsoever deepens, enlarges, enriches or ennobles human life." Beauty again is not external; it does not consist solely in roundness of form and freshness of complexion. Real beauty is of the mind, of intellect, of character, of the spirit. Then again, youth is not a matter of age but of freshness of mind. Thus a young man of twenty-five may be old in outlook, while an old man of eighty may be young. The book is highly idealistic and is sure to repay a perusal.

S. P. S.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE PEOPLE OF TIBET. By CHARLES BELL. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 9 × 6. pp. 317. 21s.
- POST-WAR GERMANY: AN OBJECT LESSON IN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By K. T. SHAH. (University of Bombay Extension Lectures Series, I.) (Taraporevala.) 1928. 7 × 5. pp. 228. Rs. 2-8.
- INDIA: THE NEW PHASE. By STANLEY REED and P. R. CADELL. (The Westminster Library Series.) (Philip Allan.) 1928. 7½ × 4½. pp. 175. 3s. 6d.
- ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS. By L. K. ANANTAKRISHNA AYYAR. (The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulum.) 1926. 9½ × 6½. pp. 338.
- LIVING INDIA. By SAHEL ZIMAND. (Longmans.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 280. 16s. 6d.
- PEOPLE'S BANKS OR USE AND VALUE OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT FOR AFRICAN NATIVES. By BERNARD HUSS. (Author, Mariannbill, Natal.) 1928. 9 × 6. pp. 124. 2s. 3d.
- FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA. By K. T. SHAH. Taraporevala, 1929. 8½ × 5½. pp. 232. Rs. 6.
- SENSE IN SEX AND OTHER STORIES OF INDIAN WOMEN. By A. S. PANCHAPAKESA AYYAR. (Taraporevala.) 1929. 7½ × 5. pp. 288. Rs. 4.
- THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. By J. L. RAINA. (Taraporevala.) 1928. 7½ × 4½. pp. 130. Rs. 2.
- THE WIDE HORIZON, BEING THE ADULT SCHOOL LESSON HANDBOOK FOR 1929. (National Adult School Union, London.) 1929. 7½ × 4½. pp. 322. 2s. 6d.

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