

The Servant of India

EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIII No. 10. }

POONA—THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1930.

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

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Topics of the Week.

Intervention.

THE relations between the Princes and the Paramount Power were the outstanding feature in the debates of the Chamber of Princes which met last week in New Delhi. The Princes did not question the paramountcy of the Crown nor the right and the duty of that Power, in virtue of its paramountcy, to intervene in the affairs of the States. The question they were anxious to see settled was that the scope for intervention should be clearly defined. Under what circumstances is the Paramount Power justified in intervening? As against the theory propounded by the Butler Committee that "Paramountcy must be paramount", it was contended that paramountcy was limited by treaties and engagements. The fact that the Paramount Power has in the past disregarded them did not justify the presumption that the treaties were not binding. In the opinion of the Princes, it was obligatory on the part of the Paramount Power to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes against popular agitation for constitutional reform in the States. These obligations precluded the British Government from advising the Princes to change their hereditary and traditional forms of Government because some of their subjects agitated for responsible government. The only justification, in the opinion of the Princes, for the intervention of the Paramount Power was when the popular agitation

was due to misgovernment. Even in such circumstance the Nawab of Bhopal suggested that the consent of the Prince should be obtained before intervening! The Viceroy promptly rebutted this ridiculous plea on the ground that the offending Prince was the last person to give his free consent to the intervention of the Paramount Power. The Viceroy made it clear to the assembled Princes that it was practically impossible to define precisely under what circumstances the Paramount Power would be justified in intervening: an element of discretion must in any event lie with it. He attempted to define the purpose of intervention. It was relief of abuse of power by a Prince, and it was to be exercised in the interests of the Princes themselves, of their subjects, of India and of the Empire. This policy of intervention is unfortunately of a negative character: mal-administration must have occurred before Government can intervene to cure it. The positive policy of interference to prevent maladministration has not been emphasized. The interests of the subjects demand the intervention of the Government as much, if not more, to prevent maladministration than to cure it when it has occurred. And the very best method known of avoiding maladministration is to make the governments of the States responsible to the peoples of the States.

Though one of the Princes went so far as to say that the Princes should be absolute rulers in their States, no general effort was made to do away with the power of intervention altogether. In this respect the Paramount Power, the Princes, their subjects and the British Indians are all agreed. The Princes ask for the regulation of the power of intervention. If it were possible, there might be general agreement between all these parties to accede to the wishes of the Princes. The power of intervention is, however, valuable not because of its existence but because of the use made of it. Neither the Princes nor their subjects nor even the British Indians are satisfied the way it has been used in the past. Is it possible to ensure a more satisfactory use of it in the future? Or would it be wiser to concentrate attention and effort at once on democratising the constitutions of the States rather than on the retention of the power of intervention by the Paramount Power, whichever it may be?

The G. I. P. Strike.

IT is extremely disconcerting to find that the leaders of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union have decid-

ed not to call off the strike in spite of the settlement arrived at by Messrs. Giri, Joshi and Chamanlal in their negotiations with the Government on behalf of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. The settlement was eminently reasonable and Sir George Rainy not only offered to reinstate all strikers who rejoined on or before March 15 in case their posts were not permanently filled but even in the latter contingency to absorb them gradually as vacancies occurred by keeping a regular list of such men; in addition, he promised that the period of absence due to the strike would not be considered an interruption for purposes of leave or gratuity. He further agreed that the Railway Board would meet a deputation of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation twice a year in order to discuss general questions put forward by the latter. With regard to the revised rates for the lower paid employees he definitely stated that they would be sanctioned before the end of March. Sir George Rainy further promised that the men recruited from other railways to replace the G. I. P. strikers would be returned to those railways in order to make room for as many strikers as possible. It is significant that the deputation not only expressed themselves satisfied with the issue of the negotiations, but Diwan Chamanlal on its behalf thanked Sir George Rainy for advancing the position of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. In the light of this it appears to us inadvisable to continue the strike on the various technical grounds advanced by the President of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union. It is clear from the statement issued by Diwan Chamanlal to the Press that the deputation had good authority for negotiating with the Commerce Member on the strength of documents which had the signatures of the President of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union and his colleague appended to them. In the same statement Diwan Chamanlal says that the demands of the Railwaymen's Union have been satisfactorily met and he thinks that the statement made by the Commerce Member to be eminently honourable and satisfactory. It is equally clear from a statement issued by Mr. S. C. Joshi that the deputation were fully authorised by the Federation to open negotiations on behalf of the G. I. P. men; it is absurd therefore to disclaim the deputation at this stage.

* * *

Irrigation Vs. Railways.

PRINCIPAL G. N. GOKHALE of Karachi has issued an appeal to members of the Bombay Legislative Council, which merits consideration as suggesting a new prospective with regard to capital expenditure. Principal Gokhale starts from the dictum that in all State-programmes measures for production and conservation of food should come first. He does not subscribe to the belief that the proper remedy for famines is a quickening of railway construction so that food might be easily transported; but without production, transport, in his opinion, would not do much good. Dilating on the difference between irrigation and railway policies he shows that while we paid Rs. 162 crores by way of losses on the railways, we spent only Rs. 35 crores on irrigation works up to 1900; again between 1917 and 1927 the State spent Rs. 186 crores on railways and Rs. 33 crores on irrigation. Thus according to him an amount of leeway has to be made up in the matter of helping the people to produce more food. He advises therefore the slowing down of the railway programme and the speeding up of the irrigation programme. Coming to the Bombay province he states that, leaving Sind, only 4 per cent. of the total land under cultivation is under irrigation, only half of which is irrigated by State canals, the rest being irrigated by private wells.

Principal Gokhale highly commends the work of the special engineer appointed for investigating natural resources for the protection of lands from famine, but he deplores that the project preferred by him has been unceremoniously shelved on account of what he calls "the drop in the financial thermometer" which to a large extent is due to the fantastic Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. Now that the Sind inhabitants have got the Barrage he hopes that they would not grudge his brothers in the Deccan and the Gujerath a few lakhs for warding off famine by means of irrigation. He therefore strongly urges the members of the Bombay Council to resist the scrapping of irrigation schemes and to take in hand either the Gokak canal or the Sabarmati project. While we, along with Principal Gokhale, deprecate the way in which the Englishman has made railway development his slogan in India, we think that his criticism directed against railways for not averting famines in India during the latter half of the last century is hardly just; the principal function of railways being not to avert famine but to relieve it when it does occur. We would however like to see a just proportion observed between capital commitments for railways and irrigation.

* * *

The adoption of Washington Convention.

SO at long last the Railway Bill giving effect to the Washington and Geneva Conventions about hours of work on railways has passed the Assembly and an important milestone on the road to uniformity of world policy in industrial matters has been crossed. The Washington Conference had adopted the draft convention limiting the hours of work in any public or private industrial undertaking to forty-eight hours in the weeks, with certain exceptions specifically provided for; but by Article 10 the principle of a sixty-hour week was adopted for all workers in industries covered by the factory acts administered by the Government of India, in mines and such branches of railway work as should be specified by the Government, so far as its application to British India is concerned. The delay in applying the Convention has naturally roused comment and both Mr. Kelkar and Diwan Chamanlal asked why it had taken ten years for the Government to bring in legislation applying the Convention to India; the only reply vouchsafed by Mr. Hayman was that the Government had already applied the Convention to workshops of State-managed railways and the company-managed railways. Mr. Kelkar has done well in reminding the Government of their promise to make a special investigation to reduce the hours of work to 56, which we hope they would steadily keep in mind. As for the amendment of Mr. A. M. Choudhry advocating a 48 hour week Sir George Rainy explained that it would involve very heavy expenditure. It must be admitted that the adoption of the proposal is rather premature in India when it has not been found practicable to adopt it even in European countries. For the present we must console ourselves with the fact that in the Conference of 1929 the British Government representative announced his Government's intention of taking the necessary steps to ensure the earliest possible ratification of the Washington convention on hours of work and the Director declared that it was possible to look forward more calmly and confidently to the generalisation of the eight hour day, the keystone of international social legislation. Mr. Gayaprasad Singh made a good point when he said that overworking on railways was a public danger for the reason that it might result in accidents.

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Articles.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

THE central feature of Sir George Schuster's budget for the current year is that in order to balance it he has to raise some four crores and more of fresh revenue. Fresh taxation is never a cheerful prospect, even under normal conditions; under the existing circumstances of political discontent and active threats of civil disobedience it is full of potentialities for mischievous exploitation. The Government of India might have paid greater attention to this aspect of the matter and made more heroic efforts to balance their budget without fresh taxation, and even announced a reduction of the salt tax. We refuse to believe that, with the fall in prices generally and with no war looming ahead and while disarmament and relief from the crushing burden of armaments are the consummation for which the best minds in the world are striving, the Government of India could not reduce their military expenditure more than by 80 lakhs. Even this reduction is apparent rather than real; for it is secured only by spreading out the expenditure over an additional year. No convincing case has been made out for completing the re-equipment programme of the Army in the next three years. If no substantial reduction in re-equipment is possible, at any rate the programme might be spread over a larger number of years, thereby still further reducing the current expenditure. Even so it is merely tinkering with the problem; the only permanent solution is to change the military policy of the Government of India.

Sir George budgets for a surplus of some Rs. 70 lakhs which is without sufficient justification. The expanding needs of the future may well be provided for in the future and it is quite unnecessary to budget for a surplus from now against such contingencies. The chief reason that Sir George advanced in defence of the surplus was that he would thereby go to the assistance of the Provinces in their ever-expanding expenditure on nation-building services in the next stage of constitutional progress. It is too early to anticipate what financial arrangements will be made in the new constitution and whether the Provinces will receive doles from the Central Government.

The Government would have done well to reduce to some extent the salt tax. Indian opinion is rather sensitive on the question and is even sore. Government have not yet lived down the antagonism and resentment that the certification of the tax some years ago provoked in the country. If political considerations are relevant to taxation a reduction in the salt tax would have touched the imagination of the people as few others would.

An unsatisfactory feature of the budget is that the bulk of the new revenue is to come from indirect taxes instead of from direct taxes. Out of an increase of 5,10 lakhs only 79 lakhs are to come from increase in income and super taxes. It is time to call a halt to this pernicious system.

The most controversial of the new taxes are the duties on cotton imports. For revenue purposes Government propose to raise the duties from 11 per cent. to 15 per cent., thus levelling them up to the general revenue tariff. Government consider this increase sufficient from the revenue point of view. This in itself has no inconsiderable protective effect. But in view of the parlous condition of the Bombay mill industry Sir George purposes to levy an extra protective tariff of 5 per cent., with a minimum of 3½ annas per pound on plain grey goods, on all cotton goods from outside Great Britain. The protective part of the cotton duties is to remain in operation for three years, after which the position will be reconsidered in the light of another Tariff Board enquiry.

Sir George ably marshalled the pros and cons of cotton protection; it is not the whole of cotton industry that is in need of protection; cotton industry in Bombay is not an infant industry; nor is Japanese competition the only or the chief reason for the low state of the Bombay mill industry; nevertheless, if the industry is to be saved, protection, much larger than the last Tariff Board recommended, is urgently necessary and cannot wait on another enquiry. The protection proposed is only for three years, within which the Bombay industry might reorganise itself. The actual proposals for protection create an intriguing situation. The exemption of British goods from the protective tariff has an uncanny resemblance to Imperial Preference, to which even in the most friendly circumstances India was opposed. Today it is unthinkable. The Assembly members are placed on the horns of a dilemma: either by accepting Government proposals they give protection to the cotton industry and simultaneously accept Imperial Preference or by rejecting them, they no doubt turn down Imperial Preference, but they deny protection to the cotton industry as well. Both will be equally disagreeable. A third way is to apply the protective duties uniformly to all imports, without making an exception in favour of British goods; thereby avoiding Imperial Preference but at the same time giving protection to cotton industry. But such a policy is open to grave objection, in as much as it penalises the Indian consumer and the British producer without doing any good to the Indian producer.

It is necessary to emphasise the facts of the situation. The central fact is that Lancashire does not to any material extent compete with Bombay but Japan does. Lancashire and Bombay are complementary, as it were, the former specialising in the finer goods and the latter in the coarser ones; while Japan and Bombay are rivals in that both produce coarser goods. Bombay needs protection against Japan and not so much against Lancashire. Protection against Japan is justifiable on the ground that labour conditions in the latter are worse off than in the former, and the competition is in consequence unfair. Under the circumstances, it will be a piece of unjustifiable vandalism to apply the protective tariff to Lancashire goods, which, while unnecessarily penalising the Indian consumer and depressing the British producer, will not help

the Indian producer in Bombay. We are not so much concerned with the British producer as with the Indian consumer. There is no earthly justification for victimising him if the object is merely to avoid the suspicion of Imperial Preference. We fail to see any Imperial Preference in the Government proposals. If we exempt British goods from the protective duty we do so on the distinct understanding that our action must not be interpreted as taken in pursuit of the principal of Imperial Preference; that as soon as the exemption works to the disadvantage of India it will cease.

Nevertheless, we cannot help feeling that Government would have achieved their purpose equally well, but without the complications of Imperial Preference, if they had adopted the system of specific duties on certain categories of cotton goods, and protected all classes of goods that are manufactured in India, whether the competition came from Japan or Lancashire or Italy or any other. To a certain extent Government have adopted this method; for they propose a minimum duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per annas per pound on plain grey goods. We believe that in the matter of grey goods, not necessarily plain, Lancashire competes to some extent with Bombay, and the latter may well be protected against the former in that respect.

However, if specific duties on categories are not feasible and if protection to Bombay mill industry is necessary, Government proposals should stand as such. Their political implications far transcend the economic. In the first place, Sir George Schuster would have instinctively recoiled from the proposal to raise the cotton duties to 15 per cent. even for revenue purposes, if only in the interests of Lancashire. But he resisted the temptation and stood by India as against his own motherland. The Secretary of State might have insisted on leaving the cotton duties alone; but he wisely refrained from it and gave reality to the convention regarding India's fiscal autonomy. The British Government are content to make diplomatic representations to India and leave it to the Assembly to meet their wishes or not. The attitude taken by the Government of India in this connection and the very frank and full exposition of it in the Assembly are highly commendable.

The Assembly is now given an opportunity to show its goodwill towards Great Britain. There is a section of people who are so filled with consuming hatred of Britain that they would revel in the prospect of "downing" her for the sake of downing, even if it meant some cost to India to indulge in that wicked pastime. But the better and more representative mind of India will recoil from wanton injury to others, particularly to a nation whose goodwill is valuable, especially at the present juncture. The goodwill and friendliness of England are vitally necessary if India is to make rapid strides towards Dominion Status; and to secure it, it may be worth while even to undergo some sacrifice. But in the present proposals no sacrifice of Indian interests is involved: all that is asked is that India should refrain from doing unnecessary injury to England. "It is obvious", as Sir George

Schuster said, "that any gesture of friendship which India can spontaneously and without compulsion make to the British Government in their own present grave industrial troubles is bound to strike a responsive note". By supporting the Government proposals we shall be weakening materially the opposition to the grant of Dominion Status for India and strengthening the hands of our friends, and advancing the cause of India.

A DOUBTFUL REMEDY.

AMONG the several new proposals for taxation contained in the budget of the Government of India as presented in the Legislative Assembly on Friday last by Sir George Schuster the Finance Member, the measures proposed for the protection of the Indian mill industry deserve to be closely scrutinised, not only because they are proposals for taxation which will have to be borne by the poor and the lower middle class people in this country, but also because of their political and economic implications and of the purpose for which they are ostensibly designed. That they should meet with mixed reception here as well as in Great Britain need cause little surprise. While we are assured that the fiscal autonomy convention is a reality and Imperial Preference as a principle is repudiated, discrimination in favour of British interests is a leading feature of the protective measures. Of course we are told that it is a friendly gesture made by India to Great Britain on the eve of the Round Table Conference. Despite a stout denial of it, it is Imperial Preference all the same; perhaps the thin end of the wedge, but it is there for all practical purposes. Nobody says that British interests should be injured unnecessarily, but it is a serious question whether we can afford to encourage Imperial Preference in this way knowing, as we do, that the acceptance of the principle will never be to our advantage.

The question of immediate interest is, however, whether the proposed protective measures are of the right kind and are likely to achieve the object in view. "We are concerned only with providing", says Sir George Schuster, "a temporary shelter under which the industry, especially in Bombay, may firmly establish its position in respect of the business for which it is already equipped. Our measures are emergency measures designed to take immediate effect, to give immediate relief, and an immediate stimulus, so that the Bombay industry may reorganise itself and start again with restored health and a new lease of life on its normal course of development." Sir George has also displayed a commendable solicitude for the interests of the consumer. What are those measures? In addition to the 15 per cent. revenue duty, a 5 per cent. protective duty, with a minimum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per lb. on plain grey goods, against all cotton piecegoods from outside the United Kingdom. This protective duty will be in force for three years only and its effects will be examined by the Tariff Board before the end of this period. The general increase in the revenue duty from 11 per cent. to 15 per cent. is proposed in view

of the revenue position and the special protective duty is admittedly for saving the Bombay mills from a desperate position, 'which might affect the whole future of this important centre of Indian commerce and finance'. The possible success or failure of the measures must, therefore, be judged from the effect they are likely to have on the Bombay mill industry. The judgment can only be formed after all the factors in the situation are properly considered. To welcome the measures as a departure from the policy of indifference towards a great *Swadeshi* industry in the face of destructive foreign competition, is one thing, and to judge the possible results in respect of the specific object in view is quite another.

Although it is an undeniable fact that Japanese imports in piecegoods have increased by leaps and bounds it would be interesting to know their relation to the total imports, especially imports from the United Kingdom, and to the mill production in India. The following figures relating to the gross imports of piecegoods by countries and Indian production are taken from the Report submitted to the Government of India by Mr. G. S. Hardy on the import tariff on cotton piecegoods and on external competition in the cotton piecegoods trade:—

Gross Imports of Piece-goods by countries and Indian Production.
(In millions of yards.)

Year.	United Kingdom	Holland.	Italy.	United States of America.	Switzerland.	Japan.	China.	Others.	Total Imports.	Mill production in India.	Total.
1911-12	2979	23	7	9	4	1	...	15	2438	1136	3574
1912-13	2942	26	12	16	5	6	...	16	3023	1220	4243
1913-14	3104	25	23	10	6	9	...	20	3197	1164	4361
1914-15	2378	21	10	12	3	16	...	6	2446	1135	3581
1915-16	2049	21	13	17	4	39	...	5	2148	1442	3590
1916-17	1786	14	14	11	3	100	1	5	1934	1578	3512
1917-18	1430	6	7	13	1	95	1	3	1556	1614	3170
1918-19	867	1	1	11	1	238	3	3	1122	1450	2572
1919-20	946	8	1	10	2	76	...	8	1081	1640	2721
1920-21	1292	13	10	13	4	170	1	7	1510	1581	3091
1921-22	955	12	2	23	1	90	1	6	1090	1734	2824
1922-23	1453	13	2	8	3	108	3	3	1593	1726	3319
1923-24	1319	11	6	7	7	123	6	7	1486	1702	3188
1924-25	1614	12	10	9	7	155	5	11	1823	1970	3793
1925-26	1297	16	11	15	7	217	2	9	1564	1954	3518
1926-27	1467	20	17	16	12	244	2	10	1788	2259	4047
1927-28	1543	20	26	28	15	323	7	11	1973	2357	4330
1928-29	1457	20	38	20	11	357	13	11	1937	1893	3830

In the year 1928-29 as well as in 1929-30 the mill production in Bombay was seriously affected by prolonged strikes. From the figures in the above table it will be seen that the mill production in India has doubled since 1911-12, that the total imports have decreased, that the imports from the United Kingdom have also decreased, and that, although Japanese imports have increased at a fast rate, Japanese share in the total imports is much less than that of the U. K. Also it must be remembered that of the total quantity consumed Japanese imports form but 1/10th part at the most. Again it is significant to note that in the years 1918-19 and 1919-20 when the imports from the U. K. were at the lowest ebb the Bombay mills were reaping the highest profits in spite of Japan's increasing activity.

LANCASHIRE VS. JAPAN.

With regard to the depression of trade in Lancashire the opinion is frequently expressed that grey goods have suffered displacement by cheaper foreign finished goods. Mr. T. M. Ainscough, Senior Trade Commissioner in India, stated recently that Lancashire prices were higher than India could afford to pay, and that this had resulted in a substitution of Bombay mill cloths and Japanese fabrics which came within the purchasing power of that market. Investigations have shown that Lancashire cannot compete with Japan in the Indian market in heavy shirtings and drills. It is, therefore, clear that the proposed preferential tariff will result in some benefit to Lancashire at the expense of Japan.

INTERNAL COMPETITION AND EXPORT TRADE.

Mill production in India as a whole has more than doubled since 1911-12. Bombay has rivals in Ahmedabad and other industrial centres. Bombay's rivals in this country have certain advantages over Bombay. They can purchase raw materials at more advantageous terms; they have the advantage of cheaper labour; and they have markets for their goods near at hand. In the matter of finish and in weaving higher counts of yarn they have made large strides; nay, in some respects they have outdistanced Bombay. Take, for example, the *Dhuti* trade. Mr. Hardy says: "Imports of *Dhutis* from the United Kingdom have remained steady while the Indian mill production has increased. The two trades overlap only to some extent in the region of medium counts, and Ahmedabad is certainly not suffering from external competition in this trade. *Bombay, on the other hand, competes with difficulty against Ahmedabad.* Japan entered the *dhuti* trade seriously in 1925-26. She now provides about 10 per cent. of the imports, but these consist almost entirely of *dhutis* woven from yarn above 30s." (the italics are mine). It is also observed by Mr. Hardy that the progress in the weaving of finer counts since the Tariff Board reported is not very striking. The fact of internal competition is an undeniable one. This competition arises from overproduction,—overproduction in the sense that certain varieties of piecegoods are produced by the Indian mills in quantities in excess of the actual requirements of the people in respect of them. For those varieties which are not produced or produced only in insufficient quantity in this country but are in demand, the people have to look to foreign countries. Quantity produced irrespective of quality and variety can never dispense with the necessity of imports.

Bombay mills have an advantage in export trade over the mills in other parts of the country. During the Great War and just after it was over Bombay could avoid internal competition by exporting piecegoods to Singapore, Basra, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Port Said, the Levant and other foreign markets and thus did not feel the necessity of cultivating the home market so much. The Tariff Board had included in their questionnaire the suggestion of the Government of India to negotiate with steamship companies with a view to reducing the shipping freights to the

said foreign countries and also to Madras and Calcutta. The Bombay Textile Labour Union had in their memorandum to the Tariff Board pointed out that the Japanese competition was in reality felt more in the export trade than in the home market. The profits of the Indian mills were the highest in 1920 when the export trade in yarn and piecegoods had also touched the highest watermark. These foreign markets went afterwards into the hands of Japan, Lancashire, Italy and other countries. This is witnessed by Mr. Hardy's Report also, in the following words: "The Bombay production of sheetings has fallen away owing to the loss of overseas markets particularly in Iraq and East Africa to which Japan has now established direct sailings."

IS IT A SHELTER AT ALL?

The tariff is proposed as a temporary shelter under which the Bombay mill industry is to firmly establish itself. But in view of the foregoing analysis we are inclined to ask: Is it a shelter at all? The shelter is meant for the Bombay mill industry, but it is to be shared by Lancashire and also by Ahmedabad and other centres of mill industry in this country. Lancashire will have to pay additional 4 per cent. revenue duty, but being exempted from the special protective duty which will be imposed on Japan it will be able to recapture some of its lost trade in India. Mills in Ahmedabad and other centres are not in need of protection. They are not only not in a desperate position, but are doing pretty well considering the world-wide trade depression. In Bombay about a dozen mills had to close down while about the same number of mills were added to the mills at Ahmedabad during the last year. Thus Ahmedabad will be stronger in internal competition with the handicap placed on Japan. The advantage that may be derived by the Bombay mills will be too small to enable them to "start again with restored health and a new lease of life on its normal course of development." I do not know whether the Bombay millowners fully realise this. But if they do realise the effects of the preferential tariff, they have only to thank themselves for it, because they had bargained for it. The Japanese competition has become an obsession with them. They agitated for heavy import duties on Japanese piecegoods, and when the Government of India showed extreme reluctance to satisfy their demand chiefly owing to fears of international complications, Sir Ness Wadia went to England with a view to bringing pressure to bear on the Government of India from Lancashire, and he had conversations with Lancashire manufacturers who were said to have promised support in return for Preference. As regards internal competition the Bombay mill owners did not ask for protection for their mills alone till the last hour. They had secured the cooperation of millowners in other centres in their agitation for protection and the latter would not support the demand unless they too received some benefit. If we carefully analyse the situation without being victims to any pet aversion, we will find that the proposed protective measures are nearly useless for the purpose for which they are devised. If the measures become a fact, we

may find at the end of three years when the situation would be reviewed by the Tariff Board that the Bombay mill industry is not in a much better condition, and the problem has remained as unsolved as ever.

THE RIGHT KIND OF REMEDY.

The salvation of the Bombay mill industry lies in reorganisation resulting in specialisation so that it may not suffer from competition by other centres in the home market. Since such reorganisation will take some time and the present condition is nearly desperate, the temporary measure of protection must be such as will enable the Bombay mills to regain some of the overseas markets that have slipped off their hands one after another since 1921. It will be beneficial not only to Bombay but also to Ahmedabad and other centres if Bombay is able to find outlets for exports. At the last annual general meeting of the Bombay Millowners' Association Mr. Lalji Naranji, the Deputy Chairman, stressed the necessity of building up a mercantile marine. "The Trade Mission have," said Mr. Lalji, "compared in their report the freights from Japan to Bombay and East Africa, from which it will be seen that the rate per mile from Bombay is almost double that of the Japanese rates. More extensive comparisons as to the rates per mile from Japan and Great Britain to various markets were made in Mr. Ellinger's paper. He says that the freight from Japan is cheaper than the freight from Great Britain to every port with the exception of one. The distance from Osaka to Colombo is 4737 miles and the Japanese rate of freight is 34/9. The distance from Liverpool to Aden is 4620 miles and the rate of freight is 57/6. * * * Japan received in 1926 subsidies amounting to 3,156,700 yens, as shown by the Financial and Economic Annual of Japan for 1927." The right remedy would, therefore, have been to devote the proceeds of the special protective duty to subsidising the export of Bombay piecegoods. In the absence of any such arrangement the proposals as they stand are bound to prove neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red-herring.

P. G. KANEKAR.

LABOUR AND BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

THE reaction that has set in in the field of labour organisation as a result of last year's disastrous general strike in the Bombay textile industry is having its repercussions in the domain of labour legislation. The Bombay City is already saddled with the Intimidation and Goonda Acts and now we are threatened with suggestions to so amend the Indian Trade Unions Acts as to increase Government control on the registered Unions. We are also informed that the Government of Bombay have taken up with the Government of India the question of amending the Trade Disputes Act. The nature of the suggested amendments we do not know. The parentage, however, being the same and the existing progeny being what it is, we can well anticipate the character of the coming addition to the legislative stock.

The sting of the White Book on "The Labour Position in Bombay City", issued recently by the Government of Bombay, is in its tail. After giving a fair and faithful survey, written in balanced language, of the happenings of the last few years in the Bombay mill industry, the Bombay Government have suggested *inter alia*, in the hope of improving the industrial situation, an amendment of the Indian Trade Unions Act so as (a) to invest the Registrar of Trade Unions "with greater powers of supervision and intervention"; (b) to extend his powers of cancellation of "registration of a Union which wilfully infringes its own by-laws and which seeks objects other than those for which it was registered"; and (c) to invest him with "power to ascertain the correct membership of a Union". In spite of the Government's assurance that they do not desire "to stifle the growth of any genuine trade union movement" and of their anxiety "to see" that movement proceeds on lines which will really benefit the workers", their proposals, if accepted by the Government of India, will undoubtedly weaken the hands of those who share Government's anxiety for the healthy development of the trade union movement and will be considered as an unwarranted attack on the movement. Palliatives such as these increase, more often than not, the malady and some times send the patient to the grave.

The main value of the Indian Trade Unions Act lies, apart from its securing to trade unions a corporate capacity, in the immunity from civil and criminal liability given to the officers and members of the registered trade unions. This immunity carries with it certain obligations and restrictions on the trade unions: it is not an absolute immunity. It must also be stated, in view of the comparison sought to be drawn in the White Book between the Indian Act and the British trade union law, that the immunity given by the former is much less, in its scope and extent, than the immunity given by the latter. This restricted immunity again will be further curtailed if the interpretation of the Fawcett Committee on section 18 (a) of the Indian Act is accepted. According to that interpretation, section 18 (a) "protects a member of a registered trade union from being sued or prosecuted" *on the ground only* that the act complained of "induces some other person to break a contract of employment", "but it does not protect such member from being sued for the act of himself breaking a contract of employment." What little then remains of the original restricted immunity will be more than counter-balanced by the obligations, limitations and restrictions under the Act, which are now sought to be increased by conferring upon the Registrar of Trade Unions powers which are not legitimately his. The Trade Unions Act will thus cease to be a source of encouragement and inducement to the unions to register themselves, which will naturally develop an inevitable tendency to conduct their activities without registration and face the consequences of strikes. They know that before the Act came into operation, strikes had taken place without serious adverse consequence, (except in the case of Mr. B. P. Wadia of Madras) to those involved in them; and that even to-day the

strikes of unorganised workers and unregistered unions take place. They are also aware that, during strike periods, some leaders of registered unions were actually sent to jail under some other law of the land. Registration or no registration, there are risks in strikes; they will only be increased, it may be further argued, to some extent under non-registration. Why then have registration at all and thereby submit to the illegitimate interference from Government—an interference which is likely to create suspicion in the public mind and in the minds of the workers. Such Unions may not become sufficiently strong and the object the Bombay Government have in view may not be achieved.

The tendency of unions to fight shy of registration will inevitably lead to another position of a serious character; in fact the latter may prove to be a death warrant of the trade union movement in India. When it is found that the trade unions avoid registration and carry on their activities some of which may be considered unhealthy or even objectionable, the next logical demand will be for compulsory registration. It may come either from the capitalists or from the Government; but it is bound to come. Indeed such a demand had been made, when the Trade Unions Bill was on the legislative anvil by some of the employers' organisations; but it was rejected by the Government of India and the Central legislature. It is now fully realised that compulsory registration implies the suppression by law of unregistered trade unions. The only effect of compulsory registration will, therefore, be that the unregistered unions will not exist and the registered ones will be under Government control, which means the end of independent trade union movement.

The plea of investing the Registrar with powers of supervision and intervention is based upon the analogy between the Cooperative and Trade Union Movements; but the analogy is entirely misleading. There cannot possibly be any comparison between the two movements. While the one is a humanitarian and uncontroversial movement in which there is hardly any conflict of interests, the other is a fighting movement where there is a constant conflict between the employers and employees. Moreover, Government are themselves large employers of labour and the Registrar is only a part of the Governmental machinery. It is humanly impossible for him to be absolutely impartial in using his powers of supervision and intervention. I, at any rate, decline to believe that he can keep out prejudices, hold the scales even and be sympathetic to the unions.

With regard to the proposal to extend the Registrar's powers of cancellation of registration in the case of unions which infringe their own bye-laws, this is clearly the function of the members and not of the Registrar. I know the argument that the workers do not understand such matters: but that hardly makes out a case for transferring this function from legitimate to illegitimate hands. The workers' ignorance is the cause of their exploitation; but I am not aware of any restrictions being placed upon the exploiters. I have also seen it stated in the public

press that some joint stock companies or mill agencies do not occasionally observe their Articles of Association but I have never heard a proposal to cancel their registration.

The last proposal is to invest the Registrar with power to ascertain the correct membership of trade unions. He can certainly get an idea of a union's correct membership from the annual statement of accounts, which it has to send under the Act, if only he cares to compare it with the rates of union contributions which he finds in the Union's rules he gets at the time of registration. The statement of accounts is prepared by an auditor authorised by the rules made under the Act and should suffice for the purpose of ascertaining the union membership. Any extra powers are both unnecessary and superfluous; and, if they are granted, they will be unwarranted and one-sided. It will be remembered that in 1924 the Bombay Government had introduced in the Legislative Council a Statistics Bill for the purpose of compulsorily collecting industrial statistics. In the "Memorandum of Points" prepared by Government it was stated "that it is of the utmost necessity and importance at the present juncture to compile statistics in connection with matters relating to all departments of labour in the Presidency", that "such statistics will be required to a considerably increasing extent in the very near future for the purpose of the settlement of industrial disputes", that "it would be absolutely impossible to collect statistical data relevant to a dispute after the dispute has begun", that "the evidence produced before a Court of Enquiry which is based not on statistical data accurately collected and compiled but on hurriedly presented documents cannot lead to correct conclusions about the general condition of an industry or about the question of labour and wages in that industry", that "the voluntary method of collecting statistics has not been found to be successful", and that "a Statistical Act is a natural and necessary complement to an Industrial Disputes Act". Notwithstanding the declaration of such clear convictions, the Bombay Government withdrew the Bill owing mostly to the vehement agitation of the employers. When, therefore, they are afraid to enact legislation for the collection of industrial statistics from the employers—legislation which they had themselves admitted to be complementary to the Trade Disputes legislation—how can they, consistently with their professed impartiality in respect of capital and labour, recommend legislation for compulsorily ascertaining the trade union membership, especially when the Registrar can ascertain it under the existing law?

For all these reasons I have no option but to oppose all the proposals of the Bombay Government about amending the Indian Trade Unions Act.

R. R. BAKHALE.

THE NEAR EAST.

III.—SYRIA.

THIS is a country with a profound individuality, both historically and geographically. The old Roman Syria, the legendary Syria of the Crusades, and the semi-sleepy Turkish Province of Syria, are all dead. Under the French Mandate, the country is divided into four parts, one of which is the Great Lebanon. I could only pay a short visit to this part, but I was fortunate in meeting there Syrian and European officials who enabled me to have a glimpse of the general situation.

The setting up of the Lebanon as a separate division is justifiable. Unlike the other divisions it has been traditionally Christian although they also are dotted with Christian minorities. It had solicited France's aid in times of persecutions, and it has for long received French culture through missions and monasteries. It is the only mandated territory to have been given a constitution, which however has been so completely modelled on that of France that for the 600,000 inhabitants, it is "very much like a coat too big and too heavy", as an ex-Minister put it to me.

The other division, mainly made up of territories occupied by nomadic tribes, have been invented, rather unhappily, by the French military governor, General Gouraud. Following the war, Emir Feisal, the gallant Arab fighter, was installed at Damascus, the capital of Syria, but later, when some of the tribes rose against the French, he was driven out of the country with military simplicity. French generals are good conquerors but not always as good administrators as the rather exceptional Lyautey who brought about the consolidation of Morocco. As a matter of fact the example of Morocco seems to have influenced the French officials in Syria a little too much. Syria is not a protectorate and the circumstances are altogether different. For one thing, Morocco has a ruler who has accepted the protection of France and made it acceptable to the feudal chieftains who form the Moroccan aristocracy. In Syria, after the departure of Feisal, there was no one to set this fashion. The great land-owners are, naturally enough, hostile to a democratic régime, which tries to be popular at their expense by distributing lands to the Bedouins—a not impossibly chimerical attempt to make citizens of them. Besides, a sufficiently large percentage of the better class Syrians has received education and one frequently comes across in this country a level of culture rare even in Europe. This is largely the result of French influence, and the French have passed on to Syria some of their qualities as well as defects. This, taken together with their underlying Levantine character, makes the Syrians by no means an easy people to govern. Syria, in short, constitutes a challenge to all the tried methods of French colonisation, and until recently, when the troubles in Palestine became apparent, was known as the most difficult of mandated territories.

Iraq and Transjordan have all the appearance of possessing self-government, but the French do not know the art of letting subject people control the various small matters while keeping the bigger issues in their hands. They have a meticulous temperament and their interference in matters of details hurts Syrians, who are thereby rendered insensible to any large concession when it is really made. Much of the lowering of the prestige of France in the Lebanon is, I am told, due to the fact that France, instead of being exclusively the protector of the Christian minority as before, is now forced to hold the balance between all communities.

France's record in Syria, even as it is, is not at all bad. In addition to the educational influence which continues, the mandatory power has laid down roads, erected railways and car services, and the institution of a system of irrigation, of drainage to relieve malaria, and of plantations is now in progress. Despite the absurd tariff barriers on the Iraqi, Palestinian and Turkish frontiers, towns like Antioch and Aleppo have received a fresh lease of life. They have once more become emporiums of trade. Beyrouth has become a great port and the French Government have sanctioned millions of francs for its expansion. Social work and teaching are being pushed by Protestant and Catholic missions respectively, and the American Mission College in Beyrouth is coming to be known as the Oxford of the Near East. The French officials know no colour prejudice, and intermarriage between them and Syrians and settlement of French families in Syria are taking place. Some day perhaps Syria will be as happy to partake of the French influence as Morocco, Algeria and Tunis are to-day.

But as I have already pointed out, here France has the difficult task of administering a country quite individual and a people who have been formed by her own culture. Prosperity can come only by continued economic development, which depends on political conditions. The Syrians will not, even for the sake of prosperity, accept French rule without criticism. After all the problem here is much the same as it is over a great part of what was once democratic Europe—the problem of combining order with liberty.

JULIETTE ROW.

I. L. O. IN 1929.

1929 will be considered as one of the most fruitful years of the I. L. Organization. It has been marked by notable progress of the eight-hour day towards universality. The close study of native labour problems has clearly marked the determination of the I. L. Office not to confine its activities to European and other countries already highly developed but to fulfil its mission the whole world over as intended by Treaties of Peace. The number of countries represented at the June session—50—was the highest recorded in the history of the Organization. The results of investigations into migration phenomena and the legislation and international agreements by which these mass movements of human beings are regulated throughout the world have been published in volumes that undoubtedly constitute a unique source of information on the subject. The Conventions ratified by the largest number of countries up to the present are the Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents ratified by 25 countries; the Convention concerning minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea ratified by 22 countries; the Convention concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers ratified by 20 countries; the Convention concerning the employment of women during night; and the Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases ratified by 19 countries. With regard to the application of the Conventions ratified it has been found that each year has yielded more valuable results so that the information now available on the application of ratified Conventions in the various countries is much more complete and precise than ever before. In 1929 for the first time the Conference had before it all the reports, on this occasion 241 in number and relating to 20 countries. It was possible to make

a detailed examination of the measures taken to apply each Convention. The Conference in the course of its general session held in May and June 1929 adopted and inserted in its Standing Orders certain provisions for discussing draft amendments for the total or partial revision of a Convention in accordance with the conclusions of the report of the Governing Body of the I. L. Office; this procedure seems to guarantee the stability essential to international labour legislation.

The agenda of the 12th session of the I. L. Conference consisted of 4 questions, (1) the prevention of industrial accidents, (2) the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading and unloading ships, (3) forced labour, and (4) hours of work of salaried employees. On the first question the Conference adopted four instruments: with regard to the second the Conference adopted a draft Convention and invited the Governing Body of the I. L. Office to set up an international technical committee to work out a model set of regulations. About forced labour the Conference adopted by 83 votes to 17 a questionnaire addressed to Governments covering all the aspects of the problem as well as possible solutions of it and contemplating in the first place the adoption of a draft Convention for the abolition of forced labour or at least its limitation and regulation with a view to the suppression of abuses. As to the fourth the Conference adopted a questionnaire that will enable the amplest possible material to be obtained from Governments and decided to place the question on the agenda of the 1930 session. On the occasion of the discussion of the Director's report the British Government representative announced his Government's intention of taking the necessary steps to ensure the earliest possible ratification of the Washington Convention on hours of work. In his speech in reply to the delegates who had spoken on his report the Director emphasized the outstanding importance of this declaration which makes it possible to look forward more calmly and more confidently to the generalisation of the eight-hour day, the keystone of international social legislation.

Among other important decisions taken by the Governing Body during the year mention should be made of the following: the convocation in 1931 of a conference on industrial accident statistics; and the convocation of a preparatory technical conference on conditions of labour in the coal-mining industry. The technical conference will be composed of representatives of the Governments, employers and workers of the chief European coal-producing countries, its purpose being to inform the Governing Body of the I. L. Office which of the questions relating to working conditions in coal-mining could, in its opinion, most usefully be included in the agenda of the 1930 session of the I. L. Conference with a view to the conclusion of a practical international agreement.

The preparation for the committee meetings and the sessions of the Governing Body and the Conference entailed considerable research and compilation of material and technical activities by the I. L. Office. The reports on hours of work of salaried employees and forced labour mark a characteristic expansion of the technical activities of the Office. The Office has continued its investigations into the cost of insurance systems and relief in various industrial countries; it has extended the periodical compilation and publication of comparable data on wages and the cost of living by increasing both the number of industries and the number of towns covered by the inquiry. The preliminary researches carried out by the Office in view of the first two sessions of the Textile Committee enabled the Committee

to draw up a scheme for an inquiry on conditions of work in the textile industry which will be laid before the Governing Body at its next session. Extending its researches in the field of labour law, the Office has undertaken new enquiries on conciliation and arbitration which at a later stage will lead to the investigation of the general principles of collective agreements. This year also saw the publication of the third volume of "Migration Laws and Treaties" and a report on "Migration Movements, 1925-1927."

As regards labour legislation additions have been made to the "Legislative Series" and the "International Survey of Legal Decisions on Labour Law." In the sphere of industrial hygiene the Office has proceeded with the publication of the important "Encyclopaedia of Industrial Hygiene" which will be completed in 1930.

With regard to matters of concern to professional workers mention may be made of reports concerning the termination of employment of journalists on the ground of conscience and the whole question of journalists' contracts of employment, the salaried inventor, and working conditions in cinematograph studios.

During 1929 the Library added more than 33,000 new books to its collection and at the present time it comprises 280,000 volumes.

V. N. G.

Our European Letter.

THE REALITIES OF THE NAVAL CONFERENCE.

EVER since the collapse of the 1927 negotiations, it has been generally recognized that naval disarmament cannot be fruitfully envisaged from the technical point of view alone. Mr. MacDonald said that "military power must be diminished in proportion to political security", and that excessive military preparation was itself "a weakening of political security". His statement found increasing acceptance, and increasingly political considerations were made the starting point for this discussion. These political considerations, apart from the economic factors of debts, raw materials, and markets, mainly turn round what may be characterized as the problems of the Mediterranean and the Pacific.

The principal point in the Mediterranean problem is Italy's claim to parity with France. This claim is not new. Besides, it has already been, to a certain extent, admitted at Washington. If Italy has not yet built a navy equal to that of France, it is mostly because the expense is prohibitive for her. There is no prospect of increase in Italy's financial power in this regard, and left to itself, the French Foreign Office would be inclined to accede to this theoretical claim. But the present tension between France and Italy is such that the press gives a great deal of attention to the country's policy and makes the path of least resistance impossible to take. So the French put forward their plea that their maritime empire necessitated a three fold division of the fleet in the North Sea, in the Mediterranean, and

in the Pacific, to which the Italian reply is that the peculiar geographical position of Italy makes it an easy matter for any foe to throttle the country.

Moreover, the Italian claim is not for parity with France only, but with every Continental Power. Probably, the Italians are anxious about the possible developments in German, Turkish, and Russian sea power. The last named country is especially an enigma, more so to Italy on account of her diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

These political difficulties could be cleared and security established only by a principal sea power guaranteeing France access to her naval communications, and similarly, food supplies to Italy, in time of war. This Power could only be Britain, and the guarantee will have to follow the lines of Locarno. But Great Britain will hardly undertake any such responsibility so long as she is not assured of the attitude of the United States towards the League. She would not risk a conflict with America in the discharge of such an agreement.

The problem of the Pacific is even more complicated. The Japanese have claimed an increase of 60 to 70% of their total tonnage according to the Washington ratio, but they are hardly likely to cause any real embarrassment to the Conference. Their position is really one of diplomatic and strategical advantage, and their concern is to put it to the utmost use. They are likely to benefit by every such Conference. They are too weak and too poor to pursue an aggressive policy with regard to either Great Britain or America, but should a conflict arise between them, they could play a decisive role by controlling American communications with Hawaii and British communications with Australia. Any purely offensive action on their part must however be confined to the Chinese waters. Their uneasiness was really due to the Singapore project and the proposed fortification of the Philippines.

The Singapore project never had the support of the Labour Party, and has now been slowed down. Before the Admiralty can reconcile itself to the abandonment of the scheme completely, Australia, interested in it more than Great Britain, must agree, and the United States must also show a corresponding gesture.

It is, consequently, not perhaps without significance that latterly the talk of the independence of the Philippines has been received in the American Senate. The Americans do not have the colonising instinct, and the prospect of imposing tariffs on the Islands is an attractive one for American industrialists. If there is an added political advantage, so much the better.

Moreover, the British naval base in the West Indies is strategically connected with the Pacific as it controls the entrance to the Panama Canal. It is of the utmost importance for the United States to know to what use Great Britain is going to put it. At the time of Mr. MacDonald's visit to Mr. Hoover the subject was said to have formed part of their conversations, and so long as there is no declared policy about it, American opinion will be greatly concerned in this regard.

If at the Washington Conference the question of naval limitation could not be tackled without at the same time tackling the problem of China, now at the London Conference any approach to reduction of naval armaments can only lie through approaches to these problems.

Geneva, February 13.

R. RAGHUNATHA RAW.

Reviews.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHINESE.

ANCIENT CHINESE POLITICAL THEORIES.

By KUO-CHANG WU. (Commercial Press, Shanghai.) 340p. \$4.00.

THIS is an interesting presentation of ancient Chinese political philosophy. In the first two chapters the author takes a rapid survey of the period from the 24th to the 8th cent. B. C. The theory of divine law and the doctrine of exemplary kingship are the important contributions of this period. Divine appointment as the source of sovereign authority and the alteration of that appointment on the failure of the sovereign in his duty (i. e. the right of the people to rebel), bear a close affinity to the general trend of the Hindu ideal of kingship. The constitution of Chow (circ. 1100 B. C.) reiterates the doctrine of exemplary kingship with its corollary of the duty of the king to cultivate the goodwill of his people and to secure able officers. It emphasises the importance of education and presents a sane theory of punishment. It also enumerates the principle of popular welfare from which emerge state socialism and the conception of the "great family".

The rest of the book is devoted to the political philosophy of the Golden Age (530 to 230 B. C.) In the political and social upheaval of this period there spring up a multitude of theories. The most noteworthy among these are Taoism, Legalism, Micianism, and Confucianism.

Taoism is a type of philosophical anarchism. Lao-tze is its founder. "Tao" or the Way is the key to his philosophy of "do-nothingism." "To be able to be nothing is the only way to be useful—that is the Way." Simplicity and contentment are its corollaries. Lao-tze advocates a return to nature. The king and government exist to achieve this end by securing a life of contentment. "The only proper thing for a government to do is—nothing."

To his disciple, Chwangtze, the Way is to be able to know nothing. To achieve this, however, one must know everything and be able to look at things from all points of view. "Nature alone can afford a universal standpoint". The natural state is a happy paradise to him.

"Knowledge produces more evil than good." His advice is, therefore, back to Nature. Perfect government has two functions according to him, first, to maintain people, in their natural simplicity, and, second, to do nothing.

Kwangtze is a legalist. He believes in the ethical basis of the State. Efficiency is the keystone of his philosophy, and the means for achieving it are law and government. Government can be efficient only by adapting itself to human nature and human desires and to the circumstances of the time. Law should be easy, clear, permanent, co-ordinate, just and certain so that people could easily follow it. Kwangtze seems to desire efficiency for the sake of efficiency.

Due to his ethical leaning, he is against conquest by war.

The most orthodox among the legalists is Shang Yang, the Machiavelli of Chinese political philosophy. His philosophy is a theory of force *par excellence*, without any admixture of the ethical element. The state is a dynamic organism. Force is its foundation, expediency its motto, and expansion and conquest its aim. Law is the expression of force. Shang Yang advocates autocratic law making. Law must be used to compel people to apply themselves to farming and fighting so that the State may secure power and wealth. Farming and fighting are the only paths to fame and position. Another aim of law is to achieve the "oneness" of people. Shang Yang would enforce his law by means of punishment and reward.

Han Fei's philosophy is a combination of Taoistic ideals and legalistic pragmatism. His ultimate aim is "peace on earth and good-will among men": the means are law and fear. Han Fei lays emphasis on reward and punishment and makes an idol of expediency. He also advocates a sort of "do-nothingism" for the ruler.

Micianism, like Confucianism, takes a middle course between Taoism and Legalism. The distinguishing feature of Micianism is its strong religious background. Micius believes in a personal God and His divine law. "Justice and love are the divine ordinances for men to follow and governments to enforce." To promulgate justice he advocates the establishment of a community of standards in the state. To glorify love he teaches the doctrine of mutual helpfulness and denounces war. Government is of God through men. Many of his teachings resemble those of Jesus Christ.

Benevolence and righteousness are the fundamental ideals of Confucian philosophy. To inculcate these ideals, Confucius contrives a rule of propriety or *li* with its theories of mean, its purification of names, ceremonies, music, and law, and its punishment. The Confucian ethical code is to be enforced by the ruler who has purified himself through righteousness and benevolence. His government is government by man through ethics. He believes in exemplary kingship and in the efficacy of converting people to good by personal example.

Mencius and Husantze are disciples of Confucius. Mencius believes that human nature is fundamentally good, while to Husantze it is essentially evil. Mencius accordingly glorifies the Confucian ideals of benevolence and righteousness, but neglects the Confucian rule of propriety. These ideals, he believes, can be attained only if people are assured of a livelihood, are freed from perverse doctrines, and have before them virtuous examples to follow. His theory of government is thoroughly democratic. Husantze, on the other hand, lays special stress upon the Confucian rule of propriety. His aim is to make harmonious association among men possible by compelling them to confine their desires within proper limits.

The book closes with a brief description of the primary sources for a study of ancient Chinese political philosophy.

The book has no index. The author has been rather uneconomical in the use of excerpts, and there is a good deal of repetition. In many chapters the author discloses his unwillingness to criticise and his undue nervousness to commit himself to anything. His evaluation at some places is, therefore, not as scientific and judicious as might be desired.

The style is all through simple and clear. We are confident that the book will be useful and inter-

resting both to the general reader and to the student of Eastern political philosophy. The get-up and the printing are satisfactory.

E. ASIRVATHAM.
GOPINATH DHAWAN.

FUTURE OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD.

WOMEN IN MODERN INDIA. Ed. By EVELYN C. GEDGE and MITHAN CHOKSI. (Taraporewalla.) 1929. 20cm. 161p. Rs. 4/-

THE book "Women in Modern India" edited by Evelyn C. Gedge and Mithan Choksi M. A. with a foreword by Sarojini Naidu is really a valuable one. This book contains fifteen papers by Indian women on subjects that concern women and their activities in multifarious directions. Woman is shown as being an embodiment of art, culture, literature, music, painting, law, medicine and an enthusiastic social worker like her fellow-worker of the other sex.

The book gives accounts of each accomplishment, tracing its origin and its progress as well as its decay and the causes which are noticeable to-day. After reading this book one gets a good idea of what Indian womanhood was in the glorious past and is inspired with the hope that even though she may be at present in a quagmire of ignorance, superstition and illiteracy, she will regain the lost position and once again establish herself in her own status, which is her birthright. She will assert her rights in every sphere of activity, social, political, educational, and many more and prove worthy of the trust as in the past. She will have nothing new to seek by way of rights like her western sisters but only resume the work of generations left off incomplete owing to the unrest and warfare which no nation, however enlightened, can withstand. This book is appropriate one at the present moment as it not only gives the different activities that are at present taken up to remove the curse of illiteracy, superstition and orthodoxy but also gives the younger generation the history of the past and a clear account of what the older generation has been doing at the present day.

Social workers will find in it guidance and encouragement to prosecute their work vigorously in spite of tremendous odds. The lives of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and Pandita Ramabai will ever give courage and perseverance to those who wish to achieve success in undertakings which are perhaps a bit ahead of the time. Then again that sincerity of purpose will surmount lofty barriers of opposition and that the want of so-called education does not hamper the sphere of activities, have been clearly shown in the achievements of the revered lady Srimati Ramabai Ranade. The life of Pandita Ramabai shows clearly that a woman, given equal chance, can work wonders in any branch of knowledge and activity.

As Mrs. Nikambe has rightly said, "Women, who have become alive to the needs of their sisters, are seeking opportunities for helpfulness, and in such work lies a most important sphere for the married woman and the widow. Let them in their leisure hours take up their duties, let them form committees and organise and open classes and special schools for widows and married women and as far as possible let the teachers in such schools be married women. Education has so far advanced that it is possible for the married woman to share her leisure hours for this important work." This is sound advice to those sisters who are educated and have homes of their own.

The paper by Kamaladevi Chhstopadhyaya on the Status of Women in India gives a vivid and lucid historical account of the life and activities of the women in India, past and present and in itself is the key to the later papers by the other writers.

SULOCHANABAI HUDALIKAR.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- A HISTORY OF INDIAN TAXATION. By PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA. (Published for the University of Calcutta, by Macmillan.) 1930. 23cm. 541p. 12/6.
- THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES, 1774-1858. By K. M. PANIKKER. (The Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1929.) (S. K. Lahari & Co., Calcutta.) 1929. 24cm. 117p. Rs. 3.
- THE WHITE MUTINY. A Forgotten Episode in the History of the Indian Army. By SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW. (Constable.) 1929. 22cm. 263p. 12/6.
- AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By CALEB PERRY PATTERSON. (Heath.) 1929. 22cm. 888p. \$3.60
- THE PANDYAN KINGDOM. From the Earliest Times to the 16th Century. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. (Luzac.) 1929. 22cm. 277p. 6/-
- A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURTTE. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 24cm. 930p. \$5.00.
- THIS AGE OF PLENTY: ITS PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION. By C. MARSHALL HATTERSLEY. (Pitman, London.) 1929. 19cm. 299p. 3/6.
- THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR HENRY JOHNSTON. By ALEX. JOHNSTON. (Cape.) 1929. 21cm. 351p. 12/6.
- PROPHETS AND PATRIOTS. (1st Series.) By NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI. (Arya Publishing House, Calcutta.) 1930. 20cm. 62p.
- POTTER'S CLAY. Some Stories of South India. By HILTON BROWN. (Ganesh.) 1929. 12cm. 190p. Re. 1-8.
- AMERICAN CIVIC ANNUAL. A Record of Recent Civic Advance. ED. by HARLEAN JAMES. (American Civic Association, Washington.) 1929. 20cm. 288p.

THE ARYAN PATH.

An International Monthly Journal, Non-political, devoted to the dissemination of spiritual, idealistic and humanitarian principles.

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