

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### The Disillusionment of the Central Committee.

IT appears from a Free Press message that the Indian Central Committee is not feeling very happy owing to its being reminded frequently that they do not enjoy the same status as the Commission. The Committee tried to draft a statement containing a contradiction of the disclosures recently made as to their uncomfortable position but could not agree about its contents. It must be remembered in view of the recent report that certain witnesses were examined at the instance of the Central Committee that Sir Sankaran Nair's complaint referred not to the happenings in England but to the evidence taken in India where the Committee's suggestions as to witnesses were repeatedly overruled. Now we are told that the members of the Commission are not willing to discuss their conclusions with the members of the Central Committee but only expect that the latter will place all their cards before the former. It is clear therefore that the oft-repeated assertion that in the final stage the Indian Committee will have ample opportunity to influence the decisions of the Commission has proved to be mere camouflage. More than one member of the Central Committee is said to have expressed his resolve not to suffer the humiliation of giving out his views to the Commission in the fashion of a witness without the smallest pretence of a mutual discussion. It will be a monologue instead of a dialogue. So after making several valiant attempts to justify their existence the Committee has at last been reduced to the position of merely reporting to the Assembly their own separate findings. The latest information is to the effect that resignations are threatened as a sequel to dissensions on the question of communal representation; it is understood that the Muslim members

are contemplating the writing of separate minutes of dissent opposing joint electorates with reservation of seats. They are apprehensive that their efforts to reach a workable compromise on the question of communal electorate are likely to end in failure; they even go so far as to throw the blame for causing a breach between the two communities on the heads of the other members of the Committee. We are certain that under these circumstances the Report of the Central Committee will fall flat and will fail to receive any attention. In addition we have to note that the members of the Committee representing the Assembly have been nominated and therefore their credentials to speak in the name of that Chamber are sure to be questioned.

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### Land Revenue in Bombay Council.

THE keenness of feeling in the Bombay Council over unjustified increase of assessment has been shown once more by the passing of a Resolution moved by Mr. Pataskar. The Resolution recommends a Committee of Enquiry for Deogad and other talukas of the district of Ratnagiri to enquire whether the recent settlements are fair and legal. An amendment moved by Rao Bahadur Kale made the Resolution more acceptable by the addition of the words 'unless the Government promise to examine and set right the various settlements since 1920.' The two Ratnagiri members supported the Resolution pointing out that the pitch of assessment in the district was very high. Mr. Mackie, the Settlement Commissioner, laid down the strange doctrine that people ought to pay land revenue out of their other earnings outside agriculture. This resolution is important specially on account of the exhaustive statement made by the Revenue Member regarding the policy of Government. He pointed out the difficulty of drawing a line and showed that the logical conclusion of the acceptance of the Resolution would be the institution of committees for every other taluka reassessed since 1920. The number of such talukas is 72 and he dwelt on the utter impracticability of the proposition. For the future he gave an assurance that the people would be given an opportunity to assist Government in the compilation of statistics enabling them to arrive at a correct estimate of the nett profits of cultivation. While one may sympathize with Government for being in a difficult position, it has to be remembered that the interests of justice cannot be neglected. At the end of the discussion the Revenue Member declared that Government were not prepared to commit themselves to any definite line of action. The Resolution with the amendment moved by R. B. Kale was carried without a division.

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### Primary education in the Punjab.

RECENTLY a Resolution was moved by Sardar Ujjalsingh recommending the appointment of a Com-

mittee of the Punjab Council to discover means for the introduction of compulsory primary education in the Punjab. Contrasting the condition of the province with that in England and U.S.A., the mover pointed out that only 1.5 p.c. went to school in the Punjab against 20 p.c. in the latter countries, and he deplored the slow progress since 1923-24. The debate on the Resolution evinced a keen desire on the part of the non-official members to introduce compulsion. Mr. Calvert recounted with pride the figures of other provinces to show that the Punjab was ahead of other provinces in the matter of primary education; taking the case of Bombay, only seven municipalities have adopted compulsion and no rural area has done so, whereas the Punjab has 2,357 rural areas which have adopted compulsion. Mr. Calvert's suggestion however that the district boards should raise as much money in local rates as in land revenue for the purpose of education is far too extravagant, although it does credit to his zeal for the cause of education. He rightly held that the spread of education was the only satisfactory solution of the rural problems relating to health and welfare. The Director of Public Instruction felt aggrieved at the statement of the mover that nothing had been done for education during the last six years. He pointed out the figures of the enrolment in the primary classes and the number of lower primary schools as showing remarkable progress; with regard to trained teachers, they had 20,000 in 1928, which was double the number shown seven years ago. It is to be noted that the mover had excluded girls from compulsory education for the present, but in the opinion of the Director the development of the education of girls was more important than making primary education for boys prematurely compulsory, that is, till a sufficient number of trained teachers were available. It is always in this wise: the official is more cautious and reluctant to proceed at a rapid pace. But in this case we have to note that what the Resolution asked for was nothing more than a committee to consider how compulsion was to be realized. The Education Minister at the end promised to place all the facts before the Standing Committee on Education of the Punjab Council if the House did not insist upon a fresh committee but declared at the same time that Government would be agreeable to the setting up of a special committee. After having given the lead in primary education to the whole of India the Punjab may easily aspire to be the first to attain to the glory of having made primary education compulsory.

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#### Set-back to Anglo-Soviet Negotiations.

A STATEMENT issued by the Foreign Office states that there is a temporary breakdown in the conversations between Mr. Henderson and the Russian plenipotentiary. The latter proposed that the Soviet and Britain should immediately appoint Ambassadors before discussing outstanding questions. Mr. Henderson emphatically refused to resume diplomatic relations unless controversial questions like mutual claims, trade etc. were discussed and settled. A note from the Foreign Commissariat of the Soviet has expressed surprise at this proposal which in its opinion is not included in the British note but it has promised to place the matter before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet at the next plenary session. In view of the importance of an Anglo-Russian understanding from the point of view of the world peace it is to be hoped that the preliminary discussions on the debt claims will be brought to a successful termination. Both the nations will do well not to stand on ceremony and introduce technical points in a discussion which for its success depends on good-will. Commenting on this, the *Daily Herald*

says that Mr. Henderson never said that a solution of outstanding questions should be reached as a condition of the resumption of relations but that during the recess the necessary machinery should be set up for dealing with the outstanding questions. The *London Times* congratulates Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues for the firmness with which they adhered to what they rightly feel to be indispensable conditions of real understanding with Soviet Russia. The *New Statesman* however regards the whole trouble as being due the tendency of some of the Labour leaders "to regard Russia as a question of secondary importance" and thus impaling Russia to stand on its own dignity. The caution of the Labour Government in this matter is attributed by the journal to its determination to govern without unduly upsetting the bourgeoisie. If it is so the Ministry ought to lose no time in proving its *bona fides*.

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#### The Manchester Guardian's Plan.

THE *Manchester Guardian* in a recent issue unfolds a novel plan which is intended as a bridge leading to full self-government. Immediate self-government is impossible, according to the journal, on account of the unwillingness of the Muslims to trust to majority rule till they are assured by favourable experience in the smaller sphere of provincial government and on account of the necessity to prepare the Princes for the realization that they must seek to come to an understanding with their own subjects and with the people in British India. Time is also required, it says, for the electorates and the elected members to learn obvious lessons connected with democratic government and this is best done by having provincial autonomy to begin with. Knowing however that Indian politicians will not co-operate in any scheme stopping at mere provincial autonomy it suggests the following plan as an interim constitution. The Executive should be appointed by the Viceroy or Governor as the case may be from the Legislature; but it would be responsible not to the Legislature but to the appointer and would be irremovable except at his discretion, being at the same time vested with wide powers and conducting the administration even without the consent of the Legislature in certain cases. It is believed that such an Executive would gradually find it necessary to secure the support of a compact party in the Legislature in order to strengthen its position and thus develop into a Cabinet. The most obvious criticism of the plan is that in the provinces it would make the position worse than it is already; under the existing system a Minister can be made to go by means of a vote of censure whereas according to the proposed plan all the Ministers would be irremovable. With a series of votes of censures a Minister would be made to look foolish and yet would continue to act irresponsibly; unless therefore he has the pugnacity of Bismarck he would find it difficult to continue administering his departments. Till such time as the Ministers secure the support of a compact majority there would be serious deadlocks. Under this plan again the tendency to choose incompetent but pliable men as Ministers, which is already observable, will be strengthened, unless the appointers are supposed to be almost superhuman in displaying themselves as constitutional governors, without a statutory obligation. The long and short of it is that the Ministers will be merged in to the irresponsible bureaucracy against which we have been waging a ceaseless campaign all these years. To us therefore the plan is unthinkable.

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## Articles.

### THE PROVINCIAL SIMON COMMITTEES.

THE Reports of the provincial Simon Committees are coming out one by one and it will be some time before we gather the whole harvest, but those that have seen the light of day are decidedly disconcerting and in no small degree reactionary. The Punjab Simon Committee's Report begins with a preliminary discourse pointing out the characteristic features of the province, which contains plenty of debatable matter with which the rest of India would find it difficult to agree. It is said, for instance, that the Punjab is a markedly liberal province in its outlook, which, to say the least, is extremely doubtful. We must pass over these matters, however, since our present concern is with constitutional development. The Committee recommends the transfer of all the provincial subjects with the qualification that the Central Government may interfere in the interests of the security and stability of the country as a whole. Raja Narendranath and Dr. Narang in a dissenting minute recommend that Law and Order should be a central subject. The majority do not recommend a second chamber. One curious suggestion made by the Committee is that the two houses of the Central Legislature should in part be filled by indirect election by the local Legislatures instead of by the electors directly. As we had expected, there is a suggestion that one-third of the seats should be reserved for Muslims in both the chambers of the Central Legislature. The worst feature of the Majority Report is the continuance of special electorates not only for Muslims but also for the Sikhs and Europeans; so the communal representation which was introduced as a special case owing to historic causes is to be made more general instead of being abrogated. We must congratulate the Committee however upon recommending an immediate separation of the executive and the judicial functions.

The Hindu members' dissenting minute lays down the dictum that no province would deserve any political advance if it is not prepared to abandon communalism, which is of course unexceptionable. The minute rightly criticizes the Majority Report for dabbling in the questions about Sind and the Frontier Province and then too deciding them without being in possession of adequate data. The Hindu dissentients propose that the Cabinet should represent all the important communities; this is certainly an astounding proposal and we wonder how effect could be given to it at all except by making a statutory provision for it. The Sikh member of the Punjab Committee has condemned communal electorates along with his Hindu colleagues; but in case they are continued he stipulates for the full weightage being given to the Sikhs and he assures us that this is not likely to lead to communal tyranny on account of the three communities being evenly balanced. His proposal that to create confidence the Minister for Law and Order should belong to the

minority community, however, savours too much of selfishness and it is doubtful whether it will be considered as practicable.

The Bengal Simon Committee have recommended a complicated arrangement by way of a safeguard with regard to Law and Order; there should be according to them a board consisting of one European member and one member each from the two major communities, the Governor's decision being final in case of disagreement between the board and the Minister. Although in some ways the scheme appears ingenious, it is doubtful if it will work smoothly. Ordinarily the obligation to carry at least two members of the board with him on any important policy will ensure the Minister's keeping to the straight path, without inclining towards either of the three communities; but in emergencies which are likely to be pretty frequent in Bengal a deadlock will ensue and the Minister will be unable to act. The Bengal Committee, like the Punjab Committee, is in favour of continuing the separate electorates. As was expected, the Committee emphasizes the financial adjustment between the Central Government and the Provinces in order to allow an expansion of revenues for nation-building schemes. The Governor's powers of certifying essential expenditure in an emergency are to be continued and on questions affecting the safety of the province he is to have the power to overrule the Cabinet. The Committee recommends a bicameral Legislature, and, according to the majority, Hindus and Muslims should be represented on it in proportion to their population. It is proposed to have a Public Services Commission for making recruitment for all provincial services; this is certainly moving with the spirit of the time and would make impossible undue patronage, but we fail to see why even on this Commission the different communities should be represented in accordance with the proportion of their population in the province. It is clear that the Bengal Committee is bent on carrying the principle of communalism to the furthest nooks and corners of the constitution. Even the Ministers are to be chosen from different communities in proportion to their representation in the Legislature and the principle of communal representation is to be pushed as far as the local bodies. The Committee goes further and lays down the general principle that separate electorates should be retained as long as the members of a particular community desire them and as a concrete prop of this regime separate electorates for Europeans and even Anglo-Indians are to continue. The Ministers will be jointly responsible to the Legislature and also removable by it; the suggestion about a Chief Minister are too vague and speculative to be of much use for practical purposes.

While we must admit that many of the individual suggestions in both the Reports are very valuable, we are inclined to think that the Committees have not succeeded in making out of their suggestions an organic whole with a cohesion between the several parts. We say this of the agreed majority Reports, leaving on one side the dissenting minutes.

which are bound to introduce disjointed elements. Both the Reports are saturated through and through by the spirit of communalism, and considering the way in which the Committees were elected no one need be very much surprised at the result. The only good feature of the Reports is that they demand provincial autonomy, whatever may be the safeguards proposed against hasty action of the Legislatures and for reserving emergency powers for the heads of provinces. But the continuance of communal electorates is certain to nullify half of the benefit accruing from provincial autonomy. It is too early to speculate whether these provincial Reports will have a predominant influence on the decisions to be arrived at by the Statutory Commission. But if these Reports are taken as typical of the public opinion of the provinces from which they emanate the result will be deplorable.

#### U.T.C. AGAIN !

THOSE who have been following the fortunes of the University Training Corps movement in India cannot but be struck by the negligence with which the Government has rewarded the enthusiastic efforts of all those who have taken an active part in it. In matters of pay and allowances, of the status of officers, of the treatment meted out to other ranks and, in general, of the inferior status granted to this body of university gentlemen, there were a number of legitimate complaints from the very commencement. The plain fact was that the Government, having encouraged the movement of military training of educated youths as a war measure, no longer felt the necessity of continuing a corps which from financial and other standpoints was considered undesirable. But then after the close of the war, there was the demand of educated Indians that they should be allowed to share in the burden of national and imperial defence. Therefore, as Lord Rawlinson explained when the Indian Territorial Force Act was being passed, an opportunity was opened out before the educated classes to enable them to prove the sincerity of their demand by registering in the provincial battalions and in the U.T.C. It is altogether a different matter, albeit very important, that the Government took special steps to recruit for the provincial battalions out of the very classes for whom they were *not* meant, viz. the classes who were already recruited for the army. Regarding the U.T.C., whose liability for service was at all times illusory, it was no wonder that the Government, and particularly the military authorities, should have been very unsympathetic. The Territorial Forces Committee made a number of recommendations in regard to the U.T.C. That the general conditions of service should be improved so as to approximate to the A.F.I. standard; that all officers should be given the King's commission; that they should be paid for the period spent in camp; and that the service liability of the U.T.C. should be taken away, were some of the important recommendations of that Committee. The Government of India in a communiqué accepted in general terms these recommendations. But when

the amending bill was introduced in the legislature no mention was made of any recommendation in regard to the U.T.C., excepting the removal of its service liability. When the attention of the Government was drawn to its failure to include recommendations regarding the form of commissions and pays of officers and the general status of the corps, the Army Secretary gave an assurance that these matters would later on be settled by rules in conformity with the recommendations of the Shea-Committee. When, however, the rules were actually issued there was no mention made of the pays of U.T.C. officers. Attention of the Army Secretary had to be drawn to this lapse also, which the Government explained away on grounds of oversight and promised to correct itself.

The present position is indeed very queer and the proverbial lack of understanding and sympathy on the part of the military authorities coupled with lack of carefulness in the Army Department of the Government of India has created a situation whose absurdity is only equalled by its injustice. The rules lay down that all officers in the U.T.C. will be considered as senior officers for purposes of the award of King's commissions and admissibility of pay, etc. There is, however, at the same time the general instruction that an I.T.F. battalion, like an Indian regiment, should carry only company officers as senior officers, the complement of K.C. officers for an Indian unit being fixed at 10. Clearly this second provision cannot apply to the U.T.C. That would mean the negation of the first and if adopted would result either in driving the platoon officers to resign or to an invidious distinction amongst members of college staffs serving with the units. Those who take the trouble to go through the report of the Shea Committee might easily see that it was to avoid any invidious distinction among U.T.C. officers and to compensate all of them for their necessary expenses that the recommendation regarding all U.T.C. officers being senior officers was made. But we in India forget things very soon, and we have now the very edifying position that all officers in the U.T.C. will be considered as senior officers, and at the same time *only ten officers will be considered as senior officers*. This is absurd. By saying that there will be only 8, 9 or 10 senior officers in the U.T.C. the undertaking that all officers in the U.T.C. will be considered as senior officers is belied; because the number officers in the U.T.C., as in a British regiment, is 26. One may be permitted to hope that this is either an oversight on the part of the Army Department or the Army Headquarters in not specially mentioning that the U.T.C. constitutes an exception not only in that all their officers carry senior officers' commissions, but also in the fact that in the case of that corps, the complement of King's commissioned officers is not 8 or 10 like other units of the I.T.F. but the full complement of 26. It may be perhaps that the anomaly is due to the lack of correct understanding of the intentions of Government on the part of lower military authorities. In any case the ultimate responsibility is that

of the Executive Government of India, who should take immediate steps to enlighten the authorities concerned. It would also be desirable that the Army Department should circularise divisional and district military authorities regarding the proper rôle, status and functions of the U.T.C. It is natural that without such an enlightenment they should look upon the expenditure incurred on the U.T.C. as an unjustifiable diminution from the sum available for the effective troops. But there are higher and wider considerations than are present in an orderly room and it is time that the Government of India took steps to impress these on all military authorities. The members of the legislature will also be helping forward a good and vital cause by keeping a watchful eye on the Government policy in regard to the military training of the educated classes in India. After what Dr. Munje has said in an interview to the press on his return from the Sandhurst exami-

nation board recently held at Delhi, no public man will be justified in neglecting his duty in respect of securing for the educated youths of the country opportunities for efficient military training imparted under proper conditions. To run the U.T.C. on the lines of a British unit and to increase the number of U.T.C. battalions at least by 100% immediately are urgent reforms in this direction. With the exception of Dr. Munje, Pandit Kunzru, and a few others this question has revealed the undeserved apathy of most of the nation's representatives in the legislature. Our Government in all matters gives us not the maximum that it can, but the minimum that it must. Under these circumstances it is only by constant vigilance on the part of the members of the legislature that a satisfactory fulfilment at least of the specific promises of Government can be secured.

H. P. T.

## AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM. *Review*

WE cordially welcome the plea made by Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar in his pamphlet\* for summoning to our aid the moral opinion of the world in our struggle for the achievement of political freedom. The practicability of the specific proposal he makes in this behalf for invoking the mediatory functions of the League of Nations we shall consider presently; but whatever one may think of this particular plan, there is no gainsaying that we must employ all our resources in focussing world opinion upon our fight for swaraj. We have never so far cultivated international opinion in this connexion. The utmost that we have done is to carry on an agitation, often feeble and spasmodic but sometimes vigorous and continuous, in England. England was to us then the hub of the universe. If we succeeded in creating a little stir there among Radicals of wide sympathies but small power, we thought we had done all that was necessary to educate public opinion outside India. The circumscribed vision of those days was of course due in part to the limited resources in men we could command; but on account of the growth in political consciousness generally we are now better situated in this respect. Our present leaders suffer in comparison with the leaders of the last generation in the height of their stature; but if we have lost in the quality of leadership we have certainly gained in quantity. We can now impress far more men in national service than we could do then, and, what is more, they have now a vigilant public opinion to watch their proceedings and either to cry them up or cry them down, which was not the case with our former leaders, who generally encountered a stone wall of public apathy. Contemporaneously, however, with this improvement in our equipment for conducting a political propaganda abroad, a change of feeling has come

over us, which looks upon any effort to enlighten opinion in foreign countries as lack of self-help and self-reliance, which are the key-notes of our current political movements. Instead, therefore, of expanding our sphere of work we have curtailed it. Instead of extending our campaign, say, to Geneva and other large centres of political activity, we have wound up the only political organization we had in London and closed down the only organ which could possibly appeal to the English folk. It is high time that we came again out of our shell. But we must not make any longer the mistake of confining our political propaganda to England. Our propaganda must make a wider appeal; it may in fact try to influence opinion outside even more than in England; for in proportion as world opinion exerts pressure upon opinion in England, will the latter be influenced in our favour. Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar has a firm grasp of this basic fact, and we hope the high authority which his opinion carries will persuade the Congress to establish a permanent mission in Geneva, which is the nerve centre of international politics. The mission must be well equipped, with men and money. Some of our best writers and speakers, who can be trusted to present facts with perfect accuracy, must be stationed there, and the mission may then ramify to other places. Every ounce of energy we can thus spend in informing statesmen of international repute that foregather in Geneva and other places will have an ample return in a favourable atmosphere created that is necessary for the attainment of self-government.

Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar is, however, it seems to us, more hopeful than facts would warrant about the feasibility of his proposal to seek the League's formal intervention in our political controversy with Great Britain. He thinks not merely that the League can be persuaded to mediate but that its mediation will be successful. In fact the intercession by the League appears to Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar to

\* *League of Nations and India's Emancipation*. By C. VIJIA-  
RAGHAVACHARIAR. (The National Press, Madras.) 1929.  
24cm. 89p.

afford the only pacific solution of our difficulties. Every other method, not excluding non-violent non-co-operation, is, to his thinking, bound to result in violence and bloodshed. N.C.O. may be peaceful at the outset, but past experience has proved that "even the Indian people" lack "the strength and the character without which it is impossible to wield this godly weapon." Thus, even in the hands of the most peaceable people on earth, it is predestined to end violently. And assuming that the movement retains its non-violent character throughout on the side of the people, it is certain to provoke "the use of force by Government for preserving law and order", and thus, whether violence proceeds from the people or Government, it is clear that N.C.O., whatever be its intent, is not and cannot from the very nature of the case be in fact a pacific means of settling a problem like that of self-government for India. Such being his verdict on N.C.O., Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar turns to other means which promise a peaceful solution, and his conclusion is that the only weapon which answers to this description is that of submitting our dispute with England to the mediation or the investigation of the League. Now the first question that arises is whether the League's good offices can be invoked in this connection. This he answers emphatically in the affirmative. The answer is based mainly on two grounds. The first ground is the inclusion of India, although non-self-governing in internal matters, among the original members of the League, which is intended to be confined to self-governing states. As Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar says, "This very anomaly is our hope." Other member-states have then a right to say, "Either make India self-governing, in which case she will have the freedom to vote as she likes, or remove her name from the list of League members. If India continues to be a member in a position of subordination to Great Britain, the latter will practically have two votes." Professor Delisle Burns has used this argument in the *Problems of Peace*, third series, (p. 231): "The relation of India to Great Britain is inconsistent with India's membership of the League; and in view of the implied promise on the admission of India as a member of the League, Great Britain is morally bound to make the change required," i.e. raise her to the status of a Dominion. But the moral obligation, which can be used as an effective instrument of political propaganda, is not the same thing as a legal obligation, which alone can give ground for intervention by the League. Further, the inconsistency to which Professor Burns refers can be removed by giving India freedom in external affairs, which we already claim. Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar himself does not lay much store by this.

He relies far more upon the nature, as he conceives it, of the functions assigned to the League. In this connexion he has cited the case of the Aaland Islands, which, if correctly represented, would be conclusive, but which, as it is, is very misleading. He tries to make out that, owing to the intercession of the League, Finland was made to concede auto-

nomy to the Islands. If the Aaland Islands, with a population of barely 16,000, could obtain self-government through the instrumentality of the League, why not India, which has twenty times as many millions as the Islands have thousands? Thus runs Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's argument. And it would be an exceedingly hopeful approach to the solution of the problem of the redemption of the subject peoples if it were a fact that the League did require Finland to bestow self-government on the Aaland Islands. But it is not a fact and cannot be. The one defect which runs through the whole of Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's pamphlet is that he regards the League as a super-state having the power to impose a solution upon either party to a dispute. This is an entire misconception of the League's functions. In this particular case the League did not even recommend the grant of autonomy to the Aaland Islands. Finland had done this before the question relating to the Islands was referred to the League. And the question was not about the grant of autonomy but about something entirely different, viz. change of allegiance. The Aalanders demanded union with Sweden, to which Finland objected. The controversy related solely to this question and had no reference whatsoever to the political status of the Islands. The Aaland Islands case has thus no relevancy so far as the winning of self-government through the League's intervention is concerned. The case is also used by Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar to show that when India invokes the League's intervention, the British Government will not be allowed to object that the question of granting self-government to India, being a matter for its "domestic jurisdiction", falls exclusively within its competence. Finland similarly objected, but was overruled. Here too the analogy, when we consider the matter closely, will be found to be very slight. No doubt, the International Committee of Jurists, to whom, in the absence of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the question was referred for an advisory opinion, reported that it was not the exclusive concern of Finland, whether the Islands were included in Finland or Sweden. But this legal opinion too was so entirely determined by the peculiar circumstances of the case (with which Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar does not seem to be acquainted) as not to lend itself to the inference that if the question of India's dependence was referred to the World Court, the latter would report in the same sense. What the circumstances were in the case of the Aaland Islands will be best seen from the following summary of the Report of the Committee of Jurists, the words within quotation marks being those used in the Report itself:—

(The Committee reported that, ) in the absence of express provisions in international treaties, a state which was recognised as independent and a member of the family of nations could decide for itself whether it should cede territory to another power. Ordinarily, the League could not intervene. But "the formation, transformation and dismemberment of states as a result of revolution and wars create situations of fact which, to a large extent, cannot be met by the application of the normal rules of positive law..." If the state, as was true of Finland, was not yet fully formed, the situation, particularly as re-

gards territorial sovereignty, was still obscure. "The transition from a *de facto* situation to a normal situation *de jure* cannot be considered, as one confined entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, tends to lead to readjustments between the members of the international community and to alterations in their territorial and legal status; consequently, this transition interests the community of states very deeply both from political and legal standpoints." Under such abnormal circumstances, the rights of nationalities could be regarded as of international concern which the League could proceed to investigate.

The Council, acting upon this opinion, decided that this was not a domestic question, and appointed a Committee of Rapporteurs to make a recommendation as to the case. The Committee declared: "The separation of a minority from the state of which it forms part" can only be considered "as an altogether exceptional solution, a last resort when the state lacks either the will or the power to enact and apply just and effective guarantees." Basing itself upon this declaration, the Council rejected the demand for the cession of the Aaland Islands to Sweden. It will thus be seen that at no point does the Aalanders' case, which among all the cases cited by him has the most plausible look about it, support Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's contention.

If the question of Indian self-government is referred to the World Court, we for ourselves are not sure that the Court will not decide that it is a "domestic" question. We are rather inclined to think that it will. The World Court recently declared: "The words 'solely within the domestic jurisdiction' (in Article 15 of the Covenant) seem rather to contemplate certain matters which, though they may very closely concern the interests of more than one state, are not in principle regulated by international law. As regards such matters each is the sole judge. The question whether a certain matter is or is not solely within the jurisdiction of a state is an essentially relative question; it depends upon the development of international relations." If the Council treats the Indian question as an internal question for Great Britain to solve, it will be precluded from dealing with it in a semi-judicial capacity. Then only one alternative remains. Either the Council or the Assembly, may still "discuss" the question (without making a recommendation thereupon) if the question is held to threaten the peace of the world. If war is likely to result from any international policies or even from domestic practices of a state, the League is authorised under Article 11 to intervene. But the whole question is whether denial of immediate self-government to India will be regarded as satisfying the terms of this proviso. Article 15 is of wider application, for it is interpreted to authorise intervention even when in fact a rupture is not likely to result, though the Article says: "If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture", &c. &c. The interpretation of this Article is given as follows: "The Council is not obliged to inquire whether or not a dispute is really likely to lead to a rupture." It takes account of the gravity of the dispute only in choosing the method to effect a settlement.

No reservations in regard to 'national honour' or 'vital interests' can be pleaded as a bar to the proceedings before the Council." But the Article is hardly serviceable to us inasmuch as Great Britain is sure to claim, and the Council is likely to concede the claim, that Indian self-government is a "domestic question" for Great Britain. Article 11 too appears to give little relief because the question will scarcely be admitted to have acquired the status of a question which threatens to disturb world peace. It seems doubtful therefore whether under the existing constitution the question can be brought on to the agenda of the League in any shape or form. It needs hardly be pointed out that a passage from Professor Laski's book, which Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar quotes, represents an aspiration for the future rather than a statement of the existing position.

It is no pleasure to us to cast doubts on the validity of an argument which would prove that the refusal of autonomy to India comes within the sphere of action of the League. We are however constrained to point out what we perceive as difficulties in the way of seeking the League's protection "in view to" spare (to use a phrase of which Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar seems inordinately fond) the disappointment sure to result from the pursuit of an *ignis fatuus*. We agree that anyhow no harm would come by our claiming the League's intercession (provided we know that the result may be unfavourable). The very fact that the claim is made may even do some good as it will set statesmen in other countries talking about Indian self-government, and this stir among them may itself react to our advantage. We therefore have no objection to some persons being set to work on this problem under Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's guidance and to prefer a claim to the League. But in our opinion it is of far greater importance to establish a permanent mission, as said above, in Geneva to start with, for the purpose of knocking at the League's door, if so desired, but mainly for the purpose of enlisting the support of forward-looking people of all nations of the earth in our political emancipation.

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## Reviews.

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### SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

#### THE THEORY OF THE COST-PRICE SYSTEM.

By ARNOLD J. W. KEPPEL (Allen & Unwin.)

1928. 18cm. 188p. 6/-.

MARX said of Bentham "with the driest *naïveté* this great apostle of the English school takes the modern shopkeeper, especially the English shopkeeper, as a normal man," and called English Political Economy of his time "a dismal science" because men were incapable of thinking of anything but their own interests. But to-day, glory be to all that has led us up to the great War and the Russian revolution, Economic Determinism has taken a new and romantic orientation. To-day again, even the theory of value is undergoing searchings, and it will be agreed by all that we have no intention to go back to Locke's

atomistic society, but that we desire our "evaluation" to take into account the *social* relations involved in production in order that it may have real application to existing society. Thus do socialist economists, Marx and Engels, and, if you will, J.A. Hobson and Arnold Keppel, the usherer and the author of this "theory of cost-price system," hold sway both in factories and parliaments and in public platforms and libraries.

The essential point of this new economics—even on its academic side of course—is to trace "rent" and "profit" to their proper origins and to define (and divide, when the need arises,) "surplus." It is curious that these ideas are best understood by negation and therefore Crusoe economy is invoked. Robinson Crusoe,—the hunter, farmer, fisher and all,— "the integral economic system in himself," does not need to pay "rent" for the land because he is himself landlord, nor "interest" upon his capital because he is himself capital, nor, "profits" to a middleman because all his needs co-operate "by will and not by force." If only this had continued! "Had this state continued,"—mark! this is a quotation from Adam Smith—"the wages of labour would have augmented with all those improvements in its productive powers to which the division of labour gives occasion. All things would gradually have become cheaper. They would have been produced by a smaller quantity of labour; and as the commodities produced by equal quantities of labour would naturally in this state of things be exchanged for one another, they would have been purchased likewise with the produce of the smaller quantity." This original state of things does not exist now. Now there is both appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, and what inevitably results out of this is that the whole produce of labour does not belong to the labourer. The case for the fair reward of labour has been taken up variously—by academic persons, by benevolent employers, by "agitators" and by the "authority" of law. In the thick of this campaign does our author enter with his exceedingly interesting and even original slogan: "sell at cost-price and avoid profit."

Mr. Keppel describes the surplus that arises out of differential advantages of situation and ability, out of mechanical improvements, out of capitalistic combines and of some subtle artificial "scarcities" that have been permitted by us. The "law of demand and supply," that is, the process of justification which puts the selling price up to the level to which competition in consumption can raise it to, is positively shocking to the author and his revolting mind evolves a plan—"if goods were sold at prices which covered expenses of production and distribution with no addition of profit." But Mr. Keppel is no mere idealist camouflaging with words, nor rushing away or evading without logic. Professor J. A. Hobson himself says of him: "No writer in recent times has brought a more compact or relentless logic, or more audacity or independence of view to the task he here undertakes." And our author may well deserve this praise and yet more. He goes into the

scheme of division of labour and deals also with the implications of money wages in this book. It is frankly speaking, difficult to summarise such books. They deserve detailed study, and no review can be a substitute for such study. One can only disagree with him, if one likes, with his interpretation of "cost," or in the possibility of running by co-operative consent an economic system in which prices should incorporate no element of rent, interest and profit. The author has no doubts either that work shall not in such a system be satisfactorily and duly performed, but he is sure on the contrary that a greater measure of good will reign in a system which is just and equitable than in one which is rife with injustice and corruption.

K. B. MADHAVA.

### ENLIGHTENED INDUSTRIALISM.

VISCOUNT LEVERHULME. By HIS SON. (Allen & Unwin.) 1927. 23cm. 325p. 15/-.

WILLIAM HESKETH LEVER (Viscount Leverhulme), the founder of Port Sunlight and Chairman of Lever Brothers, Limited, was, as the jacket of the volume says, one of the outstanding figures of the business world. An international capitalist as he was, his capitalism was of a peculiar type. In him idealism combined with practical wisdom, restless ambition with sympathy for his fellow men, enterprise with foresight, vision with capacity for work, love of wealth with love of philanthropy, and hard business with a passion for art. Also he was a loving husband, an affectionate father and brother, and a loyal friend. He was, in short, an ideal after Samuel Smiles's pattern. He deserved to be immortalised in a biography especially representing, as he did, a stage in the development of capitalism, and the present Lord Leverhulme did well in undertaking the task of writing his father's biography. "A son, in writing the biography of his father", rightly says the author of the book under review, "is conscious of possessing certain advantages and at the same time of being, in some ways, handicapped. He sees his subject from an angle of intimacy and companionship denied to the average biographer, and writes more from first-hand knowledge and less from hearsay, but at the same time it may be argued that by standing too close he fails to capture the same sense of perspective and proportion as does one who works from a remoter aspect. However, for better or worse, I have essayed the task, my aim having been simply to tell the story of my father's life as accurately as possible and to sketch his portrait as I saw him." The aim has been admirably fulfilled. No stranger could have told the story of the late Lord Leverhulme's life in such an intimate and personal manner. The reader, knowing that the author is narrating his father's life, is able, if he is shrewd enough, to detect the weak points in the subject's character, whenever it is necessary.

Viscount Leverhulme was a born advertiser. He advertised his goods before he became a manufacturer himself. His father was a grocer. Soap was one of the commodities sold by Lever & Co. and they had specialised in a soap called 'Lever's Pure Honey Soap', 'Honey' being only a fanciful name, probably because the colour of the soap was suggestive of honey. As a trade mark easy to remember, easy to pronounce, one which could be upheld in a court of law if an imitator came along and which was not descriptive of the article and which did not refer to quality or be geographical, Mr. Lever, junior, chose



'Sunlight' Levers' soap differed from the majority of soap then on the market in that it was made very largely from vegetable oils, such as palm oil instead of almost entirely from tallow and it was made for the firm by various manufacturers. Soaps made from vegetable oils lathered more freely and were more efficient than tallow soaps, but in the process of their manufacture there were certain difficulties which the makers seemed unable to overcome. Besides, when they found Levers' orders for the new soap increasing they wanted to put up their price. William Lever, therefore, decided to manufacture the soap himself, but James Lever strongly opposed his son's idea. In the end, however, the old man relented and agreed to advance a loan to his enterprising son. The starting capital was of four thousand pounds only, but the enterprise was destined to be a huge combine of several great soap factories in more than one continent, having estates covering thousands of acres for growing palm trees to keep up supply of cheap vegetable oil of good quality required for the manufacture of soap in such far off lands as the South Sea Islands and the Belgian Congo. The story of how William Lever succeeded in building up a great business and a great fortune reads like a romance, and one cannot but admit that Lord Leverhulme's success in business was due to sheer merit.

He was, however, not a mere money grabber. He had a passion for construction; whatever was touched by him was sure to be transformed into a more beautiful or nobler or more useful thing. A super-capitalist as he was, his capitalism was far from sordid. He cared for the health and well-being of his employees, be they the whites employed in the factories or the blacks employed on the palm tree plantations. Being far-sighted he knew it paid. His name is closely associated with Profit-sharing and co-partnership. Of course his scheme was not disinterested. It was a business proposition; as a member of his staff wittily put it in the course of a speech at one of the annual co-partnership meetings, 'We cast our bread upon the waters and we find that it comes back to us buttered on both sides!' Another reform associated with his name is the six-hour day. He had been one of the first employers in his country to introduce an eight-hour day. During the War his convictions regarding the reduction of working hours had been further strengthened by the statistics furnished by munition works—many of them personally visited by himself which showed that the longer working hours which the exigencies of the times seemed to warrant had not yielded a larger output per worker but, owing to fatigue and loss of time, the reverse; and further, that when the working hours of munition workers had been curtailed, their output had increased. His scheme for a six-hour day rested not on an appeal to humanitarian feeling but "on a clearly defined economic fact, namely, that in most industries, under existing conditions, machinery was underworked and usually became obsolete long before it was worn out; and that by running it for longer hours 'overhead charges', including interest on capital, depreciation, repairs, renewals and administrative expenses, would be spread over a larger output with a consequent reduction in costs. The two-shift system would provide new reserves of leisure, and the uses to which they could be put were an integral part of the scheme and in Leverhulme's opinion as important to the national well-being as the direct industrial advantages which he looked for." He was anxious to apply the scheme to his own works, but owing to certain difficulties, the scheme was not proceeded with.

Leverhulme's views on 'Industrial Unrest' deserve to be remembered by every capitalist. In his speech in the Lords in 1919 in the course of a debate on the above subject initiated by Lord Buckmaster, when previous speakers had taken a somewhat gloomy view of the industrial situation, Leverhulme assured his hearers that they had no need to take a pessimistic view of industrial unrest. "Believe me", he said, "it is the healthiest sign in the country at the present time." He made a distinction, however, between this healthy type of unrest; due to Labour's reasonable and just aspirations for a larger share of the amenities and good things of life, and another kind of unrest—definitely unhealthy—arising from misunderstanding and suspicion. He said:

"On the subject of strikes, let us consider what a strike is. There is no commodity bought and sold between any two individuals without a small strike taking place. I cannot see how we could with advantage attempt to deprive a body of men of the right to use this means, common to all of us, in connection with the only article that they have to sell, namely, their labour. And it would seem to me, therefore, that we must bear patiently with this state of affairs at the present time. . . . The workman is not to be kept running as a machine by satisfying his wants. Every fresh aspiration of the workman that we grant to-day will lift him higher and give him new aspirations tomorrow, and so we shall always have what we call labour unrest if we are to be a healthy community."

In short, this is a well-planned and well-constructed biography of a remarkable man whose life work constitutes a landmark in the history of British industry.

P. G. KANEKAR.

### "OLD BUDDHA"

OLD BUDDHA (EMPRESS TZU HSI). By PRINCESS DER LING. (John Lane.) 1929. 22cm. 347p. 12/6.

THIS is a courageous attempt to vindicate the reputation of Empress Tzu Hsi, popularly known as Old Buddha. Princess Der Ling has boldly challenged the estimate of Tzu Hsi based on bazar gossip and tea-shop scandals. Scandal-mongers have said that Old Buddha was a monster of vice, that neither Au Teh Hai nor Li Lien Ying was a eunuch, that Old Buddha was mistress to each in turn, and that she bore a son to the former. The authoress says that this is a malicious lie spread with a view to besmirch the reputation of the Empress. She says that the strict examination to which a eunuch was subjected before being admitted to the Imperial Court makes it impossible to believe the story spread by scandal-mongers. The authoress treats the scandals with contempt and gives in the book before us what she calls the actual story of the forbidden Court and Old Buddha.

The book claims to be the first authentic account of the Empress Tzu Hsi by one who was her special favourite. But we do not feel strong enough to regard it as an authentic account of Old Buddha. The authoress was a special favourite of the Empress and though she says that "she has tried to keep personal bias from entering too obviously into this story," we are afraid she has put the most favourable interpretation on many of the infamous and ignoble actions of the Empress. Again, the authoress says that her book is based upon what the Empress herself told her. Besides, the authoress was attach-

ed to the Imperial Court between 1903 and 1905 when she was quite young. We therefore wonder whether Princess Der Ling had sufficient discretion to distinguish what was true from what was untrue. Old Buddha would have narrated the story in such a way as to make the authoress believe that she had been "more sinned against than sinning." We are therefore fully entitled to ask whether Princess Der Ling's account is based upon facts.

We will give some specific instances to show the partisanship of the authoress. The authoress says "that the charge that the Empress slew her son Tung-Chih in order to reassume the Regency is one of the basest lies ever perpetrated by a careless, prevaricating or sensational historian." If Tzu Hsi could have brought about the *coup d'état* which led to the abdication and imprisonment of Emperor Hwang Hsu, her nephew, if she could have ordered the death of the Pearl Concubine and Hwang-Hau, could she not also have compassed the death of her own son? Ambition was her overpowering passion. She sacrificed marital happiness for the sake of the Imperial Throne. She gave up Yung Lu for the sake of the dissolute Emperor. She desired to rule and it is possible—we say advisedly 'possible' because no one knows the truth—that the Empress might have compassed the murder of her son, Tuns-Chih in order to regain the Regency. It is also a matter of history—which is acknowledged by the authoress—that on the death of Tung-Chih Old Buddha nominated Hwang Hsu, a child, and on the death of Hwang Hsu, she nominated Pu Zi, also a child, to be Emperor. Her choice fell on children, because she wanted to be the Regent, and when the children came of age, she removed them with the help of a general like Yuan Shi-Kai or a eunuch like Li-Lien Ying.

The authoress calls the Empress Tzu Hsi one of the greatest rulers China ever had. We demur to this view. The book also does not bear out this view. The authoress acknowledges the fact that the Empress was opposed to the reform proclivities of Hwang Hsu, and that she was entirely under the influence of the Chief Eunuch, Li Lien Ying and Prince Tuan a reckless scoundrel and debauchee. The influence of the Chief Eunuch over her made her commit many crimes at which humanity shudders and the latter's influence led to the Boxer Outbreak and its disastrous consequences.

In spite of a few shortcomings, the book may be regarded as a true account of the Empress, Tzu Hsi. That Old Buddha had probably serious faults, few will deny. She may have been ambitious, jealous, arbitrary, and intolerant. She may have involved herself too deeply in the dark and ugly labyrinth of the intrigues in the forbidden City. We do not claim for her immunity from the errors and influences of the times in which she lived. But we do claim that she shall not be judged solely by the scandals of tea-shops and coffee-houses, and that the stain of profligacy shall not, on such slender authority as that, forever soil the reputation of a high-spirited Empress.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

#### EMINENT CHRISTIAN WOMEN.

##### WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED AND WON.

By JENNIE CHAPPELL. (Pickering & Inglis, London.) 18cm. 184p. 2/-.

THIS book is a collection of the life stories of four women who gave up their lives to Jesus and tried to win others for Him.

The first five chapters are about Mrs. Spurgeon, the wife of a Methodist Pastor, who, in spite of the

fact that she was an invalid, went on working by prayer, writing letters and starting the Book Fund and the Pastor's Aid Fund. She brought relief to many a man, woman and child in times of need.

The next four chapters deal with Emma Booth-Tucker, generally known as 'the Consul' in the Salvation Army. Although timid as a child, she became one of the best speakers and an ardent worker among "the army". "There was no one like her" who worked among all classes of people ruling them by love. Some of the anecdotes show how eager she was to save souls even as a child. She travelled over England, India and America and passed away suddenly while going through the latter place.

Frances Ridley Havergal is the next one chosen by the author. She was a wonderful woman who had consecrated all her natural gifts to God. She was a great musician. Many Christians know her already as the composer of some of the popular Hymns like, "Take my life and let it be," "Like a river glorious;" "Precious, precious-blood of Jesus," etc. The anecdotes about her are very interesting. The account of the development of her spiritual life is sure to be of great help to many a doubting soul. She was known to her contemporaries as "the sweet singer."

The rest of the book is an account of the life of Pandita Ramabai, one of the great Indian women. Born in entirely different circumstances, brought up as a strict Brahmin, she was wonderfully prepared for her life work during the early part of her life. Having accepted Jesus as her saviour, she spent the rest of her life to serve and save others.

These women 'who worked and won' were so different in circumstances; yet they all worked with the same aim, moved by the same spirit, serving the same Master.

The book is written in very simple English in a very touching way. To those who cannot afford to buy the separate volumes of the lives of these women this concise account will be very useful. It is a book worth possessing.

A. MATHAI.

#### RATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By WALTER MEAKIN. (Gollancz.) 1928. 20cm. 284p. 9/-.

THIS is an excellent exposition of the process of rationalisation, which has recently roused a good deal of attention. Mr. Meakin believes that the changes now taking place in industry and organization in order to modify the capitalistic system are so comprehensive that they deserve the name of a revolution like the one ushered in by steam-power; and since the origin of this new system is to be found in Germany, he has given in this volume the whole technique of it as revealed in that country with the primary object of applying the knowledge for the reconstruction of British industries. After giving various definitions of the newly coined phrase 'rationalisation', the connotation of which has been extended gradually, he has decided to confine himself to the earlier meaning and to describe the achievements of Germany covered by this meaning. In the German coal-industry the process of rationalisation consisted of the elimination of the inefficient mines and seams, new labour-saving and fuel-economising plant, perfect organization of by-product industries; all this being made possible only by the closer combination and co-operation among collieries through the agency of a Syndicate. The first results were increased output and lower

cost; the author however emphasizes that unemployment is always the immediate first fruit of rationalisation. The account of the German steel industry reveals a phenomenal recovery from depression in spite of the burden of taxes, the principal features being the centralized control of general policy and re-equipment to attain the highest limit of labour-saving by means of modernised plant. It is to be noted that research plays a great part in the German movement; for example, in one Chemical Trust the number of chemists, engineers, and administrative workers was 22,000 out of a total staff of 110,000. Rationalisation has been applied in Germany not only to basic industries but to the textile industry and general engineering industry as well. Describing the position in Great Britain Mr. Meakin complains that there has been much discussion but no action; the obstacles being the innate hostility to co-operative action from those nurtured in the regime of individualism and the complex of vested interests. So far as labour is concerned, the issue according to him is to reject the system of rationalisation on the ground that the tottering capitalism ought not to be prolonged or to help the system while gaining a definite share in the administration and control of industry. Mr. Meakin expects labourers to take a comprehensive view and to base their decisions on reason instead of being swayed by emotion and sentiment and to give full co-operation to employers in rationalising industries. We recommend readers to read in the original the chapter on 'Choice for Labour', which is a very eloquent plea for a sympathetic consideration of the new policy. Examining the Trade Union policy in Germany, he has shown that except in the matter of price control and high wages the German Unions have wholeheartedly supported rationalisation on condition that representatives of Unions are allowed to co-operate in its application. So far as Great Britain is concerned, the author admits that immediate increase of unemployment will result in the coal industry, the steel industry and others but in view of the well-being of industry and the nation as a whole he advises the labour leaders to study the new technique and help to shape political-labour activity in conformity with a definite policy instead of offering futile resistance to rationalisation. Mr. Meakin believes that the capitalist system can be modified by degrees so as to give practical expression to the idea of public service and he makes a strong appeal to employers who tenaciously cling to the old idea that industry is a matter for private profit and to the supremacy of *laissez faire*. He therefore supports Lord Melchett's plan of works councils to maintain a close contact between the management and the workers, which gradually might lead to joint governing bodies for a whole industry. Under such a scheme the Trade Unions can promote such legislation as may be found necessary to protect workers against the abuse of the new power which technical progress will place in the hands of employers. Mr. Meakin approves of the Resolution passed by the International Economic Conference on the subject of rationalisation. He does not agree with those who assert that rationalisation is "only a desperate expedient by which the industrialists hope to buttress up their tottering system"; on the contrary, it is, according to him the only way in which the capitalist system can be transformed by introducing the principle of community welfare in place of private profit. Instead of complete socialization he would have a reorganization of the present system on the basis of mutual concessions and guarantees on both sides. If the Trade Unions are to be fitted for greater responsibility and to be able to grasp the wider opportunity

opened up by rationalisation there must be intensive study by their officials of the economic and scientific developments in every country—a salutary advice which the Unions would do well to follow. Mr. Meakin's impassioned appeal for a rational modification of the present system ought to find a response from the workers as well as the employers in Great Britain.

V. N. G.

### THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH.

REPORT OF THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL, 1928. 8 vols. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 8 x 5 1/4. 25s. per set.

THE International Missionary Council with its offices in London and New York is representative of all non-Roman Catholic missionary societies and its main function is "to stimulate thinking and investigation on questions related to the mission and expansion of Christianity in all the world, to enlist in the solution of these questions the best knowledge and experience to be found in all countries, and to make the results available for all who share in the missionary work of the Churches." The movement for co-operation between the missionary societies of different countries began with the first world Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. Epoch-making as was that gathering, its membership consisted mostly of representatives of Western Churches. The expansion of Christianity in Asia and Africa and the progress of the indigenous Christians of these two continents has been remarkable since 1910. The second world gathering of missionary forces held at Jerusalem last year was therefore bound to recognise this and give adequate representation to the nationals of all countries. In fact, it was a large number of delegates from China, India, Japan, Africa, Latin America, the Philippines and the Pacific Islands who were present and urged with ability and knowledge their points of view on the various questions discussed that made the Jerusalem meeting unique. Their influence was noticeable at every stage of the proceedings which resulted in the formulation of the momentous "findings" now being studied and applied by Christian Churches throughout the world on subjects like the Christian Life and Message in relation to Non-Christian Systems; Relations between Younger and Older Churches; Religious Education; Christian Missions in the Light of Race Conflict; Christianity and the growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa and South America; Christianity and Rural Problems; and International Missionary Co-operation.

The above seven subjects are dealt with in separate volumes, with an eighth volume of addresses given. Each volume contains preliminary papers on the subject circulated among members, the summary of discussions, additional papers in the light of the discussion and the final findings of the Council.

The volumes on Industrialism, Race Conflict and Rural Problems contain valuable material for Indian students of these problems. The Christian approach to these baffling problems and the Christian way of tackling them set forth in these volumes deserve careful study by Indian public men, whatever may be their religious persuasion.

P. O. PHILIP.

## PIGOU'S ECONOMICS.

**THE ECONOMICS OF WELFARE.** By A. C. PIGOU. (Macmillan.) 1929. 23cm. 835p. 30/-.

THIS is the third revised edition of Prof. Pigou's well-known treatise which has been adopted as a text in universities in all the English-speaking countries. In accordance with his solicitude for subtle analysis, he has added a new discussion concerning the precise significance of maintaining capital intact, and giving a formula for its general expression as well as one for determining the magnitude of the new flow of capital required to maintain capital intact between any two dates. The problem has assumed great importance since the War which led to the destruction of a vast amount of capital and the difficulty of keeping capital intact has obstructed many of the schemes of rationalisation during the last few years. Another important discourse forming an addition in the present edition is that which proves that fairness of wages as between dissimilar persons is a variable relation making the problem of comparing wages in one industry with that in another where the workers have a difficult kind of ability, very complicated; the fact being that even relative efficiencies of different workers vary with circumstances. In view of the new demands made by socialists for equitable adjustments, the question of a fair wage has become insistent and deserves as much close attention as we can give to it. A new chapter added to part IV discusses the question of wage-subsidies; and both on theoretical and practical grounds Prof. Pigou rejects the policy of subsidies as anti-social. He admits that in exceptional cases where public opinion insists that unemployed persons shall be somehow provided for and when wage rates are too high for the supply of labour to be adjusted to the demand subsidies may be beneficial as increasing the national income, but as a general policy he deprecates them. After Prof. Marshall, the present author is the only economist in England who has shown the importance of the key notion of 'national dividend' from the point of view of social welfare and analysed all its interrelations. The most important of these interrelations is the one between national dividend and Labour, and Prof. Pigou has discussed it most exhaustively in this volume. Owing to the application of the mathematical method his conclusions are more precise and allow for the variations of an economic law owing to the presence of various alternatives, due to different combinations of the same factors. On the vexed question of *laissez faire* versus state regulation, the author has given impartial advice and shown the precise limits within which state regulation and management are conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number. For those who want to probe deeper into the realm of higher Economics this volume is indispensable, although it will prove as tough and tiring to the brain as Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.

G.

## SHORT NOTICE.

**A STUDY OF REALITY.** By G. R. MALKANI. (The Modern Bookstall, Bombay.) 18cm. 151p.

THIS book by Mr. Malkani of the Indian Institute of Philosophy at Amalner is intended to meet the demand for a book on metaphysics written from the

Indian point of view. In this book he has very briefly discussed a few of the important and difficult metaphysical problems, the solutions of which he has tried to reach mostly in the light of *Advaitism*. Though his discussions are very short and summary, though they do not impress the reader with any novel and striking ideas, they are marked by freshness of treatment and lucidity of expression, which indeed is a commendable feature of the book. Though the *Advaita* Philosophy forms the basis of of the author's Study of Reality he has not sought simply to explain any such ancient system. He has profited by his study of Western Philosophy which has enabled him to make certain additions to old thought, at any rate to interpret it in a different manner and to present it in a somewhat new perspective. This will be evident to those who carefully read his chapters on "Reality and Value," "The Real as a Principle of Completion," and "The Image of Eternity." The author however says: "The only debt I have to acknowledge is the debt to my teacher, Seth Motilal Maneckchand..." He has almost made it a point not to refer to or to quote from the writings of any thinkers, ancient or modern, to elucidate or support his own views. This is rather unusual. Perhaps he has followed the example of Bradley!

We recommend the book to all those who are interested in philosophy.

N. G. DAMLE.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND OTHER LECTURES. By HENRY CLAY. (Macmillan.) 1929. 22cm. 322p. 12s.
- THE CHRISTIAN TASK IN INDIA. Ed. by JOHN MCKENZIE. (Macmillan.) 1929. 22cm. 297p. 7s. 6d.
- WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION. With Impressions by G. G. L. ALEXANDER AND E. NIURINA. (Modern Books, Ltd., London.) 1929. 18cm. 67p. 1s.
- THE REMAKING OF VILLAGE INDIA. By F. L. BRAYNE. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 20cm. 262p. Rs. 2.
- DANGER ZONES OF EUROPE: A STUDY OF NATIONAL MINORITIES. By JOHN S. STEPHENS. (The Hogarth Press, London.) 1929. 18cm. 85p. 1s.
- FARM AND FACTORY IN CHINA. By J. B. TAYLER. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1928. 106p. 2s. 6d.
- REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS. By N. LENIN. (Modern Books Ltd., London.) 1929. 18cm. 86p. 1s.
- THE CASE OF THOMAS J. MOONEY AND WARREN K. BILLINGS. By HENRY T. HUNT. (National Mooney, Billings Co., New York.) 1929. 23cm. 444p.
- THE LURE OF SIMPLICITY. By PREBENDARY A. W. GOUGH. (Nash.) 1929. 20cm. 135p. 3s. 6d.
- POSTERITY IN THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE, PHILANTHROPY AND POPULATION. By FRANK W. WHITE (Watte.) 1929. 20cm. 139p. 2s. 6d.
- THE STATE AND INDUSTRY. By A. G. CLOW. (Government of India.) 1928. 23cm. 176p. Rs. 2.
- A HISTORY OF TELUGU LITERATURE. By P. CHENCHIAH and RAJA M. BHUJANGA. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 20cm. 132p.
- THE POLITICS OF THE ARYAN ROAD. By A. G. PAPE, (Daniel.) 1928. 20cm. 127p. 3s. 6d.
- THE JUST STATE. By GERHARD KUMLEBEN. (Public Life, London.) 1927. 20cm. 19p. 3d.
- THE BETTER SECURITY. By LEONARD NELSON. (Public Life, London.) 1928. 20cm. 15p. 3d.