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Topics of the Week.

Within the Congress or Without?

THE Congress attitude towards sectional interests is extremely obscure and unintelligible. It speaks with different voices to different interests. The kisans and workers mostly carry on their activities through separate organisations within the Congress. While Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Babu Subash Chandra Bose admit the necessity of their forming independent organisations within the Congress fold in order that they may be enabled to emphasise their particular point of view and to pull their full weight, some other Congress leaders are merely prepared to tolerate the existence of these organisations, and yet other leaders impatiently bid them to disband their organisations and merge themselves body and soul into the Congress as a whole, without remaining a separate entity in it. There may be something to be said in favour of each of these views and something against each of them. But one would think that the Congress would maintain a uniform attitude towards all such sectional movements; nevertheless, this uniformity is at present conspicuous by its absence.

FOR to the States' people the Congress speaks in an utterly different tune. It says: You may come into the national organisation. But you cannot form committees in the States for the purpose of carrying on any political activities, whether parliamentary activities or activities partaking of direct action, as members of the Congress. In fact the name which your organisations bear should not have the word

"Congress" figuring in it anywhere, in the beginning, middle or end, lest room should be given for a misunderstanding that your activities are the activities, directly or indirectly, of the Congress. And, to remove all causes of misapprehension, it would be well if you did not confine the membership of your organisations to the membership of the Congress. Take outsiders too into your organisations so that if you come into clash with the State authorities, we shall not be involved in any way, and even a moral duty will not attach to us of helping you, a duty which we have formally disowned even if the organisations consisted entirely of Congressmen.

NO one has yet cared to say why this great difference should be observed in Congress policy towards various sectional movements: There does not appear to be any principle behind it, unless it be the principle that States are foreign territories with which the Congress can have nothing to do. This principle has been repudiated by the Congress; still it is perhaps working in a subconscious way in the minds of Congress leaders. If co-ordination of Congress policy is at all needed in any sphere, it is needed in the sphere of sectional movements.

Orissa Tenancy Bill.

IT is stated that the Bengal Tenancy Bill passed by the Assembly and the Council has not yet been reserved by the Governor for the Governor-General's assent, as the Chief Minister feared, but the Orissa Government's Tenancy Bill for the regulation of rent in the zamindari areas of the Ganjam district has been. This is not a matter of formality required under the Act. The action of the Governor in reserving the Bill is an instance of the exercise on his part of his special powers. The Ministry has every right to protest against it. It may not choose to precipitate matters if the Governor-General gives his assent without demur. But that the Governor should have reserved the Bill at all is something against which public resentment may well show itself strongly. If the Governor-General withholds his assent, we have not the least doubt that Mr. Bishwanath Das, who jealously upholds popular rights, will produce a situation which the Governor in every province will be hard put to it to meet. For the first time, under the regime of provincial autonomy, a really first class question will have arisen on which all the popular forces will be ranged on one side and all the imperial forces on another. For, as we suggested last week, this must not remain a local issue for the Orissa Ministry to deal with, nor a party issue for the Congress to deal with; but it must become an all-India issue, on which politicians belonging to all parties and in all provinces must give battle to the Government. It is an issue, as we said, not of tenancy legislation in one province, but of popular power in all the provinces, and all must combine on it.

We hope that the Governor-General's assent will be forthcoming to save such a critical situation arising.

Grave Charges.

GRAVE charges are levelled at the jail officers in Bijapur by the President of the Lal Bayta Union in Sholapur in connexion with some prisoners in that jail who were convicted on account of incidents arising out of the Political Prisoners' Release Day procession in Sholapur. It is alleged that one of the prisoners was subjected to flogging, another was thrown into a solitary cell and a third handcuffed, given gunny clothes and kept on penal diet. These allegations, coming as they do at a time when penal reform is engaging the attention of the Congress Governments in provinces, need to be looked into by the authorities. The prisoners involved are convicted of political offences and their treatment in jail ought to be tempered with considerateness.

WE take note of these allegations because the punishment meted out to the prisoners concerned is of a type which has been condemned by every one as inhuman and barbarous. The movement for the abolition of flogging has had the support, if we are not mistaken, of eminent Congress leaders and it is strange that this particular method of disciplining the prisoners should be found in vogue in prisons controlled by a Congress minister. Hunger strike has been resorted to in the jail against the brutal treatment given to the Sholapur prisoners lodged there, and immediate action needs to be taken to investigate into the matter and to place the public in possession of the real state of affairs.

THE Indian Jails Committee of the Government of India recommended as long back as 1920 that flogging and corporal punishment in general should be the very last resort of authority to maintain discipline, as it is a brutalizing method of punishment. "A considerable body" of public opinion urged the abolition of this punishment before the Committee, but official opinion was opposed to it. The Committee, although it could not agree to the abolition of this demoralising punishment, observed:

We feel very strongly that its (corporal punishment) use should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits and that it should be reserved for offences of special gravity, as is the case in England... Flogging when kept in reserve as the last resort of authority, has a far greater moral effect than when it is cheapened by frequent use... We recommend first that the punishment of flogging shall only be inflicted for mutiny or incitement to mutiny and for serious assaults on any public servant or visitor, and secondly that a special report based on the record required by section 51 of the Prisons Act to be made in the punishment book, on every case in which flogging has been inflicted shall be promptly submitted to the Inspector-General of Prisons.

The world has taken giant strides in humanitarian views of crime and its causes since that report was signed and even Indian prisons have undergone almost a complete change on account of the influence of political prisoners of a type of which the Indian Jails Committee had not even dreamt. And yet, flogging and reports of flogging of prisoners who have gone to jail for political reasons or for economic demands seem to continue. This is a situation which, if true, must not be tolerated by the Government.

SINCE the above was written the Bombay Government has issued a statement admitting that flogging has been resorted to and giving the causes which led to the infliction of the punishment.

The statement confirms practically all the rumours as based on fact but the reasons given for resort to such drastic action are unconvincing. In the meanwhile sympathetic hunger strike has been resorted to by prisoners in some other jails and by a prominent socialist in Poona. We cannot say that this incident does credit to the jail administration of the Bombay Government. The Government agrees to restrict in future the use of flogging to extreme cases only. But at what stage of indiscipline does this penalty become necessary and who is to be the judge of it? So long as these matters are left to the discretion of the jail authorities, misuse of the power is inevitable unless strict checks are devised for its prevention.

The I. M. S. Question.

ONE of the questions discussed at the Premiers' Conference in Bombay was the anomalous position in which the provincial Governments are placed on account of the arrangements for the recruitment and posting of the I. M. S. officers placed at the disposal of provincial Governments. Among the many curious arrangements made to safeguard the interests of the services, the arrangements for the I. M. S. are the most curious. They were found anomalous even under the dyarchic regime of the Montford constitution, and under provincial autonomy the restrictions placed on provincial Governments in regard to the I. M. S. become even more glaring. While the ministers have to be completely responsible to the legislatures for the affairs of the medical and public health departments, they are not in a position to control the recruitment and discipline of the highest officers under them in the service. The Secretary of State for India still retains the power not only of recruitment to these services, but of determining the number of men belonging to these services that each province shall have to absorb from time to time.

It was brought out during the discussions before the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the evidence submitted by Col. Baird, Lt.-Col. Dunn and Lt.-Col. Broome that although the members of this service were naturally desirous of keeping all the advantages that they then possessed, they themselves saw justification for the resentment felt by provincial services and the popular ministers at their anomalous position. Lt.-Col. Dunn confessed that the privileges which they enjoyed as regards posting and private practice formed a legitimate ground for grievance on the part of the provincial men. It was also brought out that persons who offered themselves for the medical services in India possessed, as often as not, qualifications superior to the qualifications of those who offered themselves in England. The privileged position of the I. M. S. officers had therefore no justification.

THERE was very little difference of opinion among the Indian members of the J. P. C. in the matter of the I. M. S. and the need for its virtual abolition as far as provincial medical departments were concerned. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, described the position in graphic language. He said:

The condition of that service (the I. M. S.) is the most anomalous and at the same time to Indians most irritating and insulting... These men engaged in civil medical administration as Civil Servants in districts are only partially under the control of the Governments which they serve. The anomaly has gone so far that the Government of India have not only laid down a minimum number of Indian Medical Service officers which it shall be the duty of every provincial Government to keep in the civil administration, but it will

further and laid down the minimum number of European officers of the Indian Medical Service who must be maintained, and, incredible as it may seem, they have gone still further and also specified the particular districts, the particular stations where the officers must be European and shall not be Indian; yet the minister in charge of the Medical Service has to answer to the Legislative Council day after day in regard to the administration of that department, and if anything goes wrong he gets the blame, and if anything goes right the credit goes to the other officers.

That position remains the same even today.

It was urged in vain that the Medical Services so far as they were meant for the military should be centrally administered but that with that exception they should be placed under the direct control of the provincial Governments. The Services Sub-Committee of the first R.T.C. recommended that there should be no civil branch of the I. M. S., but that in recruiting men for the medical services due regard should be paid to the needs of the Army and the British officers in India and that an adequate number of European medical men should be recruited for that purpose. The J. P. C., however, took the view that the requirements of the Army and of the Civil Services "have an overriding claim" and that it could not be met unless the civil side of the I. M. S. is kept up and unless the Secretary of State retained all the powers which he had been exercising since 1920. And there the matter stands.

THE decision of the Congress Premiers to carry this matter to an issue will have the support of all parties. The opinions expressed at the R. T. C. and the J. P. C. given above are an indication of the unanimous attitude taken by Indian opinion on this matter. The Congress Governments in the seven provinces will do well to invite cooperation from other provincial Governments in forcing this matter to a head and we believe that such cooperation will be forthcoming. The control of the services is an issue over which provincial Governments can present a united front, and it is to be hoped that the efforts of the Congress in this respect will bear fruit. If all the provincial Governments made such a demand with a unanimous voice, the British Government will yield when it finds that it otherwise would be faced with a first class crisis.

The Hindustan Scout Association.

THE Congress Premiers' Conference in Bombay has decided to help the newly formed Hindustan Scout Association in preference to the Baden-Powell Scout Association, and we are sure that its decision will be welcomed by nationalist India. It will be recalled that the conference invited by the leaders of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association, with a view to unifying the different scout organisations in India into a national organisation, failed mainly because of the tactics adopted by the leaders of the Baden-Powell organisation. The exposure of a letter written by the Nawab of Chhattar to the B. P. scout officers enjoining them not to yield at the Scout R. T. C. on certain points was a clear indication of the desire of the B. P. scout leaders to sabotage the conference, the question of the form of the scout promise being simply an instrument to achieve that purpose.

DR. HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU, in a recent statement made it clear that the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts

association, which is the most powerful non-official scout organisation in India, was willing to merge into an all India organisation for the sake of scout unity and that the B. P. scouts had no such desire. Under the circumstances, the nationalist scouts have now organised themselves into the Hindustan Scout Association with affiliations to the International, instead of the Imperial, Scout Headquarters. By their decision to recognise this Association for grants and other advantages, the Congress Premiers of seven provinces have given a splendid start to the Association.

Corruption in Services.

THE detailed suggestions made by the U. P. Anti-Corruption Committee are a measure of the extent of that evil in the province. Other provinces, however, need not be complacent because similar attention has not yet been paid to this evil therein. Corruption exists in some form or other in all provinces to a smaller or greater extent and the recommendations of the U. P. Committee over which Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh presided should attract the attention of all provincial Governments. They are of a general character and can be useful to them also. The U. P. Committee finds that the evil exists everywhere, more so in offices under the control of local bodies and among the lower subordinate staff and menials, its extent among the gazetted officers being somewhat less due to their comfortable salaries.

THE Committee's suggestions to check this evil are elaborate in the extreme. It recommends that every officer when first appointed should furnish the Government with a complete list of his property and should keep it informed of any additions to it from time to time. The receipt of dals, the free use of public amenities, or gifts in any other form from the public is to be strictly prevented; payments by officers to their creditors are to be prompt and full; character rolls of all Government officers are to be carefully scrutinised; periodical inspections are to be instituted; information regarding corruption is to be welcomed; anti-corruption propaganda is to be undertaken; and a scrupulous insistence on an unblemished record for crossing the efficiency bar is to be observed. These and similar other recommendations show that the Committee has taken a very serious view of the situation in the U. P.

HOWEVER, with all these precautions the Committee realises that corruption in the lower ranks of Government servants cannot be checked unless and until a moderately comfortable scale of salaries is fixed for them. One of the most important recommendations that it makes, therefore, is an increase in the salaries of all poorly paid servants in all Government departments. If this recommendation is accepted, the province will be free from that petty but extremely annoying form of bribery which is so difficult to prove but which vitiates the standard of public administration in the country to such a great extent. The recommendation of the Committee regarding an inventory of the possessions of Government servants may not be easily practicable, although in this respect the co-operation of the Income Tax Department in suspected cases can well be sought. As for the character rolls of servants, we believe that even to-day confidential reports are kept in every office, and they reach the Chief Secretary in the end. How this new roll will differ from the old has not been made clear.

BURYING THE LEAGUE WITHOUT FLOWERS.

GREAT BRITAIN'S invitation to the League Council to give freedom to the States Members of the League to accord *de jure* recognition to the Italian conquest of Abyssinia is nothing else than an invitation to bury the League Covenant—without flowers. Lord Halifax did not ask the Council to condone Italy's aggression; Mussolini does not need it, and therefore the British Mahatma too does not insist upon absolving Italy from all blame. Mussolini does not mind any moral censure, provided he can keep his prey and go on further with his predatory ambitions, whenever he has a chance. Great Britain wants very much to be friends with Italy; she has her eye upon her Mediterranean interests. So also France ardently desires Italian friendship, when Hitler has shown himself to be on the grab. If the friendship could be purchased only at the cost of Abyssinia and the Republican Spain the price must be paid, and no compunction need be felt particularly because the price is not to be paid in English or French coin. Peace, as Lord Halifax said to the League Council, is the supreme interest of the world. It is for the sake of peace that the League at all exists. It is a pity that peace cannot be maintained in the present circumstances except at the cost of justice. Statesmen must therefore be realist enough to sacrifice justice to peace. One would have felt some doubt whether Lord Halifax who always took high ground in speaking of mundane politics would rise to the height of diplomacy which is required in putting such a deal through. But he rose to the occasion. Very often it is just those men who mouth great principles who are prepared to sacrifice them at the least provocation, and Lord Halifax is not an exception. Mussolini's conquest of Abyssinia is complete; it cannot be undone without war; for war we are not prepared, it being also against our principles. If Abyssinia is lost anyway, why not enlist Mussolini's support in ensuing peace in the Mediterranean—and also in checking Hitler? If we cannot curb Mussolini's selfish ambition, let us at least serve our own interests after the fulfilment of this ambition. The Abyssinian delegate hit the nail on the head. *Sauve qui peut*, let him find safety who can, will be the key-stone of even the League arch if the Assembly in September accepts the proposal of Lord Halifax. International morality will have disappeared; the law of the jungle will have re-established itself; justice will again have divorced itself from peace; and peace will be left to be broken by those who can take the law into their hands; neither justice nor peace will reign but anarchy.

The Anglo-Italian agreement, based upon the sacrifice of Abyssinia to Italy, is criticised as a return to the old diplomacy of alliances and as a move away from the League idea of collective security in which justice took first place and peace second. So it is; but, to be frank, even in former League deliberations on Abyssinia considerations of justice

never had much play. The ruling consideration all the time was to placate Italy at the expense of Abyssinia, the question only being how far Italy's domination could be established without its being styled "annexation." The first peace proposals were started in August, 1935, when the League Council asked Britain, France and Italy to attempt a settlement. Italy was to be a party to the negotiations, but not Abyssinia. The aggressor was to help in formulating proposals, not the victim of aggression. The negotiations were conducted on the basis of log-rolling. As has been remarked, France said to Italy: "You scratch my back over the Austrian frontier, and I'll scratch yours over Abyssinia." The three negotiating countries developed a scheme for a mission of help to Abyssinia (good souls are ever full of schemes for helping weak nations); the whole life of Abyssinia was to be reorganised: police, administration, economic development, foreign settlement and everything. All the countries were to render help, but in doing so all the countries were to recognise the "special interests of Italy." That is to say, the old treaty of 1906 dividing Abyssinia into the spheres of interest of the three countries was to be revived and given effect to. The sum total of the scheme was: "Italy was to rule Abyssinia, with France and Britain as sleeping partners (in view of concessions to them in other fields), and the League was to be asked to throw its cloak over annexation in all but name." The peace plan, however, failed, Italy having too large ambitions to be satisfied with this complete but indirect control over Abyssinia.

The next peace move was the appointment by the League of a Committee of Five, which drew up a Charter of Assistance to Abyssinia. Services were to be organised under four heads: police, economic development and foreign settlement, finance (all income and expenditure) and justice. At the head of each was to be a foreign adviser, and there was to be a League delegate to co-ordinate all the services. In this plan also Italy's "special interests" were recognised, again on the basis of the 1906 treaty, for nothing but Italian colonisation was intended in the agricultural areas "where European interests may be numerous." This plan too embraced the whole range of Ethiopians' lives. It no doubt prefaced the details of the scheme by a declaration of Abyssinia's independence, but in its operative part "it proposed to subject every department of social and political life—even religion, since education is the affair of the church—to foreign rule." The only safeguard was that the Negus could veto the appointment of the principal advisers, but it was confidently hoped that it would be possible to wear down the veto. The plan had in it all the elements of the dismemberment of Ethiopia, and the dismemberment did not take place only because Italy again declined to look at it, and Abyssinia too virtually refused it. Then came the Hoare-Laval proposals, which need not be detailed

again as they are universally known as the blackest piece of treachery that great nations could practise on small nations. The point of interest is that Sir Samuel Hoare in his justification of his proposals for three-quarters of Abyssinia to be either annexed by Italy or to be made over to an Italian chartered company said that they were based upon the proposals of the Committee of Five. And he was quite right too, for the Hoare-Laval proposals "were no worse in kind but only in degree" than the peace plan of the Committee of Five. It need not be recalled how afterwards Mussolini bluffed Britain and France out of the oil sanction which would have proved wholly effective in checking his invasion.

But as Lord Halifax has now openly given the go-bye to the principles of justice and collective security, so really has it been all along the line before measures of restraint were thought of and afterwards. The nations were planning all the time to reward Mussolini for his aggression, and their only anxiety was not to make the reward too big if they could help it. They were prepared to subject Ethiopians to the rule of Italy though under the alias of a Charter of Assistance or Mission of Help. Justice has never been the dominant consideration; the dominant consideration has been peace—not in Abyssinia so much as in Europe. All the statesmen implicated in this affair are really very much like Sir Samuel Hoare: there is only a slight difference in degree. The League Council at its 101st meeting found four dissentient members; but it did not come to a decision, and if it had the decision would have clearly gone against Abyssinia. May it be hoped that the Assembly which, with the smaller States, is a better tribunal of justice, may yet decline to give Britain and other members leave to recognise Italy as the conqueror of Abyssinia and thus save the League which the bigger Powers out of selfish interest are really trying to bury fathoms deep?

NON-VIOLENCE.

THE States can be abolished only by armed revolution, said Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi last week, in explaining the objection urged by socialists to the hoisting of the Mysore State flag along with the Congress flag. The socialists object to the State flag because they object to the existence of the States themselves, but the Congress cannot object to either, because it is wedded to non-violence, and the elimination of the States cannot be achieved except by the use of force. Thus argued the Mahatma. It is true that socialists would like to see the States wiped out; it is also true that they do not believe in the doctrine of non-violence as it is enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, viz. in the sense of abjuring violence in all circumstances. Still, we do not believe that socialists have ever advocated armed revolution for the purpose of doing away with the States. The Mahatma here relies only upon his logic for the statement that he has made.

If the States cannot be abolished except by armed revolution, will Mahatma Gandhi explain how in-

dependence can be won for India by means other than armed revolution? Prima facie, the two propositions stand on the same footing. And if the Congress hopes to achieve independence by peaceful means, why should not the Mahatma give socialists also credit for believing that the abolition of the States is possible by strictly peaceful means? The first criticism that Anglo-Indian critics levelled at the Congress when it adopted *purna swaraj* as its goal was that the Congress was a body which advocated, impliedly at any rate, the use of violence. The Mahatma makes the same insinuation against socialists, and on no stronger grounds. If by persuasion the British can be driven out of India or can be made to surrender their authority, perhaps by persuasion the Maharajas too can be driven off their *gadis* or can be made to merge the separate existence of their States into Greater India. The latter is not more difficult to contemplate than the former.

And how is independence to be won without the abolition of the States? To maintain the States which are vassals of the British Government is to maintain the authority of the British Government over the States. If it becomes possible for the people of British India to oust the authority of the British Government from their part of the country and also to free the rulers of Indian States from its control, it is hardly conceivable that they would thereafter keep in being the States which are creations of the British Government. Independence carries with it as a necessary consequence the abolition of the States. One who cherishes the larger aim need not shy away from the smaller. And is not Sardar Vallabhbhai, in asking the Mysore people to be loyal to the Maharaja, who owes fealty to the British Government, really asking them to be loyal to the British Government? We are afraid that Congress leaders do not realise the implications that follow from the goal of independence to which they have bound themselves. They talk glibly about independence but draw back the moment the logical consequences of this commitment of theirs are elaborated. But if they can talk glibly about independence, why should not socialists be given the same privilege of talking glibly about the abolition of the States? Why should the Mahatma draw from this talk conclusions, which he is unwilling to accept with reference to Congressmen's talk about independence?

Congressmen talk glibly about non-violence too. No use of force in any imaginable conditions, they say. They make a creed of what happens at the time to be highly expedient. Situated as India is, she cannot successfully use physical force against a highly militarised and exceedingly powerful foreign Government. She can only use peaceful means of pressure. So long as expediency coincided with the creed, no one bothered to examine the creed narrowly. But in changed circumstances the weakness of the creed has become manifest. As Lord Lothian says in the *Observer*:

But, as Congress discovered as soon as it assumed responsibility for government, Government itself cannot be

non-violent. One of its primary functions is to protect its citizens against violence and for that purpose, if persuasion and sacrifice do not suffice, the use of the police, and, if necessary, of military force, is inevitable. The whole technique of the nonviolent philosophy as it has been evolved for the purpose of resisting Government has to be worked out afresh for use by Government itself.

And, be it noted, even Gandhiji does not apply his logic mercilessly to the new situation, as he might have been expected to do. If violence in any form is sinful in all circumstances, it is sinful of the Congress Governments to employ police force or military force in carrying on their administration. But Gandhiji, severely logical otherwise, does not point this moral to his proteges. He is pained deeply, who would not be, that force should have had to be applied against any human being. But the ethical considerations on which he based his former advocacy of non-violence do not seem to weigh with him now. Violence is no longer sinful. Even juridical considerations do not deter him. The Congress Governments, according to him, have the legal right and the moral duty to use necessary physical force to repress mob violence. Only, they should see to it that the use of force does not become habitually necessary. If this is all that the creed of non-violence requires, even the most bellicose of men might as well be included in the Congress Governments, for there is none who would not wish that he were not reduced to the constant necessity of using force. Lord Lothian says that the Congress will have to evolve a new technique for working out the philosophy of non-violence. The Congress's new technique is to ignore the philosophy.

Lord Lothian is waiting to see how Mahatma Gandhi will apply the non-violent philosophy in international politics. In this sphere the philosophy will not be so promptly discarded, because it will be some time before India will have a chance to handle international affairs. There is consequently greater scope here for paying homage to non-violence. For the present we can only advise other people to practise non-violence, and in giving advice one need not be backward. Mahatma Gandhi's devotion to non-violence in international affairs Lord Lothian illustrates as follows :

If, he has said, the Abyssinians had refrained, on principle, from resisting the Italian invasion by violence, but had to the last man, woman and child refused to do any work or sell any food or render any service, and had been willing to endure stripes and jail and machine-gunning and any other form of violence, rather than co-operate with

the Italians in their invasion, but throughout loving and not hating their oppressors, their resistance would have been effective, and Abyssinia itself would by now be purified, ennobled.

Thanks to the Satanic Government, there will not arise very soon an opportunity for us to test our devotion to non-violence by applying to our own invaders the doctrine recommended to the Ethiopians.

But we cannot understand why, if the principle of non-resistance is so effective in its application to foreign bullies, it is thought that it must prove ineffective in its application to native goondas. If Mahatma Gandhi advises Ethiopians to take all the blows that Italians may deliver, why does he not advise Mr. Munshi to let the people take all the blows that the Bombay goondas can strike? After all, the Bombay goondas have no machine guns and no poison gas. The disturbance they may create and the damage they may do will be far more bearable than the blood-bath which foreign invaders will provide. Why does not Mr. Munshi say, and why does not Mahatma Gandhi advise him to say, to the goondas : "I can stop your hooliganism in no time. I have the police, I can call in the army, I can lock you up in jail, I can deport you; but I am not going to do any of these things. I cannot raise my hand even against evil-doers. I will give free rein to your nefarious practices. I will endure them all, and ask the people of Bombay to endure them all. I bear you no grudge. Out of my love for you, I will let you exhaust yourselves in your malevolence. And when you have come to the end of the chapter in wounding and killing people and burning houses, then I will start non-co-operating with you, again with my heart overflowing with love for you. With the use of force, I can stop hooliganism instantly, but I shall thereby only corrupt my soul; if I refrain from the use of force, hooliganism will go on for some time longer, but it will be the means by which I shall save my soul. And the saving of the soul will be worth the spilling of oceans of blood?" If Ethiopians did not hearken to the counsel of non-violence at a time when India, devoid of military strength, could not use it even if she would, to overthrow foreign domination, other peoples threatened by foreign Powers like Czechoslovakians are not likely to hearken to this counsel when she, having a sufficient police force, hastens to use it to the full and to strengthen it when all that is involved in non-resistance is the loss of a few lives and a little property.

THE AGRA TENANCY ACT.

THE Rent Act of 1859, which regulated rents in Bengal, was extended to what is now the Province of Agra. It created a class of what is known as fixed-rate tenants in the permanently settled estates. Under it those cultivators who had held their lands at fixed rates of rent since the time of the permanent settlement acquired the right to hold them at the same rate; and those whose rent had not been changed for twenty years were presumed to

have held since the permanent settlement and, unless the contrary was proved, their rent too could not be raised. The right, thus created, to hold the land always at the same rate was heritable and transferable. The class of permanent tenure holders was very similar and consisted of inferior proprietors. The Act also conferred, both in permanently and temporarily settled estates, a right of occupancy on those cultivators who had "actually occupied or cultivated

land continuously for twelve years", under which rent could only be enhanced for certain specified reasons and by a certain procedure. The grounds on which rent could be raised were two: (1) if it was found to be too low in comparison with the prevailing rent for similar land in the neighbourhood, and (2) if prices had risen to justify enhancement. The right of an occupancy tenant is heritable by descendants in the direct line, but not by collaterals, unless such collateral is a sharer in the cultivation of the holding at the death of the tenant, but it is not transferable except to co-sharers. Later, in 1876, a class of ex-proprietory tenants was recognised, consisting of those who were once proprietors but who, owing to misfortune, had to part with their proprietary rights. Such persons were allowed to retain the right of occupancy tenants in their former *sir* land at a privileged rate of rent of 25 per cent. below the rate payable for similar land in the neighbourhood by non-occupancy tenants. All other cultivators were in the position of tenants-at-will who were entitled to no kind of permanency of tenure or stability in rents.

Protection from arbitrary ejection and excessive enhancement of rent afforded to occupancy tenants by the rule of prescription was also a feature of the system followed in pre-British days. As the Imperial Gazetteer puts it, "It may be said generally that under native rule the cultivator (unless he was an outsider) was never ousted from his holding so long as he paid the dues expected from him; and although there was nothing in law or in theory to prevent the indefinite enhancement of such payments, the cultivators were so few and so valuable that in practice the enhancements seldom exceeded the full economic rent." The twelve-year rule introduced by the Act of 1859 came, when competition for land grew keen, often to be circumvented by landlords who manipulated the village records, gave short leases and changed the holding of the cultivator a little prior to the time when accrual of occupancy right was due. In order to put a stop to these practices an Act was passed in 1901, which provided that the shifting of the actual lands held or dispossession of less than a year would not operate as a break in the continuous holding which entitled a tenant to occupancy rights, and that if a tenant cultivated under a written lease the lease would not bar the accrual of occupancy rights unless it was for seven years. The object which this Act had in view was twofold: first, to put a stop to devices which had the effect of preventing the growth of occupancy rights and, secondly, to give at least a smaller measure of protection to tenants who cheated out of the hereditary right of occupancy. The Act also made the ejection of non-occupancy tenants more difficult. It cannot be said that the occupancy area (i.e. the area recorded as held under occupancy right and the area of non-occupancy land held under twelve years' continuous tenure) increased very fast, even after the loopholes discovered in the operation of the twelve years' rule were closed. Almost from the time of the passing of the Act, the Government were aware that the Act had failed in its

main purpose, as the following excerpts from the Administration Reports show:

It is disappointing to find that ejections were as numerous as in the previous year, and have not fallen to the normal level which prevailed before the passing of the Act (of 1901). It is too soon to express a confident opinion, but appearances certainly point to the success of the landlords in defeating the object of the legislature. No cunning device has been invented for evading the legal restrictions, but full use has been made of the means provided by the Act, a fuller use than was contemplated by the authors of the statute. The landlord seems to prefer year to year tenants whose rent can be enhanced at will, to make free use of ejection, and to have no difficulty in re-letting his land. (Report for 1904-05.)

One of the chief objects of the present Act was to place restrictions on the ejection of tenants. It was hoped that the difficulties intentionally placed in the way of ejection would reduce their number to an insignificant figure, and would at the same time induce landlords to grant long leases as the only means of preventing the accrual of occupancy rights. Both these hopes have been frustrated by the facility with which landlords have overcome the difficulties of effective ejection and by the suspicions with which they regard the provisions for dealing with tenants on the expiry of their leases. (Report for 1905-06.)

Between 1903-04 and 1925-26 the occupancy land increased from 1,27,09,000 to 1,45,32,000 acres, or by about 14 per cent. within 24 years; and the area held on lease for seven years or more was in 1925-26 11,15,000 acres. The seven years' lease did not give permanent protection, but even if the area held on such a lease was included in the protected tenants' area, the latter increased, from 1,25,31,022 acres in 1901-02 to 1,56,47,688 acres in 1925-26; the protected area thus grew in the interval of 24 years from 63.5 per cent. to 74.9 per cent. of the total area held by tenants; and the protected tenants' area in 1925-26 was 60 per cent. of the entire area, including that under proprietary cultivation.

The Act of 1901 was revised in 1926, and the revision was based upon the recommendations of a Committee appointed for the purpose in 1924, who in turn based their recommendations upon the amendments made in Oudh Rent Act in 1921, viz. the conferment of life tenures on non-occupancy tenants and, in return, a large extension of the *sir* rights of landlords. This new Act in Agra, like the Oudh Act, favoured the zamindars more than the cultivators, and this time the mantle of champion of the tenants fell on Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant as in 1921 it had fallen upon Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. The Act abrogated the twelve year rule, which had been, in force for nearly seventy years and which conferred occupancy rights on tenants who were in continuous occupation of non-occupancy holdings for this period. The only method now left by which an addition could be made to occupancy holdings was that by which the zamindars would themselves confer hereditary rights upon tenants for a consideration, and by this method no large increase in the area of occupancy holdings could be expected. Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant put up a plucky fight for the conferment of such rights by letting the old prescription rule remain as Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru had done before, though the latter was at a serious disadvantage inasmuch as the

Government considered themselves bound by a pledge to create no new occupancy rights without the consent of the taluqdars. The Government were not bound by any pledge to the zamindars of Agra, and yet they closed for all practical purposes even the avenue that then existed for the further acquisition of occupancy rights. The Government's contention was that the twelve year rule, without increasing the extent of occupancy land to any very considerable extent was only a fruitful source of litigation. The landlord could always defeat the accrual of occupancy rights by ejecting the tenant some time before twelve years had elapsed. Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant pointed that the increase in the occupancy area was about half a per cent. every year, and though the increase was not large still the twelve year rule at least permitted of some increase and should not be repealed. The Government thought that checking the litigation that resulted from the rule was more important than the acquisition of new occupancy rights, which in any case was a matter of slow growth under the rule. As for the general conferment of these rights, the Finance Member, Sir Sam O'Donnell, said: "I have no desire to conceal my own opinion that probably time will come when occupancy rights will be conferred on everybody. But it is undesirable and impracticable to legislate in advance of public opinion." The Governor said the same thing: "We ourselves would have liked to make occupancy rights universal. Against that course there was the precedent of the Oudh Rent Act and the patent difficulty of getting a legislature on which the landlords predominated to accept our views." The case of Oudh was in two respects dissimilar: in the first place, there was the pledge, though the Government themselves were prepared to disregard it if the legislature favoured conferment of occupancy rights; in the second place, occupancy rights were vested at the time of the passing of the Act only in 2 per cent. of the tenants, whereas in Agra they were vested in some 70 per cent. of the tenants. The proposition about conferring occupancy rights was therefore very much smaller and less difficult in Agra; but the landlords' majority in the legislature was really the deciding factor. The Government were unwilling to push the zamindars too far.

While stopping the acquisition of new hereditary rights, the Act created a class of statutory tenants and conferred life tenancy on non-occupancy tenants, allowing their heirs to hold on for five years. It was calculated that by this provision over an area of 70 lakhs of acres the tenants would enjoy security of tenure for long periods and against arbitrary enhancement of rent. The Finance Member said: "There are 5,600,000 acres of land held by non-occupancy tenants. There are in addition over a million acres held by tenants under seven year leases. Then there are the sub-tenants of the statutory tenants, and in addition to that there is a certain proportion of the area which is recorded as having been held for more than twelve years, but in respect of which the tenants could not establish their claim as occupancy tenants. If we add all these

areas together they amount to over seven million acres or about one-third of the area held by tenants, and over that substantial area the tenants will be protected for long periods." This calculation is borne out by the latest figures available; for the acreage held by statutory tenants and their heirs given in the Administration Report for 1935-36 is 7,161,300, which, when added to the land held by occupancy tenants and by tenants of 12 years' standing, shows that of all the land held by tenants 95 per cent. is under some kind of protection.

In return for the life tenancy conferred on non-occupancy tenants, the zamindars received the concession, among others, of a very extensive enlargement of the area of *sir* land. Following the provisions of the Oudh Rent Act, the Act of 1926 included in the term *sir*, or the zamindar's home farm, all land which was *khudkashi* or used by the zamindar for his own cultivation in the year 1925 and all land continuously cultivated by the zamindar for a period of ten years commencing at any time after the Act came into force. It should be remembered that in *sir* land there exists no sort of tenant right. As Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant said, "*Sir* land is that land in which there is no regulation of rents. You can turn a tenant out; you can take *nazarana* and bring another tenant and charge any rent you choose." That being the character of *sir*, any extension of such land is a very serious matter. Before 1901 land could become *sir* by twelve years' continuous cultivation and there was no limit to the area of *sir* which might thus be acquired. "But it was found," said Sir Sam O'Donnell, "that in consequence land did become *sir* which was not required for the landlord's cultivation and which was sub-let. And it was precisely for that reason that the Act of 1901 took the step, the very drastic step, of entirely stopping any further addition to the area of *sir*." But the Act of 1926 reversed this policy and made vast extensions to *sir*. First, it converted all land that was *khudkast* at the time of the passing of the Act into *sir* land, depriving the tenants thereon of all security against enhancement and eviction. The land thus subject to conversion was 26 lakhs of acres. There was already at the time when the Act was passed 34 lakhs of acres of *sir* land, and 24 lakhs, or 75 per cent., were added to it under one clause. The total area of *sir* land taking only this clause into consideration, would thus be 60 lakhs. The total area of non-occupancy land held by tenants at that time was 54 lakhs. The area which was devoid of any tenant right was thus more than the area over which statutory tenancy was established under the Act. The reward given to the zamindars in return for the concession made by them was therefore surely excessive. As a member put it: "In Oudh, where the taluqdars conferred statutory right on more than 75 per cent. of their tenants, they have got only 8 per cent. of their land as *sir*, while here (in Agra), where statutory rights are conferred on tenants holding about 22 per cent. of the land, the *sir* area will be about 25 per cent." It is true that in Agra the zamindars are mostly small holders, and there is greater need on their part for land for their own cultivation. It is:

also true that, with the conferment of statutory rights upon non-occupancy tenants, the landlord will be unable to eject his tenants and take the land into his own cultivation. But the addition that was now made to *sir* was excessive. Not only that, but the zamindars were also enabled by another clause to acquire *sir* by ten years' continuous cultivation. When protected tenancies terminated, the zamindars could take up land included in these tenancies, bring it under their own cultivation, and then add them to their personal holdings, on which no tenant right could ever accrue. There are restrictions placed by the Act on the amount of *sir* that can be acquired by ten years' continuous cultivation, but they are more lenient than similar restrictions embodied in the Oudh Rent Act.

Reviews.

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE.

WHAT SCIENCE REALLY MEANS. By JULIUS W. FRIEND and JAMES FEIBLEMAN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1937. 20cm. 222p. 7/6.

THIS book is a valuable contribution to the Philosophy of Science and it is specially opportune in view of the recent controversies regarding causality *versus* probability and determinism *versus* free will. The earlier chapters give a summary of the development of the empirical method in science throughout the different epochs. Later on the authors proceed to show how misconceptions regarding empiricism, the bedrock of science, have led the Eddington-Jeans school to the theory of mentalistic view and the orthodox scientists like Plauck to the opposite extreme, i. e., the positivist view. "Mentalism was unsatisfactory to the scientists because, although it allowed objective reality to the objects of scientific investigation, it denied reality to phenomena and thus seemed to negate the validity of empiricism. Positivism was unsatisfactory to the scientists for the opposite reason, namely, because although it allowed reality to the phenomena observed and thus to empiricism, it denied reality to the objective physical world and thus seemed to negate the scientific search for the real, making its discoveries at last a subjective affair" (p. 96).

The authors introduce the conception of "function" and show that starting from what they call "brute facts" (i. e. that element in all experience which is insusceptible of further analysis; e. g. the sight of redness, the touch of a stone or the taste of salt) and in conformity with the principles of consistency and economy, all sciences expand in concentric, ever widening circles of logical abstractions to entities, concepts, processes, events and laws. Thus science is not just a descriptive catalogue either of objects or of events but includes theories, hypothesis, laws and generalisations. Thus the empirical at one stage of development may have been the result of mental processes at another stage. The argument is developed very clearly and concisely, and the authors show how the mentalists and realists are both partly wrong and partly right.

Coming to the controversy between causality and probability, it is shown that "the mere fact that physics has so far discovered no way to study the occurrences within the atom except in statistical computations of results is used as an argument to show that causality does not apply to the sub-microscopic world, and indeed that it does not apply at

all, i. e., causality is not in any way a principle of nature. Surely to erect a failure into so general a principle with which to contradict all prior assumptions of science is a ridiculous attempt" (p. 95).

"The idea of causality only *seems* to have been dropped by modern science.... What appeared in classical physics as causality appears in modern physics as function. And it is only because the nature of causality was misunderstood in classical physics and has since been given a new name that it seems to have been abandoned.... Causality, properly understood by whatever name, is implicit in modern as well as in classical physics" (pp. 170-1).

The authors show conclusively that the very essence of the continuity and uniformity of nature is causality, and "every scientist, in so far as he is a scientist, and despite his protestations, accepts causality" (p. 173). Of course causality should not be understood in a temporal sense. Causality rightly understood means that every function is included or is the deductive consequence from a more inclusive function, i. e., the effect. In other words, it means that the more inclusive function is the cause" (p. 177).

"Can probability be accepted as supplanting causality?... Probability is the asymptotic approach to certainty. Certainty is the predication of absolute invariance.... Thus we can speak of the future only in terms of probability, and this probability increases as the future becomes less remote. If then, probability is the asymptotic approach to certainty, certainty is involved in probability. It is predicated as the goal, or else probability would have no definition.... The statement that it will probably rain some time next month would make no sense if rainfall were purely a random affair. What gives it meaning is the fact that certain complex factors combine to yield the event wherever undisturbed by still others which are just as causal. Thus causality is always implied in any meaningful predication of probability."

Altogether, the authors have succeeded in producing a book that is intensely stimulating and no scientist, who at all cares for the fundamentals of science—and I hope there is none such who does not—should miss reading it.

D. D. KARVE.

"PROGRESSIVE REVELATION."

CONCERNING PROGRESSIVE REVELATION. By VIVIAN PHELIPS. (Watts.) 1937. 114p. 1/-.

THIS book comprises a revised and extended chapter of 'The Churches and Modern Thought'. The last-mentioned book has been greatly appreciated by all rationalists. Progressive Revelation is a theory invented by Christian apologists to account for contradictions between religion and science. They claim that a new scientific discovery is only made when God chooses to let out another of His secrets, and therefore no wonder that it contradicts what was previously thought to be known. One may fairly ask such apologists a question which, I think, has not been asked so far, even by the author under review. It is this: "Why are new scientific discoveries almost always made by scientists who do not believe in any kind of God, Christian or otherwise, rather than by the Pope or other dignitaries of the Christian Church?" For, if it is really God who gives out a secret when a new discovery is made, there is obviously no need for any scientific training in order to make that discovery. God can just let a Pope dream of it. Popes may not always even understand scientific language, but God could easily set that right. That would obviously be the proper channel for knowledge coming from God. And yet has it ever happened in the history of the

world that the Pope or any other religious head has made a scientific discovery? If religion often has the cunning to use scientific knowledge to deceive people, it has never had that higher degree of intelligence required for scientific research. And, of course, research would not be necessary at all if God wants to impart knowledge. The present book points out several instances of parallelism between Christianity and religions known to be much older than Christianity. Formerly, it was taken for granted that other religions must have copied from Christianity. This can no longer be asserted with any chance of being believed. If there has been any borrowing, it must be the other way round, and Christians are obliged to withdraw that allegation. Indeed, it is probable that there has been no borrowing at all, but that similar beliefs have arisen independently from similar natural phenomena all over the world, and they will therefore be found in all religions in very slightly differentiated forms. Christianity therefore can not claim any originality for its beliefs, or at least any quality which belongs exclusively to Christianity. This is the gist of the present book and it has been very well put by the writer.

R. D. KARVE.

THE ROLE OF ISLAM

THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF ISLAM. By M. N. ROY. (Vora & Co., Bombay.) 1937. 20cm. 106p. Re. 1-8-0.

THE author's main attempt in this study is to show that Islam was not spread by the sheer weight of martial prowess, and that the prophet was more a socialist leader than the propounder of a new set of religious dogmas. He gives in detail the political and the social background which called forth, and helped the social and political reorganisation work of Mohamad. From the sandy deserts of Arabia it has spread to China and to Spain, and has been the life force of mighty empires. The reason for this tremendous success is its special appeal to the masses. The Saracenic Empires expanded and thrived by their economic and cultural achievements. The countries brought under the banner of Islamic Empires enjoyed economic prosperity and attained a development never before seen by them. While Christian orthodoxy and hypocrisy tried to suppress ancient philosophy, the Islamic Empires fostered their study and preserved them for humanity. The contributions in the field of philosophy and science by Islamic authors are distinct contributions to the world. This economic prosperity and the cultural development are all due to the simple social message of Islam with no complicated tenets and intellectual philosophical problems. The sociological aspect of Islam appealed to the masses of all countries and the message was welcomed by the oppressed masses in new and distant countries. The Brahmans' oppression drove the masses of Punjab and Sind to welcome their Islamic deliverers. Islam has rendered signal services to India's national growth. The author ends with an appeal for a greater appreciation of the historical role of Islam as that would facilitate greatly to adjust the varying communal interests of the country.

Why Mohamad alone, any Prophet might be equally presented as a socialist leader, for no religion can lose sight of its essential sociological basis. Religions, however much decried nowadays, had social reorganisation as their main work, and Islam is no exception to it. This study is a purposive attempt to present Mohamad as a socialist leader, and this necessitates twisted interpretations and forced conclusions. Mr. Roy has given quotations from eminent authorities to substantiate his case. But the student

striving for truth should necessarily look to the other side before he accepts Mr. Roy's thesis. The theme is well developed and the book is worth reading.

N. S. S.

RELIGIOUS UNITY

THE GREAT UNITY. By MARGARET BARR. (THE LINDSEY PRESS, LONDON.) 1938. 19cm. 1/6. THIS book is a new approach to the problem of religious education. It is an outcome of an educational experiment carried out at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School in Calcutta in the years 1933-36.

Within 94 pages distributed over four chapters, two appendices and an impressive bibliography the writer has made a valuable contribution to the discussion that has been going on regarding the need and practicability of religious instruction.

Those who do not believe in God, those who hate sectarian religious teaching as well as those who believe in something of every religion on earth will find ample nourishing food for thought in her able exposition of the essential unity of all religious experience. Her account of Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, Confucius, and Muhammad is brief yet eloquent. She is keenly aware of Lord Krishna's 'Gita' side by side with the almost forgotten teaching of the old boy Lao Tse. With admirable fervour she recommends the unbiased study of the great religious traditions in the whole world as against the common practice of taking one's own religion as a standard with which to measure and compare the rest, treating them at best with provoking patronage, and at worst measuring what is best in one's own religion with what is bad or indifferent in others, and so strengthening prejudices that had already taken root.

With great force she points out how it is never too early to start religious education in view of the fact that children love (i) stories and (ii) hero worship, out of which is woven the fabric of religion.

Those who tend to become abstract in talking to their hapless hearers or teaching their helpless pupils have a good deal to learn from this little book which abounds in select stories or parables drawn from various holy books—selections which do not need the master's finger or cane to point out the moral.

Reverence for spiritual greatness, thirst for truth, willingness and ability to recognize greatness and truth, wherever these qualities are manifest, and capacity to examine oneself—it is these and nothing less than a combination of these gifts that may enable one to function as a teacher in the field of religion in the highest interest of education.

A. H. PADHYE.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMICS. BY G. E. HOUGHTON. (King.) 1937. 20cm. 167p. Rs. 5.

WITH the growing realisation of the importance of the economic foundations of life the need to get a closer acquaintance with economics is very widely felt. Unfortunately, the highly technical character of much of the economic literature of to-day prevents most of us from getting any nearer to it. A book which explains in simple language and with the aid of commonplace illustrations the fundamental con-

cepts of economics becomes, in these circumstances, very welcome. Mr. Houghton's book is one such. It is intended to be a first text-book on the subject. Naturally, the author takes nothing for granted in the course of his exposition. He suggests a more practical approach to the subject which would add to its usefulness to the ordinary individual in everyday life.

Mr. Houghton's book, however, suffers from the defects of (i) over-simplification and (ii) a lack of proportion. The first is perhaps inevitable in a pre-elementary book. Still, the author could have improved upon his definitions so as to make them more accurate. To take only one instance, the essential element of scarcity has been almost completely ignored in the discussion of value. The author has even less excuse for the second deficiency. Labour, for instance, has not been sufficiently touched upon while lengthy excursions into the proper use of air, water, food, and shelter are permitted. Indeed, one often wonders if one is not reading a cheap pamphlet on hygiene or on dietetics. Nor is that all. For at the back of the author's mind there seems to lurk a feeling of distrust for civilization and a yearning for a 'Natural' life, which lead him to defend poverty and advocate retrenchment in our wants. This, it seems, is what the author means by the practical utility of economics in ordinary life. In all this, it is needless to say, the author is not treading on strictly economic ground—a fact which must greatly detract from the value of his book.

S. V. K.

ELEMENTS OF CIVICS. By G. N. Bose Mullik
(Gaya Prasad and Sons, Agra.) 20cm. 188p.
Rs. 2.

THE book is a collection of the professor's lectures to his students, brought out in this form to serve as a convenient text book. A brief discussion of the philosophy of citizenship is followed by separate chapters on various topics such as Man as a member of Society, Associations, Citizenship, Rights and Duties, the State, Democracy, Sovereignty, Franchise, Electorate, Structure of Government, Political parties, Separation of Powers, Public Opinion, Education, Nationalism etc. Question papers of the Rajaputana and United Provinces Boards are reproduced at the end, the text having been so arranged as to provide answers to them.

One feels that the book provides a series of general statements without examples or concrete illustrations to help the reader to grasp the principle enunciated. It is more helpful for cramming than understanding. The book is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi whom the author declares to be the best citizen of the world, but, except for a solitary reference to Mahatmaji's attitude towards the problem of untouchability, there is no reference to the precepts or examples which teachers of civic or national morality can draw upon with the greatest advantage from Mahatmaji's life and teaching. Civics is the modern form in which private as well as public morality can be taught in educational institutions, and only when the principles are expounded with reference to Indian environment and tradition, and reinforced with concrete illustration can the teaching serve its purpose.

The book is printed on good paper and bound attractively. The paragraph headings provided in the margin could have been more impressive and should be very much shorter. Loose or incomplete sentences should not have been allowed to appear

along with printers' devils in a book intended to serve as a text book.

K. KRISHNA IYENGAR

INCOME-TAX IN BRITAIN. By B. L. VAISH
(Gaya Prasad and Sons, Agra.) 20cm, 93p.

THE publication of this excellent brochure on British Income-tax coinciding as it does, with the appointment of a Committee of Experts with a view to revising the Law relating to the Indian Income-tax, is indeed a proof to show that the author has correctly prophesied the growth in the extent and scope in the Income-tax in this country as envisaged by the Income-tax Amendment Bill which has been recently introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the Finance Member. Income-tax in Britain has become a very complicated subject on account of several intricacies and yet we venture to say that Mr. Vaish has succeeded in bringing within a narrow compass at least the more important phases of this vast subject.

The first four chapters of the book are devoted to the assessments of tax on incomes from all sources while the fifth deals with the general system of assessment. This subject though ordinarily dry has been explained very lucidly by the author who has wisely refrained from dealing at greater length with purely technical matters such as Double Income-tax Relief, preparation of Accounts, Foreign and Colonial Profits, Profits of Non-Residents etc. He has given us in these chapters all that an ordinary student of Income-tax would desire to know and can easily comprehend and from that point of view we should think that his effort is a great success.

Chapter VI, which deals with the Machinery of Administration of Income-tax in Britain is, in our opinion, a very important one as therein we find the most important contrast between the Machinery in England and that prevailing in India. In Britain, assessments in many cases are made by Non-officials known as General Commissioners, who are also empowered to hear appeals in certain cases, while in the latter the work from the top to the bottom is entrusted to the officials. The last chapter compares and contrasts the Law and Procedure in Britain and in India. By the publication of this book Mr. Vaish has indeed rendered a very valuable service to those who are interested in the study of this subject which by its gradual growth is now attracting greater attention.

CRITIC.

Correspondence.

BOMBAY LIBERAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In the generality of cases, your notes are always well considered, but in order to vindicate, as it were, the common saying, viz. exception proves the rule, I venture to say that your note on the Liberal Conference proceedings regarding the Bombay Money-lenders Bill and the prospect of tenancy legislation is an exceptional one. In the first place, one would expect such a note after reproducing the text of the resolutions which the Conference passed at its meeting to give facility to the readers to judge for themselves. I had occasion at the Conference to say a few words on the proposed tenancy legislation, and hence I was a little bit pained to read your trenchant remarks.

These remarks would, I fear, unnecessarily prejudice the public mind against the views of the sponsors of the resolution and, therefore, I would like to quote the resolution in full. It runs thus :

While fully realising the urgent need of improving the economic status of the masses in general, and the agricultural class in particular, this Conference invites the attention of the Government of Bombay to the apprehensions caused in the mind of the public, and especially the owners of inam, khoti and rayatwari lands by statements made from time to time by the responsible Ministry on the question of land-tenures. This Conference, therefore, urges that, before introducing any tenancy legislation, Government should set up a comprehensive inquiry into the different systems of land-tenure prevailing in the different parts of the Province, through a committee on which adequate representation should be given to all interests including the owners of inam, khoti and rayatwari lands as well as tenants, and publish sufficiently in advance the proposed Bill for eliciting public opinion. Such an inquiry is all the more necessary in a Province like Bombay where different systems of land tenure exist, and consequently a uniform legislation may be neither practicable nor desirable.

In this connection the Conference records its opinion that it is against expropriation without adequate compensation.

I may boldly say that the resolution itself is a sufficient reply to the views expressed in your note.

One word about expropriation. The last paragraph of the resolution was considered necessary in view of the doubtful interpretation of Secs. 299 and 300 of the Government of India Act, 1935.—Yours, etc.

Mahabaleshwar,
9th May.

G. C. BHATE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In the issue of May 5 you have made a reference to the recent Bombay Liberal Conference. The opposition of the Conference to tenancy legislation is ultra vires as the parent body has passed a resolution on the economic programme at Lucknow in 1936

and reiterated it at Calcutta in 1937, which specifically mentions fixity of tenure and fair rents for tenants as one of its main planks. All Liberals are bound by it. Pandit Kunzru moved the resolution at Lucknow and I moved it at Calcutta. I am sure in the face of these new facts the executive of the Conference will take no action on the resolution, and that those who supported the resolution against tenancy reform will withdraw their support.—Yours, etc.

Mayanur,
9th May.

K. G. SIVASWAMY.

[It is true that the Conference did not oppose tenancy legislation as such, but it betrayed so much alarm about it as to give cause for apprehension that it would throw cold water on, if not oppose, such legislation even if it was required in the interests of cultivators. Mr. Sivaswamy has done well to remind the party of the views to which the Liberal Federation is committed, and which the next Liberal Conference in Bombay will have to keep in mind when it frames its resolution on the legislation, if any, which may be proposed or passed by the time.—Ed., S. o. I.]

BOOKS RECEIVED:

- THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF FAR EASTERN COUNTRIES. By CHARLES K. MOSER. (Pepperell Manufacturing Co.) 1930. 28cm. 144p.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. By M. VENKATARAMAIA. (Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay.) 1938. 25cm. 242p. Rs. 4.
- GENERAL SALES OR TURNOVER TAXATION. (National Industrial Conference Board, New York.) 1929. 23cm. 204p. \$2.50.
- THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE. By RICHARD B. GREGG. (Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.) 1938. 22cm. 398p. Rs. 2.
- AMERICA'S STAKE IN INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENTS. By OLEONA LEWIS. (The Brookings Institution Washington.) 1938. 21cm. 710p. \$4.00.

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