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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

So little importance is attached nowadays to the doings of the Simon Commission that its work excites hardly any public notice. Thanks to the determination of Indian nationalist journals to boycott its proceedings, the Commission has ceased to get free advertisement for its inquiry. It is now at Madras, where, as elsewhere, its arrival was attended by a complete hartal and a huge black flag procession. In view of the disturbances which disfigured the hartal last year when the Commission visited Madras in the course of its preliminary reconnoitring, some nervousness was naturally noticeable on the part of the Madras leaders as to how the whole affair would pass off. And to ensure its orderly and peaceful character, prominent Madras members of the Assembly refrained from going to Delhi until after they had seen to it that the Commission was accorded the reception it deserved by the people of Madras in a peaceful manner. Their labours in keeping the demonstration free from violence were amply rewarded and there was no disturbance of any kind on the day of the arrival of the Commission. The Justice party which is in the ascendant in the Madras Corporation went back upon its decision of last year to noncooperate with the Commission by presenting it an address of welcome; but there is no doubt that the nationalist leaders of Madras had the heartiest cooperation of the general Non-Brahman population of the City in their task, as without it the hartal would not have been the great success it actually was, most of the shopkeepers, traders and businessmen being, not Brahmans, but Non-Brahmans. If even after this unmistakable demonstration of the hostility of the people of Madras to the Commission it suits Sir John Simon and his friends to represent as if the people were friendly to

his mission, we do not wish to disturb his equanimity.

Owing to the absence of the Madras members and the weight of the official bloc on the other side, the motion for the disallowance of the grant intended for the Central Committee attached to the Commission and the Hartog Committee, which was moved in the Assembly, could not be carried. But the occasion was availed of to give vent in unambiguous terms to the nation's feeling in regard to the Commission. In the words of Pandit Molilal Nehru, its appointment was an insult to the country, Pandit H. N. Kunzru going so far as to characterise the demand in question for the grant as being "constitutionally improper and politically dishonest."

THE Punjab Land Revenue Amendment Bill which has now received the assent of the Governor-General is the first bill passed in a Provincial Council making a statutory provision for the various processes of assessment in accordance with the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Committee had suggested that the assessment and its increase should not rest entirely with the discretion of the Executive and expressed their opinion that the time had come "to embody in the law the main principles by which land revenue is determined, the periods of valuation and the graduation of enhancements." The Punjab Act has fixed the maximum of assessment at one-fourth of the net assets instead of at one-half as heretofore; as for enhancement it has limited it to one-fourth in any circle and to two-thirds in the case of an individual holding. It may be noted that all these changes were proposed by the Council and not by Government; the latter however ought to be congratulated for having responded to the wishes of the Legislature and accepted their proposals. A still more important provision from the agriculturists' point of view is that the duration of the period of assessment has been extended to forty years; an exception being made in the case of an area in which canal irrigation is introduced by allowing a minimum period of ten years. In view of the acute differences of opinion between the rayats and settlement officers in this province with regard to the methods of assessing land revenue, the Punjab legislation ought to be able to afford some guidance to us. We have repeatedly emphasised the importance of laying down the principles underlying the fixation of the Government demand in this province and we should again like to repeat the warning that any further postponement of this vital decision would be a fruitful source of endless disputes and bickerings. In the interests of progressive agriculture this question needs to be settled immediately; to keep the decision pending indefinitely has decidedly an unsettling effect on the minds of the

people. We hope the Government of Bombay would bring in the necessary legislation at an early date.

IN his address to the second session of the conference of Jamkhandi State subjects which was recently held, the president subjected the State expenditure to a searching analysis. He showed that with the exception of the P. W. D. and Miscellaneous which consumed 15.7 and 17.9 per cent. respectively of the State's revenue, the palace expenses swallowed the largest proportion viz. 14.7 per cent. To any unprejudiced observer this proportion will strike as being very high. But even more deplorable is the absence of a definite limit to the ruler's expenses. This point ought to be pressed with all possible force by the subjects but somehow failed to receive the attention which its importance merited. Jamkhandi does not yet boast of any representative institutions worth the name nor is there any sign on the ruler's part which would give ground for the hope that they would come into being at an early date. The Conference therefore did well in asking him to declare responsible government as the goal of his policy towards his subjects and to start with the establishment of a legislative council on the lines of the provincial councils in British India. This postulates the submission of the State budget to the vote of the proposed Council with the necessary corollary of the separation of the ruler's privy purse from the State revenues. This is by no means an extravagant demand; and we do hope the ruler will see his way to carry it into effect. The Conference approved the portion in the Nehru report relating to the States and gave expression to its satisfaction that the people in British India showed keen desire to understand and appreciate the aspirations of the subjects of the States. Stringent restrictions appear to exist in Jamkhandi on the holding of public meetings. Seeing that there is not too breathless a political activity in the States it is time the restrictions were withdrawn. Their existence is bound to act as a serious handicap to the growth of public life in the State which it should be the earnest attempt of the authorities not to go out of their way to discourage

AS a result of the motions expressing want of confidence in them which were carried by the Bengal Legislative Council the Ministers have gone out of office with the necessary corollary of the Governor taking over control of the Transferred departments. In the course of the debate there was washing of dirty linen to a disgusting extent and allegations of bribery and corruption and dishonesty against the Ministers—or rather one of them—were freely made. These were repudiated by him and so for the present at any rate it is a case of a statement against statement. All the same a perusal of the debate leaves a bitter taste in the mouth. Whether the more serious accusations hurled against the Minister in question are well-founded or other wise, there is no doubt he was guilty of strengthening his position by the questionable means of an injudicious distribution of patronage. This is a common practice with those having any opportunity for the exercise of patronage, but has to be kept within certain limits. The Minister in question appears to have exceeded them and made himself the object of popular indignation. Not that we are to be supposed to be favouring such practices. Far from it, they are open to question beyond doubt and a Minister who values his self-respect and has a reputation for honesty to maintain ought to be above them. And if the Bengal Minister has acted otherwise nobody need

shed a single tear over the fate that has overtaken him. From the constitutional point of view also he deserved to go, for the voting is a clear index of his having lost the Council's confidence. The motion of non-confidence was carried by 65 votes to 59. The margin, though small at first sight, is on a close analysis of the voting, found to be much bigger. For out of the 59 supporters of the Minister, as many as 42 were officials, Europeans and nominated members so that out of the total of 96 elected members only 17 or about one-sixth stood by the Minister! It is to be hoped that the fate which has overtaken this Minister will warn others off from courses of conduct which may be the reverse of honest or straightforward.

ONE of the directions in which our Government can do worse than follow the Soviet Government is the way in which the U. S. S. R. is devoting particular attention to the cultural development of the more backward nationalities, oppressed during the tsarist régime; so that they may catch up the more advanced. The budget of the backward regions is far more liberally provided than that of the advanced, and a more generous proportion of it is applied to education in the former than in the latter. On the whole 51 per cent. of the total income is spent in Russia at present on Education, Health, Social Welfare and Labour, which is a greater proportion than in any other country, and the percentage is increasing every year. The sums allotted last year for these purposes have increased this year by 14 per cent. But what is most remarkable is that this increase is considerably greater in the backward tracts (like the Turkomen and Uzbek S. S. S. R.) than the advanced (like the Russian S. F. S. R.) The saying of Lenin that socialism cannot prosper in a country with a large percentage of illiteracy is vividly remembered and every effort made to liquidate—so runs the phrase—illiteracy. In Uzbekistan and in Turkomenistan the large distances, absence of roads, &c. make the task of lightening darkness extremely difficult in rural areas, where 20% and 19% of the children alone of school age attend school. For this reason a larger proportional increase is provided in the budget of elementary education in these provinces than in others, with the conscious objective of bringing all nationalities (of which there are over 100 in Russia) into line as rapidly as possible. But the cultural requirements of the new order are recognised to be higher than of the old, and an attempt is consistently made to get the workers into the higher as well as the elementary schools.

In the White Russia S. S. R., on territory which under the tsar's régime did not boast of a single higher educational body, there are now four Higher Schools and two institutes for scientific research, while an Academy of Science has recently been formed and there are 30 technicians, 4 Workers' Faculties and 30 Vocational Schools, while the number of politico-educational institutions has risen from 256 in 1925 to 307 in the present year. Similar progress is to be recorded in the Trans-Caucasian republics, in Azerbadzhan, in Georgia and in Armenia. In the autonomous republic of Moldavia there are now 104 schools of various types, in the place of the original 11.

MR. HAJI'S Bill to abolish Deferred Rebates in the coasting trade of India has been referred to a Select Committee and so its principle has been accepted by the Assembly. In introducing the Bill Mr. Haji explained that the principal effect of the

Bill would be a fair distribution of shipping business after the coastal trade is reserved; but he added that it was urgently needed even before the Coastal Reservation Bill is passed in order to prevent monopolistic shipping combinations and to make possible the growth of small shipping companies which are at present strangled in their infancy by the method of Deferred Rebates. He traced the history of conferences formed for the purpose of eliminating competition on a given trade route. The Deferred Rebate generally consists of 10 per cent. of the total freight paid by a shipper, if at the end of a certain period he has not patronized any other company or conference. Of course the shipper can send his goods by vessels not belonging to the Conference but only by foregoing the rebates; the worst feature of the system, Mr. Haji explained, was that the rebates even after being due were withheld for another period of half a year or in some cases one year so that a perpetual loyalty is secured. Mr. Haji disposed of the argument that the system leads to stability and uniformity of rates and regular sailing by the assurance of a certain amount of custom by pointing to the example of the United States which had even after abolition of the Deferred Rebates continued to provide regular sailings not only in its coastal trade but in the trade between North and South America. And as for uniformity of rates he said that there was ample evidence given before the Imperial Shipping Committee to show that there were equal rates before the introduction of Deferred Rebates. In addition it has to be noted that in order to give the rebates the rates are pitched relatively high. Referring to the contention that the system is continued at the request of the shippers Mr. Haji said that opinions received on his Bill clearly prove this to be unfounded and the Shippers' statements before the Royal Commission of 1907 quoted by Mr. Haji indicate a growing dissatisfaction with the system of Deferred Rebates. The issue in short is the old one between competition and monopoly with regard to their effect on consumers' interests. For the present the question has to be considered from the point of view of the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine and we think that in the evidence marshalled by Mr. Haji there is much to prove that the system of Deferred Rebates has been detrimental to the growth of Indian shipping companies. The list of associations which have expressed opinions favourable to the Bill is in any case sufficiently representative to indicate that the greater part of Indian commercial opinion would feel it a grievance if the Bill is rejected. There is no need to think that the idea underlying the Bill is an innovation; many countries in the world have made Deferred Rebates illegal and some have imposed limitations in order to render the system less harmful. The example of Dominions is specially pertinent in the case of India because they are equally with her dominated by foreign shipping conferences; and we find that rebates have been made definitely illegal in Australia by legislation passed in 1910. As the present Bill is complementary to the Coastal Reservation Bill it is to be expected that European interests would oppose it in the Assembly; and it is doubtful whether the Select Committee can succeed in making it acceptable to them by suitable changes. Sir George Rainy suggested a compromise whereby a shipper would be free to leave the shipping conference or ring without loss of rebate, every three years or any other stated period, by mutual agreement. Instead of this compromise we prefer the suggestion of Sir Victor Sassoon that a time-limit might be fixed for the operation of the Bill so that in case it is found defective it might be modified or replaced by another measure.

PROPONENT OR OPPONENT?

THE strongest argument against the Public Safety Bill, which has now been reported on by the Select Committee, is that the Indian industrialists and capitalists, who if anybody are in imminent danger of an attack from the Communists, spurn the protection that the Bill affords. A closer examination of the speech (of which the text is now available) made by Sir Purshotamdas Thakordas on this occasion raises however a doubt as to the real attitude of the interests which he represents in the Assembly. He no doubt voted right, but the arguments advanced by him in his speech, supported by messages from the mercantile and employing communities, leaves one wondering whether he should be classed with the proponents or the opponents of the Bill. The concluding sentence of his speech sums up admirably his position: the Indian Merchants' Chamber and he himself "welcome any special measure dealing comprehensively with fomentors of industrial disorder and providing reasonable safeguards against arbitrary curtailment of liberty of the subject." They and he oppose this measure, however, first, because it is not comprehensive enough, and, secondly, because it does not contain "reasonable safeguards." These good folk do not seem to realise that no special measure such as they favour can at all be an effective guarantee against arbitrary curtailment of the liberty of the subject, because inquiry of the inculpated person in a court of law by due process of justice alone can exclude the possibility of such arbitrary curtailment of individual liberty, and it would not be a special measure if it provided for such inquiry. A special measure necessarily implies exceptional procedure, and exceptional procedure must always involve the risk of an arbitrary abridgment of personal liberty. When therefore Sir Purshotamdas and the Merchants' Chamber advocate the enactment of an extraordinary law, of which the very essence is executive discretion, and yet inveigh against the arbitrary character of the measure, they are really trying to square the circle, which simply cannot be done, however anxious they may be to reconcile national interests with their own sectional interests. The best that one can do to improve special legislation like this is to leave in it as few loopholes as possible for a miscarriage of justice, and Sir Purshotamdas was certainly entitled to do it. But he could only have done it in the Select Committee, and since he supports the basic principle of the Bill, viz. the vesting of arbitrary authority in the executive, he should really have no compunction in allowing himself to be included in the Committee. But he refused to go into the Committee and thus deprived himself of the chance of amending the Bill in the desired directions. However, the fact is that, for a special measure, the proposed law is mild enough, as it mitigates in several respects the evils of arbitrariness inherent in all special measures. Sir Purshotamdas obtained some *kudos* by keeping out of the Select Committee and thus making it appear as if he were opposed to the Bill on the ground that it was incon-

sonant with the principles of justice ; however the truth of the matter is that he is not opposed to special measures at all, but welcomes them.

If he wished for any mitigation in the rigours of the Bill, he did not enlighten the Assembly on the point. He however made bitter complaint of the fact, first, that Government was too slack in dealing with Communists ; and, secondly, that it did not spread its net sufficiently wide. "It is true," said Sir Purshotamdas, "that there is a little of that relief to the industries of this country (in this bill). But a good eight months have passed by, at least four months were wasted by the Government before they took the slightest action. If industries had to be protected, if industries were not to be allowed to go to ruin, what did the executive Government do for four or five months when a lakh and more than a lakh of workmen in Bombay were allowed to be misled by all sorts of propaganda?" After reproving Government for procrastinating and showing excessive indulgence towards Communists, Sir Purshotamdas goes on to reprove it for putting forward before the Assembly a very "incomplete" anti-Red measure when at last it makes up its mind to it. The incompleteness results from the fact of the Indian Communists being excluded from the scope of the measure. While other members who opposed it were afraid that Government, in spite of its protestations, would make this bill a stepping stone to a wider measure, Sir Purshotamdas's grievance was that it was not wide enough. In coming heavily down on a pair of British Communists and leaving hundreds of Indian Communists alone, he said in effect, Government is verily letting in a camel and straining at a gnat. He is quite right too from his own point of view, but we should hesitate to include one who employs such arguments among the tribunes of the people. If this is his way of defending individual liberty, we should very much wish him to keep his hands off it.

In the course of the debate several members cited instances of the United States of America and several British Dominions to prove that extraordinary powers such as are contained in this Bill must be conferred upon the executive in order to enable it to cope with Communists. But these advocates of the Bill were in a tight corner when they were asked to state as to what England had done in the matter ; for England relies upon ordinary law for dealing with the Red menace, and we cannot be blamed very much for wishing to live up to British traditions of justice. The fact is that there prevail at the present moment two methods of handling this problem. They were fittingly described by a Canadian Minister when a similar problem was under discussion as the British and the American methods ; and Indians in attacking the present Bill do no more than show their preference to British over American ideology and institutions. Australia and Canada allowed themselves to be overborne by the American precedent ; but second thoughts are coming to these countries and attempts are being made to repeal the laws that were made in panic. Australia adopted an Act like the Public Safety Bill in 1925 when it

was faced by a great industrial upheaval in the shape of a shipping strike fomented by foreigners bent upon disrupting the industrial life of the community. Australians felt a particular vexation at the fact that the workmen should be incited to resort to direct action and to defy the law in a country which had created legal machinery for settling industrial disputes. Still there were not wanting politicians there who exhorted Government not to put the law on the statute book ; the Right Hon'ble W. M. Hughes, for instance, implored the Ministry not to press the provision for deportation but to settle any disputes that arose by resort to courts of law. In Canada too similar legislation was passed in war time immediately after the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1916, but it is not to be supposed that Canadians are happy about it. In 1926 the Cabinet of the day actually proposed a repeal of Section 41 of the Immigration Act which gave power to the Minister of Immigration to deport persons without trial. Government laid a Bill before Parliament cancelling this section and giving to the accused the right to a regular trial before deportation could take place. The Bill passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the Senate where too it found many able advocates. Those who quoted the example of Canada for our emulation in the Assembly might also in fairness have told the members thereof that Canadian politicians are endeavouring to bring their statute laws into line with the British, not only in this but in several other respects, e. g. in respect of the law of sedition.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS.

THE *Hindu* of Madras deserves the thanks of the Indian public for having published the full text of the memorandum submitted by the Madras Government to the Simon Commission. From this it appears that the proposals of the Madras Government are more liberal than those of any provincial Government, whose memorandum has seen the light of day. They have recommended full provincial autonomy unencumbered by a second chamber nor do they propose to exclude from popular control the security departments of law and order. There have been provincial Governments which have made bold to recommend the operation of provincial autonomy in all departments except these two, but none, to our knowledge, which has gone as far as the Madras Government has done. They have been driven to this step owing to their conviction that dyarchy is unworkable as dyarchy. Owing to the support Ministers have received from the official bloc and the nominated element in the Council in the matter of retaining their positions, their responsibility is not unmistakably brought out and they could not always be said to be enjoying the Council's confidence. On the other hand the reserved half complains, not without reason, that it is sometimes at any rate the undeserved target of political wrath. A clear-cut division of responsibility between the two sections of Government being thus out of the question and no "half-measure" sufficient to quench the political thirst of the country, the Madras Government came to the conclusion that "further reforms should introduce real responsibility."

They have devoted some thought to the ultimate form of India's Government and hold that this must

be a federation so as to enable Indian states to come into it; indeed they consider no other form suitable to this country owing to the existence of the States. But whether the form of Government is unitary or federal, Indian politicians cannot agree to their proposal for the residuary powers being left with the component states. It will be remembered that this very point was a bone of contention between the Muslim Leaguers and others at the National Convention which met at Calcutta in Christmas last. The Muslim leaders supported it on none but constitutional grounds; but there were life-long constitutional students who supported the contrary view with equally strong conviction with the result that the Convention decided against the course suggested by the Madras Government. But the point of more immediate interest is not the final form of India's Government, which is too large a subject to be dealt with here, but how far the Madras Government are prepared to go with a view to meeting the wishes of the Madras political world. It does not need very keen discerning powers or a profound knowledge of contemporary events to prophesy that provincial autonomy, however complete, unaccompanied by a substantial advance in the Central Government is not going to satisfy the progressive section of Indian politicians; but nobody looks to the Madras Government memorandum for proposals for the reform of the Central Government. That is a task for the Government at Delhi. How well or ill they have discharged it, we shall know when their views are made public. In the meantime due credit ought to be given to the Madras Government for going as far as they have done.

Their proposal is that all provincial departments should be transferred to the control of Ministers, who should number eight. The number seems to us to be rather excessive. If seven persons, who are by no means overworked, are sufficient to carry on the provincial administration at present, we do not see why there should be any addition to their number. Nor, in view of the present financial stringency which may be expected to continue for some time more, can there be much development of the nation-building departments in the near future with the consequent addition to the ministers' work. For a few years more at any rate all that the Ministers can do is merely to carry on the day-to-day administration of the departments entrusted to their charge. It is true that under this scheme the Chief Minister, who will be charged with the formation of the Ministry will, on account of his other preoccupations, not be available for work to the same extent as his other colleagues; but with Exercise in his charge, as is proposed by the Government, it should be possible for him—in the proposed order of things it is the Chief Minister, and not the Governor as at present, who is to make a distribution of work—to arrange for the allotment of the other portfolios in such a manner that there should be no addition to the present strength of the provincial cabinet.

Coming to the next important point, the electoral arrangements, we find ourselves unable to speak in praise of the Madras Government. They propose the removal of the reservation of seats for the Non-Brahmans, which under the existing arrangements number 28; but this was a constitutional impropriety, in view of the preponderance of the Non-Brahman element in Madras, which should not have been allowed to come into being. But other communities like Mahomedans, Europeans, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians, are not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their separate representation. We wish the Madras Government had availed itself of the communal settlement suggested in the Nehru report; but their memorandum is written as if there was no

such thing in existence as the Nehru report. It is time they realised the evils of separate electorates and recommended the establishment of joint electorates, accompanied wherever absolutely necessary, by reservation of seats for a stated period. Far from doing that, they plead the cause of the Mahomedans on the ground of their historical importance so that with equal show of reason they might be in a position to press for the maintenance of the status quo in respect of Europeans. In doing so they appear to us to have taken a very short-sighted course of action. Just consider, on the other hand, the moral effect which the European community would have produced if it had shown the wisdom of giving up its own separate electorate. After all by this means it can elect only one member who, however influential, can never be in a position to exercise a decisive influence on the Council's decisions. Thus it should not be difficult for the Europeans in Madras to do without their own separate electorate. If they had done so, morally they would have been in a stronger position to induce the Mahomedans, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians to follow suit. But the Madras Government seems to be terribly anxious not to let the Mahomedans join hands with the Hindus; they want to keep the two communities apart which will be ensured by the continuance of the present electoral arrangements. But though so indulgent to the Mahomedans, they are very critical of the claims of the most educated electorate, the graduates, for larger representation. The University of Madras being the only University so far in the province was allowed to return one member to the Council. Two new Universities have since been added; and though it would by no means be calamitous if the same privilege as has been enjoyed by the older University were extended to them, the Government refuse to do so, and would have the three universities together to elect one member. If there is one electorate which may be trusted to exercise its right to vote wisely, it is this. But the attitude of the Madras Government towards the intelligentsia is full of suspicion and distrust.

One should have expected that a Government which is liberal enough to recommend full autonomy would couple its recommendation with a corresponding lowering of the franchise. Here too there is the same bureaucratic haughtiness which refuses to learn from others. Such a responsible body as the Donoughmore Commission and the Nehru Committee do not see anything wrong in adult suffrage. Indeed the latter press for it, not merely as a way out of the communal difficulty, but as a means of passing political power on to the masses. It is surprising that with all their vaunted love for the dumb millions, the Madras Government should withhold from them the right to vote which alone would have made them articulate. Here was an opportunity for them to translate their much advertised affection for the masses into practical effect, which they have allowed to slip. Not having enlarged the electorate, they do not contemplate a legislative council which would be adequately representative of the people. At present it consists of 132 members of whom 98 are elected, 4 are ex-officio and 30 nominated including 7 officials. Under their proposed scheme, the Council would have a total strength of 150, 137 of whom would be elected and 13 nominated by Government. 12 of these instead of the present 10 would be depressed classes representatives, and the remaining one would represent the backward tracts, the official bloc being abolished. Seeing that the province has a population of over 4 crores, the proposed number of elected members appears to be much too small. One representative for a lakh of the population cannot be

regarded as excessive representation. On this basis—and we would make it applicable even to the depressed classes who number more than 63 lakhs rather than allowing them to be represented by Government's nominees—the strength of the Council would have to be considerably augmented. We think this is necessary as much for proper popular representation as for the more thorough political training of the people.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

SIR GEORGE RAINY is lucky enough in presenting his second prosperous Budget which provides for a net surplus of Rs. 11¼ crores, out of which the general revenues will benefit to the extent of Rs. 6¼ crores. One noteworthy feature of the Budget is that receipts for the last year have exceeded the estimates by Rs. 1½ crores in spite of the failure of the monsoon in certain parts and serious trade disputes in the cotton and steel industries. As was anticipated, a lowering of rates and fares has resulted in increase of traffic and it is gratifying to learn that the measures taken for securing economy in fuel and repair work have been successful. There are many who think that no additions should be made to the Reserve Fund in coming years because it has already reached decent dimensions; in view of this Pandit Kunzru's suggestion that interest on this fund should be utilized for reducing rates ought to be adopted. The general soundness of the Railway finances is shown by the fact that additional reductions of rates and fares are promised for the coming year; the reduction in the rates for coal especially ought to be welcome to industrial concerns generally. We have always fought shy of the capital expenditure for the Railways on the present scale and we should like to repeat our warning that we are going too fast with railway construction considering the state of the general finances. For 1929-30 Rs. 33½ crores are allotted for capital expenditure the main items being Rs. 7 crores for purchase of existing railways, Rs. 18 crores for open line works and rolling stock and Rs. 8½ crores for new construction. Referring to the troubles due to strikes on railways Sir George Rainy admitted that it would not do to consider merely the minimum concessions which would suffice to stave off for the moment the insistent demands of labour. While we are conscious of the dilemma of either improving the standard of living of the railway employees at the cost of dearer transport or realising cheap transport by crying halt to the movement for giving more adequate wages, we do not think that the Member for Commerce ought to hesitate about improving the service conditions of the employees, without minding the cost of such an undertaking. The debate on the Railway Budget reveals a general dissatisfaction with the continued apathy for the comfort of third class passengers, and with the differentiation in the expenditure for the education of the children of the Indian staff; both of these require prompt action instead of platitudes about their justice. In spite of the powerful advocacy of Sir George Rainy, we remain unconvinced about the need of appointing a fifth member on the Railway Board. The only reason he has given is that owing to recent labour unrest and the increasing pressure of the problem of adjusting the relations between the management and Trade Unions, the General Member who is already in charge of traffic and establishment will not be able to bear this additional burden. Granting all this however it is not clear why an additional Director should not suffice and why he should not be able to speak with authority to the Agents of the railways. As long as the decisions of the new Director are revised by the Rail-

way Board and passed on as the final statements issued in the name of the Board nothing can be amiss so far as technicalities of official routine are concerned. Sir George Rainy said that it was impracticable that the Railway Member should go behind the back of the Members of the Board to discuss labour questions with the new Director of Labour. We do not think that there is anything unconstitutional in such a procedure; already technical matters with regard to mechanical engineering and traffic are discussed by Members of the Board with the Directors and the same can be done by the General Member of the Board who will act as the medium for communicating with the Railway Member. Unless the question of introducing Indians on the Railway Board is seriously considered by Government, we believe it is difficult to expect the non-official members in the Assembly to consent to making the railway administration top-heavy under various excuses, some of which are hardly intelligible. Although the proposal has passed in the Assembly by a narrow majority the general opposition of unofficial opinion is unmistakable from the debate that took place. Mr. Jayakar reminded the House of the original conception of the Board which required it to be a body of experts for the purpose of evolving policies and not a bureau consisting of departmental heads. This is just what the Board will evolve into if addition after addition is made to its members. Mr. Cocker's opinion that the Acworth Committee's Report is an antiquated document, even when invoked in support of the main purpose of the Railway Board, is certainly open to objection. Under the present circumstances we can only console ourselves with the assurance given by the Railway Member that this appointment would not be a forerunner of a multitude of top posts in the railways.

BOMBAY BUDGET DEBATE.

WHILE nobody can deny that some progress has been made in the Transferred departments since the inauguration of Reforms, the speeches of the honourable members unmistakably show that they are not prepared to admit that we have travelled a long distance during the past decade. It was made clear that these departments have shown little progress and it was suggested that part of the explanation was given by the bloated secretariat staff. There is a general consensus of opinion in favour of retrenchment in the Reserved half of the administration. Rao Saheb D. R. Patil even went the length of proposing that a committee of non-official members should be appointed to consider the question of retrenchment in the various departments; we doubt however whether anything will come out of this in view of the official attitude towards it in the past. Curiously enough no trenchant criticism of the Development policy has been heard this year and the explanation probably is that members are by now tired of directing shafts which seem to be missing the target year after year. It is no wonder that considering that Government is bent on seeing the scheme through thick and thin members have come to reconcile themselves to the inevitable. The Finance Member has declared in his Budget speech that the ultimate loss on the Back Bay Scheme will amount to Rs. 3 crores and the estimates of the assets on the right side cannot be estimated owing to the element of speculation. Mr. Winterbotham told the House frankly that the Development Scheme did not come under the heading of "works properly undertaken" which constituted a measure of progress in the opinion of the Financial Secretary; he also referred to the interest charge of Rs. 56 lakhs on that scheme as explaining to a very large extent the starvation of several

departments. The Hon. Diwan Bahadur Desai could only give the Council a bland assurance that everything was done by the Ministers to ensure a proper distribution of funds between the two halves. We must demur to the suggestion made by some members that the cuts in police grants made in former years are responsible for the inadequate strength of the Bombay City Police; it is doubtful if even with a larger number in the city force the calling in of the military force could have been avoided. In his reply to the criticisms Mr. Wiles, the Financial Secretary, made out that increasing expenditure was good; the obvious answer is that it is so provided you have got the revenue. With respect to the Development Schemes he held out the hope that if we wait a few years profits might be made so as to lessen the ultimate loss and refused to consent to the advice that Government should sell out the whole enterprise, whatever be the loss; we can only hope that his expectations will be realized in due course.

Very little pointed reference was made in the Budget speeches to the fact that primary education will be deprived of additional funds for schemes of expansion. The total expenditure for education shows an increase of only Rs. 5 lakhs most of which is absorbed by primary education. One can easily imagine how little can be achieved within this allotted increase and we may predict a period of stagnation only hoping that it may not be a protracted one and that some light would break through the mists sooner or later. The local boards and municipalities will have now to stand on their own legs if they want to introduce compulsory education in their areas. In fairness to the Finance member it must be said that there was no braggadocio in his reply to the debate. He said that he was willing to profit by the constructive suggestions offered by the members of the Council. It is necessary again to remember that his weak position is hardly his of own making but is one which he has inherited from his predecessors. Taking the criticisms by the members therefore as those directed against the Government as a whole, we are inclined to pronounce his defence as unconvincing and inconclusive. In his apologia for the Development projects he has not shown how they can be made profitable; what he has done is to show how the losses can be made smaller so as to make the position less serious and more endurable. With regard to the department of "Industries", although the Finance Member has shown that in other provinces, extra items not properly belonging to the department are shown under "Industries" he certainly cannot plead that Bombay is in a line with other provinces.

During the coming year the Budget is balanced by anticipating that the Court Fees Act which expires shortly will be passed by the Council again during this session. The non-official opinion however has declared itself against the extension of the Act principally on the ground that the Province was already one of the most heavily taxed in India. As for the embarrassment of Government for which the revenue was sought Mr. Lalji Naranji told the House that for the next sixty years the province would not be free from financial anxiety, on account of the commercial undertakings to which they were already committed. So there is good ground for supposing that the Government intend that the Court Fees Act should be a permanent addition to the statute-book and there is very little chance of a relief from this form of taxation. In view of the extremely stringent condition of the provincial finances the Council has done well to assist its final passage till other sources of revenue are discovered.

The general outlook of the finances as revealed

by the Budget is certainly not promising. Although it is an unpleasant task some avenues for retrenchment have to be opened till such time as an assured revenue from new sources is forthcoming. It is no use making the Meston Settlement a scape-goat for all our sins of omission and commission; in any case it will be at least three years more before any readjustment of it can be expected. During the interval the mistakes of past years will have to be repaired as best as we can in order to husband our total resources. It is only by a very cautious handling of both the credit as well as the debit sides of the provincial book-keeping that the Presidency can avoid further indebtedness. A budget that just balances itself cannot be described as one heading towards bankruptcy; but it is certain that it leaves no margin for emergencies.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, February 24.

A ROYAL ACT.

KING George's recent illness caused the British public to contemplate about monarchy and among the recollections cited in the press to prove that the King of England could still be a very powerful force, there was one reminiscent of ancient and gracious ideas of royalty.

"It is pretty well known now," declares the *Irish Star*, "that the king and members of the Royal family as well as their personal friends were strongly of opinion that the things which were being done in Ireland (at the time of the notorious 'Black and Tans') in the king's name could not be justified. The king's chance came in June 1921, when the draft of a speech from the Throne to be made at the opening of the Northern Parliament was placed in his hands. It was a bloodthirsty document, amounting to a declaration of war against Dail Eireann and the volunteers. His Majesty believed that he ought not to give utterance to the statements contained in the speech. He sent for General Smuts who was then in England and the South African statesman agreed that the proposed speech was very bad. The King therefore invited him to write a statement of the kind that he considered suitable. General Smuts did so, and the King approved of his draft. Later, General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, was called to a meeting of Ministers, from whom he heard that a constitutional crisis of the first magnitude was at hand. Government policy on a matter of the most controversial kind was being knocked to pieces by the Crown. The King, it appeared, had not merely taken exception to the speech which had been prepared for him for Belfast, and refused to deliver it but had actually produced an alternative draft of his own. General Smuts did not at that point disclose the fact that he had written the King's draft himself. Instead he argued earnestly that the King was right in his view of what ought to be said, and his Ministers wrong, and eventually, after a great deal of hesitation and discussion, it was decided to agree to the new speech with certain minor alterations".

The result was the famous "forgive and forget" speech, and in the opinion of the *Star* at any rate, "there can be no doubt that the King's action changed the whole course of events in Ireland. His intelligent and courageous stand definitely turned the balance in the British Ministry in favour of the subsequent negotiations which ended with the Treaty." General Smuts has confirmed the story. India is not Ireland and the ill deeds done in the former country in His Majesty's name cannot reach

his ears so easily perhaps; still the story should encourage those who believe in the interference of human factors in a hopeless situation. The Crown is after all a far more concrete and potent factor in keeping India's loyalty for the Empire than Parliament.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

There has been a great conflict of opinions among the members of the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, which has been sitting at Geneva with the object of arriving at a decision concerning the best means of concerted action towards removing a growing evil. The facts themselves are not in dispute. There are several firms whose names are known that are engaged in the illicit traffic in drugs. The Committee has had before it, to quote only one of the Government reports, a memorandum from the Dutch Government on a factory in Holland which had imported morphine, heroin and cocaine on a large scale from Switzerland and had exported them to the far East mainly through Vienna. Sir Malcolm Delevigne, the British delegate, reported that the illicit operations of this factory alone amounted to about one ton of morphine and three tons of heroin, in addition to a smaller quantity of cocaine of which a considerable proportion was sent to China. The traffic continues, it is recognised, although in this particular instance the firm has been penalised. There was general recognition in the Committee of the need for effective measures.

The scheme of the United States stipulated that each country must estimate and notify in advance the total amount of its requirements for the following year and the countries in which its order has been placed. The opposition to the scheme was mainly led by the delegate from India, Sir John Campbell. He was inclined to characterise the measure as tyrannical and he obtained support from the British delegate, Sir Malcolm Delevigne, who went so far as to say that the acceptance of the American proposition would amount to the disbanding of the Opium Convention. Not only was the American proposal so rudely received but even the proposition that it should be made the basis of the discussion in the forthcoming session was rejected. Sir Malcolm Delevigne's own proposal was to blacklist those firms which are known to be engaged in illicit traffic in drugs, and he demanded that the names of three such firms should be included in the report of the Committee. He pleaded for steps which would bring home to the various Governments the gravity of the situation, and for a central board to watch more closely production and trade in different countries.

All the same when the sum total of the work achieved by the Committee came to be considered, it was generally felt that very little had resulted. What was gained was only the realisation of the extent and difficulties of suppressing the traffic. Now that the 1925 Opium Convention is coming into force it is to be hoped that more tangible results will be produced and a sure basis perhaps for this anti-

ipation consists in the fact that there is much public vigilance latterly about this evil and there is every sign that it is increasing.

REVIEWS.

MODERN POLITICAL MACHINERY.

THE MODERN STATE. By R. M. MAC IVER.
(Oxford University Press.) 1926. 9 × 6. pp. 493. 21s.

THIS is a well-written book. The author belongs to the University of Toronto and has already two other books equally well-written to his credit. In the present book he deals mainly with the modern state. He divides this book into four parts. The first deals with the evolution of the state into its democratic form; the second with its powers and functions; the third with its forms and institutions; and the fourth with the various theories and interpretations of it. An introductory chapter brings out clearly the three underlying ideas of a modern state: (1) It is an association like any other in a community; (2) It is sovereign with coercive powers; and (3) It acts through law which is universal and regulates the external conditions of social orders.

The historical evolution of the state is traced from the time when we know the community to exist as an entity. Before the growth of the clan or the union of families it is difficult to trace the growth of society. The clan is bound together with the idea of kinship. This is reinforced by the practice of exogamy and by that of joint ownership of property. The head of the clan becomes in course of time its chief. With him also rises the nobility, the interests of which are identical with his and which therefore generally supports him through thick and thin. Riches accumulates gradually with this class and with riches will arise luxuries and other refinements of city life on the one hand and a labouring class producing these, but itself struggling with poverty on the other. To protect the wealth of the few, armies come into being which in course of time build up empires for the conquering chief and his nobility.

In the Grecian cities, the city embraced all aspects of life. It suppressed the family in importance. Besides, it looked down upon non-citizens, both freemen and serfs. But among the citizens themselves, in Athens there was complete equality. Rome succeeded where Greece failed. She distinguished political and civil rights from others and extended them beyond her confines so as to embrace first Italy and then the whole empire. A semblance of unity was thus given to the heterogeneous elements of her empire, while, even with a homogeneous people, Greece failed to give it because she did not separate politics from other aspects of life. After the barbarian conquest of the empire Feudalism gradually arose. With its insistence on land it again submerged the state within the community. The influence of the Church also grew very powerful during the Middle Ages so that it came into conflict with the temporal power. But as Feudalism decayed, the king's power correspondingly increased. Strong dynastic states were formed which in the course of time became national states. Political power filtered from the classes to the masses through representative institutions until at last we have the Modern State.

In discussing the powers and functions of the state, the limits of political control are first considered. The state can only regulate external conditions of social order. It cannot control opinion nor enforce a particular mode of thought. In regard

to other associations within the community like the Church or the family the state should not interfere except in so far as the courses of conduct inculcated by them conflict with social order. The relation of the state with the economic life of the community is dealt with in some detail. Till the rise of capital, political power coincided with the economic power, but with that event it ceased to do so. Now both of them act and react on each other, the former by means of social legislation and taxation and the latter by reason of its syndicates and other monopolist organizations. There is now a tendency for both of them to fuse together, thanks to the increasing activities of the state such as control of certain public services like the Post Office and the Railways and to the rising standard of life of the masses accompanied by methods of restricting population like birth control.

The residence of authority is next considered. The will of the people is only for the state, for citizenship. It does not express itself in reference to particular policies except on the occasions of Initiative or Referendum. The representatives of the people in a democratic legislature are not mandatories pledged to carry out or to oppose certain measures. They are pledged only to general policies. Because Government is broad-based on the general will, revolutions are rare in democratic states. The needed changes are made when public pressure in favour of them is too strong to resist. The sanction for this authority of the state is then dealt with. It is wrong to say that might is of the essence of the state. It is only a weapon to be used against those persons who disturb the peace of society. Generally the state depends on the willing consent of the governed. In the absence of this no force will help a state to maintain itself. In inter-state relations also force has not been of great use, though frequently resorted to. To-day war affects a whole people and not a class only. With increasing democracy, it is therefore bound to become an anachronism. The laws of the state are habitually obeyed. They can be expressed only in general terms, and they carry a sanction with them in order to enforce obedience. The laws of no other association can be so enforced. State laws are also universal and do not respect persons or classes. If other agencies to settle disputes are started in view of legal opinion being always conservative, to that extent a deduction must be made from the universal rule of law. As for the existence of constitutional law which regulates the actions of the state it does not take away any part of the sovereignty of the state. It only points to the state's obligation towards the citizens. International law has always existed but what was needed so far was a Court of International Justice such as the one established through the League of Nations and a strong body of public opinion against settlement of disputes by force.

After the State's Powers and Functions, are considered its Forms and Institutions. Every state after emergence as a state has definitely drifted towards democracy. It is only democracy that is least threatened by a revolution. Besides it commands the confidence of the majority which has the power to change it. The desire itself for change therefore is much less under it than, for instance, under monarchy. States are classified as non-democratic and democratic. The former include the monarchic states as well as the oligarchic ones. Under both of them power is in the hands of the few. So also in the case of empires. But in democratic states it is in the hands of the many. The latter are classified into (1) direct democracies and indirect ones with the principle of representation in

full operation, (2) Presidential or Parliamentary democracies and (3) unitary or federal democracies. The articulation of governmental powers is then taken up. The existence of three separate functions in a government was recognized by Aristotle himself but the need for three separate bodies to discharge them was emphasised only by Montesquieu. These three bodies cannot of course be entirely separate. The legislature must be supreme, both the executive and the judiciary being subordinate to it. The principle of the division of powers is that there should be full responsibility to the people and at the same time efficiency of service. The inept legislature should hold in check both the executive and judiciary, while at the same time not interfering with their highly expert functions. But the legislature itself is held in check by various devices like Second Chambers, the Referendum and the Initiative. All functions cannot obviously be performed by the Central Government. Some functions only which require uniformity of control as well as of administration like foreign relations, defence, and tariffs appropriately belong to it. Some other functions like Justice and Police need unity of control but not of administration. Some functions again can be fully devolved like municipal affairs on local bodies. This is the basis for the division of functions between the central and local governments.

Parties did not exist in the ancient city states nor in the mediæval cities. In them there were only factions. The first party arose in opposition to the privileged classes. When the people had established themselves in power the principle of division came to be urban interests as opposed to rural ones. With the rise of industrialism developed the contest between capitalism and labour. The philosophy of the party system is that some minds are conservative while others are liberal. The ground of party alignment should be in any case nation-wide and not sectional. Sometimes it will be ecclesiastical as, for instance, when the question of the relation of the state to the church arises. Sometimes it is constitutional as about 1832 in England when there were two parties opposing or favouring Parliamentary Reform. At some other times the ground of party is economic as when questions about tariffs come to the forefront. A two-party system does not give free play to differences of opinion and it also suffers from the spoils system. But a multiple party system does not give a stable government.

In the last part of the book various theories of the state are considered. The discussion about the absolute right of sovereignty is illuminating. It simply does not exist. Green showed that the state cannot touch moral ideas. History shows that this sphere of its operations is gradually narrowing. And law states that it is only one out of many corporations in the community the rights of which are limited as well as its relations with other corporations. But it is the common basis for every other form of association. Its membership is not optional but compulsory and is also the condition of the membership of every other organization. In the modern state the general will lays down what the rights are which even the state may not touch. Indeed it is law that is supreme, not the state. The justification for the state is the development of human personality. This is realised in large part in internal affairs but not yet in international ones.

S. P. SARMA.

INDIAN PROBLEM IN A NUT-SHELL.

INDIA: THE NEW PHASE. By STANLEY REED and P. R. CADELL. (Philip Allan.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 175. 3s. 6d.

TO Indians at any rate in the Bombay presidency the authors are no strangers. Sir Stanley Reed was for years the editor of the *Times of India* and is known to be a sincere friend of this country. His coadjutor on the other hand enjoys a different reputation and was regarded as a reactionary type of the British Civilian. Their book is meant for the average Britisher whose ignorance of India is proverbial. The average Britisher has a vague notion that the wretched reforms are at the root of the whole trouble in India. "If any hundred men (in Great Britain) are asked what is wrong in India, the reply of ninety-nine will be that it is suffering from too much Montagu—that an emotional and adventurous Secretary of State disturbed her placid contentment and fastened upon the unhappy land a constitution totally unsuited to her needs." (p. 6.) That is the typical mentality of the man-in-the-street in Great Britain, who, if he turns to this book, is sure to find much ground to change his outlook about Indian affairs. No doubt the treatment of the subject matter is not very thorough; but for this no blame can be laid at the door of the authors who were required to compress all they had to say within the limit of forty thousand words. And it is just as well that they had to keep within this limit, for the average Englishman has neither the time nor the patience to study with any degree of thoroughness the complexities of the Indian problem. What he wants to know is only its salient features which the book before us admirably brings out. On most points the authors content themselves with presenting both sides in a fairly unprejudiced manner though it must be admitted that in a few places they try to make the official view appear more convincing than it really is. On the whole, however, they deserve praise for bringing out a publication which will have no small share in educating the British democracy about India.

To turn to the contents of the book. It begins with a description of the complexity of the Indian problem. This is sought to be brought out by the usual appeal to the multiplicity of religions and languages existing in this country, which, according to the Linguistic Survey of India, number 179 with 544 dialects. This is followed by a description of events leading up to the 1917 announcement of Indian policy by Parliament and the Reforms of 1919. The only fault which the authors find with them is the introduction of direct elections, which are characterised as a "real leap in the dark." Even with the present direct elections they complain of want of contact between members of the legislatures and their constituencies. One wonders whether indirect elections which they seem to advocate as an alternative would at all have improved matters. There would perhaps have been greater touch between legislators and the few people whose votes returned them to the legislature. But what about the masses? As it is, only a small percentage is affected by the present franchise; but if Mr. Montagu had listened to the authors' advice, the political education of the electorate would not have begun even yet. It is true this is not too systematically carried on; but surely the remedy is not a return to indirect elections.

Examining the working of the Reforms, the Assembly is credited with work "which history will appraise highly." In the provinces, according to the authors, no organised parties to support the ministers

have yet made their appearance; and the ministers have been able to retain their offices with the help of "the votes of the nominated officials and the backing of groups incapable of coalescence into a united political force." The non-emergence of political parties is attributed by Indian politicians to the absence of full responsible legislatures, which the authors regard as "a large assumption to make in a country where personalities loom much larger than parties and politics, and where the element of fission is the bane of all politics." (p. 37). In view of the fact that the Reforms have not brought political parties into existence, the authors hold that

"they (the Reforms) are everywhere functioning in the letter. That is no small thing when the representative system has been overthrown in so many countries where it seemed to be impregnable and when in India they have been afflicted since the day of their birth by the convulsions of strong emotions springing from outside sources. But when we inquire whether they are working towards the goal aimed at—genuine responsibility, better government and the evolution of a stable democracy—the answer cannot be in the confident affirmative." (p. 40).

In dealing with the question of Indian states, the authors correctly represent the view of the states' subjects when they say that the chief safeguards sought by them are "the separation of the privy purse of the ruler from the general revenues in order to prevent them from being squandered, and security for the administration of justice" (p. 61.) But they seem to be under a misapprehension in thinking that the former reform will necessitate fresh engagements with the Crown in order to be effective. This is not needed. Some of the Indian princes have already carried that reform into effect, so far as they are personally concerned, without bothering themselves about fresh engagements with the Crown; and the others, if they are so minded, can follow their worthy example without waiting for any authority from the Crown in that regard.

With many statements in the chapter on Defence Indian opinion will not find itself in agreement. The authors dismiss the idea of a National Army which has been repeatedly pressed on Government by nationalist leaders as being unsuited to India with the division of Hindu society in four water-tight compartments. There is an attempt in this chapter to make out that India's military burden is after all not as heavy as Indians are in the habit of complaining it is. A comparison is in this connection made with the United Kingdom where the average contribution per head towards defence exceeds Rs. 40 as against Rs. 2 in India. It need hardly be said that the comparison of the poorest country with one of the richest in the world is very misleading.

With the constitutional inquiry in progress, the last chapter headed "Looking Forward" has a particular interest for us. It is only to be expected that the authors should disapprove of the Simon boycott. What kind of constitution India is to have—unitary or federal? Their reply is unambiguous. "It is impossible for any one who understands politics to visualise India as other than a federal state. The country is so vast, its people so numerous, that a unitary State cannot be created or function." (p. 159.) They make no secret of their view that the rule to which India should look forward in the near future should be oligarchic rather than democratic, it being taken for granted that "in a country where the historical tradition is one of aristocracy and autocracy, a new democracy cannot spring into being in a decade, and must certainly await the diffusion of mass education." With a view to preparing India for this consummation, four things are recommended; (1) The resolute

establishment of universal primary education of a simple character; (2) Steady progress in fitting India to undertake her own defence; (3) The resolute pursuit of every measure which will raise the economic condition of the people; and (4) the more courageous use of legislation for the assistance of social reform. We trust this last will be taken to heart by the Home Member of the Central Government, who could not summon sufficient courage to save the Sarda Bill from being strangled by social reactionaries.

Before closing we wish to draw attention to one or two inaccuracies in the book. The Bombay Congress presided over by Lord Sinha was held in 1915 and not in 1916, as stated on p. 10. Similarly, the 1919 session of the Congress which considered the Montagu reforms was held at Amritsar and not at Lahore (p. 23.) In spite of these slight inaccuracies, the book is one which presents the Indian problem in its broad outlines in a fairly unbiased manner and should go far in dispelling ignorance about India in England.

D. V. A.

SHORT NOTICES.

HISTORY OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. By H. HEATON. (Thomas, Nelson and Sons, Ltd., Toronto.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 334. 5s.

ALTHOUGH this book is primarily written for High School students in Canada it will serve admirably the needs of the general reader who does not want to go deeper into economic history but would like to have a peep into the history of commerce. After a concise account of the Middle Ages and the opening of the new world Prof. Heaton describes the several revolutions including the most important one from the point of view of commerce, the revolution in transport. The chapter on "Results of the Revolution" is one of the best in the book, from the point of stimulating the young student to think out for himself. A full history of the commercial development of Canada is given at the end; fortunately it does not preach anywhere that sectional nationalism which occasionally disfigures colonial books. In spite of the necessity of compression all the phases of this development are given in their correct perspective. The book will certainly be welcomed not only by the teachers but by a large circle of readers who seek authoritative information in a small compass from men who are masters of the subject.

V. N. G.

MOTHER AND CHILD. By MARY LYON. (Black.) 1928. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 215. 5s.

THIS nice little book tells every mother all about her child. It contains every detail of the evolution of a babe from its conception to its childhood. The important point dealt with in it is the psychological aspect which a young mother ignores or rather is quite ignorant of. The study of physiological and psychological principles in the evolution of babyhood reveals many facts which necessitate a complete change in our notions about them. It is not merely the knowledge of psychology that is needed but also genuine love for the babe which achieves far-reaching results in the building up of its character. The first steps of character building are laid at the very commencement of the child's life and a young mother must not neglect that aspect simply because the child is very young. If she does so, she loses a valuable opportunity for the moulding of her child's character in the right direction.

The authoress gives in every chapter a number of warnings and cautions which alone would be very

valuable. She describes at length a model babe and the outstanding points to be observed in its progress. A chapter is devoted to a description of the symptoms and treatment of minor ailments. The description of habits and character of children forms a special chapter, emphasising her inclination for the psychological aspect. Seeing how very important the subject of child upbringing is every mother ought to read this book.

R. A. RAIRKAR.

RAILWAYS. By W. V. WOOD and JOSIAH STAMP. (Thornton Butterworth.) 1928. 6½ × 4¼. pp. 252. 2s.

THIS admirable little book is fully in keeping with the reputation of the Home University Library, to which it belongs. It gives in broad outline all the essential information about the various branches of the working and administration of British railways and in language so easy as to rob the technical subject of railways of much of its repulsiveness for the layman. There are chapters on way and works, working stock, operating and public service, use of statistics, general administration and labour, government regulation and taxation, rates and charges and, lastly, accounting and finance. The book is written with a welcome amount of detachment; it contains no dogmatic assertions but contents itself with merely stating the opposing views where opinions on the merits of a given system differ. The introductory chapter by Sir Josiah Stamp appears rather heavy for such an unpretentiously and modestly written book.

ECONOMY.

ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS, 1928. Ed. by GEORGES OTTLIK. (Librairie Payot & Co, Geneva.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 753.

THIS is a useful reference book meant for French-knowing people. It gives an account of the beneficent activities conducted under the auspices of the League of Nations and is sure to excite public interest in them. The correspondence leading up to the historic Kellogg pact for the renunciation of war has been printed both in French and English. A list of newspapers in different countries having their own correspondents permanently stationed at Geneva is given at the end. From this we observe that the only other paper printed in this country besides the *Times of India* which has a permanent representative of its own at Geneva is the *SERVANT OF INDIA*.

G. P. O.

MISCELLANEOUS.

POONA YOUTHS' ADDRESS TO MR. SASTRI.

The students of all the colleges in Poona and the members of the Poona Youth League presented an address of welcome to Mr. Sastri on the morning of the 20th inst. In view of the general impression that our youths are staunch advocates of complete independence, the address which is printed below will, we are sure, be read with interest:—

"SINCE the time you decided to devote yourself to the service of the country as a Servant of India, renouncing all idea of financial emoluments and consenting to devote your whole time and energy for ensuring its betterment, material as well as moral, you have ceaselessly worked with but one thought of raising it to the highest point of glory. As a firm believer in ordered progress you have "never despised compromise in public affairs provided it is honourable, advances the present position and does not bar further progress"—to quote your own words as President of the National Liberal Federation, 1922. The complete success of your Dominion

tour was due to the masterly way in which with rare eloquence you pleaded the cause of Indians residing in other parts of the Empire, with a view to remove their disabilities and to win from the Dominions a recognition of their rights of citizenship in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth. Your inimitable powers of eloquence were brought to the notice of the world during this important tour and statesmen, who would have otherwise remained adamant have been persuaded out of their settled beliefs by your unrivalled advocacy of the Indian cause. It is said with justice that your eloquence has the quality of impassioned reason about it. You are in the best sense of the word a citizen of the world on account of the deep interest you have shown in international problems, and the cause of the world-peace. The conferment of the Freedom of the City of London on you is a unique honour reserved for those who have distinguished themselves as Imperial statesmen of the first rank and bears testimony to the esteem in which you were held at the very heart of the Empire.

So early as 1913 you had the rare courage to bring in the Post-Puberty Marriage Bill in the Madras Legislative Council. Since that time you have shown yourself a staunch advocate of social progress never flinching from any step calculated to redress wrongs in the social sphere and to ensure social justice in its comprehensive significance. You have rigidly adhered to principles in which you believed though at times it involved temporary unpopularity and disagreement with current thought and modes of action, thus proving that you valued nothing higher than character.

It is not surprising that when the Government of India decided to appoint a statesman of the highest character and with an established reputation for persuasive diplomacy in order to carry out the terms of the Cape Town Agreement in the delicate atmosphere created by the repatriation of Indians and the refusal of their right to live in the country of their adoption, their choice fell on you and the whole country realized that no better choice of the first Agent of the Indian Government could be made, considering the immense difficulties of creating a proper atmosphere for amicable relations between the Indian and the South African European communities. The phenomenal success of your mission has been admitted by statesmen in South Africa including the head of the South African Government and the highest tributes have been paid to you by the leaders of the Indian community for your heroic efforts in their cause and the settlement of a difficult problem by breaking down prejudices and by appealing to the better mind of the South African Europeans. It is undoubted that this mission of peace entailed a great amount of sacrifice to your health and it is only the imperious call of duty that prevailed over other considerations in your acceptance of it.

Your well-known affection for the students and your interest in their welfare has made us feel that it would be a great dereliction of duty if we did not seize this opportunity of showing our deep regard and admiration for you on your return home after a long absence in South Africa where you have laid the foundations of a grand structure of education for the Indian community deservedly named 'The Sastri College.'

In conclusion we wish you, Sir, long life and happiness to continue the beneficent work which India now more than ever stands in need of."

CORRESPONDENCE.

DEWAS CULTIVATORS' GRIEVANCES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR, In anticipation of his arrival at Indore on the 29th July 1928, the leading cultivators of village Sirolia, Dewas (S. B.) had a memorial drawn up and forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy. Some of

the grievances enumerated in this memorial are:—(1) For about 90 holdings of this village, there has been over-assessment to the extent of Rs. 3,500 admitted by the authorities, and amounted in 16 years to Rs. 56,000. (2) Early last year the Revenue authorities decided to increase the land rent by 37½%. (3) The State authorities forcibly recovered from the memorialists 25% on their holdings as temple tax. (4) Under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja, a mundi or market was opened at Dewas about 10 years ago. On pain of heavy penalties for disobedience, cultivators were ordered to take their wheat, juar, etc. to this market where the State officials auctioned it to licensed contractors for about three-fourths of the actual value. (5) In order to prevent cultivators from selling their produce at a profit in adjoining States, heavy export duties have been imposed. (6) In accordance with Act No. 1 of 1921 passed by His Highness the Maharaja, cultivators were obliged to pay 3 to 10 years' land rent to acquire proprietary rights in their respective holdings; and in collecting these rents or nazaranas as they were called, certain cultivators are reported to have been subjected to torture, while some were dispossessed of their holdings. Many were also hopelessly involved in heavy debt, and ruined. (7) Yet another tax, the Prince's Marriage Tax, at Rs. 67-8-0 per holding was forcibly collected from all the cultivators from May 1926. The memorial concludes by appealing to His Excellency the Viceroy for sympathy, and for relief from the hardships and miseries from which they have been suffering so long. But upto date the cultivators have received no reply to their memorial.

During August 1928, immediately after His Excellency the Viceroy left Indore most of the memorialists were arrested, taken to Dewas (S. B.) police station which is a few yards from the palace, and, it is said, subjected to the most brutal treatment. Telegrams about these fresh outrages were sent to the Political Agent at Manpur, to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, and to His Excellency the Viceroy. In the middle of last September about 25 State officials with about 50 constables went to village Sirolia, and for three days harassed the villagers, and compelled 115 cultivators to sign and put their thumb impressions to compromise bonds which purported to state that all the cultivators' grievances had been removed and that they had no complaints against the State. Yours, etc.

R. B. THOMSON.

Indore, February 15.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA, 1587-1743. By D. G. E. HALL. (Longmans.) 1928. 9 × 5½. pp. 276. 12s. 6d.
- SPORT AND WILD LIFE IN THE DECCAN. By R. G. BURTON. (Seeley, Service.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 282. 21s.
- FROM SPHINX TO CHRIST. By EDOUARD SCHURE. (Rider & Co., London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 284. 10s. 6d.
- MAN AND HIS BECOMING ACCORDING TO VEDANTA. By C. J. WHITBY. (Rider & Co., London.) 8½ × 5½. pp. 267. 10s. 6d.
- THE MAD KING DIES. By MAX PEMBERTON. (Cassell.) 1918. 7½ × 5. pp. 318. 7s. 6d.
- ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS, 1928. (Payot & Co., Geneva.) 1928. 7½ × 4½. pp. 753.
- RAMDAS AND THE RAMDASIS. By WITBUR S. DEMING. (The Religious Life of India Series.) (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1928. 7 × 4½. pp. 223. Rs. 3.