

The Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

| | Page |
|--|------|
| TOPICS OF THE WEEK. | 617 |
| ARTICLE :— | |
| Restrictions and Restrictions. | 619 |
| OUR EUROPEAN LETTER :— | |
| The League and Manchuria. | 620 |
| REVIEWS :— | |
| Textile and Lumber Industries in U. S. A. By | |
| K. E. Matthew. | 621 |
| The Mysore State. By S. Gopalaswamy. | 622 |
| SHORT NOTICE. | 623 |
| MISCELLANEOUS :— | |
| The Round Table Conference—Mr. Brailsford | |
| on its Results. | 623 |
| BOOKS RECEIVED. | 624 |

Topics of the Week.

N. W. F. P.

ON the 22nd inst. the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province held a Durbar at Peshawar where he explained in broad outline how the Government proposed to implement the Prime Minister's declaration about the province being granted the status of a Governor's province without delay. He announced that the spade work to that end had already commenced and that the details of the most difficult part of the project, viz. the constitution of a Legislative Council were engaging his close attention. But though he was yet working without the aid of non-officials he proposed soon to set up a non-official committee which would be associated with him in working out the details of the scheme. The Durbar was followed two days later by the promulgation of three ordinances by the Viceroy designed to deal with the situation in that province. The ordinances, into the provisions of which we do not propose to go here, combine the objectionable features of the Bengal and U. P. ordinances and are altogether of a very drastic nature. This action resulting as it has done in the declaration of the Congress organisations in the Peshawar district unlawful is generally looked upon as a declaration of war by the Government against the Congress. Confirmation is lent to this view by the deportation of prominent Congress workers in the province under the obsolete and age-worn regulation III of 1818. By way of justification of this extraordinary proceeding on the part of the Government a lengthy statement has been officially issued; but it fails to bring out the emergency which necessitated the use of his special powers by the Viceroy. That the Red Shirts which are indistinguishable from the Congress were getting strong in the N. W. F. P. needs no saying. But if that is to serve as an excuse for the issue of such ordinances, we fail to understand why similar treatment should not be meted out to the other provinces, for to our knowledge there is hardly any

province where the Congress does not occupy a pre-dominant position as compared to other political parties. If the Frontier Gandhi and his associates were making objectionable speeches, as is sought to be made out in the statement issued by the Chief Commissioner, could they not have been dealt with under the ordinary law? Nor can the refusal of his co-operation by the Frontier Gandhi in the matter of the creation of the N. W. F. P. as a Governor's province, of which a good deal is made in the statement, be looked upon for obvious reasons as a satisfactory ground for his deportation. We should have thought that in a predominantly Muslim province like the N. W. F. P. the Government could easily afford to snap their fingers at the Congress organisation; but apparently they could not be sure of their Muslim friends! In common with the rest of India, the Muslim League which cannot be dismissed as an irresponsible body or as a body composed of irreconcilables, also feels that in issuing these ordinances the Government displayed undue nervousness. Their action is likely to prejudice the calm consideration of the contemplated reforms for that province, and the League rightly urged that in the interests of the successful working of the new constitutional experiment itself the ordinances should be withdrawn. If the reforms turn out to be really substantial as is the official claim, the good sense of the people may be trusted to mobilise itself in their favour without the Government going out of its way to suppress any possible opponents, by action of the sort for which they have recently made themselves responsible. This has always the effect of making the path of constitutionalism more difficult than it need be.

The Situation in U. P.

THE working of the ordinance designed to deal with the no-rent campaign in U. P. during the short time it has been in existence shows that the bureaucracy is none too sparing in making use of the drastic powers conferred upon it by the ordinance. House-owners are asked not to allow their premises to be used as Congress offices and even private individuals are warned in some places against extending hospitality to Congress workers, who may possibly be their relatives or friends. The carrying of Congress workers or volunteers by public conveyances to rural parts has been declared to be a crime under this ordinance which however fails to lay down any sure method of spotting out Congress workers from the ordinary travelling public. The result has been a complaint by the bus drivers that the ordinance throws a too onerous responsibility on them in this respect. This has led to police officers being told off on the duty of the detection of Congressmen about to make unauthorised use of public conveyances. The number of arrests is steadily rising and includes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, the two most important leaders of the campaign. Their arrest while they were engaged

in promoting the movement would have been understandable. As it was, however, they were taken into custody while proceeding to Bombay to welcome Mahatma Gandhi and to take part in the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee scheduled to meet there on the 29th inst. Be it remarked in their favour that since the service of the necessary orders on them they had addressed no public meetings. In seeking to proceed to Bombay they were no doubt guilty of a technical breach of the orders asking them not to leave Allahabad municipal limits. But that certainly does not appear to justify the action of the Government in arresting them, as if they were engaged in active propagation of the movement. It was only a few days ago that the U. P. Government gave a public assurance that the use of the powers under the ordinance would be strictly limited to the requirements of the no-rent campaign in the province. Have they so soon forgotten it? Their action in arresting these two gentlemen is inexplicable except on the supposition that the Government wanted to make it impossible for them to induce the Working Committee to lend its support to the movement with which they were so closely associated. There would have been time enough to think of the action to be taken against the Working Committee in case it blessed the movement, which is a crime under the ordinance. But their hurried arrests give one the impression that if, as is alleged, some Congress leaders in U. P. were anxious to precipitate a crisis, the bureaucracy was not less so and seems to be spoiling for a fight with the Congress.

Result of the Bardoli Inquiry.

THE findings of the special officer to inquire into the Congress allegations regarding the employment of coercive methods in the recovery of land revenue from Bardoli peasants appear to be very damaging to the reputation of the premier political institution. The points for decision by Mr. Gordon were, as will be remembered, whether the peasants of some villages in Bardoli taluka and Valad Mahal were made to pay land revenue on a higher scale than was enforced in other villages in the area and whether any force was used in that connection. It will be within the recollection of our readers that the inquiry by the special officer could not reach its proper end owing to Congress withdrawal from it due to the rejection by the officer of the Congress request for production of some Government records which the Congress deemed necessary for the purpose of establishing the truth of its allegations against the revenue and police authorities. But it is also well to remember that the inquiry was not proceeded with in the absence of the Congress, so that the only evidence on which the officer relied in coming to the conclusions he did was such as the Congress had full opportunities of testing by cross-examination or otherwise. Even so, he has found himself unable to hold that the allegations made by the Congress had been proved to his satisfaction. On the contrary he characterises the evidence led before him by the Congress as "highly unreliable" and "in some cases deliberately false." We are sure we have not heard the last of this affair, for the Congress is sure to have something to say to it. And until that is known, it is best to hold over any expression of final or decided opinion on the inquiry officer's conclusions.

Bengal Ordinance.

MR. F. W. WILSON, formerly of the *Indian Daily Mail*, thus describes what happened in England in regard to the Bengal Ordinance: "The Prime Minister has admitted to several of his Indian friends that when the Ordinance was submitted to them for the

Government's approval the Cabinet was frankly shocked and shamed by it. An exhaustive and thorough questionnaire was sent to India, and the Government insisted on being fully satisfied that the Indian members both of the Bengal Council and the Government of India approved of the measure. It was learnt that both Governments were unanimous, but even then the Cabinet were reluctant to agree. Foremost in opposition was Lord Hailsham, who has enjoyed, up to now, the reputation for being an unrepentant die-hard. Lord Hailsham frankly admitted that his sense of justice as a lawyer was offended. Unfortunately he laboured under the belief that, whether it was stated in the Ordinance or not, an appeal would lie to the Privy Council. It has been subsequently pointed out that Lord Hailsham's impression is wrong. Apart from the fact that it is extremely doubtful whether the Ordinance of a Governor-General can confer jurisdiction upon the Privy Council, the well-known principle remains that the Privy Council is rarely tempted to give its august consideration to matters of a criminal nature unless there has been a grave offence against "natural justice." It is, therefore, unsatisfactory in the extreme, and it is certainly not fair to condemn terrorists, when there is any legal vagueness with regard to an appeal from one of the tribunals established by this Ordinance. This and other points have been taken up and pressed upon the Prime Minister with considerable vigour. . . . I am not in a position to state what actually will be done, but I feel certain, that before long there will be some radical changes in the Ordinance, as it, at present, exists."

Compartmental Swaraj—Door Still Open ?

THE Prime Minister's declaration of December 1 is regarded with satisfaction by many, on the ground amongst others that it rules out once for all the idea of the conferment of Swaraj on this country by instalments. Those who take this view seem to read more into the declaration than there is warranty for. Sir John Simon who is a confirmed advocate of that line of advance would appear to have done his best to get the Cabinet to commit itself to that course of action; but the pressure of Indian opinion averted that calamity for the time being at any rate. We say "for the time being at any rate" advisedly, for the idea cannot yet be said to have been given up altogether and for all time, as the following extract from Sir John Simon's speech in the India debate in the Commons early this month will show:

I am bound to say quite frankly that my own view is the view of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Churchill), that as a matter of fact the advance to more complete self-government in the Provinces is an easier step, and I myself think it would be a wise step in advance of those more ambitious projects. The reasons for it are elaborately set out in the (Simon) report to which reference has been made. I would add this: I take that view not because I think it would be putting an obstacle in the way of further advance, but because I believe that it would be a quicker way of clearing the ground of difficulty. But the House will observe how the Prime Minister in this Cabinet declaration refers to that and says that the Government had had before them this view—that "the surest and speediest route to federation would be to get these measures in train forthwith and not to delay the assumption of full responsibility by the Provinces a day longer than is necessary." That is a point on which there is some substantial difference of opinion. I think I am speaking my right hon. friend's (Mr. Churchill's) mind when I say that I do not regard the door as closed. The situation may change. We may find that in point of fact there will be a desire on the part of this or that Province to make a more rapid advance than may seem possible over the whole field. We are not shutting the door to that in the least.

RESTRICTIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

IN the interval between Mahatma Gandhi's departure on the homeward voyage and his return to the motherland the face of political India has undergone a complete transformation. The question that faces it now is not so much whether it will accept the results of the second Round Table Conference as satisfactory or not, but whether it will consider the possibilities of constitutional reform at all. For, in the meanwhile, Government have deemed it prudent to issue a number of coercive orders and take a number of coercive measures, which it is quite on the cards will so inflame the younger generation that it will refuse to look at the White Paper on the R. T. Conference, and will insist upon throwing itself again, heart and soul, into the civil disobedience campaign, which it was persuaded to suspend in favour of the Conference method. There seems little doubt that, if nothing untoward had happened on the eve of his return, Mahatma Gandhi would have cast his influence on the side of continuing the Conference work and would probably even have allowed himself to be included in the Working Committee of the Conference. For he realizes that if the actual achievements of the Conference are none too hopeful, the part played in it by the Prime Minister and His Majesty's Government in general has been such as to give clear proof that they are in earnest in advancing India's political status. But now, with repression in full swing in three provinces, it is open to grave doubt whether he would like to be associated with the working of the Conference committees in India. And if he sanctions renewal of the satyagraha campaign, there is no doubt that the committees will find it impossible to function effectively. They would prove an even more ignominious failure than the Simon Commission.

The utility of any constitutional discussions at such a juncture is not a little doubtful. But if the discussions could be fruitful and could evoke popular enthusiasm, we would strongly recommend the reader to ponder well the words of wisdom used by Mr. Brailsford in an article in the *New Leader*, which we reproduce on a later page in this number. The article gives a somewhat different view of the Conference proceedings from what is current in India and is on that account well worth deep study and reflection on the part of everyone who wishes to arrive at right conclusions. The difficulties that Indians had to encounter at this Conference were of two kinds: one set of difficulties had to be faced in obtaining Self-Government, and another set of difficulties in obtaining Popular Government. So far to us in India Self-Government and Popular Government connoted the same thing, but since the first Round Table Conference met it has become clear that even if India attains Self-Government, she will not necessarily attain Popular Government. For to a certain extent the British Government appears willing to abdicate; an Indian Government will no doubt take its place. To that extent no doubt self-government will have been established, but if the Indian

Government is not representative of the people it will still cease to be a popular government. It was not known when the second Round Table Conference met to which of the two objectives, Self-Government or Popular Government, the Mahatma would yield homage. It was generally believed that, champion of the dumb millions as he was, he would always give precedence in his mind to Popular Government if it should conflict with Self-Government. But soon after the Conference opened, it became clear that the public were labouring under a tremendous delusion in this respect.

Mr. Brailsford is not daunted so much by the imperfections to be found in the Conference scheme, viewed as a measure of self-government. The limitations which the British Government seek to impose are, some of them at any rate and to some extent at any rate, almost inevitable. Indians, as he points out, cannot have in the nature of things full control over the army at the present moment. To put forward a claim for it is not, he says, altogether reasonable. External affairs go for the most part with the army. Control over these cannot be exercised without control over the army. Finance too it is impossible for India to take complete charge of in the present state of her economic condition. Many other countries in the world, enjoying sovereign independence, are still subordinate financially to wealthier countries which exercise political domination over them through the mechanism of credit, and if India too has to submit for a time to British domination, it will be so, not so much because the British Government is in control but because London is still the world's money market. Struggle against the dictatorship of the moneylenders has hardly yet begun in the world, as Mr. Brailsford says, and it is idle for India to hope that she will by her own individual effort shake herself entirely free from that dictatorship. Mr. Brailsford thus puts before Indians a view which they are apt to make light of, viz. that some of the impediments in the way of full self-government are not immediately surmountable; and that some of the other "safeguards" are not automatically eliminated on the attainment of self-government.

The obstacles in the way of Popular Government however appear to Mr. Brailsford to be far more formidable and are to a large extent of India's own making. He recognises, of course, that his objections on this score "yet few Indians seem to share", but they are on that account no less weighty. "The Federal Assembly", he says, "from any democratic standpoint is hopeless. Its two chambers will be condemned to an eternal conservatism so long as the Princes remain autocrats and nominate a third of their membership." Mr. Brailsford regards this as the worst defect in the constitution, but as he pathetically admits, few Indians regard it in that light, making it clear that Indians are not as keen on democracy as on self-government. So much was of course known even before the second Round Table Conference

started, but Mahatma Gandhi's participation in this Conference has put it beyond doubt that he too, along with the rest, puts Self-Government first and Popular Government a long distance after. His pleadings with the Princes, after his minatory gestures towards the British Government, appear comically obsequious: they might introduce some "elements" of non-official representation in the Federal Assembly (not a word about election here, either direct or indirect. Mahatma Gandhi spoke twice on this matter and on both occasions he carefully avoided the mention of "election:" the Mahatma certainly picks his words); and they might place some elementary human rights in the keeping of the Federal Court. All he could do was to submit these matters for the consideration of Their Highnesses, who were at perfect liberty to do what they liked in the end. It is possible for some Indians at least to be more democratic than nationalist, and they will never cease to regret, with Mr. Brailsford, the nationalistic but undemocratic attitude that Mahatma Gandhi took up at the Round Table Conference along with most other delegates. For they feel that the power of India will be far more heavily shackled by the restrictions to which the Mahatma agrees than by those with which he quarrels.

Our European Letter.

THE LEAGUE AND MANCHURIA.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GENEVA, DEC. 12.

THERE is general satisfaction in League circles about the Council's solution of the Manchurian problem. After a strenuous period of prolonged and persistent efforts, lasting for nearly eleven weeks, Japan and China, along with other members of the Council, have accepted a Resolution which reaffirms in substance the September Resolution and seeks to set up a Commission of Inquiry. This Commission is not empowered to interfere with any direct negotiations between the parties or with their military preparations. Its sole business is to collect authentic information on the spot and report it to the Council. Both the disputants are prepared to assist it with all possible facilities. They have also the right to request the Commission to examine any question which is likely to affect the peace in Manchuria. Freedom of movement and investigation is assured to the Commission.

It is said that Japan is safely entrenched in Manchuria and will soon convert it into a protectorate. During the last stages of the deliberations at Paris, M. Yoshizawa was busy winning the sympathy of the Great Powers for his proposal to fix a neutral zone so as to bring Chinchow within the zone of Japanese occupation and drive the Chinese well behind the Great Wall. His game was too transparent to be successful. The Council, with admirable promptness, turned it down. No neutral zone was, therefore, fixed; but the Japanese have solemnly undertaken to evacuate their troops within

the railway zone as speedily as possible, subject to the reservation that they will be free to take military measures against bandits where the lives and property of their nationals are directly involved. If reports are to be trusted, the present intention of the Japanese Government is to capture Chinchow before the arrival of the Commission of Inquiry. One is inclined to believe these reports in view of the emphatic unwillingness of Japan to empower the Commission with supervisory work over her military action against bandits. The Council cannot, however, speculate as to the real intentions of Japan. It must go by the utterances of the Japanese representative. That is why M. Briand turned "with emotion" towards the representatives of China and Japan during the public meeting which wound up the special session of the Council, and said, "I should feel that I am not doing full justice to two great nations, members of the League of Nations, if I do not strongly affirm here, both personally and on behalf of my colleagues, our confidence in the fulfilment of our desire." Lord Cecil amplified M. Briand's sentiment and brought out the issues at stake in more explicit language. "We have now arrived," he declared, "at a larger settlement, but the success of that, too, must depend upon the parties. It is easy for either of them, if they desire to do so, to destroy the work of conciliation on which we have been engaged. I am confident that that will not happen. If it did the party that so acted would bear a heavy load of responsibility before the public opinion of the world."

It was found impossible to secure the consent of the Japanese representative to fix a definite time-limit for the evacuation of Japanese troops within the railway zone. All that the Council could do was to extract a promise from him that the evacuation would be effected with all possible haste. Reading between the lines of M. Briand's declaration, one is led to think that the maximum time-limit which the Council would regard inevitable is the date of the arrival of the Commission in Manchuria. If by that date the Japanese troops are not withdrawn and if in the opinion of the Commission there is good reason to doubt the bona fides of the Japanese Government, the Commission is expected to report on the situation to the Council. What steps the Council will then propose to take it is difficult to foretell. So long as the present world economic crisis continues, nations are not likely to pin their faith to the economic and military sanctions of Article 16 of the Covenant. One obvious reason for the absence of strong condemnation of the Japanese conduct by the Governments and peoples of the world is the inability of the Chinese Government to preserve law and order in Manchuria. By far the greatest need of Manchuria is protection of life and property and freedom from brigandage. Japan is the only country which is at present in a position to give that protection. Her vested interests in Manchuria are so great that she has certainly something more than a show of justification for disturbing the territorial integrity of China. The League has not, at any rate so far, developed an international police force which can be speedily sent

to scenes of trouble and invested with powers to preserve peace and order till the causes of trouble are removed and legitimate grievances remedied through arbitration, conciliation, or adjudication. Such special circumstances account for the great consideration which the Council has shown to the Japanese case. When the members of the League are neither able nor willing to embark upon expensive military campaigns, or wasteful economic boycotts against a country which is no doubt guilty of a technical act of aggression but which has doubtless a just excuse for its conduct, the only sensible course open to the Council was to arrive at a compromise which will be agreeable to both the parties concerned. That it pursued this course with remarkable skill and wisdom none can deny.

If, however, the Japanese Government does not respect the compromise to which it has given its consent at Paris, it is bound to lose all the world sympathy which it received so far and without which it would have been driven to take a more suppliant attitude or walk out of the League and be cut off from world diplomacy. If the utterances of plenipotentiaries at Geneva and Paris are intended to indicate the attitudes of their respective Governments, the Manchurian tangle cannot be justly regarded as a menace to the prestige and utility of the League of Nations. The Covenant does not exclude caution and tact in dealing with international disputes. Article 16 is intended to be a last resort to be utilised more in sorrow than in anger. In the case of the Manchurian dispute the time for applying coercive sanctions against the wrong-doer has not yet come. The Commission must investigate the situation on the spot and send its recommendations and report to the Council. After carefully considering them, the Council will suggest certain remedies which, in its opinion, are just and necessary. If any of the disputants flouts those remedies it will incur the serious displeasure of the Council. Meanwhile, the Council's deliberations have softened tempers, eased the situation and on the whole created a better atmosphere for peaceful negotiations. In the words of M. Briand, "War has threatened and has been averted. Fragile as has seemed the obstacle on its path, the Council has at least slowed down the course of events and arrested that most dangerous premier élan. Even without the definition of a neutral zone, the formal engagements of both parties would be enough to prevent any further clash."

The remoteness of Manchuria from the seat of the League is an important reason for the slowness of League action. Correct and full information as to the happenings there could not be secured with haste. The problem teemed with complex political issues which statesmen were unable to dispose of with one stroke of the pen. That does not mean that treaties and solemn obligations have still only paper value to civilised governments. To quote again from M. Briand's final address to the Council, "the exceptional treatment of an exceptional question leaves the essential provisions of the Kellogg Pact and the Covenant deprived of not one whit of their application and

their force." The League is a political and practical institution, guided by certain well defined moral ideals. The realisation of those ideals, ever so partially, is a slow and painstaking task. Idealists are often confronted with a stone wall of practical difficulties and their interests are best served by waiting and trying to climb over the wall by dexterous means rather than blindly dashing against it and being lost in the attempt. Similar structures have been built before and shattered. When the horrors of the late war are still green in our minds, let us build this latest, but certainly the most gigantic, structure of world organisation slowly so that our success will be all the more sure.

Reviews.

TEXTILE AND LUMBER INDUSTRIES IN U. S. A.

LABOUR AND TEXTILES. A STUDY OF COTTON AND WOOL MANUFACTURE. By ROBERT W. DUNN & JACK HARDY. 256p.

LABOUR AND LUMBER. By CHARLOTTE TODES. 208p.

(International Publishers, New York.) 1931. 20cm. \$1.00 each.

THESE are two volumes of a series of industrial studies which are being compiled under the auspices of the Labour Research Association, United States. Other volumes already published in the series are "Labour and Coal," "Labour and Automobiles" and "Labour and Silk"; while volumes on Steel, Transportation, Construction, Clothing, Leather and Shoes, and Food and Tobacco are in course of preparation. It will thus be seen that the volumes in the Labour and Industry Series which the Labour Research Association is bringing out have for their common aim the presentation of a complete picture of the development of American industries from their humble beginnings to their present stage of phenomenal development. A distinguishing and welcome characteristic of the series is that it has for its definite aim a study of American industries from the workers' view-point. In the United States, where labour research has made enormous progress within the last two decades, there is no dearth of books about industrial problems; the method of approach and perspective of study of the vast majority of these publications have, however, been dominated by the employers' view-point. The series, to which the two volumes under review belong, makes an objective study of the conditions of life and work of American workers, describes the hardships and grievances of the wage-earners, analyses the causes of the unceasing feud between the agents of capitalism and the workers who are organising for radical changes, gives a comprehensive picture of the various programmes of action planned by the workers to counter the offensives launched by the employing classes, and above all attempts to give an interpretation of the economic struggle in the industrial arena from the actual workers' point of view. The volumes of the series, therefore, furnish to all students of labour problems an invaluable store-house of information from first-hand sources.

"Labour and Textiles", the first of the volumes now under review, makes a detailed study of conditions in the cotton and woollen industry of the United States. The book presents in an objective manner the

principal features of the textile industry, its main trends of production, the profits earned, and the tactics resorted to by employers' associations to ensure dividends at the expense of the workers, the conditions of life and work of the operatives and the movements that have been launched in recent years to organise them. It is a dismal enough picture that the joint authors present of the U. S. textile industry, which is aptly described as a 'sick' giant. The root of the present trouble of the industry, in the United States as in other countries also, is chronic over-expansion of productive capacity. Thus, out of a total of 33 million cotton spindles in the U. S. in 1928, Government figures show that on an average 2 million spindles remained unused in the year. According to the book, the current production of cotton goods, even with many mills closed and others operating at only 35 to 75 per cent. of their capacity is estimated as at least 25 per cent. over the present effective demand. The situation in the sister textile industry, wool manufacturing, is even more gloomy. Wool spindle activity which was at an index of 91 in 1913 (1928=100) had dropped down to 80 in 1928 and wool-loom activity fell from an index of 86 in 1910 to 74 in 1928,—figures which convincingly testify to the alarming extent of the over-expansion and under-consumption afflicting the industry. The book ascribes the responsibility for the chaos due to grievous maladjustment between supply and demand to the capitalist system which involves "a merciless drive for profits, out-throat competition, inability of workers to buy the goods produced, inevitable overproduction, and the cycles of unemployment which have been steadily growing in recent years."

While this indictment of the capitalist system is justified in great measure, one cannot help thinking that the joint authors of the book are guilty of over-emphasising the case against capitalism and understating the share of responsibility of certain other factors contributory to the present dislocation. Thus, it cannot be denied that the present over-production in textiles is due in large measure to the abnormal stimulus given to all industries alike by war and post-war expansion. The competition of other clothing industries like silk and rayon must have also contributed to the slump in cotton and wool. Other factors making for dislocation in the industry in the United States are the influence of the tariffs which foster industries which live partly by artificial means and Government assistance, the constant fluctuations in the price of raw materials, the prevalence of 'hand-to-mouth' buying, and a certain degree of mismanagement which is likely to persist under a socialist regime as well. Nevertheless, despite the evident bias of the authors against the existing system, it is an impressive indictment of capitalism and of its numerous sins of omission and commission that the book has succeeded in setting forth. The main counts in the charge-sheet are indiscriminate and haphazard additions to the existing textile mills, saddling of mill-plants with needless equipment, precipitation of conditions verging on anarchy in distribution, undesirable activities of parasitical intermediaries out to get a maximum profit, rapacious managing agents who deliberately stimulate over-production to enhance their commission earnings, family favouritism in the choice of executives, unco-ordinated methods of production by mill-groups, obsolete cost-accounting systems and antiquated methods of merchandising. Students of the Indian textile industry cannot fail to be struck by the amazing parallelism between conditions here and in America. The inequities of the managing agency system, the folly of chaotic and uncontrolled production, and the loss of markets consequent on inefficient methods of distribution have

all contributed to the extreme depression prevailing in our cotton industry. The sections of the book dealing with the various remedies that have been prescribed for 'saving' the industries cannot fail to interest students of Indian textile problems. The theory of the "survival of the fittest" which advocates the Spartan method of freezing out the weak companies and the concentration of the industry in strong hands, the alternative method of voluntary curtailment as the only way to restrict production, maintain prices and increase profits, and the *via media* of mergers, and the measure of success or failure that has resulted from adoption and practice of these methods cannot fail to convey valuable lessons to India.

"Labour and Lumber"—the second book,—is modelled on the same lines as "Labour and Textiles" and deals in some detail with the conditions of life and work of the nearly half-million workers engaged in the lumber industry of America. For Indian readers, this volume cannot have the same compelling appeal as "Labour and Textiles", as the number of Indian lumber-workers is so limited and as the problems of the industry are only of minor importance. It is noteworthy, however, that this volume also, like the one noticed earlier, shows a decided antipathy to the capitalist system and betrays a pathetic belief that the panacea for all the ills that afflict the workers is to be found in the Soviet system. The psychology of this tendency to glorify the Soviet experiment and condemn the existing system is easily understandable as a form of protest by the suffering workers against the evils inherent in the essentially competitive industrial civilisation of the present day, which makes it possible that the toil and drudgery of millions of workers should go to swell the over-full purses of a few industrial magnates. The copious data supplied by the two books about the insufficient wages and long hours of work to which workers in the textile and lumber industries of the United States are condemned will come as an eye-opener to many in India who have come to look upon America as the paradise of the industrial worker.

Incidentally, these vignettes of certain phases of American industry forcibly bring home the truth that, even in the case of countries in the van of industrial progress like the United States, membership of a humanitarian labour organisation like the I. L. C. is desirable, as such association would inevitably tend to curb the rapacity of the employers and prevent human labour from being treated as an article of merchandise subject only to the inexorable laws of supply and demand. The programme of Geneva aims at ensuring for the workers higher wages, greater leisure, opportunities for education and protection against the uncertainties and insecurities of unemployment. The definite acceptance of such a policy would, at any rate, prevent the spread of the much-to-be deplored philosophy of despair which furnishes such an ideal milieu for the germination of revolutionary doctrines among the working classes.

K. E. MATTHEW.

THE MYSORE STATE.

A TOUR IN THE MYSORE STATE. By CONSTANCE E. PARSONS. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 20cm. 308p. Rs. 3.

MYSORE State is charming. It is "a corner of the land of Faerie." In many matters she is pre-eminent. The highest waterfalls in the world are situated here. She claims the highest stone statue in the world. Her Hoysala temples with their "delicate unrivalled lace-like sculptures" form a

distinct type of architecture. Historically also she claims a noble past. Yet, Mysore

"with her aptitude for looting
the hearts of everyone"

has not been able to attract to any appreciable extent the yearly stream of foreign visitors or the local holiday tourists. The lack of proper guide books to the several places of interest is partially responsible for this comparative neglect. Through her guide books, Miss C. E. Parsons is trying to remedy this defect. Her "Mysore City" describes the present capital of the State, admitted by all to be one of the most beautiful cities in India, if not the most beautiful. Her "Seerangapatam" takes the visitor round the existing and ruined attractions of the capital city of Hyder and Tippu Sultan. In her present work, the third in the series, she covers in a motor tour the Western districts of the State.

Besides the glimpses of a few places on the way of comparatively little interest at the present day, we get here a full description of four important places viz. Melkote, a place celebrated in the history of the Vaishnava religion; Sravana Belagola, famous for its unique sixty feet statue of Gomata; Belur and Halebid (though ten miles apart they always go together),—the centres of the magnificent Hoysala architecture; and lastly, Gersoppa whose waterfalls are the highest in the world. The book is made attractive and useful by the inclusion of seventeen illustrations, a road map of Mysore State and information about Travellers' Bungalows.

The author by her long and intimate association with Mysore and the kannadigas, has imbibed the spirit of their culture and thus is eminently qualified for the task of interpreting their treasures of nature and art to the stranger. Basing her information upon authoritative sources she has described the picturesque in Mysore in proper historical setting.

The book, besides serving as a very useful and informing guide, is of general interest also. A perusal of the same is sure to whet one's desire to visit the fascinating and lovable Mysore—"one of earth's magic regions".

S. GOPALASWAMY.

SHORT NOTICE.

BOLSHEVISM AT A DEADLOCK. By KARL KAUTSKY. (Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 19cm. 193p. 6/-

Books against Bolshevism are rare, though newspaper articles are numerous. The book under review seeks to prove that the present methods of Soviet rule are a total failure. Written by a social democrat, an opponent of Lenin and Stalin and one who has known the makers and rulers of the present-day Russia, the author makes a strong case against the Soviet rule. Karl Kautsky sets himself to criticise the Soviet plan and proceeds in pretty much the same manner as a prosecuting counsel, ignoring the good and favourable points and twisting figures and facts for the purpose of proving his case. The familiar unconvincing arguments of the Riga correspondent of the *Times* are to be found repeated in this book. The author takes the famous five-year plan and quite contrary to the stock of strong intellectual opinion in England and America, to say nothing of the beaming and contagious optimism of the Russians themselves, predicts for it failure and consequent misery to the people of Russia. Karl Kautsky tries to prove his case by references to the agrarian revolution, the social revolution, and the political revolution in Russia. The author's anti-Soviet prejudice is so marked throughout these pages that it is doubtful whether any

body, much less the present-day Government of Russia, will pay any serious attention to its contents.

The book however will create fresh interest in the study of Russia.

J. P. JOSHUA.

Miscellaneous.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

MR. BRAILSFORD ON ITS RESULTS.

THE Round Table Conference has finished its work in London, and the swaying struggle with an adverse destiny is over. The result, if we can get it into perspective, is appreciably better than one might have expected—not good enough to accept with enthusiasm, not bad enough to reject with an easy conscience.

The adverse conditions were daunting—the pre-occupation of the public and the politicians with our own internal affairs, the interruption of the General Election, the recrudescence of Die-Hard feeling after the Tory victory. In spite of all this, the work of the first Conference has been affirmed in its integrity. There has been no going back on the promise of responsible government at the Centre.

THE WISER AND SAFER COURSE.

A year ago when Mr. MacDonald gave that pledge, he was careful to point out that he spoke only for the Labour Party. On Tuesday he repeated it, after a long sitting of the "National" Cabinet, in the name of all three parties. That for India is solid again.

Thanks mainly to the vivacity and courage of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the risks of an "instalment plan" have been avoided. Let us not in our bitterness be unjust to Mr. MacDonald. We who realised five or six years ago that his Socialist career was over, and that he is by instinct an open-minded Tory, can afford to judge him objectively, as we would judge Mr. Baldwin. There is no reason to doubt his sincerity towards India: what is doubtful is the measure of his courage, when the Die-Hards confront him. In this instance Mr. Benn and the Indian delegates supplied the necessary firmness. The "instalment plan" was objectionable, not on its merits (for something could fairly be urged in its favour), but rather because it looked like a retreat to the Simon position and a postponement of the inevitable struggle with those Tories who will always oppose responsibility at the Centre.

The wiser and safer course has been chosen. India will get her freedom, at the Centre and in the Provinces, in a single Act. The Conference, through a Standing Committee, will continue its work in India, while experts will fill in the details of the unfinished chapters of the franchise and internal finance. Faith has been kept. The Federal Constitution will emerge neither better nor worse than it promised to be at the first Conference.

COMMUNAL DIFFICULTY.

For the doubts that still cling about it Indians themselves are partly to blame. They have not yet been big enough to surmount the communal difficulty. It is true that the British Government, or the British Bureaucracy itself, made it twenty years ago, in Lord Morley's day, when it first organised representation on a communal basis, with separate electorates.

This is a division that perpetuates itself. Once men have been segregated by creeds, and have chosen their leaders on that footing, it is desperately difficult to get politics on to any secular basis. These old

world Conservatism. Mohammedans are secure in their leaders so long as they can hypnotise a fourth of the population of India into the conviction that the defence of their creed is their first duty. No one menaces their creed. But if once Moslems ceased to vote as such and sought their natural allies among the peasants, workers and capitalists of other creeds, the immutable social fabric would begin to rock and India would enter a period of social change.

That is the real reason why compromise is difficult. The progressive parties can and ought to offer every conceivable safeguard to the Moslems, the Depressed Classes and the smaller minorities in the shape of clauses guaranteeing their rights and by the assurance of "reserved seats" on a generous ratio. But to consent to separate electorates is to sign away or at least to postpone any hope of democratic advance and any prospect of a united front of the working masses.

The other main difficulty turns on the "safeguards." Here there has been neither advance nor retrogression. The list of reservations remains as formidable as ever, and in their efforts to limit it the Indians have shown poor generalship, for they have never presented an alternative compromise on which they would all agree. The Mohamedans kept silent, and by their silence played the Tory game. The Moderates were not unanimous, and Mr. Gandhi played a lone hand. It is, one fears, inevitable that the Army should be a "reserved" subject until it is Indianised, but that process could be speeded up and some arrangement could be reached to reduce its cost drastically and progressively.

NO DEBTOR IS FREE.

A nation cannot absolutely control its foreign policy till it can ensure its own defence. The debt, the army, the salaries of the covenanted service—these are fixed charges. Indians say that these reservations leave only 15 per cent. of the Budget to their discretion. Can that be fairly called self-government?

The argument is weaker than it looks. There are the same fixed charges in our own Budget. For all our Imperial Sovereignty we cannot or dare not repudiate debt, and there are severe limits to any cutting of the cost of defence or even of salaries. To be tied to the Bank of England (for that is what it comes to, in effect) in the management of currency and the Reserve Bank is, to my thinking, a graver matter and a harder fate.

But how far would India escape that if she were a Dominion or even an Independent Republic? Australia has had to do the Bank's bidding. So has Brazil. No debtor on this earth is free. India would fare no better if she threw off the City's yoke: Wall Street is not an easier master. The solution of these problems of defence and finance lies partly in shortening the period of transition, partly in the rapid development of India's own resources, her manhood and her wealth, but chiefly in the international struggle against the dictatorship of the money-lenders, which has hardly yet begun.

LIBERATING THE PEASANTS.

There remains, even in this unsatisfactory Constitution, the whole range of social policy, and here (mainly in the Provinces) India will attain responsible government. She can (within the limitations of her own poverty) shape as she pleases her agrarian system, her labour legislation, her work for education, health and local government, dig her canals, manage her railways and forests, foster her industries, reform her agriculture, liberate her peasants from the usurer

and the landlord, cope in her own way with the relics of superstition and mediaevalism that hamper her growth. It is a vast field. If I were an Indian, no disappointment over the transitional reservations would deter me from entering it to till it, if I believed that this Constitution offered me reasonable scope.

There lie my personal grounds for hesitation—though as yet few Indians seem to share them.

The Federal Assembly from any democratic standpoint is hopeless. Its two chambers will be condemned to an eternal conservatism, so long as the Princes remain autocrats and nominate a third of their membership. The franchise is likely to be miserably narrow, and the mass of the peasants will have no representation whatever. On the other hand, save in fixing the income tax, salt tax and customs, the Federal Assembly will have little influence on social questions.

A DOUBTFUL BALANCE SHEET.

These lie in the provincial field. Here the complication of the Princes is absent. The proposed franchise, though it, too, rests on property, is wider, and would include perhaps half the peasants, and some of the skilled workers. Can it not even now be widened? Cannot the monstrosity of special representation for great landlords and chambers of commerce, while there is none for tenants and landless labourers, be eliminated? As the draft stands, this Constitution, burdened with communal electorates and a propertied franchise, is a poor instrument with which to tackle India's overshadowing problem of poverty.

This doubtful balance-sheet India has to weigh. She will do it under the provocation of a Coercion Act, designed, indeed, to strike at terrorists, but so framed that under its shelter the harmless villager will suffer with the conspirator, and the disaffected yet pacific millions will feel themselves menaced and challenged. A worse commentary on a promise of liberation was never published.—*The New Leader*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Records of the International Conference for the Unification of Laws on Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes and Cheques. (Second Session.) (C. 294. M. 137. 1931. II B. 11.) 29cm. 402p. 14/-
- The Agricultural Crisis. Vol. I (C. 239. M. 105. 1931. II. B. 12. 1.) 26cm. 322p. 7/6.
- Tuberculosis in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. By Ostensfeldt & Others. (C. H. 957. 1931. III. 1.) 24cm. 170p. 6/-.
- The Principles of the Prophylaxis of Leprosy. First General Report of the Leprosy Commission. (C. H. 970. 1931. III. 2.) 24cm. 12p. 7/6.
- Report of the Laboratory Conference on the Serodiagnosis of Syphilis. (C. H. 968. 1931. III. 4.) 24cm. 131p. 3/3.
- Housing and Malaria. By Clayton Lane. (C. H. Malaria. 169. 1931. III. 6.) 23cm. 43p. 1/6.
- Report of the Preparatory Committee on the Principles governing the Organisation of Medical Assistance, the Public Health Services and Sanitation in Rural Districts (C. H. 1045. 1931. III. 7.) 24cm. 62p. 2/-.
- Report on Medical Schools in China. By Knud Faler. (C. H. 961. 1931. III. 8.) 24cm. 47p. 1/6.
- Protective Measures against Dangers resulting from the Use of Radium, Roentgen and Ultra-violet Rays. (C. H. 1054. 1931. III. 9.) 24cm. 114p. 3/-.
- Report of the Permanent Commission on Biological Standardisation. (C. H. 1056 (I). 1931. III. 10.) 24cm. 78p. 1/6.