

Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIV No. 16. }

POONA—THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1931.

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

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Topics of the Week.

The late Mr. K. T. Paul.

THE death of Mr. K. T. Paul, which sad event took place at Salem on the 11th inst., will cause widespread grief in this country. He was the first Indian to become the General Secretary of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. and was actively interested in the problem of rural reconstruction. Indeed, much of the activity displayed by the Y.M.C.A. during his eighteen years' regime as its secretary is directly attributable to his enthusiasm for the uplift of rural India. He retired from the Y.M.C.A. towards the middle of last year—about nine months before his retirement was due—in order to devote himself more freely to public work. Soon after he offered himself for election to the Madras Legislative Council but did not succeed in securing his election. There was every hope that had he been elected he would have been one of the ministers to the Madras Government. But that was not to be. Later he was nominated as a representative of Indian Christians to the Round Table Conference, and the attack of influenza which ended fatally was contracted by him during his stay in England. Though belonging to a minority community, freedom from communalism was Mr. Paul's strong point. In this respect he set a laudable example which deserves to be widely copied. An internationalist through and through, he made a deep study of the problem of minorities in post-War Europe and was never tired of pressing that India should benefit by European experience, especially in regard to the question of untouchables. The death of a man of his wide vision and catholic sympathies, a serious national loss at any time, is more so at present when communalism is almost threatening to hold up India's political advance. To the Indian Christians his death is a heavy blow from the effects

of which they will take long to recover. The one thing more than another they ought to learn from their departed leader's life is to place national interests before every other interest.

The Bombay Governorship.

THE forecast of the *Times of India* made months ago that the Governor of Bombay would go on leave in April and would be replaced by Sir Ernest Hotson during the three or four months Sir Frederick Sykes would be away has come true in every particular. There will be general regret that urgent reasons of health should have necessitated the Governor's sudden departure for England; but it is to be hoped the change will do him good and that he will soon be restored to health.

This unexpected promotion of Sir Ernest Hotson has quite naturally occasioned adverse comment in Indian circles. His five years of Home Membership were by no means characterised by a progressive or sympathetic spirit, and, what is more, have left very unpleasant memories behind. To promote him to be Governor in such circumstances is a direct affront to public opinion, to which few would have expected the Labour Government to be a party. Mr. MacDonald addressing the Round Table Conference on the 19th January promised to explore the possibilities of progress even under the existing Government of India Act. This he wanted done with a view "to bring Indian administrative action more into accord with the declarations made here than is the case to-day." We do not know whether the Labour Government's examination of the present position with a view to effecting further progress is complete or not. But surely they could have spared this slight to Indian opinion. Here was an opportunity for them to show their responsiveness to public opinion by appointing to the vacant Governorship the seniormost member of Council. In this event the appointment would have gone to an Indian, which would have well accorded with the spirit of goodwill which pervaded the Round Table Conference in London. Instead they go and appoint as Governor the very man with whom the public, left to itself, would have nothing to do! The occasion should also, we think, have been fittingly availed of for placing an Indian in charge of the Home portfolio. This has happened even in provinces less advanced than Bombay. Even now it is not too late to bring about such an arrangement by a suitable reshuffling of the provincial portfolios.

Indian Commercial Men in Conference.

THE session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce presided over by Lala Shri Ram and held at Delhi recently was opened by Mahatma Gandhi. In inviting him to inaugurate it this year, we trust the Indian commercial community merely wanted to show its sense of friendliness to the National Congress of which the Mahatma happens

to be the mouthpiece for the time being. This is also clear from the resolution passed by the Federation charging its delegates to the Round Table Conference to accept Mahatma Gandhi's lead in constitutional questions, while leaving to itself full freedom to take its own line in regard to other matters. While the Federation is thus prepared to accept the lead of the Congress, the Congress for its part has failed to show the Indian merchants even the courtesy of consulting them in regard to matters which were clearly within their province and about which they were expected to know something. This is apparently resented by the merchants who expressed their dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Congress.

As usual the Federation dealt with many matters of particular interest to the Indian commercial community. At such gatherings the currency question as the basis of all commercial prosperity rightly forms the principal topic of discussion, and it did so this year. Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas moved a comprehensive resolution on the subject in which the Government was asked to stop further efforts at maintaining the value of the rupee at 18 d. Commercial opinion was so far in favour of the value of the rupee being maintained at 16d. but, as pointed out by Sir George Schuster, the Federation did not this year advocate any alternative ratio. To this the only reply Sir Purushottamdas gave was that he was in favour of "a reasonable and rational stabilisation which can be maintained without risking our existence." All which apparently means that the Indian commercial men are not quite sure which ratio would be beneficial to Indian interests. Sir George Schuster deprecated any inquiry into the exchange problem in general, for which a desire was expressed by some Indian merchants, but offered to help any committee appointed by the Indian commercial classes to see how the better to promote stability of exchange, provided question of alteration of the exchange ratio did not come within its purview.

The Federation accepted Mr. J. K. Mehta's suggestion for the appointment of an unofficial Trade Commissioner in Germany. Such an appointment would at first sight appear superfluous, in view of the fact that an official Trade Commissioner has recently been stationed in Germany by the Government of India; but the proposal was defended on the ground that there were many matters which the official position of the Government's representative precluded him from interesting himself in. Such problems the unofficial Trade Commissioner could handle with much benefit to the Indian commercial classes. He could also regularly supply useful information as regards the trade and industrial developments in Germany. But it seems doubtful if anybody would care to be the Federation's representative in Germany if, as is contemplated, the cost of the appointment is not to exceed Rs. 1500 per annum. The Federation also impressed on Government the necessity of bringing down the overgrown public expenditure both at the Centre and in the provinces and made no secret of the fact that they did not expect much from the labours of the proposed retrenchment committee to go into the Central Government's expenditure. Explaining the position of the Government with regard to the Federation's demand for protection to certain industries, Sir George Rainy is reported to have said that he regarded it "an anomaly that a non-Indian should be in charge of the Indian Commerce department". He was convinced that the department should be handed over to an Indian who should be responsible to the people of the country. We trust these remarks of the Commerce Member will attract the attention of the proper authorities.

The Sikh Demands.

LIKE the Mahomedans who met a few days ago at Delhi under the leadership of Maulana Shaukat Ali, the attitude of the Sikhs who assembled at Amritsar on the 8th and 9th inst. can hardly be said to be helpful to a solution of the communal problem in India. While the former were frankly communal, the latter tried to conceal their communalism under a thin veneer of nationalism. What they say in effect is this: "If the other minority communities are prepared to do without separate electorates, we too would follow suit. Else we insist upon our pound of flesh." They differ from the Mahomedans only in this that they proclaim their preference for joint electorates as being conducive to the growth of nationalism. These are fine sentiments, but unless they are translated into practice, they hardly serve any purpose. If the Sikhs really believe communal electorates to be anti-democratic and anti-national, they should have led the way in forswearing them for their community. That would have given them unrivalled moral authority to urge the other minorities to give up communal electorates in national interests. When they met at Amritsar and passed the resolutions that they did, did they seriously entertain the hope that in the present public temper any minority communities would come forward to abandon the privilege of communal electorates in favour of common ones? And if one analyses their demands which number seventeen whereas the Mahomedans' number fourteen, one finds that they are scarcely less unreasonable than those of the Moslems—30 per cent. representation in the provincial legislature and administration, and one-third share in the Punjab Cabinet and the Public Service Commission, if and when appointed. An alternative arrangement is also suggested by them. Failing a settlement on these lines, they would transfer the predominantly Mahomedan areas in the Punjab to some neighbouring province and will not want any reservation of seats in the reconstituted province. But to come back to their demands. They ask for reservation of 5 per cent. seats for Sikhs in each of the upper and lower houses of the federal legislature and of one seat for a Sikh in the Central Cabinet. Such are some of their more important demands, which show that if they cannot be nationally-minded, they will be communally-minded in the extreme.

* * *

An Attack on Liberty of the Press.

ON the 6th inst. i. e. less than a week after the close of the budget session of the Central Legislature, the Viceroy promulgated an ordinance penalising an attempt to create ill-feeling between the British Government and any other foreign Government. It is a well recognised constitutional practice that the ordinance-making power is to be called into play only in the case of a grave and sudden emergency. People in India however are not aware of any emergency which developed between the 31st March and the 6th April which necessitated this resort to his extraordinary powers by the Viceroy. In the nature of things this ordinance-making power is intended to be used very sparingly and only when the legislature may not be in session. In this case it is open to anybody to justify the issue of the ordinance on the technical ground that the legislature was not in session; but it has yet to be proved that the emergency developed only after it was prorogued and that the Government could not have come to the legislature earlier for the necessary powers to deal with the evil which the ordinance seeks to remedy. The inference that may justifiably be drawn from their failure to do so is that the Government fought shy of the legislature because

they were not sure that it would support them. Coming to the ordinance itself, we find that its phraseology is so comprehensive that any criticism, however mild, by a newspaper of any foreign Government can be interpreted as an attempt to promote "unfriendly relations" and punished with a maximum of two years' imprisonment or with fine or with both. As such there is no doubt that it is a real menace to independent journalism and must be condemned. Even the *Times of India* which can by no stretch of the imagination be dubbed an extremist organ is of the opinion that the ordinance "would destroy legitimate journalism in India within a week." Nothing more need be said, we think, to bring out the wide nature of its provisions.

* * *

A Crisis Averted.

The present fall in prices has hit the agriculturist very hard. But the hardship is more acutely felt in some parts than in others. In some parts of the Karnatak, for instance, which produce betel-nut on a large scale, the lot of the agriculturist has become unbearable owing to the extraordinarily heavy drop in the price of that article. This led to the demand for suspension of land revenue—a demand based on purely economic grounds. But the authorities, with their instinctive caution, smelled a no-tax campaign in it and needed a good deal of convincing before they could be assured that it was nothing of the kind. Their stiffness had already led to the employment in a large number of cases of the usual coercive processes for recovery of land revenue; and it was feared that the situation might develop into another Bardoli. But thanks to the good sense shown by both sides, the crisis has been averted and a settlement by negotiation has been arrived at. This makes it a condition of the calling off of the no-tax campaign that the Collector will receive and deal with individual applications asking for suspension of the second instalment due to economic reasons. If this satisfies him that the distress is widespread calling for a general suspension of land revenue he will report to that effect to the Commissioner with a view to obtaining Government sanction for the grant of that concession. It is to be hoped that now that the authorities are convinced as to suspension being an economic necessity in individual cases, they will not handle the situation in a niggardly spirit, but interpret the terms of the settlement in as liberal a spirit as they can. Mr. Diwakar, the well-known Congress worker of Dharwar, who negotiated the settlement, deserves sincere congratulations upon the success of his efforts.

* * *

Condemnation of Violence.

THE District Magistrate of Midnapore, Mr. James Peddie, at whom five shots were fired on the 7th inst. while he was inspecting an educational exhibition in a school died the next day. There is nothing to show that Mr. Peddie had made himself particularly obnoxious to anybody or any body of men, though that would in no way justify this ghastly deed. Who the perpetrators of the outrage are is not yet known; but whoever they be, they ought to realise that by their actions they do grave disservice to the cause of India which is so close to their heart. Mahatma Gandhi correctly voiced public feeling when he condemned any resort to violence. He even went so far as to beg the violence party to lay down a time-limit till the expiry of which they should stay their hand and give honest trial to Congress methods. How we wish the revolutionaries listened to the Mahatma's sage counsel. But whether they do so or not, it should by now be clear to them that acts such as these cannot but cause the most widespread indignation.

Articles.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

WE have passed the stage when we should content ourselves with a general benediction upon the work of the Round Table Conference. Time has now arrived when we must subject it to a close scrutiny, particularly those features of it on which an understanding could not be reached in London. The proposals mooted in the Conference for giving stability to the Ministry cannot but cause deep concern to all who want to see popular government established in India. Public opinion can and ought to express itself freely on them as they were not agreed to either in the Federal Structure Committee or in the plenary Conference.

What are these proposals? (1) That a vote of no-confidence shall not be moved unless the motion is presented by a certain proportion of the members of the legislature and is discussed and reported on by a committee, say, a week before it is debated in the legislature; and (2) that it receives the support of a two-thirds or three-fourths (both proportions were suggested) majority in a joint sitting of the two houses of the legislature. It was freely stated in the course of the discussion that many post-war constitutions of Europe have adopted similar provisions, but in fact only one such constitution was cited, viz. that of Czechoslovakia. If however its provisions are examined they will be found to correspond only to the first of the two proposals given above. The Czechoslovakian constitution provides in §76 that a resolution of want of confidence must be signed by at least one hundred out of the three hundred members of the Chamber of Deputies, and must be referred to a committee and reported within a week. The object of the provision is to prevent too frequent a discussion, on flimsy grounds, of a motion of lack of confidence, which must have a needlessly unsettling effect upon the administration. Such a provision has much to recommend it, though it has not found place in many another constitution. In fact we know of no country which has adopted it except Egypt, upon which Sidky Pasha has imposed it at the cost of a mighty popular convulsion. The Egyptian constitution, promulgated in October, 1930, requires by §66 that no-confidence motions shall be submitted in writing eight days before debates on the subject take place, and that they shall bear the signatures of at least thirty out of 150 Deputies; that, after the discussion, a further period of two days shall elapse before a vote may be taken. These delays may be shortened only at the request, or with the consent, of the Minister or Ministers concerned.

For our part we have no objection to any reasonable provision designed to prevent unnecessary proposing of votes of no-confidence in the Ministry. But we have the strongest possible objection to the second part of the proposal requiring a majority of two-thirds or three-fourths in a joint session for the dismissal of a Ministry. We believe that there is no

precedent for such a provision either in pre-war or post-war constitutions. The Czechoslovakian constitution certainly affords no analogy. For although it has taken the precaution of stopping the discussion of no-confidence motions unless they have attracted wide support in Parliament, it ensures that, once they have received this preliminary support, they can be carried by an absolute majority in the lower chamber alone. §75 expressly states that "the Government shall be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies," which may, by a simple majority of half its membership, declare by roll-call vote its want of confidence in the government. We know of no constitution in which a majority in a joint sitting of both chambers is required for a no-confidence motion to put the Ministers out of office. In most countries in which the Cabinet form of government obtains the government depends only on the lower house, the upper house having no power to turn it out. In the British constitution and in the constitutions of the British Dominions generally there is an implied usage that the Ministry shall be responsible to the lower house. The constitution of the Irish Free State, however, specifically provides in §51 that "the Executive Council shall be responsible to the Dail Eireann."

In some countries loss of confidence in either chamber entails loss of office on the Ministry. In France, e. g., where of all European countries the Ministry is perhaps most unstable, Cabinets were reversed on account of adverse votes in the Senate on several occasions in the past, and now the established rule may be said to be that the Senate as well as the Chamber of Deputies may force the Ministry to resign. This means that the Ministry must retain the confidence of a majority in the lower *and* the upper chamber. The tenure of the Cabinet is thus rendered doubly unsafe. In India however it is proposed in the new constitution to make it possible for the Ministry to remain in office so long as it retains the confidence of one-fourth or at the most one-third of those present at a joint sitting of the two houses of the legislature. Even if the Ministry has forfeited the confidence of the Legislative Assembly in a most decisive manner it will still retain office if it can win a fair amount of support from the Council of State, which is avowedly to be a conservative body. Another result of this provision may be noted: the proportion of the States' representatives in the central legislature would be a little over a third, even if the States were persuaded to abate their claims somewhat. And a third is the larger of the two proportions suggested enabling the Ministry to retain office. It is therefore quite conceivable that a Ministry may maintain itself in power on the sole support of Their Highnesses without having a single vote from British India to its credit.

In no constitution is it made more difficult to throw Ministers out of office than it is proposed to make under our constitution. Even the new Egyptian constitution of Sidky Pasha which has plunged the country in a maelstrom of popular opposition is not so stringent as would be ours under the proposals discussed above. Under the 1923 con-

stitution in Egypt votes of no-confidence took effect when supported by an ordinary majority in the Chamber of Deputies. In future, however, these votes will not take effect unless supported by an absolute majority of each Chamber. In our country support of two-thirds or three-fourths will be required for the no-confidence motion to take effect, and a three-fourths or even a two-thirds majority of those present in a joint session of the two houses is a little worse than an absolute majority of each chamber. The Egyptian constitution has confessedly been forced upon the country and bids fair to arouse a nation-wide boycott. Are we ourselves to fashion for our own country a constitution, more undemocratic in every respect than the Egyptian constitution? Indeed, the proposals, if allowed to prevail, would in effect establish in India an irremovable executive, just the system which Mr. Garvin and all the other diehards in England and India have been pressing upon our attention as the most suitable to Indian conditions. Do we want an irremovable executive?

ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF STATES.

THE view that, in the future federation, States should not be allowed to be represented by the Princes' nominees, but that popular elective representation should be insisted upon, is gaining ground. It has now enlisted the earnest support of no less a publicist than Mr. R. G. Pradhan, who is as well known for the sobriety of his judgment as for the fervour of his patriotism. In an address which he delivered on the 5th inst. to a taluka sabha in Bhor State (near Poona) as its president, Mr. Pradhan administered a severe rebuke to the Federal Structure Committee for leaving it to the States to send in their representatives to the federal legislature in what manner they liked. He convicts them of "culpable neglect" of the rights and interests of British India as well as the States. This is a matter in which, he says, the people of British India cannot possibly disinterest themselves; they are certainly entitled to demand, and it is indeed their sacred duty to demand, in the interest of British India alone, that States be represented in both chambers by popularly elected representatives. For the federation that is sought to be established will not be a true federation, unless it is "a federation of the peoples—the people of British India and the people of Indian India." As it is, the federation that will come into being will be one of the people of British India and the rulers of Indian India, and will thus be "a curious mixture of two diametrically opposite principles—the principle of responsibility and the principle of autocracy." Mr. Pradhan assumes that we are now fighting, not merely for self-government, but for democracy, and says, "Surely, the future constitution of India should give no room to autocracy; it should embody the principle of popular responsibility pure and unsullied." Will the States then have any share, he asks, in the general distribution of power that is going to take place? "In the Feast of Rejoicing and Thanksgiving that may be held to celebrate the new

era, will they be allowed to participate, or are they merely to be a skeleton in the cupboard?" If they are excluded from representation by means of election, then it will mean that "they are to remain in political helotage, in a state of political inferiority and subjection," and for such a federation Mr. Pradhan has no use whatsoever. He therefore advises the subjects of Indian States to carry on an intensive agitation everywhere in order to make the point of view known. But Mr. Pradhan is more concerned for British India than for the States, and in the interest of the latter he would have British Indian leaders to declare in unmistakable terms that "they will have nothing to do with the proposed Federal constitution unless its ultimate aim is to create a real federation of the peoples and unless the people in the States are allowed to have a share in the choice of the representatives of the Federal Assembly." Here of course Mr. Pradhan has reduced the States' people's demand to a minimum. He wants only a proportion of the States' representatives in the lower house alone to be chosen by popular election. This he has done in order that British Indians may be able to say to the Princes, "Either this kind of federation with at least so much of popular element in it or no federation at all." He hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi, if no one else, will press this matter close and will win another victory for India.

We have said above that Mr. Pradhan assumes that we are now fighting, not merely for self-government, but for democracy. But the assumption may not be altogether warranted. All the criticism of the Federal Structure Committee by him, which sounds so harsh, can be spared if on the contrary we believe that they place self-government first and democracy second.

MUSSOLINI'S ITALY.

IT is now more than eight years since I first made my acquaintance with Italy. Fascism was still in its making, Mussolini was still the leader of the rebellious spirit, parliamentarism still held good, and Italy for all outward purposes was a democratically governed country. Little did I suspect that, soon after my departure from Italy, the now famous 'March of Fascists' on Rome would take place, the Liberal Parliamentary leaders would hand over their reins of power to the Duce, and the King would welcome an adventurer, backed by capitalists and landlords to the seat of power.

What I saw while I was on my study tour has, however, convinced me that the Italians did not have enough civic sense and democratic fervour to prevent brigandage, incendiarism, and private warfare on the part of some of themselves. Neither the Liberal Party in Parliament nor the Government in power for the time being nor the local police took care either to afford the necessary security for private persons or corporate institutions or to bring to book those who broke laws, injured others' feelings or damaged the reputation, life or property of a section of the population. I felt, more than once, that among such a people and in such a country, there could be little prospect for the success of democracy.

I have seen with my own eyes buildings of the cooperative societies, organised and fostered by Socialists, burnt down by Fascists. In more than

one place, were the hay-stacks, stables or other form of property, belonging to such societies, impudently set fire to and destroyed. Many a Socialist leader, local or national, was not only threatened with death but was often subjected to bodily injury and insults. I was myself ordered, by some Fascist youths of Ravenna, to quit that place simply because I was seen always in the company of Socialists and because an appreciative note by me about the contribution of the Socialists to the cooperative movement was published by my late lamented friend Signor Serrati, Editor of *Avanti* of Milan.

The numerous ex-servicemen who were unemployed, the large numbers of Italians who returned from America with their pockets full of money and their heads full of individualistic ideals and the restless youth, all found in Fascism the one attractive channel for expressing their enthusiasm and sociable feeling which otherwise would have, under normal conditions, found vent through Party organisations. Little bands of young men used to parade the streets of every town, with their Black Shirts on, and the enchanting musical accompaniments. When I was in Rome, an impressive parade of the Fascists was organised and the people at large began to feel that there was something marvellously great in Fascism. The superstitious Italian, ignorant and inexperienced in democratic institutions, seized upon Fascism to express all his pent up feelings of discontent with the then prevailing depressing economic conditions.

No wonder, Fascism has succeeded and Mussolini is installed in power. The outside world only knew the horrors such as the Matteotti murder that came to be staged after the triumph of Fascism, but in fact Fascism merely repeated, while in power, what it was doing long before it had come into power: Murder and rapine, repression and dictatorship, bribery and official pressure have been freely utilised, strongly suggestive of Machiavellian ingenuity, in order to pave the way and smoothen the path for the uncontrolled and unprincipled regime of Mussolini. Is it then any wonder that the *Avanti* of Milan and all other Socialist papers were permanently suppressed, that the famous and influential National daily, the *Corriere Sella-Sella* of Milan was so badly muzzled that it could appear only in Fascist fashion, and that there could be no journal in Italy which could dare publish anything before it was properly censored?

Mussolini wrongly claims efficiency for his regime. The American and English tourists are impressed with the punctuality of the train departures and arrivals, as if such a thing was never heard of in pre-Mussolini Italy. I can vouchsafe for the fact that as far as trains are concerned, the English journalists are woefully wrong, since even in the democratically governed Italy, trains ran just as satisfactorily as they do now.

There is no doubt that Mussolini knows the art of advertisement almost to perfection. Take one instance. Pompeii, the famous ruins of an ancient Roman city, can be approached from Naples via two routes, one used by Italians for all usual purposes and the other set apart mainly for motor traffic. The former is as shabby as all other Italian roads, provided with an undulating surface of square blocks of stones fitted in and having no proper drainage facilities. The other is a well tarred road, with white stone fitted in as border on either side, giving a very pleasant appearance. Few cars are met with on this long road of sixteen miles; road traffic police are to be found here and there; quickest possible motor speed can be reached; the road surface is smooth and even and police directions are excellent. One gets the impression that Italy is in no way inferior to the

Americanised cities of England, so far as its roads and road traffic control go.

It is true that if only the tourists take the trouble to take the other road and walk or ride a few miles from Pompeii, they will be able to discover the real state of things, but so few of them have the patience or the interest to take so much trouble. The much desired effect is produced on most of the tourists; Fascism is hailed and Italy is admired. So Mussolini rules and rules continuously.

When I was travelling in Italy, I noticed that the hotel-keepers were specially rapacious and the several entries for tourist tax and similar imposts, put in one's bill, annoyed me immensely. I hear that this bad practice has become worse in the intervening period of eight years. An incident that was related by a friend is indicative of the hollowness of Mussolini's claim for efficiency. This gentleman had some silks with him and was boarding the steamer in Naples; the customs officials insisted upon a particular payment as duty and despite the protests of my friend that silk, when exported, was not liable to be taxed even in Italy, the officers succeeded in collecting the duty, without giving him a receipt!

I saw years ago, the famous Italian, Prof. Sylvestri, who was professor of History in Naples, while he was lecturing in the Balliol Hall at Oxford, upon Mussolini's regime. I could never forget the emotion with which he narrated the misdeeds of Fascism. He was a distinguished historian and was for a number of years a member of Parliament working in the Liberal Party. For the mere sin of refusing to join the Fascist movement, he was compelled to resign his post and had eventually to remain in exile in England. My friend, Signor Odom Poir, who was much interested in the co-operative movement and Socialism was obliged to recant and sing the glories of Fascism! An Italian lecturer whom I met at Prof. Laski's table was continually obliged to talk in hushed tones, whenever he had to say anything about his own country. The Italian residents of England, whom I encountered at the 1930 Club in London, were furious about Fascism because they felt the injury done to their souls by Mussolini's repressive policy. I asked an Italian business man, who was working with the Italian chamber of commerce in London, for his opinion about Fascism. He said that the less said about Fascism the better for his business and himself. In hushed tones, in silent looks, in bashful resentments, in blind but suppressed hatred alone can millions of Italians express their dissatisfaction with Fascism. It may be quite possible that in a few years, the great majority of Italians may revert to their traditional habit of inarticulate submission. If luck will have it, it may yet be possible for Italians to succeed in having a constitutional channel for the free expression of their opinions and feelings.

The secret of success for the continuance of Fascism seems to lie in the ability of Mussolini to harness the youth of the country in the service of the big idea, *Italiana* the mother country, by organising them in Fascist regiments. I was fortunate enough to see one of the Fascist Youth Troops, while it was parading in Pompeii. It consisted of about eighty youths. They were all very cheerful, pleasant-faced young men and were clad in the familiar black-shirts with three-coloured—red, yellow and violet—scarves around their necks. I found a number of young Fascists in Naples and in a few villages that I had a chance of seeing and they all seemed to be awfully proud of their colours, troops and Fascism. It is generally believed that it is these innocent people who are made use of by Fascism whenever any black crime has to be perpetrated. If one is to infer

anything at all from the kind of March the Pompeii Troops showed us and the discipline—rather the lack of it—maintained by them, one should say that Fascist Troops cannot at all be adjudged as efficient. If one is to venture any observation upon the Fascist rule in general on the basis of these few isolated instances, that observation will be anything but complimentary.

Before I conclude I must, in fairness to Fascists, say that the few Fascist youths, with whom I talked, evinced very great interest in the Indian cause and expressed their admiration of Mahatma Gandhi. The other Indians who were in Naples for a day or two were also surprised at the great interest displayed by different sections of the professional classes of Naples in Mahatma Gandhi.

In conclusion, I am emphatically of the opinion that Fascism has done more harm than good to Italy in that freedom of speech and thought is suppressed, while the people's political education is destroyed. Fascism affords neither efficient nor good government.

N. G. RANGA.

Reviews.

PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES.

THE INDIAN STATES, THEIR STATUS, RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS. By D. K. SEN. (Sweet & Maxwell.) 1930. 22 cm. 234 p. 10/—

OF late some noticeable addition to the scanty literature on this subject has been made. The relations of the Indian States with the British Government in India during the last one hundred and twenty years have developed along such irregular and arbitrary lines as to baffle all attempts at a scientific treatment on the part of constitutional lawyers and political historians. The author of this book has examined these relations from a purely legal standpoint. This volume is more or less a twin-brother to the brief presented to the Indian States (called after its chairman, the Butler) Committee by Sir Leslie Scott on behalf of the Chamber of Princes.

The main thesis of the book is that the Indian Rulers, at any rate of the major States, are full-fledged sovereigns who have not lost their international status by coming under the protection of the British Power. Their sovereignty admits of that restriction, and that alone, which has been laid down in the terms of the treaties concluded by them with the British Government. Further, the principles of international law are, and should be, applicable to the interpretation of those treaties. The latter should be regarded as voluntary agreements between equals, and that they are the only authorities for regulating these relations. Where the treaties are silent or obscure the principles of international law must be held to apply. While recognising that the States are not all of the same type or status, the author declares that neither of the contracting parties to the treaties can violate or defy those engagements without the express or implied consent of the other. Taking his stand on this argument the writer challenges the right of the Government of India to interfere in the internal affairs of the States. It is illegal for that Government to introduce its jurisdictional authority in the territories of the Indian States, to exercise (unless expressly given or solicited) the right to regulate succession to the *gadis* of their rulers, or to impose restrictions on the states in the matter of Railway and Telegraph construction and salt and

opium manufacture. Mr. Sen strongly supports the theory that the relations of the Indian States are with the Crown and that the Government of India deals with them only as subordinate agents of the British Crown and not in its own right.

These opinions are ardently expressed. A plausible case is made up and then it is comprehensively pleaded. A large number of English and continental jurists are brought in to give evidence and then to be cross-examined and re-examined. The tone of the whole book from the first page to the last has the look of an appeal to the public against, what the author considers, the wrong and unjust judgment of the lower court, the Government of India. The impartial reader who is called upon to hear this appeal feels obliged, after going into the merits of the case, to dismiss it with some such comment as this: "The court feels genuine sympathy for the appellant who has suffered undue and undoubted hardship owing to the obscurity of the law on this subject, but is not prepared to allow the letter of the law to kill its spirit, the hollow conventions of a bygone age to eclipse altogether the reality of life as it has been built up by the conduct of the two parties. Law is meant to serve man, man was not made for law. The appellant has a weak case though a clever counsel."

The book in spite of its earnest pleading fails to convince its reader because its author chooses deliberately to misapply his law, ignore the events of a hundred years, disregard the value of usage and the force of precedent in the study of his subject. He should not complain if he meets with failure when he tries the impossible task of bridging an ocean which now divides the *de jure* from the *de facto* state of things. Formerly it was only a narrow gulf, although from the very beginning it has been deep enough in all conscience.

Whatever may be the text of the treaties, the actual relations prevailing between the contracting parties have to be estimated in the light of the conditions at the time of interpreting the treaties and not simply from their written word. Treaties alone cannot obstruct development or prevent change in the relative position of the parties. What has been the practice since the treaties were concluded?

It is common knowledge that the Indian Princes have found their sovereignty progressively curtailed. Even the biggest of them have had to submit to almost meticulous interference in their internal affairs on the part of Political officers of the Government of India. The latter hears and decides appeals preferred by the feudatories against their Princes. Their succession, in order to be valid, must be recognised by the Governor General. There have been cases of deposition, forced abdication, even arrests of Indian rulers by orders of the British Government. Even in the matter of appointing and dismissing their ministers many leading States do not exercise the freedom of a sovereign ruler. These acts of the Political Department may have been high-handed and unlawful, being against the terms of the treaties, but the fact remains that the States silently submitted to the acts and declarations of the British Government which substantially modified, if not abrogated, the original spirit of the treaties. It is hardly incorrect, therefore, to assume in the words of a recent writer that the Indian States "were sovereign to the extent and up to the time that they were allowed by the British Government to wield the powers of sovereignty." Clearly international law cannot be applied to them. They lost their international status long ago.

Even the treaties concluded with them by the British must be read as a whole. A study

of individual engagements gives a wholly incorrect estimate of the existing relations. As Lord Curzon once declared, in process of time they "have conformed to a single type." Lee-Warner clearly and rightly stresses this point. The author of this book, however, refuses to admit its force, and holds to the text of the individual agreements with almost child-like tenacity. If his position were to be taken as correct some absurd conclusions would follow. The Rana of Dholpur would rank with the king of Nepal, the Maharaja of Alwar would be superior in rank to the ruler of Indore, and the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja of Mysore would be reduced to the status of fourth class rulers! The truth of the matter, however, is that since the treaties were concluded "a general levelling process has been at work," and as a result of a century of usage and precedents the old position has been considerably modified—a change which "is better understood than explained."

In the discussion of a delicate subject like the present one the author could serve the interest of his cause better if he did not disregard the "dangers in inconvenient precision and in premature inferences." The experience in the past has not been very helpful either. The Nizam of Hyderabad forced the issue in 1926. The result was the famous letter of Lord Reading which nobody has yet forgotten. The Chamber of Princes pressed for the definition of their position and the Butler Committee made a present to them of the formula "Paramountcy must remain paramount." Under such circumstances while the form and fiction of the sanctity of treaties are maintained by the British Government out of expediency and by the Princes from a mistaken sense of prestige mingled with unjustified optimism, what prevents an impartial and independent jurist like Westlake from thinking that the Indian States have ceased to be sovereign and that their treaties are practically abrogated?

One acid test should be applied to these treaties in order to estimate their true character. Is it open to the Indian States to withdraw from them? Theoretically speaking, Yes, but for all practical purposes, No! The answer to this question was also given quite clearly by Barlow as early as 1806—and he was a non-interfering Governor-General—in dealing with the Nizam. How can the Indian Princes claim international status if they are denied the ordinary right of withdrawing their consent (with due notice) which they have voluntarily given?

To be quite fair one must not be too hasty in blaming the British Government for what has happened. The parties to the treaties were so unequal that what followed was inevitable. The dominant party could not help domineering because the weaker side grew steadily weaker, and had to be saved against its own weakness. All pious declarations against the justice or the wisdom of the policy of interference proved futile. To take only two examples. Both Metcalfe and the Marquis of Hastings strongly condemned interference in the internal affairs of the States in unmeasured terms, but both were led by the weakness of the States, further demoralised by those treaties, actively to interfere in the affairs of Hyderabad, Udaipur and Jaipur. They could not have helped it.

The writer of this book is almost too legal in his argument with the result that his work becomes a legal romance, remote from reality. His perspective is much distorted, if there is any at all. His zeal in proving his case leads him into awkward situations. For example, his interpretation of the word *sanad* is indeed strained to the breaking point. He quotes with silent approval the words of Dalhousie's, that "the interposition of the Government of India in the internal affairs of the Nizam has on no occasion been

brought into action, except on the application of His Highness himself" (p. 161). This is an entirely false statement which the author should have refused, in stead of using it as an argument in support of an untenable case. Then again his attempt at explaining away the exception of Dholpur on the ground of *de facto* relations implying consent (p. 165) gives his whole case away, rather tears it to pieces.

The chapter on "Jurisdictional Authority" is well written, and his remarks on the subject of residuary jurisdiction will be widely endorsed. On the whole the writer has used his legal knowledge well. If this work succeeds in advancing the status of the Indian States from the sphere of the rule of discretion to that of the rule of law, the writer's efforts will be amply rewarded.

MOHAN SINGH MEHTA.

TWO GANDHIAN BOOKS.

MAHATMA GANDHI: HIS OWN STORY. Ed. by C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1930. 22 cm. 350 p. 12/6.

MAHATMA GANDHI: THE MAN & HIS MISSION. 8th Edn. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 20 cm. 144 + 27 p. Re. 1/—

MR. ANDREWS has edited the now classical *Story of My Experiments with Truth* in a form "easily intelligible in the West without sacrificing any of its peculiarly Eastern setting." It is intended to be a companion volume to *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*. It is an abridgement, and omits the most prolonged and intricate of all Gandhiji's passive resistance struggles, undertaken in the Transvaal, though the story of the Natal Satyagraha, "which was the crown of his moral achievement in South Africa," is told in full. Another omission has been that of the lengthy discussions of diet restriction, combined with fasting, on which Gandhiji set great store in the original books. On the other hand, Mr. Andrews makes use of *Satyagraha in South Africa* and contributes a preface and conclusion which, in a style of great sympathy and beauty, epitomise the moral character of the Mahatma.

As it is not likely that this volume will circulate very widely among Indian readers who will naturally prefer the unabridged revision of the *Experiments with Truth*, it will be worth while quoting two of the beautiful passages in which Mr. Andrews interprets Mahatma Gandhi's estimate of human conduct. He says :

It will be found to centre in three cardinal virtues, recurrent in all his writings. These are Truth, Loving Kindness, and Inner Purity. (Satya, Ahimsa and Brahmacharya). The first pair of these together form the Eternal Quest of the soul and devote its infinite yearning to pass through this mortal existence without transgressing more than can be possibly avoided the ultimate spiritual realities. The full music of life demands the harmony of Truth and Love. But so difficult is the music to master, and so complete is the renunciation required that success can only be attained through a body and soul kept clean from all sensual passion. Therefore the constant refrain of Inner Purity runs through all his writings wherein at one time Love is the dominant note, and at another time Truth.

At the end of the book, Mr. Andrews speaks of that atmosphere of peace and reconciliation in which "Bapu would wish to be left," an atmosphere of peace won through the constant fearless facing of Truth in the spirit of Love. The end to be obtained was not any outward victory, however glorious, but rather the supreme victory within the heart. There, in the heart itself, Truth and Inner Purity and Loving

Kindness were to have their undivided thrones. There the spiritual test of character was to be carried through to the very end. There—to quote his own words:

When that fineness and rarity of spirit which I long for have become perfectly natural to me; when I have become incapable of any evil; when nothing harsh or haughty occupies, be it momentarily, my thought-world then, and not till then, will my non-violence move the hearts of all the world.

Such writing shows that the Editor is worthy of his great subject. Mr. Andrews has done a remarkable service to the Indian cause, by giving Western readers access to the authentic records of the Mahatma's life, and many people in England have experienced a genuine "change of heart" as a result.

The booklet published by the enterprise of Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. represents the original sketch of the Mahatma's life written by Mr. H. S. L. Polak brought up to date, in this eighth edition, with an account of the events of 1930, "appreciation" by fourteen journalists and others, and the Rules and Regulations of the Satyagraha Ashram of Sabarmati. The earlier part of the booklet from the pen of Mr. Polak is admirably done, but the description of the 1930 campaign is badly written, muddled and inaccurate. However, the booklet is a handy one, and contains much information in an easily accessible form.

H. V. ELWIN.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S PLAIN SPEAKING.

INDIAN PROBLEMS. BEING SOME ESSAYS ADDRESSED TO PATRIOTS WITH THE "CONGRESS MENTALITY." By F. W. WILSON. (Lala Ram Mohan Lal, Allahabad.) 1929. 20cm. 108p. Re. 1-8.

THIS booklet, though somewhat out of date now, has still a function to perform in the constructive work lying before us during the coming months. The thoughts are as fresh to-day as they were last year and there is need for their propagation. As Mr. Wilson says in the introduction, "there is a distressing lack of thoroughness in the constructive political programmes of the country" and the present time is just opportune for such programmes. In the chapter on the need for unity, Mr. Wilson pleads for mutual goodwill, understanding and tolerance and says rightly that the main bane of modern Indian civilization,—the Hindu-Muslim cleavage—must be healed. To secure political unity he appeals to members of the Congress to concentrate on Dominion Status and refrain from mixing up minor issues with it and thus alienating the other parties. Anent social reform he would have the Indians start immediately on some specified social reforms without waiting for the realization of self-government, since he does not believe that lightning change will come in this sphere simply on the attainment of Dominion Status.

With regard to the co-operation of Indian States Mr. Wilson is decidedly optimistic since he opines that nothing can prevent the States Governments from changing along modern lines when Federation is effected and the internal political institutions in the States are remodelled. The chapter on the Civic Sense deserves to be read carefully by all provincial legislators since on them devolves the duty of purging the provinces of the "low standards" of public life set up by self-seekers, sycophants and interested persons who at present degrade the provincial public life. Mr. Wilson regards the industrial revolution in India as inevitable and offers some trenchant

criticisms of the school which believes in forcing India back to the primitive and simple system of industry symbolised by the spinning wheel. India, under Dominion Status must, in his opinion, be industrially organized to a high degree of efficiency by the modernization of the methods of production. On the question of the unemployment amongst the educated middle classes, Mr. Wilson agrees with the report of the Sadler Commission that the present system of education creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled; but it is clear that he has no remedy to offer for this evil.

Mr. Wilson, while admiring the desire for freedom on the part of India's young men, deprecates "the lack of a sense of reality and a sense of responsibility" in them—a thought with which we fully sympathise. He deprecates the theory that Dominion Status is merely another form of perpetuating British Imperialism and India's bondage; and he has proved by ample references that it gives as full a measure of independence as is desired by any nation. For a good deal of plain speaking from a sympathetic friend of Indians this small book will have few competitors and we commend it to all politically-minded people in India.

V. N. GODBOLE.

FUTURE OF BRITISH COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

THE FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE TRADE. By J. E. RAY. (Pitman.) 1930. 18cm. 128p. 2/-.

WHAT is wrong with the British Trade? Can the tragic seriousness of eight long winters of unemployment be averted? Can the British commercial supremacy be restored? If so, on what lines? This little book is an answer to these questions.

The author begins with an examination of the trend of the British Colonial and world trade during the last twenty years and notes with alarm the rapid industrialisation of Canada with the help of the United States of America, the attempt of India to become self-sufficing, the loss of the world market by Britain to Germany, Belgium and Austria in Europe, to the United States in the New World and to Japan in the Far East and the economic conquest of the Dominions and Colonies by foreign countries; and he concludes:

If England must retain her trade, industry and prosperity, it is possible only on imperial lines... The peoples of Great Britain and the colonies must study the question of Empire trading and methods of developing it. ...The resources of the Empire are vast and infinite and on their development by the Empire depends the future prosperity of the units of the British Commonwealth and the existence of the Empire as a whole.... The problem of development is both complex and urgent and unless the work is taken up without any further delay, the economic conquest of the Dominions by foreign countries would be made complete.

He then invokes the ghost of Joseph Chamberlain, condemns the free trade policy of Britain which leads to the disintegration of the Empire and asks every one to think imperially.

Defence is not always a common interest of the Empire; but that trade is there can be no doubt.... Under new and increasingly powerful combines of foreign capital and trusts and industrial groups the Empire will be compelled to protect itself by some measure and a system of preferential tariffs appears to be the only defensive weapon available. Sentiment alone is powerless to withstand the pressure of economic force. The Empire must be knit together by a sense of economic unity and solidarity based on tariff preferences which

alone can reserve for Great Britain its home market and multiply its customers in the overseas parts of the Empire by increasing their purchasing power as a result of increased purchases from them by Britain.

The eloquent plea for the adoption of Imperial Preference raises some important and interesting questions. Firstly, while its adoption is obviously an advantage to the United Kingdom how far it will really benefit the Dominions and the colonies is left unconsidered by the author. Secondly, is there a sound economic basis for the existence of the Empire which will lead to a fuller development of the interests of the parts as well as of the whole? Economic development on national and international lines is natural and conceivable. But what is this Empire economy? It is narrow politics; a crude racial sentiment. It satisfies neither the old national ideas nor the new international aspirations. The natural line of economic progress in the future lies in the development of such neighbouring groups, as the American group in the west, the European group in the centre and the Asiatic group in the East and through them the linking of the whole world; not the political or the exploiting group called the Empire—a collection of different peoples scattered over the world. The author has well appreciated the trend of recent events but his imperial politics has overpowered his commonsense of economics. He says:—

In the coming realignment of the world economic forces the nations of the Empire cannot afford to stand isolated economic units; they must allow themselves to be absorbed either in the neighbouring group or in the Empire group.

Quite so; but a little thinking will show that the former is natural and therefore abiding; the latter artificial and therefore fleeting; the one is based on sound principles of economic rationalisation, the other on sentiment, blood and language.

Again, what would be the attitude of Britain towards the industrial development of Canada and other Dominions which cannot for long remain agricultural countries; and what about the competition among the countries within the Empire for the Empire market? These questions are not considered by the author who is evidently perturbed by the present conditions of Great Britain rather than by the future conflicts in the Empire—which future is not far off. He remarks:

At present England seems to be drifting towards perdition... Something must be done to revive our industries and our export trade and to relieve our present depression.

The future is indeed gloomy. It cannot be made brighter by persisting to work out old and worn-out ideas.

K. S. V.

MEDICAL WOMEN'S WORK IN INDIA.

THE WORK OF THE MEDICAL WOMEN IN INDIA. By MARGARET I. BALFOUR & RUTH YOUNG. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929. 22cm. 201p. Rs. 6/-

THIS is really a very interesting and informative book giving in brief an account of the work done by medical women in India and dealing with allied problems such as the medical education of women, child welfare and maternal care, early motherhood, etc. It has been written by two distinguished members of the Women's Medical Service who have been engaged in curative and preventive work for many years and have had the opportunity of closely observing the facts and conditions they describe. Being Government servants they have had

access to reports and other material not only of the various Government departments but also of such semi-Government bodies and organizations as the Lady Dufferin Fund and the Lady Chelmsford League for Maternity and Child-Welfare, which has been freely made use of in compiling the present volume.

The first chapter of the book deals with the habits and conditions of women in India amongst whom the work has been done. It contains in a nutshell a description of the differences of race and religion, castes and communities, customs and prejudices, the systems of child marriage and *pardah*, the backwardness of education specially amongst women, and lack of adequate medical facilities specially at the time of child-birth. Very interesting remarks are made on all these matters and a successful attempt has been made at drawing a correct picture without falling a prey to prejudice or over-estimation. An interesting chapter is devoted to the work of pioneer medical women—most of whom were English and American missionaries—who came out to India in the eighties and nineties of the last century. In reading this record one realizes that the paths of these women were strewn with thorns and not with roses and that their difficulties and labours were great and insistent, their problems stiff and not immediately soluble. It is with a sense of some pride that one reads about the taking of medical degrees of English Universities by Indian ladies even before the dawn of the present century just when their English and American sisters had fought for and won the right of entering the medical profession and securing admission to medical schools and colleges. An excellent chapter deals with the history of the Lady Dufferin Fund the formation of which in the year 1885 gave a tremendous impetus to public opinion in the matter of medical relief to women. Under the scheme a chain of hospitals and maternity homes was formed in important towns and cities in India and all these institutions were given in charge of medical women who were to do their work under the supervision and guidance of medical officers of the various places. The public consciousness which has been considerably aroused since then has resulted in our times, amongst many other things, in the inauguration and development of the Women's Medical Service and in founding the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women at Delhi. The Christian missionaries have also done wonderful work in rendering medical relief to the women of India and an appreciative and generous mention of the same has been made in a separate chapter of the book under review.

Two important chapters deal with preventive medicine, including problems of child-birth and ante-natal care with an account of the child welfare movement in India. In this connection, the Lady Chelmsford League for Maternity and Child-Welfare has done much spade work by starting the Lady Reading Public Health School at Delhi and giving liberal grants to such schools started by Provincial Governments or public organizations for the training of Health Visitors. The joint authors are best fitted for a work of this kind for they themselves are doctors who have endeavoured long and enthusiastically for bringing medical relief to the women of India. The book deserves to be placed in the hands of every social worker in India as a reading of the same is bound to prove very useful and instructive to him. The Indian reader in general and the social worker in particular owes a deep debt of gratitude to the joint authors for their valuable compilation.

SARALABAI NAIK.

SANSKRIT TALES RENDERED INTO ENGLISH.

TALES FROM SANSKRIT DRAMATISTS, By M. HIRIYANNA & OTHERS. (G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1930. 20 cm. 365 p. Rs. 2

THIS book presents, in an English garb, the plots of ten well-known Sanskrit dramas in prose narrative on the lines of *Lamb's Tales* from Shakespeare. Ranging over a vast field of Sanskrit drama from Bhāsa (about 200 B. C.) down to Vishakadatta who lived in the seventh or eighth century it includes abridgements of (1) The vision of Vasawadatta, (2) Avimāraka, (3) Mricchakatika, (4) Shākuntala, (5) Mālavikāgnimitra, (6) Vikramorvashiyam, (7) Mālatimādhav, (8) Nāganda, (9) Ratnavali and (10) Mudra Rakshasa. It is intended to bring the glorious treasure of Sanskrit dramas within the reach of a lay reader who is unacquainted with Sanskrit. It is true that from the epitome of a story one can form some idea of the poet's skill in the construction of a plot and his masterly delineation of characters, although one had better drink deep at the fountain and appreciate the beauties in original.

The special feature of the book seems to be that different tales are written by seven different Sanskritists—Prof. Hiriyanna, Dr. De and others, each of whom has perhaps selected for himself his own favourite drama for rendering into English. It was indeed a happy idea of Mr. Natesan's to employ more pens than one in order to secure a variety of style and diction. Each tale is preceded by an introductory note giving a short life of the respective Sanskrit playwright and containing a few critical remarks on his original composition.

As regards the selection of dramas Mr. Natesan has on the whole made a judicious choice, but the book seems incomplete without that masterpiece—Bhambuti's *Uttara-Rama-Charita* which is at times given by some a higher place than Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* and hence its omission from this collection is rather a drawback. The publishers should have also included Bhatta—Nārāyan's *Venisanhara*, the only heroic drama of its kind in the whole of Sanskrit literature.

In narrating the stories in easy, flowing and elegant English, the writers have as far as possible closely followed the plots of the original, but here and there one finds in the body of the story itself such side remarks as "As in the Athens of Perikles, so in ancient India, the courtesan was not without accomplishments." (p. 64.) In this connection we have to observe that the writer should confine himself to the similes and metaphors in the original and if he cannot resist the temptation of quoting a parallel he had better give it in a footnote.

In our opinion, it would be far better if such summaries appeared in Indian vernaculars so that the latter which are already suffering from paucity of thought would be enriched simultaneously with the opening out of the treasures of Sanskrit literature to the lay mind, the knowledge of classics being the only means of introducing our young men and women to the real culture and heritage of India.

Lastly, a suggestion may be usefully offered to Mr. Natesan,—that he should insert in the next edition suitable and artistic pictures to add to the interest of the book which can be read with profit and pleasure by school and college students and also by those who have not the leisure to pursue original studies in Sanskrit literature.

N. S. NAVARE.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONISM.

LABOUR ORGANIZATION. BY J. CUNNISON.
(Pitman.) 1930. 23cm. 272p. 7/6.

THE present volume deals with "the development, significance, and purpose of trade unions in industry". Intended primarily as a text book, it gives a plain and succinct narrative of the growth of the trade union movement, and outlines the activities, national and international, on which modern trade unionism is branching out.

What is a Trade Union? It is a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives. Whether the workers be tinkers or tailors, they have certain interests in common; thus it is of special interest to them that the conditions under which they work, including such matters as sanitation, health, safety and hours of labour, should be good; that the remuneration for their work should be satisfactory; that they should have security of tenure in their employment; and, finally, that they should have some voice in the determination of these conditions. There is also, in addition, the possibility of conflict between the workers and their employers over the distribution of the product; and the demand for an increased share in the direction of industry and control over its conditions involves some interference with the freedom and power of the employer. As against the economic strength of the employer, the worker could rely only on the numerical strength of his class; and even this is of no avail if there is no cohesion and organisation among them. Workers' organisations grew in strength and importance in the same degree as their consciousness of common necessities developed, but it was not till the worker was completely deprived of all control over the means of production that he awoke to a realisation of his completely dependent position. Incidentally, this may perhaps be among the reasons why the Indian worker, who even now maintains his nexus with the land, and therefore does not look upon himself as completely divorced from the means of production, has been so slow to establish trade unions of his own. However that may be, trade unionism has made great headway in all industrial countries, and it is now necessary to analyse its structure and functions so that it may be the better equipped for its inevitable struggle with the employing classes. The main part of the book is devoted to a consideration of trade union functions, and much useful information is given under the four headings "Negotiation," "Wages Policy," "Control of Working Conditions," and "Insurance." Every aspect of the work undertaken by the union has here been considered and discussed, and, in addition, there are chapters dealing with the International Labour Organisation, and the place of organised labour in the community. A successful attempt has thus been made to connect the individual wage-earner, through the local branch of his trade union, with his National Union, and through it with the Trade Union Congress of the country, which brings him into association with all the wage-earners of his land. Through it, also, he is brought into touch with the International Federation of Trade Unions and with the International Labour Organisation, and so with the whole body of organised labour in other countries. A special reference should be made to the chapter dealing with "the Right of Association" as it is an extremely clear summary of the complicated and even confused subject of the legal history of trade unions.

While the volume may be lacking in the erudition and brilliance displayed by such writers as the Webbs, it is at the same time of considerable value, and we should heartily recommend it to those who

have to run trade unions in this country, or are interested in the healthy development of one of the most democratic movements of our times.

P. P. P.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE BLIND.

THE WORLD OF THE BLIND: A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY. BY PIERRE VILLEY. TRS.

BY ALYS HALLARD. (Duckworth.) 1930. 20cm. 403p. 7/6.

PSYCHOLOGY, though a subject of serious study, never received much serious attention till lately. And blind psychology was a sealed book till advancing blind education made its study imperative. The book under review is a remarkable one, and will occupy a high place among works on the Psychology of the Blind. Written by one himself blind from early childhood and exhibiting experiences drawn from the wide world of the defectives, the book offers to the educated and the elite a new and rare light in a field till now little tapped.

Though fully endowed with five senses, as a rule, most people use only one sense, sight. And since sight furnishes to his mind all the materials it needs for constructing ideas, the mere sense of its loss paralyses thought, and makes so deep an impression upon his brain that he never calls in judgment to his help. Enveloped thus in darkness rendered doubly deep by erring imagination, the sighted man labours under the belief that because sight is lost all is lost. To all such "The World of the Blind" will open a new vista of life. Fully alive to the dangers of hasty generalisations, its author marshals facts with a mastery and examines details with a care and coolness which will do credit to the best sighted. Reasoning thus, the blind Professor, step by step, leads his sighted reader till he, once and for ever, tears asunder that thick veil of ignorance and mystery his misguided imagination has so erroneously conjured up around all blind life.

The author candidly concedes that while it may remain difficult for the blind man to compete with the sighted in all spheres of activity, the fact remains that eye-sight is not essential to the perfect functioning of thought. Unless diseases blind eyes and affect the brain the integrity of the intelligence stands safe. Barring colour and light, the elements of visual sensation are all fully found in the tactile sensation. Like the eye touch too explores these elementary notions of space, extent, solidity, etc. with the same or perhaps even greater exactness.

Sight is long distance touch. Touch is near sight. The eye only monopolises colour and light. But the two senses give knowledge of the same order. Again, colour and light concern the superficial part of objects. They do not enter into the constitution of ideas essential to thought such as space, time, cause, etc.

The blind thus miss a good deal. But there is no intellectual loss. That means that it is not impossible for the blind to conceive ideas. The only question now is: have they the means to acquire them? There is certainly no route like the eye which leads ideas to the brain more rapidly and with more precision. And here the author comes to the rescue.

So great is the triumph of blind education and blind psychology, that a blind author, blind from early childhood, is able to disillusion the sighted world, and to convince it that loss of sight does not mean loss of everything. Examining experiences of the handicapped of humanity, and noticing in detail how they develop the hidden resources drawn from their armouries of senses left

unaffected (be it touch, hearing, smell, taste,) the author helps his reader to the happy conclusion that mere loss of sight or of any other sense alike does not affect the other senses. That loss is a mere loss of that single apparatus. It does not touch the intellect. It does not affect the will. It leaves the individual entirely unscathed. His soul stands entire and intact. And with Hellen Keller, blind and deaf and without speech, and Laura Bridgman further deprived of smell and taste, and with Gaugan Yves and Merie Huertin and a whole host of handicapped people doubly and trebly disabled, some even from very birth, and many exhibiting unusual ability, rising above their handicaps and standing out practically triumphant in spite of all odds against them, the author is able to lead even the most sceptical of his sighted readers into the full blaze of light that they too may see for themselves that our blind and deaf, minus the senses lost, are entirely normal.

To Indian readers the book has a fascination all its own. Sons of a soil proverbially known for its vast wealth and learning, its arts and industries, steeped to-day in abject poverty and ignorance and physical blindness far in excess of many other parts of the world, we may here find a solution of one of our most pressing social, moral, industrial and other national problems that stand behind the mighty mass of our blind. Passing pity which drops a coin or two has long kept our blind alive. Their vociferous cries have long penetrated the inmost recesses of our homes and hearts.

May the pen of Pierrie Villey furnish us with the necessary inspiration to stand by the few, the very few, voluntary workers that have undertaken to unlock the floodgates of light to our blind that we too may say that all India is with them.

H. D. CHHATRAPATI.

SHORT NOTICES.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS. By SIR JOHN SIMON. Ed. by D. ROWLAND EVANS. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1930. 21 cm. 391 p. 1/6.

THIS book contains the speeches made by Sir John Simon on different occasions. Most of them deal with matters touching British politics in which we are hardly interested. But his famous speech in Parliament of May 6, 1926 in which he branded a general strike as illegal is doubtless of wider interest and should be studied by all labour workers. But these *disiecta membra*, as Sir John Simon himself terms them in the foreword, also includes some writings and utterances which are of more direct interest to India. One of these is his speech in the House of Commons debate over the Viceroy's important declaration of October 31, 1929 wherein he stated authoritatively that the natural culmination of responsible government was Dominion Status. His descriptions of the Lloyd Dam and the Sukkur Barrage and the working of a village panchayat are also very interesting and show the wide range of his intellect. The selection also includes his speeches on such subjects as the International Court of Justice, the vocation of an advocate, Sir Walter Scott, Parliamentary Golf, the Literary Associations of chess, the Australian Cricket Team, etc., so that the

book is interesting not merely to the politician and the labour worker but to the general public as well.

S. M. N.

SHORT HISTORY OF INDIAN MATERIALISM. By DAKSHINARANJAN SASTRI. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1930. 20 cm. 48 p.

IN every civilization, we find two tendencies, one towards materialism and the other towards spiritualism, and there are some periods in the history of that civilisation when one is found to be more predominant than the other. The Hindu civilisation is no exception to this rule. The Barhaspahtya, the Lokayat, and the Charak schools and the Kapalika and the Sahajiya sect in Bengal represent rank materialism in Hindu Philosophy, and the doctrine which these schools advocate cannot be bettered by even the present day materialists of the West. In fact, we find even Nietzsche anticipated by some of these writers. The arguments, whether propounded by Eastern or Western materialists, are bound to be almost the same, though some are now represented in terms of physical sciences, but much difference is found in the basic principles of those who refute them. Indian Vedantists answer them from the plane of realistic-spiritualism, while the Western devout Christians or philosophers answer them from the lower plane of the dualism of Biblical philosophy. The author however is not concerned with the refutation of materialism. His aim is to show that Hindu philosophy has had its stage of materialism and although supplanted by the overpowering sway of the Vedanta school, will never vanish completely as it is ingrained in human nature. That is undoubtedly true, and the author deserves congratulations for culling their principles from the extant texts of materialistic works and presenting them in a systematic manner.

We cannot however agree with him when he says that the Swarajists and the Hindu missionaries are the present day successors of the Lokayat school. We are compelled to say that he has utterly failed to understand them.

V. M. BHAT.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. The Presidential Address of Sir Josiah Stamp. (Royal Statistical Society, London.) 1930. 21 cm. 24 p. 1/6.

TORCHBEARERS OF TO-MORROW. Compiled By A. S. SATYARTHI. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1930. 18 cm. 46p. As. 8.

THE DAWN OF ANOTHER RENAISSANCE. By BHAGAVAN DAS. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1931. 18 cm. 25 p. As. 3.

INDUSTRY UNDER SOCIALISM. By ANNIE BESANT. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1931. 18 cm. 32 p. As. 3.

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