

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Is Government Helpful?

COMMENTING on the "ticklish" situation created by Mr. Gandhi's "march" on the 12th March last, the "Manchester Guardian" wisely remarks that "the truth is that if things go wrong in India, the blame should rest not so much on the human agents on the one side or the other as on the unnatural relation in which we stand in India. The rule of one country by another is, and is now felt to be, a monstrous and indefensible system. The readjustment of our relations is a task which cannot be completed in a year or two, but we must not be surprised at any violence on the part of Indians till we have shown beyond all shadow of doubt that we are in earnest about accelerating the readjustment and putting our relations upon a footing of genuine equality." Considering the long trail of broken pledges and disappointed hopes, it is difficult with the best good will on both sides to dislodge away the heritage of suspicions and create confidence. The mishandling of the Cotton Tariff Bill by the Government of India is not calculated to help the process.

Was Preference Warranted?

THE introduction of the element of British preference is a most unwarranted piece of mischief-mongering on the part of the Government. Unwarranted not only because the British Government did not seek it and the people of India did not offer it, but also because it is of doubtful value to Lancashire itself. Mr. Fred Holroyd, president of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners, is reported by the "Manchester Guardian" to have said: "The extra 4 per cent. impost on Lancashire cotton goods is a very serious matter for Lancashire spinners and manufacturers. Personally, I do not think that the pre-

ference will help us much in view of the raising of the duty against Lancashire." Another Federation Member is reported to have said, "It is doubtful if the preference will be any real advantage to Lancashire in consequence of the raising of the duty on Lancashire goods. An examination of the trading figures between 1913 and 1929 shows that of our trade in cotton piece goods that has been lost with India 70 per cent has been lost to the Indian mills and only 20 per cent to Japan". In a paper on the problems and remedies in the cotton trade read before the Liverpool Cotton Institute on the 26th Feb. last, Mr. Barnard Ellinger is reported to have said, among other things, "If we put our house in order, I am hopeful that some part of this last 1,000,000,000 yards of Japan's increased production might be regained, and further, that out of the normal increase of the world's consumption we might during the next few years secure more than our normal share, Japan (and possibly the Indian mills) securing less. Of course, in order to bring this about it is possible that we may have to face a very keen competitive fight with Japan which will cost us both a good deal of money. On the other hand, there are signs that it is not entirely outside the range of practical politics to hope that matters might be arranged in a more amicable manner to the great benefit of both countries." Under these circumstances it seems an uncalled for exhibition of gallantry on the part of the Government of India to rush to the rescue of Lancashire at the expense of India.

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Resignations.

WHILE we hold that the Government of India have by their attitude on the Cotton Tariff Bill done the cause of conciliation and confidence great harm, we cannot but deplore the resignation of their membership of the Assembly by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and seven others of the Nationalist Party in the Assembly. Apparently not to be behindhand the Mahatma, the venerable Pandit has, by way of giving reasons for his action, come out with a long indictment of the Government of India. It adumbrates a long list of grievances, most of them true no doubt, but most of them neither new nor fresh to justify his resignation of the Assembly at the particular time he tendered it. Even his grievance regarding the exchange ratio is some years old, and if the Pandit was not deterred by this burning grievance of his from going into the Assembly all these years, it seems rather irrelevant to bring it up now as a justification of his resignation. And how is his resignation of greater service to the country? It is because of the presence of himself and the other elected members in the Assembly that the Government came down a peg or two and accepted Mr. Chetty's amendment. Otherwise, they would have had it all their own way. Apart from the particular measure, it is a profound mistake to indulge in resigna-

tions. We do not go to the councils to oblige the Government or do them a favour. We go there for our own purposes: to defend our rights, such as they are, and to widen their range, if we can. Moreover, resignations and walk-outs have by their frequency in recent years lost their novelty and even their significance. The world is no longer staggered by these calamities and soon forgets them.

* * *

Boycott of Foreign Cloth.

It is a matter of deep regret that so experienced a publicist as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should, in a huff as it were, have embarked on a campaign of boycott of foreign cloth and even the bonfires of it. It is incredible that he, who bitterly opposed British preference on the ground that it involved the sacrifice of the interests of the poor Indian consumers, should now advocate the boycott of foreign cloth. It is more harmful than British preference. For the boycott of foreign cloth will hit the consumer without compensating advantages. The removal of foreign competition will itself raise the price of Indian cloth. Moreover, Indian mills and charkas will not be able to produce all the cloth that India needs, and to the extent that the boycott succeeds to that extent scarcity of cloth will increase, for Indian production cannot develop *pari passu* with the demand. The millowners will profit but the Indian consumers will not have enough cloth in the first instance and will have to pay exorbitant prices for it. It is only as Indian production increases that the foreign cloth can be displaced with safety and prudence.

We would rather the Pandit undertook a swadeshi campaign instead of boycott. Boycott has an element of hatred. Foreign cloth is principally either British or Japanese. The Pandit has no cause to hate Japan and do her a deliberate injury. Even with regard to Britain the Pandit was at some pains to declare in the Assembly that he had no intention to injure Lancashire, and if fact went so far as to claim that his amendment to the Cotton Tariff Bill gave some advantage to Lancashire without explicit preference. Boycott is a political weapon, not an economic necessity or advantage. It is only those who have completely given up hopes of friendly co-operation between England and India, only those who have made up their minds that a state comparable to hostility and war exists between them that are justified in resorting to it. Is the Pandit one of them? It means boycotting the Round Table Conference as well. Does the Pandit propose to do that also?

Apart from the political and economic consequences and implications, the practicability of boycott is a matter equally relevant. Boycott has been with us for a quarter of a century, and never was there an occasion when the political situation was so satisfactory as to justify the calling off of it. Now and again some fresh grievance brought it to the fore, but as quickly and quietly it was dropped and abandoned, while the grievances continued to accumulate. The fizzling out of each spurt only left us the more demoralised and our opponents less concerned and alarmed with our futile threats. Even under more favourable circumstances in the first non-co-operation days the effort failed. It has no better prospects to-day. If it should succeed, it will only result in inflicting great harm on ourselves.

* * *

Violent Repercussions of Satyagraha.

A CARTOON in a recent issue of the "Punch" depicts the Mahatma gravely admonishing the Frankenstein of civil disobedience that he has raised, "No violence—remember—only disobedience."

To which the monster replies: "What if I disobey you?" The cartoon sums up certain tragic aspects of satyagraha admirably. The buffalo-cartmen in Calcutta and the G. I. P. Railway strikers in Bombay have, according to press reports, inaugurated a disobedience of civil disobedience. It appears that in Calcutta the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, inspired by humanitarian considerations, promoted certain regulations, to come into operation on the 1st of April last, intended to reduce the loads on buffalo carts from 60 maunds to 45, besides prohibiting the plying of such carts between 12 noon and 3 p. m. in summer. The cartmen resented the regulations on the ground that they reduced their earnings and decided on Satyagraha, and by concerted action massed their carts at the entrance to the Howrah Bridge and other strategic centres of traffic, unharnessed the buffaloes, removed the wheels from the carts and left the loaded carts across the road to block the traffic. When the Police attempted to remove the obstructing carts, they were met with showers of stones and other missiles. In the end, the police opened fire, with the result that 6 people were killed and over 60 injured. It is a very serious matter, and we hope an independent enquiry will as soon as possible be held to enquire into the justification for firing by the police. Whether there was justification for the firing or not, it is admitted that the so-called satyagrahis used violence against the police and even wounded some of them.

The G. I. P. Railway strikers have been professing satyagraha for some weeks now; but evidently they have exhausted their spirit of non-violence. For last week they were reported to have rushed the trains in Bombay, refused to get out of the way of traffic, and used violence against the police who were ultimately obliged to open fire. On Sunday some strikers offered satyagraha at Kuria by lying across the railway lines with a view to holding up of trains. When the police attempted to clear the line they were met with a volley of stones, and the Police were obliged to fire into the air. No strikers were injured but some police were.

Already satyagraha has to its discredit violence on the part of the satyagrahis, which provoked violence on the part of the authorities, and in consequence brought about the death of and injury to several trustful but misguided innocents who were unequal to sustained satyagraha. Though not unaware of these tragic happenings, the Mahatma apparently prefers not to take notice of them..

* * *

Hoist with his own petard

But the most intriguing display of satyagraha was the one offered to the Mahatma himself by certain untouchables from Poona. These contended that unless untouchability was removed, the Mahatma was not justified in striving to do away with the British Government in India. The Mahatma was evidently embarrassed and is reported to have assured his tormentors that he was trying to liberate the whole of India from the foreign yoke, and in doing so, he was working for the liberation of the untouchables from their special yoke as well. But he was not able to convince the super-satyagrahis.

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Satyagraha against Sarda Act.

Of a far different kind was the satyagraha offered by some Muhammdans in Delhi. In violation of the Sarda Act a wedding between a muslim boy and a muslim girl, both under age, was staged with wide publicity. The promoters of the wedding had two objects in view: one was to assert

Islamic law, which, while it did not enjoin child marriage, did not forbid it either, and the Sarda Act was an encroachment on the liberty of the Muslim to celebrate a child marriage. It is a case of wanton defiance of the law purely for the assertion of an academic right. The other reason was to provide material for a test case in the courts regarding the validity of the Sarda Act in its application to Muslims. Under these circumstances the Government ought not to have any qualms of conscience with regard to penalising those who have violated the Act which all sane public opinion supports. It is saddening to find that at crowded meetings at Multan, Bombay and Calcutta the Muslims have been asked to defy the Sarda Act and in consequence marriages of infant children were celebrated. If this orgy of child-marriages continues it will have a disastrous effect on the minds of the new generation.

Excise in the Punjab.

THE Excise report of the province of the Punjab for the year 1928—29 bears witness to the success of the policy of checking the expansion of the drink habit by limiting the opening of new shops. The Government in their Resolution on the report administer a well-deserved rebuke to the signatories of the report for saying that "there can be no question of a temperance policy" and for gratuitously assuming that because consumption has decreased it has necessarily been replaced by illicit supply. The Minister affirms with great emphasis in the Resolution that no Government can assent to the renunciation of a policy of temperance which has been accepted by the conscience of mankind. In fact, the Resolution of the Minister in the Punjab is in strong contrast to the weak-kneed and reactionary resolution issued by the Ministry in Bombay. The net profit from Excise was Rs. 113 lakhs as against 114 lakhs in the preceding year; the still head duty on country spirits showed a decrease of 3.3 lakhs, malt liquor showed a decrease of 1.8 lakhs, opium a decrease of 0.49 lakhs and hemp drugs a decrease of 0.83 lakhs. The consumption of plain spirit decreased by 17,000 gallons and that of spiced spirit decreased by 4,000 gallons. It is however disconcerting to find that the decrease in the consumption of Indian-made foreign spirit has been counter-balanced by the increased sales of cheap German whisky; the consumption of beer imported from foreign countries has however remained stationary. The capture of a large amount of Malva opium is regarded in the report as a sign of an extensive contraband trade across the borders of Rajputana States; much hill opium is also smuggled from the Punjab Hill States. The solution suggested in the report is the control of opium production in the Hill States and the opening up of communications which would lead to the substitution of more profitable crops in place of the poppy. The increase in the number of persons arrested for illegal possession of cocaine from 38 during last year to 59 during the present year and the capture of nearly twenty-two thousand grains from one person alone indicate that the cocaine habit is growing; the report is quite silent however as to what is being done by way of propaganda against this pernicious habit. It is a good sign that the Local Option Act is being enforced more extensively and several local bodies have succeeded in removing certain shops at the instance of local citizens. So far as the question of opium smuggling is concerned the report rightly says that until all the various States of India cooperate with the Government of India and the Provincial Governments in the matter of excise duties on opium "this traffic is bound to remain a thorn in the side of the administration of the country." Curiously enough

temperance societies which regard the consumption of alcohol with aversion look upon the excess in the use of opium, hemp drugs and cocaine with some indulgence and do not carry on an equally vigorous propaganda against the latter drugs.

The Board of Conciliation on the B.B.C.I. Dispute.

THE recommendations of the Board of Conciliation appointed by the Governor General in Council to settle the dispute in connection with the transfer of B. B. C. I. R. workshops to Dohad appear to us to be on the whole reasonable and we would advise the workers to accept them for the present. With regard to the main grievance about the reduction of rate of wages by 20 per. cent. the workers have gained their point and the Board's finding is that there should be no reduction consequent on the transfer to Dohad. Another issue in the dispute was with respect to the grant of a special gratuity to persons transferred to Dohad who retire within a year of the transfer; the Board recommend that the special terms of gratuity under the 'reduction of staff' rules should apply to these men only in case of resignations on the ground of health and that the period should be reduced to three months. This is certainly fair since men transferred to a different place cannot be said to have been compelled to retire on account of the reduction of staff. The Union had claimed that the workmen who were unwilling to go to Dohad and who could not join the Provident Fund on account of the rules prevailing between 1902 and 1917 should be given a gratuity of one month's pay for each year of service between these two years and, in addition, a gratuity under the 'reduction of staff' rules from 1917 onwards. The Board do not see any reasons for supporting such a claim, since the men who took service between 1902 and 1917 did it with open eyes knowing full well that they could not join the Provident Fund. The claim for an additional bonus of one month's pay for those who do not elect to go to Dohad is also disallowed by the Board. As regards housing accommodation the Board's finding is that it is adequate and that the rents charged by the Company in accordance with the usual rules are quite fair and recommend that the terms of the Company should be accepted by the Union. With regard to catering places the Board has recommended that the bare economic rent should be charged for the buildings provided for the purpose. Mr. Collins, the representative of the Railway, in a dissenting minute regards a 10 per cent. reduction of wages as perfectly justifiable on the ground of the lower cost of living at Dohad but granting that this is true it is unwise to create irritation in the labour world at this time and we think the Board has done well in setting aside his suggestion. Mr. Collins also disagrees with the finding of the Board that no party in a dispute before a Board of Conciliation should be represented by a legal practitioner on the ground that it would place the employers at a disadvantage as they are not likely to have officers with legal training on their staff in every case. We ourselves do not see any reason why legal practitioners should be debarred from appearing for either party.

The Sequel of the G. I. P. Strike.

IT is a curious irony of fate that one result of the G. I. P. strike has been the decision of the Government to reduce the number of men in the workshops on the ground that, as a result of the introduction of improved methods of working, the present number of employees is found to be much in excess of the requirements. Such of the hands as are needed permanently are to be recruited by a Selection Committee appoint

ed by the Agent. The Committee however is instructed not to refuse to take back into service any employee merely because he had gone on strike, and it is hoped that the Agent would adhere to the spirit of the instruction and see that no victimisation is practised. The Railwaymen's Union however has not been placated by this offer and has decided to resort to Satyagraha but the happenings of the last few days cannot be said to make one very sanguine about the possibilities of this method of seeking redress for grievances. We thoroughly agree with Mr. Ginwala when he says in a recent statement that the proper prescription for preventing a militant trade-union movement is the inauguration of a policy of conciliation and improving the standard of life of labourers. But in the meantime, before such a policy is inaugurated, no one has a right to pelt stones at passing trains and passing trams indiscriminately as was done recently by some of the strikers. Mr. Ginwala appeals to the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union to preserve unity but it is better if he does something substantial to bring them over to his own point of view. Mr. Ginwala's query however as to why the Railway Board, which did not feel the need of reducing the numbers in the workshops on March 15, should do so only a fortnight later is pertinent, and requires more explanation than the Board has vouchsafed in its communique. As regards the vacancies which are doubtful he suggests that the new hands should be sent out after giving them one month's pay in lieu of notice. As regards strikers whose places have been permanently filled up he suggests that they should be absorbed as extra men to relieve those going on leave. In fact, the whole dispute regarding the number of vacancies should, in his opinion, be referred to a Court of Enquiry which should be asked to suggest ways of absorbing all the old men as well as the new men appointed permanently in their place. We should like to remind the Railway Board that nothing but harm would result if an impression gets abroad that they intend in some way or other to prevent the strike leaders from being reinstated.

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Medical Autonomy.

PUBLIC opinion is gathering force that some speedy and radical action should be taken to resolve the *impasse* created by the recent action of the General Medical Council. The independent medical profession in India in several places have held meetings at which angry speeches were made resenting the insult offered by the G. M. C. to the Indian Universities. The resentment is due not so much to the withdrawal of recognition by the G. M. C. on the innocent ground that they had no means of knowing and appraising the standard of education imparted by the Indian Universities but because of the implied condemnation of the standards in India, and the importation into the controversy of irrelevant matters, like the growth of nationalism in India and the peculiar customs and habits of the people. etc., The C. M. G.'s action has, as it were, black-balled Indian medical education in the estimation of the world's medical opinion. Dr. Jivaraj N. Mehta, the Dean of the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital in Bombay and a highly competent authority, has in his letters to the press conclusively proved that during the last few years medical education in India has greatly improved. There are to-day more colleges with fewer students; the colleges have increased from 7 in 1922 to 12 in 1930 and the number of students fell from 4,173 to below 3,854. The number of beds in affiliated hospitals has increased by 50 per cent. The teaching staff has doubled in strength, and consists now mostly of specialists teaching the subjects in which they specialised in contrast with the earlier I. M. S.

professors who, on account of the exigencies of that service, were obliged to handle a variety of subjects known and unknown to them. Notwithstanding this undoubted improvement, the G. M. C. has chosen to humiliate Indian medical education in the eyes of the medical world.

Of the suggestions made by the Indian medical profession some are frankly retaliatory and others constructive. We would, however, press on the Government to take action at once on the suggestion to constitute an Inter-University Medical Board consisting of representatives of the Government and of the Universities, pending the creation of an all-India Medical Council. We would deprecate the reopening of negotiations with the G. M. C. for the recognition of Indian University degrees at the present stage. It is far more profitable to concentrate on improving the standards of medical education in India and securing an independent status and a high place for it in the medical world. It is also very essential that the special privileges now attaching to British degrees in India should be abolished. It is best secured by reviving the competitive examinations for the I.M.S.; and these examinations should be held in India alone. We are as much opposed to British preference in the sphere of medical education as in that of tariffs. No British preference should stand in the way of Indian students seeking the highest type of the medical education wherever available—whether in India or Britain, or the Continent or the U. S. A.

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Special Tribunals Bill in Bengal.

THE Bengal Legislative Council passed the Government Bill to amend the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 on the 1st of April last. The opposition to the Bill was based not only on the merits of the Bill but on the procedure adopted by the Government. It will be recalled that the original Act was not passed by the Legislative Council, which had in fact refused leave to introduce the Bill; and it became law in virtue of certification. The various clauses of the Bill, therefore, never came under the scrutiny of the Council. The Act was due to expire in the last week of April. If it had lapsed and if the Government wished to retain the powers conferred by it, they would have had to meet the Council with a fresh bill, in which case both the principle and the provisions of it would be liable to the scrutiny of the Council. But before the Act expired the Bengal Government came in with an amending bill which sought to abolish detention without trial and to retain trial by special tribunals. Under the Rules of the House it was not open to the members to move amendments to clauses other than those contained in the amending bill, and they were, thereby precluded from discussing the principle of the original Act or amend other defective clauses in it or improve them. It is an unfair procedure. But the Home Member met the charge by saying that it was the fault of the members that they refused to take into consideration the original Bill and denied themselves the opportunity of scrutinising its provisions. The taunt is equally unfair for the Council was then opposed to the very principle of the bill and could not allow the bill to reach the stage of consideration of its provisions. Leave to introduce the amending Bill was, however, given by 66 votes to 41. Whereupon some thirty members of the Council walked out in protest. The surprising result is one of the penalties of the boycott of the Councils. Government are now able to say that the Bengal Council was a consenting party to the Bill and that they had not to resort to certification for it.

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Articles.

SALT SATYAGRAHA.

WITH a heroism and zeal worthy of a better cause, the Mahatma completed his arduous journey, attended with great hardship to his frail constitution, under the blazing sun and over the burning earth of the Gujrat summer, and on Sunday last celebrated the ceremonial disobedience of the salt laws with due solemnity and publicity. So far the Government have, wisely it seems to us, refrained from arresting him and giving him that martyrdom that he so ardently seeks. He is reported to have confidently expected arrest and to have made no plans for a different contingency, and the Government's toleration and forbearance seem to have embarrassed him and set him athinking afresh for further plans. He has now called on the schoolboys to come out of their schools and has asked all and sundry to manufacture salt or in other ways to defy the salt laws.

While the Government have let the Mahatma severely alone, they have promptly arrested the smaller leaders and others guilty of breaking the salt laws in various parts of the country. Several of these have already been tried and sentenced, but the sentences are far from being uniform. Mr. K. F. Nariman, the President of the Bombay Congress Committee, was sentenced to a month's simple imprisonment while Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj was sentenced by the Magistrate of Bandra to two years hard labour and a fine of Rs. 300, and in default, to a further term of six weeks! We must protest against such barbarous sentences; they will defeat the purposes of the Government, and public sympathy will in a larger measure veer round in support of the Satyagrahis. With people like Mr. Bajaj it ought to be sufficient to convict them nominally and release them on parole.

The actual inauguration of salt satyagraha seems to have unsettled the minds of some people who had hitherto disapproved of active civil disobedience. The Mahatma himself has sought to win over the waverers and the sceptical by holding before them the example of the passive resistance movement in South Africa. We have no desire to under-estimate, much less run down, the heroic character of that campaign, and readily grant that several of the Indian grievances were at the end of the struggle redressed. But it is possible to exaggerate the success of the campaign and mislead people in accepting the methods of satyagraha. Suffice it to mention that the Mahatma initiated passive resistance in South Africa primarily as a protest against the law necessitating the registration of Indians in the Transvaal. That necessity still persists. It may also be recalled that not only the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India gave their powerful support to the Indian cause, but the then Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, publicly denounced the Government of South Africa and allied himself with the cause of Indians. Whether passive resistance by itself, unsupported by India and the

Government of India and the British Government, would have achieved the results attributed to it is very problematical.

Besides, a comparison of results of the passive resistance campaign and of the Round Table Conference in 1927 provide an illuminating commentary on the relative merits of satyagraha and of friendly negotiations. Even a casual acquaintance with them will show that, despite the claim of victory in the passive resistance struggle, the Indian gains in 1914 are not equal to those secured by the Cape Town Agreement, notwithstanding the more adverse circumstances and the more bitter anti-Indian agitation that preceded the Round Table Conference. Quite apart from considerations of the different circumstances in South Africa and India, and of the intensity and appeal of the grievances, which make satyagraha more difficult of success in India than in South Africa, and considered only as methods for the attainment of political aims, friendly negotiations have proved more efficacious and more beneficent than satyagraha in South Africa.

It is also significant that at the recent Non-European Conference in South Africa a proposal to adopt passive resistance as a protest against Gen. Hertzog's Native policy was summarily and without compunction turned down.

The circumstances in India are far different from those in South Africa. Moreover, at the present time the Government have offered to negotiate with the Indian leaders regarding the future of the Indian constitution. The bulk of the Muhammadans and the leaders who stood in the Mahatma's camp in 1921 have broken away from him. The chances of success of a campaign of civil disobedience are greatly attenuated to-day. But quite apart from that, the permanent evil that will result from such a campaign must rule out the possibility of those who stand for ordered progress accepting the invitation of Mr. Sri Prakas, the Secretary of the Congress. The Liberals cannot afford to take up an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards civil disobedience, but must frankly oppose it.

REFORMS IN SANGLI.

ON Monday last His Highness the Chief of Sangli, one of the larger States in the Southern Maratha Country, announced in a Durbar specially held for the purpose the constitutional reforms which he intends to introduce in his State at an early date. During the minority of the present Chief a British administrator constituted over twenty years ago a People's Assembly (Rayat Sabha) as an outlet for people to ventilate their grievances. This Assembly, which latterly had been rather languishing for lack of official encouragement that it was its good fortune to receive at its inception, His Highness has now decided to enlarge, endow with greater powers and put upon a more popular basis. The Assembly is to have a normal strength of 40 members, half of whom are to be elected and half nominated. Of the latter again half are to be officials and half non-officials. To the Assembly so constituted is to be

given the power of interpellating Government, moving resolutions which, if passed, would be treated as recommendations to the Durbar, considering the budget and enacting laws. The Dewan, in his speech, gave a necessary warning that the Regulation by which the reformed Assembly was to be constituted was yet to undergo changes at the hands of expert draftsmen, and these, we suppose, will include changes not merely of form, but of substance, for certain limitations have been put upon the power of the Assembly in the existing draft of the Regulation which we suppose are not really intended by the Durbar. e. g., we are told that the salaries and pensions of public servants are not to be open to discussion in the budget debate. The provision as drafted we believe is far in excess of the provision as contemplated, which is intended, we assume, to meet the so-called "Consolidated Fund charges." In Great Britain or British India or everywhere else it is only the salaries of judges, apart from the Civil List or the interest on the national debt, etc., which are paid directly out of the Consolidated Fund without annual authorisation. But in Sangli, if the existing draft is confirmed, the salaries of all officials will be put outside the scope not merely of the Assembly's vote but discussion. We cannot believe that His Highness really intends to put such a stringent restriction upon the competence of the Assembly. Similarly among matters which "it shall not be lawful for the Assembly to consider" are to be (1) the public debt or public revenue of the State, (2) the imposition of any tax, cess, rate, duty, fee, etc., (3) the maintenance of law and order, (4) religious practices, and (4), the inevitable all-embracing clause covering to "such other matters as may from time to time be specially reserved by His Highness". If these matters are really to be excluded from the Assembly's jurisdiction, His Highness had better give it no legislative power. Let it be avowedly what the present Rayat Sabha is: only an organ to voice popular grievances. If it is to take a hand in legislation, or at any rate to express an opinion thereupon, matters like those cited above cannot be withheld from it. They evacuate the measure of most of its substance. We are certain that if there are any limitations in His Highness's mind they are nothing so self-stultifying as those we have mentioned above would be. We hope, and assume for the purpose of our subsequent comment, that these and several other serious drafting errors will be put right in the end, and eventually we shall have in force in Sangli a measure of reforms closely corresponding to that of the Morley-Minto era in British India.

This thought that, at their highest, the reforms in Sangli can be made to approximate to the status of reforms of a by-gone age in British India, fills us, we must confess, with a sense of sadness, more poignant than we can tell. If we were commenting upon an ordinary State, of the good intentions of whose ruler we had no personal knowledge, we should be content to congratulate it upon its progressive tendencies, for we do not expect even of fairly advanced States any-

thing more by way of constitutional government than that they should lag behind British India by a stage or two. But we know how enlightened His Highness the Chief Saheb of Sangli is and how eager to serve his people. If even such a ruling Prince cannot take his State farther than, or even as far as British India, then which Prince will? Does it not mean that the people of Indian States—of even the best governed of them—must ever remain politically more backward than those of British India? That the subjects of foreign rulers must be more self-governing than those of Swadeshi rulers? His Highness almost says as much and the confession is to us extremely humiliating. "The ideas which have brought changes in British India", he says, "have had unmistakable repercussions in the States also. I think that at this time when constitutional changes of a far-reaching importance to the future destiny of India are on the anvil the States cannot afford to remain stationary. This is thus a juncture when the Sangli State ought also to move with the times and do what lies in its power to modernize its administration." This is the kind of reply which British Indian publicists make in patronising fashion when subjects of Indian States ask them questions about Indian States. "Don't bother," they say, "when we go ahead, be sure that the States will hop after us," thus proving that there is no need to make any special provision for constitutional development in the States. This may be a good or bad reply, but are the Princes also going to adopt it, unconscious of the necessarily inferior position which it implies for themselves? British Indian reforms to have repercussions on Indian States! Why should not Indian States cherish the ambition of leading the van in constitutional reform, leaving British India to react to their influence? The Princes themselves regard this as the wildest of wild dreams, a reflexion which makes us unhappy in the extreme.

We wish His Highness had left the subject at that, but later he used arguments which can only be described as sophistical. He would have us believe that if Sangli appears to be behind British India by two big stages it is for good reason. British India, it would appear, is following blindly the line of constitutional development which England has successfully pursued in the past but which may or may not be appropriate to Indian conditions. Indian States are not tied, luckily, like British India, to the coat-tails of England, but they can strike out a path of their own as it may be suggested by their "peculiar genius, special circumstances and different environments." Sangli, therefore, ought not to be regarded as ultimately destined for the same goal and taking the same road to it as British India, but for the moment left behind on the journey and trying to catch her up as fast as it can; no, His Highness of Sangli would rather make it appear that his State is on a different track altogether; its political progress is not less than that of British India, but simply different from it and therefore incomparable. What is there, however, in the Sangli constitution which can at all be claimed to have been devised to fit it into a new pattern suited to the States' peculiar

"cultural foundations, traditions, and ideals of kingship," unless it be said that the States' traditions are opposed to popular government? Sangli is now taking timidly and hesitatingly just those steps which British India took years ago. It is showing no inventiveness of any kind. There are several other States which are politically more advanced than Sangli—Mysore, Travancore, Cochin. What is in their constitutions either, which can be said to meet the requirements of the genius of the oriental minds? They are only pale copies of the British Indian constitution. Are the Princes never going to take the trouble of translating their ideas on this subject into action and to let the world know what it is in the British constitution to which they object as ill-adapted to Indian conditions and what novel provisions they would introduce as being demanded by those conditions? Till they do so, their pleas on this score can only be taken as intended to cover up their woful backwardness in political development as compared to British India. The argument used by the Chief of Sangli on this occasion is the stock-in-trade of all Princes, but we wish the Chief of Sangli had refrained from using it. There is no difference between the conditions in British India and Indian States which would not make for more rapid political progress of the States, there being greater identity of interests between rulers and ruled there, but the difference is always used to justify the continuance of autocratic rule in States!

A CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

THE other day the President of the Madras Legislative Council had to decide a point of considerable interest to the student of the Indian Constitution. It arose this way.

The Malabar Tenancy Bill was passed by the Legislative Council and it went up to the Governor for his assent. Instead of assenting or withholding assent, the Governor returned the Bill to the Council in part together with certain amendments which he recommended. The action was taken under section 81-A (1) of the Government of India Act, which runs as follows:—

Where a bill has been passed by a local Legislative Council, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Chief Commissioner may, instead of declaring his assent or withholding his assent from the bill, return the bill to the Council for reconsideration, either in whole or in part, together with any amendments which he may recommend, or, in cases prescribed by rules under this Act may, and if the rules so require, shall reserve the bill for the consideration of the Governor General".

When one of the amendments was taken up for consideration an amendment was moved and carried which in some measure modified the effect of the recommended amendment. The Bill as amended was passed by the Council and presented to the Governor for his assent. Not satisfied with the decision of the Council, the Governor again returned the Bill to the Council with a recommendation to delete the amend-

ment which the Council had made to the amendment originally recommended by the Governor.

It is considered by some that it is doubtful whether the Council has power to amend an amendment recommended by the Governor under Section 81-A (1). The question is also covered by the Standing Order No. 51 which is as follows:—

"When a bill which has been passed is returned by the Governor to the Council for reconsideration, the point or points referred for reconsideration shall be put before the Council by the President, and shall be discussed and voted upon in the same manner as amendments to a bill".

This Standing Order was construed on a former occasion, when the Hindu Religious Endowment Act was returned to the Council for reconsideration, by the then President of the Council to mean that it was not competent for the Council to amend the amendments recommended. It was the view then that the amendments recommended must be accepted or rejected and that the Council had no power to make any alterations in them. The present President of the Council, however, rightly or wrongly, thought otherwise, and the Council was permitted to move and carry an amendment as already mentioned.

When the Governor's message returning the Bill a second time was read, Mr. Sankaran Unni, Expert Member, raised the objection that the Governor had exhausted his power of remittal under Section 81-A (1) and that it was not competent for the Council to reconsider the Bill a second time. The ruling of the President was that Section 81-A (1) was a provision permitting negotiation between the Governor and the Council and that the bill could be returned a second time for reconsideration if the Governor so chose. It was further said that the President of the Council was not appellate authority sitting in judgment over the decision of the Governor and that his interpretations as regards his own powers must be accepted without question. As the Governor had put a construction upon the Government of India Act, that construction must stand and the Council could not question it.

It is submitted that the ruling is wrong. Section 81-A (1) provides for a return of the bill to the Council; it does not contemplate a further return. If the interpretation adopted by the Governor and the President is accepted there can be no limit to the number of times a bill may be returned for reconsideration. To construe the section in this way would enable the Governor to abuse the powers vested in him. Simply because the section does not say that a bill may be returned for reconsideration only once, therefore, to conclude that it may be returned as often as the Governor likes is not only a narrow view but is opposed to well-established canons of interpretation. In construing a statute we must try to read it in such a way as to make it reasonable and sensible when there are no expressions in it compelling a different interpretation. An interpretation which has in it the possibility of perpetual deadlocks should be avoided. The view accepted by the President is pregnant with mischievous consequences. It will enable the Governor to bully the Council into acquiescence in his view however much the Council

may differ from him, as has happened in the present instance.

The question at issue related to the levy of security of one year's rent from actual cultivators to whom the Bill grants fixity of tenure. There was a provision in the Bill introduced by the Government for such a levy. The Select Committee rejected the clause, but Government moved in open Council an amendment for reintroducing the provision. The Government amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Unwilling to accept the decision of the Council the Governor returned the Bill with a recommendation to reintroduce the rejected clause. The recommended clause was carried with an amendment, as I have said, which modified in some measure its effect. The second remittal was for the deletion of the amendment carried by the Council so that the original clause might stand intact. The Council accepted the recommendation of the Governor. Many members who had voted against it on the previous occasions, voted for it now for fear that the Bill might not otherwise become law. Thus the Governor by repeated use of Section 81 A (1) was able to force his decision on an unwilling Council. It was really an abuse of power and should have been resisted at any cost.

The ruling ignores another consideration which ought to have been borne in mind. One could understand the position taken up by the President if there were no other remedies open to the Governor under the Government of India Act to effectuate his intention if he found himself in disagreement with his Council. But there are such remedies. He can refuse assent or he can under Section 72 (E) certify the clause which he considers essential. The Bill in question relates to a reserve subject. There sponibility for the administration of the Reserved Subjects rests with the Governor and his Executive Council. If the Legislature and the Governor cannot see eye to eye on a particular question it is open to him to shoulder the responsibility and certify the bill. It is against the spirit and true intent of the Government of India Act to do what the Governor did and the President accepted.

It may be argued that, under Section 32 of the English Interpretation Act, which governs the construction of this enactment, where a power is conferred upon a functionary that power may be exercised as often as occasion arises. But Section 32 of the Interpretation Act contains a qualification: repeated exercise of the power can be made only if there are no indications of a contrary intention. It is submitted that such an indication is manifest in the Government of India Act itself. As already pointed out, Section 81 gives the Governor the option of withholding his assent; Section 72 (E) permits him to certify if he considers the passage of the bill in the form recommended by him essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. It being open to him to take either of these courses, I conceive that a contrary intention as mentioned in the Interpretation Act does exist.

Further it is a well-known principle that there cannot be a review upon a review. The first return of

the bill was in the nature of a review; the second remittal was a review upon a review.

It may be pointed out that there is no precedent to support the ruling of the President of the Madras Legislative Council. There is a similar provision in the Australian Constitution but I am not aware of a similar ruling based upon that section.

The strangest part of the ruling is that the Council cannot question the interpretation put upon the Constitution by the Governor as regards his own power. The Council may or may not be an appellate authority for this purpose, but surely, it is open to the Council to consider what its own powers are. The Governor cannot by any interpretation he may place upon a statute take for himself powers which are not there, nor can he confer upon the legislature powers which are not provided for in the statute constituting it. Supposing the Governor interprets the Constitution in such a way that the powers of the Council are curtailed, is the legislature bound to accept the decision and do the Governor's bidding? In all conscience the Legislative Council has very little power and it is difficult to believe that the Madras Council is ready and willing to give up what little it has. I consider the ruling is opposed to law and to the constitutional proprieties. It is a pity that the President and the Council in their anxiety to see the Malabar Tenancy Bill placed upon the Statute book were blind to the dangerous possibilities involved in permitting a second remittal of a bill under the provisions of Section 81 A (1) of the Government of India Act.

LEX.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

THE internationalism of to-day is based partly on economic and partly on idealistic grounds. The idealistic considerations are for the most part actuated by the political disillusionment following the World War. The War was the orgy of nationalism, so away with the nations, if you want to do away with war, such is the argument. That the mere metaphysical affirmation of this position is bound to produce the realisation of the fact is a belief peculiar to our time. It is to some extent the result of the cult of success inspired by the speedy attainment of American prosperity and of the quick debacle of the ancient regime in Russia. To some extent, a war-weary world has found solace in abstractions encouraged, on the one hand, by the logical processes of scientific speculation and, on the other, by the superficiality, ease, and the remoteness from the fundamentals of life and nature, for which applied science is not a little responsible. The truth, however, is, as Dean Inge has said somewhere, national traits are best exemplified in rebels. It is an amusing game for any one residing in Geneva or frequenting the numerous international gatherings of to-day to scratch the professional internationalists and find how little really they are affected by their beliefs. What they mean by internationalism turns out on scrutiny only too frequently to be none other than the universalization of their pet prejudices, and thus making the

world comfortable for themselves. National character, in the ultimate analysis, is the complex of impressions produced by environment, natural and social, in early childhood: fidelity to type or country is the exterioration of this character. Secondly, the affective side of this character, as always with emotions, tends to be unruly. The energy involved in it can be saved from effervescence of explosion and canalised into constructive institutions or creative expression by culture alone. Culture, as the word indicates, is intensive in nature. It is individual, and it is intimate. It is the happy blend of spiritual and material elements, and takes complete cognisance of all the forces of human psychology. Crowd mentality as well as asceticism, cosmopolitanism, and abstractions of all sorts, are inimical to it. A certain aloofness of the individual is as necessary for it as a deep inner communion with a well-marked, though not well-defined, environment. It draws its sustenance from history and nature. It breeds restraint. In short, nationality is the corrective to nationalism.

Economically, Americanism is the ideal of Russia, China, the Near East, and now, Europe. There is something to be said for the cramping effects of poverty on national advancement of every sort. But whether national prosperity (especially when it is rapid) must necessarily abolish mass poverty and contribute to higher culture is another matter. A thought, said Professor Radhakrishnan recently in London, is the result of centuries of tradition and tradition the outcome of centuries of history. In the United States, the newspapers announce, the Treasury officials are expecting a surplus of one million sterling in revenue returns, and the number of unemployed in that country is now estimated at six millions. The backwardness of labour legislation in America is notorious and competent observers are of opinion that unemployment must henceforth be considered as much the feature of American industrial life as that of Great Britain and Germany. It is noteworthy that only France, where the standard of life is admittedly lower, is free from unemployment. Nevertheless, all these countries are pushing rationalisation ahead as the remedy for unemployment although trade depression to-day is not due so much to lack of production as the excess of it. A further increase in production must inevitably lead to a scramble for markets between the industrially predominant Powers, and to a danger of the industrially backward countries being swept out of account. Consequently, these latter, taught by the experience of the War, have been raising their tariff barriers and putting self-sufficiency before prosperity. We have forgotten in our time Aristotle's definition of man as a political animal. Trade, commerce, and industry, are the technique of national life, but the originality of a community is the soul into whose service all this vast machinery is pressed. Economic currents may best be studied, perhaps, in isolation as impersonal forces, but in reality, they are not so colourless or so synthetic as the theoretician would have them for his purposes. The distribution of wealth, which after all is of the essence of civilization because it is a matter of social

order, perhaps even more than production, is of prime importance. The industrially predominant nations, when they put the pace of production before social stability, or conceive of production as a means to social permanence, "bite off more than they can chew". Increased production, concentrated in certain areas, leading to economic colonisation of the rest of the world, must inevitably strengthen and stimulate nationalism where it exists, and in the backward, unorganized or disorganized parts of the world, where it does not exist, create it, for so soon as commerce brings about prosperity national self-consciousness will begin to appear. There is no community so unfortunate as to lack history and locality. Peace without such resistance, will be but an unlimited wayward exploitation insured against the risks of war. So that, by this door too, we arrive at the reality of nations.

Internationalism, as any sort of cosmopolitanism, is Utopian. It may not even be desirable as such like some Utopian schemes if only they were possible. World allegiance is much too abstract to be real, and finite man is really much more of a local product than some poets and pundits would make us believe. Patriotism, like every other emotion, may outstrip its bounds, but sanity does not cease to be valuable because it is cultivated only with difficulty. The sort of internationalism that our world needs and is after is not even so much a mechanism, perhaps, as the manner of eliminating the monstrous wars of to-day. War has become so destructive as to threaten humanity as a whole. So politics by conference is being substituted for the old way of politics by armed rivalry, though it needs to be noted that conference was by no means an unfamiliar method in the old times. It is an attempt to introduce parliamentarism into international life. It is a worthy attempt but even in national life parliamentarism at the present time almost universally shows signs of disease and decline. These conferences have undoubtedly done much for what may be considered as constructive work, the settlement of outstanding problems, adjustments, and arrangements, but wherever creative effort was called for, they have proved their importance. It has been beyond them to provide a new urge and vision for nations. Creation, which is individual, local, and vital, still remains a national task for, by its very nature, it calls for those elementary emotions involved in patriotism. A new and efficacious internationalism can, therefore, come only as the result of the rejuvenation of nations. When that takes place the international institutions such as the League and the Labour Office will also be more, and not less, efficacious.

R. RAGHUNATHA ROW.

Reviews.

MODERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIC HISTORY.
ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE: PART II
IN MODERN TIMES. By M. M. KNIGHT,
Ph. D., H. E. PARNES, Ph. D., and F. Flugel, Ph. D.
George Allen and Unwin, 808pp. 15/-

THE first chapter deals with the rise of modern capitalism. If we ask what are the main features of the

capitalist regime of to-day, we are pointed to the presence of *capital* in the form of *negotiable stock* viewed as an *investment* yielding *interest*. The authors deprecate the tendency to explain the rise of modern capitalism in terms of religious groups, since this introduces a source of confusion in the form of moral judgments. They note the increasing emphasis on geography in the newer work on economic history, due in part to the desire to deal with phenomena that can be accurately weighed and measured. It was not so much Puritanism, Judaism, or Catholicism that determined the different phases of capitalism, but rather advantages in resource or position affecting the economic structure of society and the policies of men.

The account of the Industrial Revolution is preceded by a discussion of the so-called Commercial Revolution. Great improvements in navigation and ship-building not only rapidly increased the volume of European trade, but changed its nature. The opening up of the New World and the East Indies gave rise to a great demand for new goods. In the seventeenth century the middle classes in Britain and other European countries changed the mode and standard of their consumption, followed in the eighteenth century by the poorer classes. During the sixteenth century the coinage of Europe had been increased twelvefold and this naturally caused a great increase in prices. The rise of mercantilism meant, among other things, the growth of the state at expense of the towns.

With commerce and the money supply rapidly increasing, but banking and the joint stock company still in an undeveloped condition, adventurers as well as captains of industry were in their element. The long series of wars that ended in the middle of the eighteenth century wore one phase of the enormously increased wealth of Europe, and were fought for the largest possible share of this wealth.

In the eighteenth century Britain's exports exceeded her imports. It was from the exporters that the stimulus of industry came, and this reminds us of the mistake of treating the Industrial Revolution as due primarily to mechanical causes. Indeed at the beginning of what we now call the Industrial Revolution it was not the mechanical developments that attracted most attention. It was in the period 1815-1840 that power-driven machinery attained its actual predominance in England. The rise of the factory system and the triumph of industrial capitalism characterised the Industrial Revolution till 1850. After this period, perhaps it is better to speak of the New Industrial Revolution in which new sources of power like petroleum and electricity were exploited.

In discussing the factory system the authors point out that in one aspect on it socialism was a revolt against a fundamental principle of the French Revolution to which all forms of association were anathema and private property was sacred.

There are separate chapters on the development of Agriculture since about 1800 in England, Germany and France; also on the growth of industry

in the same countries during this period, while the development of commerce in the three countries is treated in one chapter. There are discussions of "Industrial and Trade Associations," of "Other Western European Countries" and of "South-eastern Europe"; but perhaps the chapter to which most readers will turn first is that on Russia. The authors' judgment is that the Russian Government has found out approximately what are the limits to state enterprise, as is shown by the new attitude to private trade and industry since 1925.

In discussing whether the Russian system is socialism or capitalism the authors point out that while there is an unusual amount of state interference, yet the economy is a price economy with profits as the basis of operations, and a gold, not a labour, standard of value. With characteristic caution the writers conclude that "all these things are too near us in time to pass any reliable historical judgment upon them." This balanced and informed account of the economic history of modern Europe will be of much value to the student of economics.

J. F. MACFAYDEN.

EQUALITY OF INCOMES.

THE INTELLIGENT WOMAN'S GUIDE TO SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM. By BERNARD SHAW. (Constable.) 1928. 23cm. 494p. 15/-

THIS review has been long overdue. I must apologise to the publishers, and to the editor and the readers of this paper. My only excuse for this delay is that this volume is not written in Shaw's usual style, the style that has become characteristic of Shavian prose, especially in the prefaces to his plays. The prose here is simple and fluent, but it is not such as one can go on reading insensibly. It is a serious treatise on an abstruse subject. Even Shaw himself does not appear to be expecting many of his readers to go through the whole volume, as evidenced by his remarks with regard to a certain well-known person's opinion about the book, in the preface specially written for the cheaper edition. The author has dedicated the book to his sister-in-law, Mary Stewart Cholmondely, the intelligent woman to whose question it is the best answer he could make. Although Shaw is better known to the general public as a dramatist than as a writer on economics, he has been a socialist throughout his public career. He edited the Fabian Essays, among the contributors to which were Sidney Webb (now Lord Passfield) and Sydney Olivier (now Lord Olivier). There is an excellent appendix to the book under review, instead of the usual bibliography, in which the Fabian Essays are described as follows:—"In Fabian Essays Socialism is presented for the first time as a completely constitutional public movement, which the most respectable and least revolutionary citizen can join as irreproachably as he might join the nearest Conservative club. Marx is not mentioned; and his peculiar theory of value is entirely ignored, the economic theories relied on being Jevons's theory of value and Ricardo's theory of the rent of land, the latter being developed so as to apply to industrial capital and interest as well. In short, Socialism appears in Fabian Essays purged of all its unorthodox views and insurrectionary Liberal associations." Shaw has fought many a battle on the side of Socialism and his reply to the critics of this school of social philosophy, in which he made mincemeat of the

arguments advanced by the late Mr. W. H. Mallock, an inveterate opponent of Socialism, is never likely to be forgotten by one who has read it once. Also in the prefaces to his published plays Shaw has been a propagandist of socialism, exploiting, as he admits to have done at the end of this book, the English literary tradition that plays should be printed with prefaces.

Following the ideal of Fabian Socialism this book lays down that Socialism means equality of income or nothing, and that "under Socialism you would not be allowed to be poor. You would be forcibly fed, clothed, lodged, taught, and employed whether you liked it or not. If it were discovered that you had no character and industry enough to be worth all this trouble, you might possibly be executed in a kindly manner; but whilst you were permitted to live you would have to live well. Also you would not be allowed to have half a crown an hour when other women had only two shillings, or to be content with two shillings when they had half a crown." "As far as I know", Shaw concludes in his characteristic way, "I was the first Socialist writer to whom it occurred to state this explicitly as a necessary postulate of permanent civilisation; but as nothing that is true is ever new I daresay it had been said again and again before I was born."

The book is a useful guide on capitalism and socialism not only to the Intelligent Women but to all intelligent men and women as well. It may not convert every reader to Shaw's socialism; one may even think that Fabian Socialism is out of date; but all the same it is as thought-provoking as a book from Shaw's pen could be. Interesting social questions such as socialism and Marriage and Socialism and Children are discussed in an interesting way. The book abounds, in spite of the nature of the subject and its serious treatment, in sayings which stick into the memory. Although a heavy fare, it is interspersed with Shavian pepper and salt.

The chapter on current confusions reminds one of the confusion of thought that one finds in this country. Nobody could logically be in favour of both nationalism or orthodoxy and communism just as one cannot be a communist-anarchist. The fact is that very few people know their own minds. Meaningless vituperation is as common as the misuse of nomenclature. "Politicians misname themselves as well as one another." Shaw does not believe that Socialism is possible at one stroke and says that the change must be Parliamentary. He shows how a series of properly prepared and compensated nationalisations may be voted for by intelligent politicians who are not socialists, and carried out without disturbing the routine to which the unthinking masses are accustomed. At the same time Shaw is not afraid of exposing the naked truth that "democracy or government by the people through votes for everybody has never been a complete reality, and to the very limited extent to which it has been a reality it has not been a success. The extravagant hopes which have been attached to every extension of it have been disappointed". Is this the germ of the idea underlying 'The Apple Cart'? Still he will "advise you to stick to your vote as hard as you can, because though its positive effects may do you more harm than good, its negative effect may be of great value to you. If one candidate is a Socratic person, and the other a fool who attracts you by echoing your own follies and giving them an air of patriotism and virtuous indignation, you may vote for the fool, that being as near as you can get to executing Socrates; and so far your vote is all to the bad. But the fact that your vote, though only one among many thousands, may conceivably turn the scale at an election, secures you consideration in Parliament which it would be mad and cowardly

for you to relinquish as long as inequality of income prevents you from being really represented by the members of the Government. Therefore cling to it tooth and nail, however unqualified you may be to make a wise use of it." Is not this in the inimitable paradoxical style of G. B. S.?

P. G. KANEKAR.

TRADUCING RUSSIA.

IN THE LAND OF COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. By ANATOLE V. BAIKALOFF. (Cape, London) 1929. 19cm. 285p. 7/6.

THE author of this book may justly claim to have done by Soviet Russia the same delightful duty that Miss Mayo has done by 'Mother India'—with the same energy of hatred, and with as great a flare of the trumpets of impartiality, disinterestedness, love of truth with a capital T, as his illustrious prototype. The publishers ask us to believe in his 'impartiality' for the astonishing reason that he belongs to that class of Russians who are the most prejudiced and unreasonable of all critics of Soviet Russia—the Russian Socialists. In the second paragraph of the Introduction the author tells us that he has written the book to explain "*Why we, Russian Socialists, are so bitterly opposed to the Soviet regime*" and to knock out the last shred of sympathy for Soviet Russia still latent among honest and sincere men and women of the British Labour and Socialist movement.

There are in this book chapters on education, industrial control, wages, hours of work, housing condition, unemployment etc. etc. but nowhere is there a single statement of any one point which can redound to the credit of the Soviet Government. M. Baikaloff has dipped his pen in such an overflowing and undiluted pot of meanness that one rises from a perusal of this 'impartial' work with a sickening taste in the mouth.

There is, on the back of the dust-cover of this book, a notice of another book "The New Russia" by Mrs. Sinclair Lewis who was sent out to Russia to set down 'without bias or prejudice', a detached account of Soviet Russia. It is surely an irony of fate that M. Baikaloff's book should bear this notice which quotes Mrs. Lewis as saying "The only judgment I brought out of Russia is of a country in mighty movement, of an experiment of far greater significance than the western world dreams of, of problems, spiritual, moral, mental, economic and administrative, greater than have ever concentrated themselves at once in any nation." Of such an experiment, of such a mighty endeavour—quite apart from any question of its success or achievement—there is not the least tiny glimpse, breaking through the serried ranks of M. Baikaloff's implacable, fanatical hatreds of all things Communist. It is just a despicable record of the futile rage of an embittered mind, and nothing more.

J. J. VAKIL,

A GENTLE SAVAGE.

ANDREW JACKSON. THE GENTLE SAVAGE. By DAVID KARNER. (Brentano's, New York) 1929. 21cm. 399p. \$3.50.

ANDREW JACKSON, the hero of David Karner's biographical moulding, figures as a mighty brute at large and an indulgent master at home. Born and nursed in the heart of the American wilderness of the Independence days, he remained till the last an incorrigible wild animal possessing a rude sense of justice, chivalry and devotion. He loved America.

with a passion, the vehemence of which was sustained by his burning hatred of the British and other human beings who refused by force of their crude arms to fall under the influence of American Civilisation. A doting husband to his wife Rachel, whose fair name he guarded like an infuriated dragon, he was yet a vengeful swashbuckler on the highroads, one who frequented the cockpit, the alehouse, fought duels and swore to the highest pitch of profanity. America at this time was a playground of fortune-hunters and unscrupulous bargainers and there were men abroad who for the sake of personal profit sought to frustrate the ends of federalism. It was not mere statesmanship that she needed but a steel frame to subdue the forces of disruption and jobbery. Andrew Jackson more than supplied that need and held the Union together by sheer indomitable pugilism. No President of United States entered the White House with so little to it and such profound ignorance of the political and economic problems that faced a nation in the meltingpot, as he. But Jackson was the idol of the hundred per cent American, the saviour of New Orleans, a sworn enemy of Great Britain and a ruthless slayer of the Indians. He was a war-monster pure and simple, whose martial glory was marked by needless cruelty. Though the Presidential chair and the kitchen cabinet prevented him from drawing the blood of those who thwarted his purpose, the bully in him did not rest content until it achieved the same result administratively. He took an oath "by the Eternal" that he would destroy Biddle's Bank and he did. When scandal declared that Mrs. Eaton was "an adulteress", Jackson set the constitution at naught for two years and gave no peace to the land till at last "he dismisses his cabinet. The Ministers are intractable with regard to Mrs. Eaton." This was nothing surprising, for his record as general and governor of Florida testified to the fact that Jackson recognised no law higher than himself. In matters of policy he was only a tool in the hands of Kendall, Hill, Blair and Major Lewis. But for the restraining influence of these competent powers behind his throne, Jackson would not have stopped short of shooting Clay and hanging Calhoun. Twice Jackson was President and even in retirement he retained enough influence to help Buren and Polk into the Presidential chair. It was so like a nightmare that he swent over the land that the good that issued from him was the indirect and unintentional effect of actions that gloried in humbling his enemies to the dust and in commanding the servile obedience of his friends.

Karsner writes with power and pathos. His book reads like a rehearsal of American political and social life of the Jackson age and much else besides.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

ASSAM BY AN ASSAMESE.

A GLIMPSE OF ASSAM. (PAST & PRESENT).

By UPENDRA NATH BAROAH. (The Author, Jorhat.) 1928. 20cm. 140p. Rs. 1-10.

THE "Glimpse" has been taken by an Assamese and the condition of Assam has been sought to be placed in its true perspective. The aim of the author, in writing this book, has been in the main two fold, namely, to clear the false notion in the minds of foreigners about Assam, which in their opinion contains nothing but

a few hill-tribes, and secondly to estimate the present rate of march in the path of progress and to discover the weak spots in the character of the Assamese, which must be removed at any cost.

The writer has thrown some flings at the Bengalees, who attempted to force the Bengali language on Assam and who claim credit for every improvement in Assam, whether literary, spiritual or religious. Anthropologically, the Assamese belong to the Mongolian stock and are quite different from the Bengalees. It appears that the Bengalees have earned a bad name wherever they have gone, whether Bihar, Orissa or Assam. They enter a province, try to procure a certificate of domicile, dislike the children of the soil and call them by various cutting and sarcastic nick-names—they call Oriyas "Dode", Biharis, Marwaris, and other upcountry people, "Medows", and Mahammedans "Nede"! This does not behove a nation which occupies such an exalted position amongst all the provinces of India.

The opium habit is a plague spot in the character of the Assamese: it has reduced the nation to low vitality. The writer notes with regret that "maximum revenue and minimum consumption" is a failure in the case of Assam. He values the character of a nation more than the fat revenue of the State. As in China, he welcomes the strong hand of legislation to stop the opium-habit of the people. This is no doubt an important matter which deserves consideration at the hands of the Government, but at the same time another more stable source of revenue must be tapped to make good the loss to be incurred by the abolition of opium revenue. Otherwise it will tell upon the material improvement of the country.

As regards tea-cultivation in Assam, it may be said that the tea-magnates ought to pay more attention to the welfare of the employees but for whom; they would not have been able to roll in such luxury. But it is useless to discuss this matter unless the nature of man changes. It is such discontent of the employees that has brought many internal revolutions in Europe and America. Equity demands that everyone must be given his due. The servant must live in order that the master may live.

As regards the social laws and religious convictions, the writer tries to point out that the Assamese are at a higher level than the Bengalees, who have been depicted as "the worshippers of goddess Durga, the female energy in various manifestations".

We are glad to note that Assam is fast progressing under British rule.

L. N. SAHU,

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