

The Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	265
ARTICLES :—	
More Ordinances.	267
Police Excesses.	267
Civil Disobedience. By "Bhishma".	269
Ireland's Travail.—II. By M. D. S.	270
OUR LONDON LETTER :—	
Feeling in England. By A Correspondent.	271
REVIEWS :—	
Making of the Fascist State. By Prof. T. G. P. Spear.	273
Soviet Record. By Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao.	274
Democracy. By P. G. Jagirdar.	275
SHORT NOTICES.	276
BOOKS RECEIVED.	276

Topics of the Week.

Will Youth Essay It ?

THE Bombay Youth League has done well in organising propaganda to popularise swadeshi goods by organising bazaars, and swadeshi stores and by arranging to take swadeshi goods to the very doors of the people. It is a highly valuable piece of work which deserves to be commended. Youth Leagues have been responsible for much political enthusiasm, if not always well-directed. But there can be no question that their vivid sense of idealism has been touched and they have played a prominent part in public life. They will be rendering a greater service to the country if they will tackle the communal question, arrive between themselves at a sound and national agreement and then make their influence felt even on the older politicians. The future is with the Youth, and the older men and women, with their comparatively inelastic inheritances and outlooks, have so far been unable to settle the communal question Will Youth essay the task ?

Martial Law in Sholapur.

THE continuance of martial law in Sholaur is disquieting. The incendiarism reported to have occurred in a police sergeant's house is disturbing. By despatching batches of volunteers to defy martial law, the Congress authorities in Bombay are doing no good service to the peaceful citizens of Sholapur,

but only providing the Government with yet another excuse for prolonging martial law. Notwithstanding these regrettable incidents, it is incredible that Government find it impossible to restore civil administration. We hope and trust that the Government will soon terminate martial law, and appoint a strong and impartial committee consisting of officials and non-officials and including High Court Judges, to enquire into the disturbances and the administration of martial law in that unhappy city.

Sarda Act.

THE Sarda Act has so far been a dead letter. No action is reported to have been taken to enforce it, though the violations of it are not wanting. Now there seems to be the danger of the Act being virtually repealed, at any rate as far as the Muslims are concerned. In his reply to the Head of the Ahmad-iyya Community, the Viceroy said that the Government of India were in consultation with the local Governments regarding the Act and certain private bills introduced in the Central Legislature. There can be no doubt that the Government of India have been wooing the Muslims for some time in order to thwart the national movement. And it is evidently their intention to placate the Muslims by abrogating the Act with reference to the Muslims. If it is a bargain, it is a most unholy bargain, against which we must emphatically protest.

Amazing !

OUR contemporary, the *Week*, refers to a case in which the head of a Mission Hospital declined to accommodate wounded satyagrahis on the plea that the missionaries did not take part in politics. We fail to see where politics comes in when a wounded man happens to be one who practised satyagraha against the Government; on the contrary, the refusal amounts to the introduction of politics in humanitarian activities with a vengeance. Dr. Mehta and Dr. Parekh who made the request at Bulsar pointed out to the missionary doctor that even in war the enemy was bound to nurse a wounded combatant in their hospital but the latter stuck to his original dictum and refused admission to the patients. As a compromise, the two doctors suggested that the hospital staff should operate on the patients who would then be carried to the improvised hospital for further treatment, but the missionary doctor was obdurate and refused to have anything to do with the cursed

satyagrahis. Whatever may be our own views about the merits of satyagraha as a political weapon, it passes our understanding how an institution like a hospital should allow itself to be weighed down by political considerations and deflected from its path of duty. Truly has our contemporary said that possibly the master of the missionary doctor is not Christ but Cromwell. The least that the missionary doctor can do is to apologize publicly for his unprofessional conduct. At this critical juncture we expect the missionaries to be promoters of peace and not of ill-will.

* * *

Communal Riots in Dacca.

THERE has been a most deplorable outbreak of communal riots in Dacca last week, and on this occasion the trouble was not confined to the city but spread beyond to the countryside. The reports of alleged atrocities, including incendiarism, looting, murderous assaults in public thoroughfares and organised attacks on households in broad daylight were of an unprecedented character, only equalled perhaps by the happenings in Rangoon over the labour troubles. Several leading citizens of Calcutta, including Sir P. C. Ray, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Mr. Ramnanda Chatterjee, and some members of the Indian Legislature, have issued a public statement in which they draw particular attention to the fact that since Januray last there have been three inter-communal disturbances in Dacca, which is almost a record, and to the failure of the executive to control the situation. "This seems to be a strange contrast to the promptitude, vigour and display of force with which the movement of civil disobedience is being met by the authorities all over the country." The statement goes further and says that "grave allegations of indifference—if nothing worse—are being made against the police. It has indeed been alleged that looting and other crimes have on occasions taken place in the very presence of the police without any serious attempt being made to stop them." The signatories demand an enquiry not so much into the causes of the communal disturbances as into the "part played by the local executive authorities in enforcing law and order in Dacca." The allegations are very damaging to the Government.

We, however, note that there is not a single Muslim signatory to the statement, which is significant. Were the leading Muslims of Calcutta approached to give their support to the statement, and did they refuse? It is incredible that they should look on with indifference when destruction of person and property was perpetrated in Dacca and not all the sufferers were Hindus.

Whatever be the allegations and the motives behind them, we trust Government will lose no time in setting up a commission of enquiry with the help of the highest judicial officers and prominent non-officials.

* * *

Labour Disturbances.

A FRIGHTFUL orgy of bloodshed and rioting has been reported from Rangoon and the total number of deaths exceeds 200! Panic prevailed in the city and the main Indian business quarters were closed for nearly three days. The trouble arose between the Andhra and Burmese labourers. The latter were employed by the shipping agents when the former went on strike, and were subsequently discharged when the strike ended and the Andhra strikers returned to work. The Burmese labourers resented their summary dismissal and provoked hostilities with the Andhra labourers. It is clear, however, that the trouble is purely economic and is totally unconnected with the

civil disobedience movement, but even so, the coincidence is fraught with danger and steps must be taken immediate to allay reasonable grievances of all the labourers, and particularly, the Andhras. The latter have been treated with rather scant courtesy by their employers and it is a step in the right direction that the Government have agreed to the appointment of a Board of Conciliation to mediate between the shipping companies and the workmen. Similarly, at the instance of a meeting of prominent citizens all communities have agreed to stop fighting and accept no employment until the grievances of Burmese labour had been properly redressed. At the Lillooah workshops in Calcutta trouble arose out of the introduction of the monthly wage system and this trivial cause led to the besieging of the office of the Railway Workshop by a party of workers and to the assaulting of European officers. In the end the police were compelled to fire and only gradually the situation was brought under control. These needless acts of savagery do good neither to capital nor to labour and it is time that labour leaders impressed on the men the efficacy of constitutional action and the capitalists recognized the need of taking the workers into their confidence before adopting new methods and procedures.

* * *

The Baroda Industries.

THE annual report of the Department of Commerce and Industry, Baroda State, for 1928-29, is a reassuring document from the point of view of indigenous industries. A notable feature was the opening of a calico-printing class, which along with rudiments of physics and chemistry, gives a systematic practical course. An improved process of printing has been discovered and it is hoped to establish its commercial advantage by large scale work during the ensuing year. Great progress has been made in hand-loom weaving through a number of schools where practical demonstrations were given by trained teachers. The paid up capital of all the companies in the State was nearly Rs. 3 crores, and there were 17 societies on the register under the Benevolent Societies Act. The State intends to issue a few monographs giving the results of socio-economic surveys of some typical villages based on the *questionnaire* prepared by the department. Considering the increased amount of chemical analysis required to be done at the instance of the department, the Industrial Chemist to the Baroda Government has suggested the provision of an industrial laboratory and we hope the State will soon take up the project, which is an indispensable adjunct of an efficient industrial department. The progress of electrification may be judged by the fact that nearly 20 lakhs units were sold by the various companies during the year under report. At the end of the year there were 72 joint stock companies on the register, of which 6 were engaged in chemical and allied trades. It is surprising that such a large state should have only two banking corporations, whereas one has a right to expect a network of small banks circulating credit to the very nooks and corners of the territory. The Baroda Government note with satisfaction that the comforts and conveniences of the operatives were being looked after by the mill agents. It is remarkable that there was no prosecution for violation of the provisions of the Factory Act during the year under report. The State intends to establish sale depots to supply marketing facilities for the products of small industries. During the year the energies of the department were concentrated on the development of Port Okha which has now been equipped with the proper facilities of a port and handles nearly eighty thousand tons of cargo.

Articles.

MORE ORDINANCES.

THE melancholy chain of Ordinances is lengthening. The Viceroy issued two more Ordinances last week. One of them is meant to penalise propaganda instigating the people not to pay taxes, rates, and rents, while the other is meant to penalise molestation and boycott of public servants. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, at its last meeting in Allahabad about the middle of May, resolved on intensifying the campaign of civil disobedience and urged that the land tax should be refused in the ryotwari provinces and the choukidari tax in other provinces. For some time past a fairly vigorous campaign in favour of non-payment of taxes was being carried on, specially in Gujerat. The ordinary law provides penalties for non-payment of taxes but it is only those who fail to pay up that are liable, but not those who instigate others to refuse taxes. Government have come to the conclusion that it is not sufficient to penalise those who are guilty of non-payment of taxes but also those who instigated such conduct. The first Ordinance gives power to the Government to arrest and punish the instigators and to confiscate newspapers and other publications that do likewise.

It goes much beyond that. It penalises those who instigate the non-payment of rent of landlords. This provision is meant not to meet a contingency that has arisen or something that is an attack on the Government itself, but to anticipate a possible contingency which might adversely affect the landholders. There is no evidence that rent has been refused by tenants nor of complaints from landlords. The Viceroy himself says, "I have thought it proper to include within the purview of the Ordinance certain liabilities (for instance, rent of agricultural land) which, although not included in the dues which form the present announced object of attack by the Congress have been mentioned by them from time to time as coming within the scope of the civil disobedience movement, and would indeed in many parts of the country, from the inevitable object of attack if any movement were initiated to withhold payment of revenue to the Government." In the language of lawyers, it is a "retainer" to the landlords: in vulgar language, a bribe for their support. To legislate by Ordinance for possible contingencies which do not vitally affect the safety of the Government is meeting the Devil half way!

The Viceroy has promised that the Ordinance would not be used to affect adversely genuine economic movements. The local Government has, in the first instance, to notify the area to which the Ordinance will apply and then the particular tax. Propaganda against the payment of the "notified liability" alone will be illegal under the Ordinance. And such offences are made cognisable and non-bailable. The promise of the Viceroy does not, however, inspire confidence in the public. Recent history is full of

instances of promises made by high-placed officials not percolating to the rank and file. No court of law will take cognisance of promises of Viceroys.

The other Ordinance is intended to penalise the picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops and the boycott of Government servants. In his statement the Viceroy says that "It is no part of the duty of Government, and certainly it is not their desire, to take steps against legitimate movements directed to these ends. They are anxious to see the promotion of indigenous Indian industries, and it is perfectly legitimate for any person in advocacy of this object to urge the use of Indian goods to the utmost extent of which Indian industry is capable. Nor have I anything but respect for those who preach the cause of temperance. But, what is not legitimate is for those who desire these ends, proper as they are in themselves, to pursue them by means amounting in effect to intimidation of individuals and to endeavour to force their views on others, not by argument but by the coercive effect of fear". We are strongly opposed to picketing for the reason that, in a great majority of cases, it resolves itself into unmitigated coercion, just *zoolum*. But we are not convinced that picketing and molestation should be made cognisable offences as are done by the Ordinance. It is open to the person molested to apply for police protection. It is going very much out of the way for the Government to make these annoyances cognisable offences, Chapter II of the Ordinance refers to boycott of public servants. It is not, however, made a cognisable offence.

Whatever be the Government's justification for the Ordinances, it is doubtful if the object in promulgating them will be achieved. The leaders of the Congress, who instigate others to refuse to pay taxes, are not likely, we fancy, to shrink from admitting their responsibility and from submitting to the penalty of imprisonment. The leaders and volunteers, who knowingly and willingly submitted themselves to lathi blows, are not likely to be deterred by prospects of imprisonment. Thanks to the approaching monsoon and the uninspiring character of the salt satyagraha campaign, the leaders and volunteers were looking out for other avenues of civil resistance, and these Ordinances will be a welcome windfall to them.

POLICE EXCESSES.

IN his reply to Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru over the latter's resignation of membership of the Legislative Assembly, Lord Irwin denied the charge of police excesses and reiterated that only the minimum of force was used on occasions when force had to be used. Mr. Kunzru was not alone in making such a complaint. Several others, and among them the Bombay Liberals, have made such charges. It is futile to deny them in toto and profess to be innocent. We have no desire to base our charge of police excesses on mere propagandist literature nor are we impressed that the Government communiques contain the whole truth and nothing but it. But when responsible leaders of public opinion, who are no friends of civil disobedience or of law-breaking, some of

whom were actually in charge of the departments of law and order in Provincial Governments not long ago, when such people, with a full sense of responsibility, support the charge against the Government, it is, to put it mildly, foolish on the part of the Government to content themselves by just denying it. The refusal of the Madras Government of the request for an enquiry regarding the police firing in April last is suspicious. The public had to set up a committee to make the necessary enquiries. We shall not anticipate the results of the Government enquiries into the disturbances in Peshawar. We shall refer to three unofficial reports issued on the disturbances in Lucknow, Delhi and Karachi.

The un-official committee which enquired into the happenings at Lucknow on the 25th May last was presided over by Mr. S. M. Habibullah, O. B. E., M. L. C., and its Secretary was Mr. Kishen Prasad Kaul, member of the Servants of India Society working in Lucknow. The Committee were fully conscious of the fact that "when law and order is being definitely defied, Government has its distinct duty to maintain the same", but they find that "inexcusable excesses have been committed, and there has been a gross misuse of power by the authorities concerned." They affirm that grievous hurt and fractures of bones were caused to satyagrahis who in no way offered violence to the police but were squatting or lying on the ground. "The force employed," comment the Committee, "was not of the kind that should be used for dispersing such a crowd, but in attacking a foreign foe with a view to destroy or cripple the enemy." Even women were not exempted from beating. The object of the police, the Committee is forced to conclude, was not only to disperse the crowd but to demoralise the citizens of Lucknow.

Since the publication of this Report, the Government of the United Provinces have ordered an official enquiry. The report will be eagerly awaited.

Another unofficial Committee has investigated into the firing at the Sis Ganj Gurudwara, Delhi, and published its report. This Committee had an advantage which the other Committees had not. Though Government were not represented on or before the Committee, and the witnesses were not cross-examined on behalf of the Government, the members of the Committee interviewed the Chief Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner, the Senior Superintendent of Police and the City Magistrate and discussed the happenings of the day with them from the Government point of view. And in the Report the Committee refer and give due weight to the views expressed by the officials. The Committee avow that they carefully considered all possible pleas that could be urged in support of the police action on that day, including that of self-defence, and made every possible allowance for the difficult task that the Police were faced with, and yet came to the conclusion that the firing was "indiscriminate, excessive and vindictive." Government may not ignore this Report, and it will not be the people's fault if they accepted the findings. It is open to the Government to appoint another committee, which will inspire public confidence, and cause a fuller and more thorough inquiry.

In Karachi there has been an unofficial enquiry into the disturbances that occurred on the 16th of April last. The Committee was presided over by Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, than whom there is not a more trust-worthy, upright, conscientious, and public-spirited citizen in that City. His Committee have produced a unanimous report, though in a sense it is an *ex parte* one, as the Government declined to co-operate. It is a remarkably convincing document, which neither the Government nor the public can ignore.

The facts briefly are that certain popular leaders were arrested on that eventful morning, and taken to the court for trial. A crowd gathered outside the compound of the court house, and wished to see their leaders. Some from among the crowd began to throw stones at the police, and two European sergeants were hit. Some of the accused leaders tried to pacify the crowd and to persuade them to disperse peacefully. They failed and the stone throwing continued. Later, police were withdrawn into the verandah of the court-house and fire opened on the crowd.

The Committee find that "firing was not in the least justified, that no warning was given, that firing from a verandah hidden from the public gaze was highly objectionable, that police arrangements were most inadequate and inefficient and that to place the burden of such a situation on one magistrate was a great mistake." The communique of the Commissioner in Sind mentioned that warning was given before firing, but the Committee discount it on the grounds that, considering the relative positions of the magistrate, the police and the crowd, no warning, even if one was uttered, could have reached the crowd and been heard by them. But the most important finding of the Committee is that there was no justification for firing at all, and that the situation could have been controlled by baton charges. If the police force, which the Committee admit was inadequate, was able to clear the crowd from compound without resort to fire arms, there was no reason why the police should thereafter have resorted to firing. The conduct of the police in withdrawing to the verandah from near the gate was a trap for the crowd. If the police meant to fire, they should have advanced forward and in full sight of the crowd, levelled their guns.

Notwithstanding the *ex parte* nature of the enquiry, no impartial reader of the Report and none who knows the character and standing of the Chairman, can fail to be impressed by the findings of the Committee. The charge of police excesses has in this instance been proved to the hilt.

The Report has other lessons as well. But before we touch on them, it is desirable to note, in passing, that the Commissioner in Sind suggested, in reply to the invitation of the Committee for the co-operation of officials in the enquiry, that the leading citizens should ask the Government to appoint a committee of enquiry. Apparently, the suggestion was not acted upon. It would have been far better if it had been. No doubt there was no guarantee that Government would have acceded to the request: they

might have followed the example of the Madras Government. But the Government would have been put in the wrong. The non-official enquiry could have proceeded if either no official committee was appointed or if a committee was appointed and it did not inspire public confidence.

Whatever that may be, and perhaps because the Committee was unofficial, their report has peculiar value to the civil resisters and their friends. It makes it abundantly clear that, while the leaders of the civil disobedience campaign are quite equal to rousing popular passions, they are unable in every case to keep them under control. It is admitted that the crowd began to hurl stones and two Police Officers were hit, and they sustained injuries which needed bandaging and dressing. By the way, the Committee repeatedly assert that "no one was molested or even insulted", though they do not mention if the two policemen were hit by the merest accident or if the stones were hurled at the police with the intent to hurt them. In spite of their efforts, the leaders and volunteers could not pacify the people. Mr. Naraindas Anandjee, one of the accused and a leader of great influence, was allowed to go out to the balcony and attempt to persuade the people to disperse peacefully. He failed. He tried a second time, with no better results. It would be a different story if the Satyagrahis alone were concerned in the "War," and the general public kept out of the way and kept out of it. If the satyagrahis are serious when they wish their campaign to be peaceful and non-violent, they should take every care to prevent crowds gathering and getting out of hand and behaving like anything but satyagrahis. If it is going to be "war" between them and the Government, let them see to it that the non-combatants do not defeat their non-violent purpose, and are out of sight and danger.

It is open to the Government to contend that, since the object of the civil disobedience movement is to overthrow the present Government, since it means civil war between the Government and a section of the people and since its sponsors have not hesitated to call it "war", they are exempt from the restrictions imposed by the ordinary law of the land and that they are free to use the maximum of force to preserve their status. It is further open to them to say that those who break laws have no right to expect the Government to act within the law, and that in "war", all is fair. But they may not pretend that they are acting within the law, that only the minimum of force was being used and that they are respecting the ordinary canons of public administration. The Ordinances are standing refutation of such pretences.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

THE published correspondence between Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, a Christian admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and a frequent writer in the columns of *Young India* and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta is very interesting reading even to laymen. Mr. Kumarappa desired the Bishop to publicly raise his voice of protest against the violence used by the Government to

combat the civil disobedience movement, and organise public opinion with a view to settling disputes by non-violent means. To the Christian, the faithful follower of Jesus Christ, non-violence must be a creed; by his very faith he is called upon to meet violence by non-violence. Non-violence is even more incumbent on the Christian when his adversary follows non-violent methods. Since the satyagrahis of Mahatma Gandhi follow non-violent methods, should not the British Government, a Christian Government, adopt non-violent methods, if not of their own accord but shamed into it by the Mahatma's example? And should the Christian Church in India not take a hand, if not the lead, in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the Government and the Mahatma?

The learned Bishop "missed the bus" as they say, and entered on a dissertation on civil disobedience, discussed if Jesus Christ countenanced it, and came to the conclusion that He did not. We shall not follow the Bishop in his interpretation of scripture in support of his contention, but we must pause to note one of the reasons he advanced. "Natural Law", he said was "absolutely fixed and reliable", as, for instance, butter is soft and iron is hard. And he asked, "Can we expect that Jesus Christ, who came to reveal the character of God, would so utterly repudiate this revelation of God given us in nature?" and he asserted, "We know He did not, for again and again He exhorted his disciples to obey the law". It is amazing that the learned Metropolitan of India should have been misled into this confusion of scientific law and legislative law, when discussing the obligations of the moral law. Legislative laws are not immutable as are the laws of science or natural laws. The salt law and several other laws against which the Mahatma has protested can be repealed and will be. Besides, it is also "natural law" among the animal world, including the human, for the strong to devour the weak and there is no law of justice or generosity. Was Jesus Christ guilty of repudiating this natural law when he pleaded for human justice and brotherhood?

Mr. Kumarappa had no difficulty to demonstrate that the Bishop had run away from the points that he had raised in his letter, and resisted a course of action which he was never asked to adopt. The Bishop was not invited to associate himself with the civil disobedience movement or even to discuss it. The crucial and only point whether the non-violence of non-Christians should be met with violence by Christians was left unanswered.

MR. KUMARAPPA assumes that the action of the satyagrahis has always been non-violent. The assumption is not altogether above question. If the true satyagrahi is one who invites suffering on himself with a view thereby to convert his opponent, to melt his heart, as it were, can it be contended that the organised attacks on Government salt works at Wadala and Dharasana have a non-violent basis? The case of the pacifists, for instance, stands on a different footing. The Government attempted to violate their con-

science, their deepest convictions, they resisted the hated law and suffered. The Government it was that took the offensive, by imposing conscription; the pacifists were on the defensive in resisting. In South Africa, it was the Government that took the offensive, insisted, for instance, on Indians registering themselves, and the Indians were on the defensive in resisting the law. But in neither case did the civil resisters take the offensive, attack public property and attempt public robbery and put the Government in the morally advantageous position of being on the defensive. In the case of the salt satyagraha organised volunteers went out with ropes and other instruments to pull down the defenses and break through the police cordons and to steal public property. In as much as they attacked the salt works, they indulged in violence. Instead of melting the hearts of their opponents, they simply provoked them into acts of violence to defend the property it was their duty to protect. Mrs. Naidu approximated more closely to the true satyagraha principle when, instead of forcing through the police cordon, she sat down in the middle of the road and denied herself food and drink and all the other comforts she was used to. The volunteers would have been truer to satyagraha if they had gone on hunger strike, even died on the spot, unless and until the police gave way and allowed them to take possession of the salt. MacSwiney starved himself to death. So did Jatindranath Das: he did not raid the house and kitchen of the jail superintendent for the sake of better facilities.

It is contended that because the satyagrahis do not themselves use physical violence on the police, they are conducting a non-violent campaign. Is a robber a satyagrahi who robs a traveller of his possessions without using any the least physical violence on the body of the traveller? Will he be a satyagrahi who takes scrupulous care not to injure a hair on the head of his enemy but sets on fire his hut? Are such courses of action likely to produce in the victims' heart a generous change? The same may be said of picketing and *hartals*. Far from converting the victim to the view of the aggressor, albeit peaceful, it very often leaves him bitter with resentment and fury.

Physical violence is not the only violence that is taboo to the satyagrahi. Mental violence is a deadlier sin from his point of view. As Dr. Rabindranath Tagore pointed out, the snatching away of the Gandhi cap may involve no physical violence but the mental violence involved is great. Boycott of British goods is not more violent than the boycott of foreign goods, but the Mahatma forbade the former on the ground that it involved a hatred of the British. Can it be maintained that the civil disobedience campaign has not provoked and filled the country with unprecedented spirit of violence? A tree is judged by its fruit.

When the civil resisters decided on the salt campaign, they considerably diluted their non-violence. The true satyagrahi engaged in the boycott of foreign cloth will rather vow to starve himself to death unless the merchant ceased to deal in foreign cloth than picket his shop; he will vow to starve himself to death unless the Government repealed the salt tax, or,

which is really the objective behind, unless the Government yielded swaraj, than raid salt depots.

BHISHMA.

IRELAND'S TRAVAIL.

II

AFTER innumerable preliminaries Mr. de Valera came to London for a personal conference with Mr. Lloyd George. A truce had been called and men whose lives were forfeit began to walk in the streets of Dublin openly in the face of the Black and Tans. The proposals of the British Government, which comprised "complete Dominion Home Rule involving autonomous control of finance and taxation, of the police and military", were placed before Mr. de Valera in July 20, 1921. Amongst the conditions attached were two: one prohibiting protective tariffs between the two islands and the other acknowledging proportionate responsibility for the national debt. Mr. de Valera rejected them, for he had already committed himself to "complete independence" and repudiation of the Crown. The British Government had either to recognise the Independence of Ireland, or to go on with the policy of repression on a huge scale.

The break-up of the first conference was due to the rigid and uncompromising adherence of Mr. de Valera to principles and policies to which he had committed himself in other circumstances. He had accepted the invitation of the British Prime Minister, stipulating, however, that the Irish "nation has formally declared independence, and recognised itself as a Sovereign State." It was obvious that Mr. Lloyd George or for that matter, any Prime Minister of a ruling nation, could not have accepted a conference with a subject nation on the basis of such terms. It would have committed the Government to the recognition of Ireland as a sovereign, independent State. Mr. de Valera's action had no sanction from the Irish Dail. In fact, nothing could be farther away from democracy than the rebel Government then set up. The Irish nation had only a vague, general idea of the "fight for freedom". They had no quarrel if the British gave them "the substance of freedom" and kept the semblance of sovereignty for the satisfaction of their prestige. "They were so glad that the war had stopped that each individual family was thinking of nothing so much as reunion, and building up again the home, the business, the old life."

On the other hand, the invitation by the sovereign power to the Irish rebels was an action entirely new to its traditions. "It was one of those rare occasions when British statesmen had been bold enough to cut themselves adrift from the smaller loyalties of party conflict and to face with full personal responsibility and unflinching courage the greater issues. They had done so when they guaranteed Self-Government to South Africa, they did so in 1914"—and set aside the centuries old prejudices to save the British Empire from disintegration. Mr.

*Times Literary Supplement.

de Valera did not possess the foresight to see that things could be stretched too far to yield any result, and that the insistence on exclusive 'principles' and 'avowed ideals' did not always pay in the ordinary affairs of the world; that the intercourse of vast communities proceeded on the basis of compromise and accommodation. In the end he had to climb down.

The Dail, which sat almost continuously during these negotiations, recognised the futility of fighting theoretical points without the slightest regard to the resultant misery and material ruin of their countrymen. The pressure that the Dail, no doubt gradually, brought to bear on its president resulted in Mr. de Valera recognising that his policy would lead them to "anarchy, stark, sheer and progressively degenerating." He, therefore, consented to a second conference "with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire might best be reconciled to Irish aspirations", but refused to attend it himself. He announced that he would remain in Ireland "as the symbol of the Republic." It was the first indication of the terrible days that were to follow. Both Messrs Griffith and Collins strenuously objected to this decision. The handicap and embarrassment of having to refer every point to a man outside, who would fight tooth and nail over hair-splitting distinctions, was foreseen by them. Even the 'Irish Ministers' urged Mr. de Valera to participate in the conference, but he remained obdurate.

In due course the Irish delegates arrived in Downing Street and those members of the Cabinet who had been chosen to represent the British Empire met them across the table. The first meeting was not without its shocks. Some of the Irish delegates had been outlawed, some had been but recently in jail. The atmosphere of the first meeting was, therefore, tense with high strung feelings and emotions. Moreover, the discussions were themselves vague and uncertain involving many matters of explosive detail.

Meanwhile, the contending armies in Ireland degenerated daily. Neither party had disbanded. It was only a truce. It may be abandoned any moment, and hostilities may be resumed. So war standards had to be maintained in spite of peace. In England "the Conservative Party with two thirds of the House of Commons in its ranks stirred with anger and distress." The Ulster Government refused to take part in the conference and, on top of it, complained that they were not being consulted. In the crisis, Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues had, on the one hand, to keep the restive elements within the House of Commons under check and, on the other, to convince the Irish delegates "of the sincerity and goodwill of the Imperial Government. The issue was too grave for bargaining or haggling." They laid all their cards on the table. This was the utmost they could give,—not a whit more. If it was acceptable to the Irish leaders, they were ready to face even a defeat in Parliament on the issue and the consequent political misfortune.

Both the parties in the conference were confronted not only with the concrete problems of govern-

ance but with the accumulated hatred and distrust of centuries between the two peoples. "And here, in Ireland were hatreds which, in Mr. Kipling's phrase, would 'eat the live steel from the rifle butt.'" Fortunately for Ireland and the England, the two towering personalities in the Irish delegation, Messrs Griffith and Collins, were men of honour, who never went back on their words. Mr. Griffith was a man of learning while Mr. Collins had been intimately connected with the events in Ireland. Both of them knew the stakes for which they were playing. Both of them were free from impractical and visionary fanaticism. Both of them paid with their lives for their convictions.

Two weary months dragged on and, in the end on December 5, 1921, "the Prime Minister stated bluntly that they could concede no more and debate no further. They must settle now; they must sign the agreement for a Treaty in the form to which after all these weeks it had attained, or else quit. * * * This was an ultimatum delivered, not through diplomatic channels, but face to face, and all present knew and understood that nothing else was possible."

"The Irishmen gulped down this ultimatum phlegmatically." Mr. Griffith replied that they would give their answer at nine that night; but he quietly added that he personally would sign the agreement and would recommend it to his countrymen *in spite of the refusal of others*. "Michael Collins rose looking as if he was going to shoot someone, probably himself."

One can almost visualise the portentous atmosphere in which the delegation left the conference that day. The British delegates had "already ruptured the loyalties" to their Parties as a price for the Treaty: the Irish delegates took a decision which plunged Ireland into a cruel civil war with all its hideous consequences.

It is worth noting here that ten days before the Treaty was signed by the Irish plenipotentiaries the Dail Ministry, presided over by Mr. de Valera, had come to the unanimous decision that "Ireland shall recognise the British Crown for the purpose of association, as symbol and accepted head of the combination of States", and had voted an annual contribution to the British Civil List. In spite of this, Mr. de Valera refused to recognise the Treaty and inflicted on Ireland a further term of misery. Readers know that he has, at last, accepted the inevitable and begun to fight the Free State with 'constitutional weapons' instead of with the sword and the gun.

M. D. S.

Our London Letter.

THE FEELING IN ENGLAND.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

I find my impressions of the reactions over here in England to the developments in India rather hard to describe. The currents of opinion are so varied in kind, so contradictory in effect, and as may

be expected, more than ordinarily confused. I might summarise them as follows :

1. Generally speaking, in all circles where intelligence plays any part at all there is an astounding amount of admiration for Mr. Gandhi and unreserved tribute is rendered to his personality. The following observation in the current issue of the *Everyman* is an apt illustration of this attitude: "When all is said, however, there are few among us who can resist the thrill of that amazing phenomenon: the little naked Hindu, old though only sixty, the modern world's supreme example of the terrible meek, defying the might of the greatest imperial government of the modern age, by making a few ounces of inedible salt. The sublime and the ridiculous met on the sands of Dandi, by the Gulf of Cambay. But the scene is immortal. And the future of the British Empire is changed because of it."

2. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to suppose any too readily that the severity of British political realism will be mitigated by this romantic sentiment. One has only to read Mr. Brailsford's article on India in the *New Leader*, not so very long ago, to realize how in this country even so liberal-minded a publicist as he, is acutely aware of the minute working of the political machinery. The situation in India has made the people over here take cognizance of certain realities. As the *Manchester Guardian* puts it, "the average sensible man has read the signs of the times correctly, and his desire is to wash his hands of India as soon as he conveniently and honourably can." But it has not unnerved them, by any means.

3. The correct analysis of the desire to which the *Guardian* refers is, I imagine, the one given by a writer in the current number of the *Spectator*: "In 1857 Campbell, Havelock and Outram were sustained by the knowledge of a (moral) conviction *** among the people at home, and the mutiny was suppressed. But to-day, at a time far more critical, conviction is on the other side. The British electorate is weary and apathetic, and largely ignorant of the issues at stake. The few thousand Englishmen who are responsible for India's government are in despair, disheartened by the seeming ingratitude of those whom they have sought to serve, disheartened by the consciousness that whatever the course of their action it will be unsupported by the people at home, and themselves not untouched by feelings of sympathy for Indian Nationalism. Indian Swaraj, by contrast, is animated by a passionate and single-hearted belief in the justice of its cause. It is a belief, fanatical, one-sided, and in many of its manifestations ludicrous and wicked; but it is a belief of the kind which prevails." It is significant that foreign observers have much the same thing to say. Monsieur William Martin, writing in the *Journal de Geneva* on the "End of European Imperialism", a little while ago, alluded to the weariness and sense of the burden of the Empire which had come over the British.

4. One would suppose that if such were the case there would be a great deal of willingness on this side to come to an amicable settlement on the

Indian and other similar issues. I am convinced that such willingness exists, and so far as it goes, it is genuine. The real difficulty, it seems to me, is the lack of a proved and traditional method to deal with such problems. International life has yet to create it. The evil tradition of the superiority, and also, let it be said, the inferiority complex in political life cannot be got rid of by mere enchantment even when it is moral. That seems to me to be the main reason for the failure of the Egyptian negotiations, and the lack of similar psychological inhibitions may be said to account for the success of the Naval Conference as regards Anglo-American relations.

5. Bold statesmanship alone can solve it, but apart from the fact that it would seem to be rather scarce just now, the peculiar factors of the existing political situation must be taken into account. The industrial crisis that this country is passing through has been such that it would need much more than ordinary courage for any one at the helm of affairs to initiate changes touching upon the economic structure of the country. A recent bye-election showed what magic effect the word Empire possesses for the electorate in the present plight. As usual at such times opinion is vaguely and evenly divided between Conservatism and Radicalism, between the wish to tighten up the existing system and for setting up a bold new line of action. The Rothermere school and its like, little effect as their opinion may have when it has to be put into practical effect, have sufficient force to foil radicalism. Consider also the peculiar position of the present minority Government. A section of their followers has deserted them for one reason or another. The power of the Liberals is represented to-day not by party or principles, but by a few individuals nearly all of whom have, it appears, personal feelings of bitterness towards India and towards the present movement. These are the friends on whom the Government have to rely for support even if they were willing to take a bold line of which, by the way, there has as yet been no very convincing evidence.

This brief and somewhat sketchy analysis should show that much as the present situation in India has created a great impression in this country (there can be no doubt about that) to look for any dramatic breach from tradition in policy is to invite disillusionment. It would follow that immediate relief in the situation must come from local authorities, not so much in the method as in the manner of administration just yet, and further, it can only come if there are signs on the other side that there is sufficient capacity to master the forces brought into play. The supreme need, as it appears here, is for the party possessing principles in common with the Government as well as with its adversaries to step into the breach and direct the attention of all concerned to constructive action.

London, May 18.

Reviews.

MAKING OF THE FASCIST STATE.

MAKING OF THE FASCIST STATE. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 23cm. 392p. 21s.

THIS is a most important book on Fascism, both theoretical and practical. To the American painstaking regard for detail and accuracy, it unites an imaginative and intellectual grasp of Fascist practice and theory which is much less typical. The book is the result of two years' residence in Italy, and of enquiries from all sources, and the thoroughness of his study can be seen not only in the concluding hitting reply, but also in his handling of his authorities in the text.

Mr. Schneider tries to interpret Fascist theory, which has an exuberance and a disregard for forms and consistency which causes many, as he says, to regard it as "mere froth": he traces the varied streams of thought and opinion which have gone to make up the Fascist torrent, and tries to relate this theory with actual Fascist achievement. It is a difficult task, for every Italian seems ready to justify any action by a complete philosophy, and to substitute a new one as often as a change of conduct may be convenient and we must congratulate Mr. Schneider on the skill with which he has treaded his way through the tortuous maze of half blown political philosophies. We cannot say that the book is easy reading; it is rather a book for study and reference, but it is quite the most illuminating description we have seen of the numerous cross-currents of opinion which still struggle with each other within the Fascist party.

The book begins with a description of the rise of Mussolini to prominence and the gradual emergence of the Fascist party in the post-war political confusion and disillusionment. He appears as an adventurer of far from fixed principles, but a man of magnetic personality, of great political courage, powers of leadership and strength of will. Like Napoleon, perhaps the only thing he really believed in was his star and the work he was destined to do for Italy, and this very freedom from principle has enabled him sometimes to change his policy in a way that a man more securely anchored to consistency could never have done. Mussolini began political life as a Socialist: he lost the editorship of the *Avanti* and was expelled from the party for advocating war with Austria, but he showed his courage by defending himself in a whistling and hissing party meeting and defiantly prophesying, like others before him—"You are going to strike at me to night with ostracism . . . Very well, I solemnly wager that I shall continue to speak, and that in a few years the masses of Italy will follow and applaud me when you will no longer speak nor have a following."

The prophesy came true. Mr. Schneider traces very skilfully the way in which Mussolini gradually welded the Nationalists (disappointed by the Peace Treaty) and the Squadristi (local hands organised to combat Socialist lawlessness by ruffianism) into the Fascist party under his leadership. Fascism organised itself militantly first and found its principles afterwards. Mussolini found his opportunity in the political and economic discontent of the post-war years, and in the alarm created by the Socialist attempt to carry out an industrial and agrarian revolution in Northern Italy by seizing factories and

farms. The local squad became *fasci* (little hands), its "combattiments," which, encouraged by Giolitti, cowed the Socialists in a series of violent conflicts; the Fascist party was formed with the slogans of "Down with Parliament", "A Greater Italy" and "Strong Rule", and the helpless men of the nation looked increasingly to them for National leadership. The end came in October 1922 with the famous march on Rome. "To-morrow", said Mussolini as he started for Rome to assume the Premiership, "Italy will have not a ministry but a government".

It was too true. Fascist rule from 1922 can be divided into three periods. In the first from 1922-1924 Mussolini dominated the old Parliament by threats and governed with a national ministry of Fascists, Nationalists, Liberals, Popularists and one Social Democrat. Only three Fascists besides himself sat in the first cabinet. "I could have made of this grey Assembly Hall a bivouac of squads; . . . but I did not want to", he told Parliament in his first speech as Prime Minister. Under this pressure Parliament voted its own extinction by means of an electoral law which gave two-thirds of all the seats automatically to the party which obtained a bare majority on a vote throughout the country. The second period begins with the Assembly of this Parliament and the murder of the Socialist leader, Matteotti, in June 1924. This led to the secession of the Liberals and Popularists who withdrew from Parliament to form the Aventine Opposition, so called from their headquarters. Fascist credit was severely shaken by the revolutions which followed the murder, and Mussolini, after trying to restore confidence by sacrificing the most deeply involved of his colleagues, decided in January 1925 on the suppression of the opposition. The Fascist squads were let loose on the Liberals as they had already attacked the Socialists; beatings were followed up by exile or detention in the barren Lipari Islands.* The Opposition Press was silenced by a vigorous censorship and suppressions, and the judges were intimidated by making them, in common with all other officials, liable to removal for "incompatibility with the Government's policy", either in public or private.

By these means the Opposition was effectually crushed. France was filled with refugees and the Lipari Islands with detenus, and Fascism entered upon its constructive phase of building the Fascist state. Politically the new state has three aspects—the old state organisation, the Fascist Party, and the Fascist militia. Here we may note the process by which the Fascist party has been gradually dovetailed into the old state until it has come to occupy much the same place in Italy as the Communist party holds in Russia. Everywhere the democratic principle of election has been replaced by nomination, the principle of equality by hierarchy or that of ordered and ascending ranks, and of responsibility to those below by responsibility to those above. Duty, authority and order sit in the place of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Thus the Prime Minister is no longer responsible to Parliament, but only to the king. Parliamentary opposition was not allowed, those venture-some deputies who ventured to oppose Fascist measures or finally even to sit in Parliament, being regularly hooted in the Chambers and assaulted in the lobbies. In the country elective mayors have been replaced by nominated 'poelutas' working under the watchful eye of the local Fascist secretaries.

Meanwhile the Fascist party has been developing into a governing aristocracy, a Platonic

* See Sig. Nitti's (son of ex-Premier Nitti) account of his life.

guardian class of philosopher kings, though one wonders how many of this Plato would have approved. By the new constitution of 1926 elections were replaced by the new 'hierarchical' principle of nomination, and under the new Secretary Turck, the party was gradually subjected to the state. Below the Duce comes the Grand Council nominated by him which elects 8 Directors and the Secretary of the Party. This is the solitary instance of election. The Secretary appoints provincial secretaries who form the National Council and each provincial secretary appoints the local district secretaries. On the principle of "educative rotation" three years is the limit of office.

The Party in 1926 numbered nearly a million, and had, in addition to the general body, a Women's Organisation, an Advance Guard of boys from 14-18 (211,000) organised on scout and youth movement lines with a militant tinge, and the juvenile 'Belilla' for boys and girls. For the future, admission to the party is to be through the Advance Guard only, which will thus train up a governing class. Finally, there is the Fascist Militia or "Black Shirts", the descendants of the local squads or "fasci". They now take the oath of allegiance to the King and form a royal force intermediate between the army and the police.

A most interesting process has been the syndicalisation of Fascism which has reorganised the whole of Italian industry. The syndicalists, never at home with the Socialists, came into the Fascist camp via nationalism. Their leader, Rossoni, profited by the need for Labour support in the Matteotti crisis and the fall of the orthodox Finance Minister, de Svezani, to push his scheme and the Law of April 1926 (p. 178-203) was the result. Thirteen syndicates of employers and labour were established under a Ministry of Corporations, strikes were forbidden and a new Charter of Labour was established.

So the new Fascist state is being built. It is interesting to compare the position of the Fascists in Italy with that of the Communists in Russia. In both cases we have vehement denunciations of Parliamentary government as a mockery and a party dictatorship intolerant of all opposition and forming a new aristocracy of office and opinion. But here they part company for a while: the Bolsheviks are really democratic within the limits of Communist orthodoxy, the Fascists with their hierarchy are as little democratic within as without their rank. The Fascist hierarchical theory is a modern adaptation of the old divine Right of Kings. It is, however, more on the selective Tibetan model of the Grand Lama than the European type of the hereditary anointed despot. It will be interesting to see whether the divine inspiration to select his subordinates will be as clearly visible to Italians in the successor of Mussolini, as it appears now to be clear to them in Mussolini himself.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

SOVIET RECORD.

THE SOVIET UNION. FACTS, DESCRIPTION AND STATISTICS. (Soviet Union Information Bureau, Washington.) 1929. 20cm. 283p. \$1.50.

THIS is a remarkable publication intended to broadcast information about the Soviet Union. It may be taken as a counterblast to the systematic propaganda that is being carried on by several of the capitalistic governments to hold up the Soviet Government to ridicule and condemnation. It is a well got up volume and contains information on almost every aspect of the national prob-

lem. For instance, area and population, government-natural resources, agriculture, industry, domestic trade, transportation, merchant, marine and ports, communications, electrification, finance, foreign trade, concessions, patents, cooperatives, labour, insurance, newspapers and books, public health, education, the arts, science, society for cultural relations, women in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and chronology of events 1917-1928, etc.

"The first decade of the Soviet State is sharply divided into two periods, five years of struggle for existence against the disintegrating forces of civil warfare, foreign invasions, blockade, famine and plague, and five years of solid reconstruction and the shaping of a society in new forms". The past and present problems and achievements of Russia have been put in a nutshell in the following paragraphs. The Soviet Government in 1917 assumed power in a country invaded by hostile armies and in almost complete collapse as a result of over three years of war, and of incompetence and corruption among those in authority. By the close of 1921, as a result of invasion, civil war and blockade, agricultural production had fallen to less than half the pre-war average and the industrial production to 15 per cent. Since that time a complete recovery has been effected. The crops of 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1928 approximated the pre-war average and the industrial production is substantially above the pre-war level with monthly increases steadily maintained. There are 50% more children in school than before the war. The pre-war death rate has been reduced by one-third. The rate of recovery and advance has been impeded by the depletion of basic capital during the World War and the civil conflicts. On the other hand, the rehabilitation has been effected without the aid of foreign loans. The merely reconstructive phase is now definitely past. New economic projects on a scale unknown to pre-war Russia are in process of development. The Soviet Union from its own resources and energies is creating a wholesome, new, well-ordered life. The population of the U. S. S. R. is composed of 182 different nationalities, speaking 149 different languages or dialects. The population in 1928 was 149,900,000 and the land area is 8,144,228 square miles. It is said that the Revolution placed the productive forces of the country directly in the control of the producing population. It seems that nearly 90% of the industrial output comes from organisations working under a federal plan of development, responsible to the State, through the Supreme Economic Council, for efficiency, quality of product and profitable operation, but enjoying within their own spheres a large amount of administrative autonomy. The Government departments directly run the transport and communications, while the banks and the credit system are under the control of the State. Even in the wholesale trade the State plays a major part. But in the retail trade the cooperatives have the major share.

It seems that in agriculture 98% of the production is the output of individual farmers, but the farmers market the major part of their produce through co-operative or State agencies and purchase their seeds and implements through their own co-operative organisations. The feudal system is being done away with and the redistribution of land has deprived the feudal landlords of their privileged position and reduced their holdings to one-tenth of the land formerly in their control. The middle and poorer farmers have been the main beneficiaries of the change and have at last been placed in a position where they can enjoy the fruits of their toil. Moreover, the new economic scheme of things favours the poorer farmer. To-day 35% of the farmers are exempt

from the taxes. There is no private title in land. The land is held in trust by the State for all the peoples and is worked by individuals or groups under a system of perpetual leasehold. No land may be held out of use or sold. There is only a single agricultural tax and it has amounted to 170 million dollars. The mass of the middle and poor peasants produce six-sevenths of the crops but they live better than before the war and consume nearly 90% of their product. It is claimed that the farmer lives better than he did before the war. He consumes more of his own products, including meat, eggs and dairy products, and specially wheat. He has far better opportunities for the education of his children. He is a citizen instead a subject and runs his own show. But it is owned that he has still to pay more for clothing and implements than he did before the war. During the last decade he has suffered from the prevalent shortage in manufactured goods, but efforts are being made to remedy the deficiency. About 85% of the population lives by agriculture. There has been quite a revolution in the industrial condition of the country. The industrial output has been greatly increased with considerable improvement in the condition of the workers. For instance, in the coal industry the surface men have a work-day of 8 hours and underground men 6 hours. Wages are double those of 1913, plus cheap rent, vacations with pay and social insurance. The seven-hour day for workers had been largely introduced in the textile industry by the spring of 1928. Ship-building has been considerably increased not only for war purposes but for trade. In the domestic trade the State enterprises are in the field of wholesale dealings. Co-operative enterprises handled a little over 90% of the total turnover. The Soviet Union has a protective system of import duties, supplemented by duties on a limited number of articles of export. The membership of co-operative organisations amounts to 35 millions and their annual turnover has risen to 11 thousand million dollars. Labour disputes are referred to arbitration committees. Since wages follow productive efficiency, the worker feels that he has a stake in the increasing efficiency of the industrial process. It is urged that this feeling is a natural corollary of his proprietary position in respect to the industry and the country generally. No child under 14 may be employed in industry but between the ages of 14 and 16, a 4-hour day is permitted, and between 16 and 18 a 6-hour day. Women workers receive from six to eight weeks' vacation with pay before and after childbirth. The Law insists on the employers giving free or nominal rentals for housing, free fuel, water, electric light, transportation, special working clothing, dental and medical service, social insurance.

By the strict enforcement of health regulations it is claimed that accidents and occupational diseases have been considerably reduced. The trade unions are engaged also in cultural-educational work and maintaining about 4000 clubs and nearly 10,000 libraries. It is said that there is little unemployment among skilled workers.

In the laws regulating domestic life woman's rights are in every respect the same as those of man. The wife's property is her own and marriage has no effect on the citizenship of either party. Women form over 25% of the membership of trade unions. One-third of the students in institutes of higher education are women. The rights of the foreigners are not ignored and under certain conditions they could apply for and obtain naturalisation.

This is a record which any country in the world could well be proud of. Even if one-half of the claims could be substantiated, the Soviet Russia needs to be congratulated by every impartial observer in

the world. No doubt she has made many blunders and followed in the path of violence which she had deprecated when it was resorted to by the autocrats of the monarchy. But alone in the world, she is making a gigantic experiment and its success would mean the relinquishment of the age-long economic and political theories that have hitherto ruled the world. The success hitherto attained by Russia augurs well for the future. It is time that the world studied the question with an unbiassed mind.

D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

DEMOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY. ITS DEFECTS AND ADVANTAGES. By C. DELISLE BURNS. (Allen and Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 212p. 8/6.

IN this little book, based on the Stevenson Lectures in Citizenship, Dr. Delisle Burns treats democracy as a social ideal of which political democracy is only one aspect, though by far the most important aspect, the others being economic and cultural. The chapters III to V deal with the political organisation involved in democracy, the next three chapters deal with the economic organisation, and the last three, with social and cultural standards operative in daily discourse. The method adopted is synthetic and psychological. With an eye on the immediate future, the author examines the tendencies evidenced in the immediate past. For this reason the book has become at once enlightening and suggestive.

Order and Liberty are psychological conceptions. Psychological factors produce a certain "set", direction, or current, which gives a form to the normal life of the community. That is Order. Psychological factors bubble up from distinct centres either in individual minds or groups of minds. This bubbling up is Liberty. A situation in which the established order promotes liberty is felt to be "just". The daily adjustment of each man to all the others, secured by law, is the state. And government is the system by which this adjustment is made. This, in brief, is the theoretical basis of Delisle Burns' exposition of the democratic principle.

The answer as to whether, in the acceptance of the democratic ideal, we are on the right track, depends on our judgment of the abilities of "the common man", i. e., the common part in each man. The author points out three reasons for placing faith in the common man. Firstly, numerous potential abilities can be released and brought into play by changing the existing forms of social life. Secondly, the numerous groups and sub-groups of men working together for this or that common factor in social life provide sources of life to society as a whole. Thirdly, there is in evidence a tendency to acquire new habits, an "idealistic impulse", which makes the common man susceptible to indications of a possible change for the better.

The author admits that in some communities common men are not competent for the traditional form of democracy. To them a more primitive stage of government is suitable—only until, however, the form of social organisation is altered so as to harmonise with the democratic ideal. Such a temporary form of government the author calls "colonial". The author has successfully answered the challenge which Communism and Fascism have offered to democracy. "Colonial government" bears a close resemblance to them. There is the same authoritative attitude, the same ruthless repression of hostile opinion. There is the same assumption that only the minority, and only *that* minority of which the rulers

are the members is in the right, and is competent to rule. Each one in Dr. Burns' arguments against the Fascist or Communist objection to democracy is equally valid against the existence of the colonial government of India. That the minority here consists of foreigners is an additional wrong. The justification for trusteeship should be, not the superiority of the ruling race, but the absolute incapacity of the ruled. Further, it is well worth considering whether political democracy itself will not set in motion forces which will sweep away the old and build up new social traditions in harmony with the democratic ideal.

Dr. Burns makes a plea for the extension of democracy to industry and culture. "Industrial democracy, however, does not take the same forms as political democracy. The purpose in political democracy is order and liberty; but the purpose in economic organisation is the production of boots and bread... The characteristic of industrial democracy will be the use of all such abilities of men as may be available for the advantage of all men." There is no doubt that if the manual and clerical workers are given a voice in the economic policy, they will make valuable contributions to the managerial as distinct from the financial side of it

In a brief compass this book touches on all the implications of democracy as a social ideal, and will be found to be very helpful to the students of political theory.

P. J. JAGIRDAR.

SHORTS NOTICES.

RENASCENT INDIA. By K. S. VENKATARAMANL (2nd. Edn.) (The Author, Svetaranya Ashram, Madras) 1929. 19cm. 105p. Rs. 1/-

It is on a plane of unmixed idealism that Mr. Venkataramani moves and exercises his imagination. He belongs to an India inhabited by saints and philosophers. Though history reveals a systematic record of pious tyrannies of the caste system and of the abuse of power, Mr. Venkataramani has it that "India is rich in simplicity and contentment, plain living, philosophy and leisure, a theory of life full of ethical values and a permanent code of social conduct. Her pacific temper is the finest asset. For it is the nursery of all higher virtues of evolution: gentility, humility and love." On the authority of Mr. Venkataramani, governed as India was within herself, an official government was a matter of no consequence to her. Indifferent as to who held the sceptre, her good children carved out for themselves sleepy-hollows of village governments and administered them in their hours of material wakefulness. These governments, by the divine and for the divine, functioned in keeping with the iron laws Manu, known as the Sanatana Dharma. Mr. Venkataramani sees no salvation for India otherwise than in going back to it which, however, is tantamount to letting history repeat itself. He is opposed to all compromise with the present, except in so far as giving an attenuated form of federal government benevolent overlordship of the village democracies. In his dream-like constitution, whose foundation is wisely laid under the British Crown, there is also room for a threadbare machinery of provincial government which will, however, be free from simply mundane interests so as to devote its powers for the solution of "higher problems". It is into such a covenant with God that India shall enter and rise

renascent. This book is at best the waste product of a good literary craftsman.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

(1) **MONEY IN HANDICRAFTS. (2) PROFITABLE INDUSTRIES.** By AN INDUSTRIAL EXPERT. (Industry Book Depot, Calcutta,) 18cm. p. 117 and 118. Rs. 1/8 each.

BOTH the books contain some miscellaneous information about some of the industries possible in India. While the books may have a little value for an occasional reference by a man who is already an expert in the field, they are really dangerous in the hands of an amateur who wants to invest his small earnings in any of the industries mentioned in them. The author seems to have freely borrowed information from Spens' "Workshop Receipts" and similar publications. It is usual for an author to acknowledge his source of information.

S. G. SASTRY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A CENTURY OF LONDON CO-OPERATION. By W. HENRY BROWN. (The Education Committee of the London Co-operative Society, London.) 1928. 20cm. 179p. 3/6.

SELECTIONS FROM LENIN VOL. II-- THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN ACTION, 1904-1914. (Martin Lawrence.) 1929. 20cm. 398p. 3/6--

BELL'S STANDARD ELOCUTIONIST. By CHARLES DAVID BELL AND ALEXANDER MELVILLE BELL. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 19cm. 600p. Rs. 4/8.

CIVIC TRAINING IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By SAMUEL NORTHRUP HARPER. (The University of Chicago Press.) 1929. 25cm. 401p. \$2.70.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC. By ALBERT P. PINKEVITCH. (The John Day Co., New York.) 1929. 24cm. 403p. \$4.00.

INDIA IN 1928-1929. By J. COATMAN. (Official, Calcutta.) 1930. 23cm. 416p. Rs. 2/4.

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY. By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN. (International Publishers, New York.) 1929. 22cm. 173p. \$2.00.

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