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## Topics of the Week.

### Brutal Conduct of Madras Police.

ON a recent occasion, the Governor of Madras is reported to have praised the police for their moderation in face of provocation. The facts brought out in the debate in the Madras Legislative Council on the adjournment motion to discuss their conduct towards certain picketers of foreign cloth however give a very different impression. It should be noted that the incident referred to took place on the 28th ult.—more than a full week after the Prime Minister made his historic statement and appealed for Congress co-operation. What is the incident? Two picketers, viz., Messrs. Bhashyam and Sundaram, both men of education and high social status, quietly post themselves in front of a foreign cloth shop, occupying chairs very kindly offered to them by the shop-keeper. Two police officers arrive on the scene shortly after. One of them stands in front of Mr. Bhashyam and asks him—not the crowd—to disperse, as he was a member of an unlawful assembly! Mr. Bhashyam having failed to obey the command within the two seconds allowed to him he is given lathi blows which result in injuries, which are officially described as slight but unofficially otherwise. As the picketer prepares to move out, he is pushed into the street by some policeman. That however did not see the end of lathi beating which continued even while he was going along in charge of the police. On the way Mr. Bhashyam found his companion Mr. Sundaram lying on the ground. One would expect that the police out of sheer humanitarian considerations would try to offer such help as was needed. They however did nothing of the kind. Not only that, but while Mr. Bhashyam tried to pick him up, he was given a blow! What followed reminds one of the action of the Bombay police in October last in removing a number of women satyagrahis to a distance of several miles

from Bombay and leaving them helpless there. Mr. Bhashyam was placed in a police van and was taken, not to his home nor to a police station, but to Chetput, a place some miles from Madras and left there. He wanted to know whether he was under arrest or continued to be a free man; but his curiosity remained unsatisfied. The justification officially put forward for what appears to us to be an outrageous conduct of the police is the usual one of obstruction of public traffic. If nonofficial speeches in the Council and the statement of Mr. Bhashyam are to be believed, the justification is absolutely groundless. Indeed, Mr. Bhashyam assures us that there was no crowd at all when the police officers arrived on the scene. Another noteworthy point is that, contrary to the Home Member's statement in the Council that Mr. Bhashyam was standing on the road surrounded by a crowd, he was sitting at the entrance to the shop. It was the general impression that the official explanation as put forward by the Home Member was merely the police version and consequently extremely unconvincing. No wonder therefore that the Council passed a vote of censure on the Government by 61 votes to 29. It is brutalities like these that come in the way of the attainment of a proper atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the political concessions offered to India by the Labour Government. The sooner therefore they are put a stop to the better for all concerned and those leading citizens of Madras like Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar and others who have cabled to the Prime Minister in this sense have really done a public service.

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### C Class Prisoners.

THE question of the treatment of political prisoners in our jails has once more been thrust on our attention by the thoughts expressed by Mahatma Gandhi on the subject soon after his release. His exclusive reference to the C class prisoners confirms the general impression that the A and B Class ones have not much to complain about. The lot of the C class prisoners is undoubtedly very hard. They are given *bajri* or *javari* bread, whichever may be cheaper, without regard to the prisoners' previous habits. They are also caused much hardship by the jail officials refusing to give them any more salt than is put in their *dal* or vegetables. That is as regards their food. But as for the tasks allotted to them, they are extremely exhausting and such as will tax the strength of even the most hardy among them. Grinding corn is one such against which loud complaints are heard. Moreover, in some cases they are made to work for hours together in the hot sun which they, accustomed as they are to very different modes of life, find it impossible to stand. Then, if the allotted tasks are unfinished, the jail rules apparently lay down punishments which are obviously intended for habitual criminals and not for the kind of prisoner whom the

civil disobedience movement is throwing on the hands of Government. Pending a general amnesty, which we hope will soon be forthcoming, Government will be well advised to relax the rigidity of the Rules and instruct Jail authorities to use plenty of commonsense in applying them. But apart from this treatment in jails, there are the initial anomalies of the classification of prisoners. This cannot be more forcibly brought out than by cases which are reported from time to time of members of the same family being placed by magistrates in different categories and by the same offender finding himself in different classes at different convictions. The whole thing is something in the nature of a public scandal which should not be allowed to continue any longer. This feeling is not confined only to Indians but is shared even by those for whom the *Times of India* speaks and who can never be suspected of any friendliness to the civil disobedience movement. It is time the matter attracted the immediate attention of the authorities.

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#### Prohibition in Madras.

AN utterly ineffective debate on the question of the introduction of prohibition recently took place in the Madras Legislative Council on the motion of Mr. Yakub Hassan. He wanted total prohibition introduced at once at least in one district. His demand was not inconsistent with the policy to which the Council stands committed, viz. total prohibition in twenty years, and if he brought forward this proposal, it was apparently with a view to compel Government to take some practical action towards the end. His object would have been gained if the Council had passed his motion. But it chose to behave in a queer way. Two amendments, one intended to make two districts dry instead of one and the other fixing the 1st of April as the date for the introduction of prohibition, were carried, but when the amended resolution itself was put to vote, it was rejected so that the debate raised by Mr. Yakub Hassan was only waste of time. The Excise Minister took advantage of the occasion to recount what had so far been done in the matter, which mostly consisted of about half a dozen talukas being made to go dry. While that is something, it is not satisfactory. He also took the Council through the different stages through which the question had travelled and spoke highly of the work of the temperance propaganda bodies set up in the different districts. Whether in a country like India where drink is universally regarded as an evil, any propaganda is necessary to impress on the people its evil effects is a matter which hardly admits of any difference of opinion. Such propaganda is really knocking at a door which is already open. Any propaganda that may be necessary is for the purpose of telling the people that prohibition is not a thing that can be had for nothing. We do not know if the propaganda bodies in the Madras presidency are doing anything in that direction. Prohibition, as has been said so often, is mostly a financial problem and its introduction would depend upon how soon ways and means are found which would fill the gap that may be created by the disappearance of the excise revenue. This difficulty is still further aggravated by the financial stringency with which all provincial Governments are faced. And it is doubtful if even the passage of the resolution by the Madras Legislature would have meant any real move forward.

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#### Rural Uplift in the Deccan.

THE Annual Report of the Deccan Agricultural Association, a body which had become moribund but in which new life has now been infused and the activities of which have been revived and reorganised, presents a fair account of the useful and valuable work the Association is doing towards the ameliora-

tion of the conditions of the agriculturist in the Deccan. *Shetaki and Shetakari*, the magazine of the Association, has entered on the twentyfirst year of its existence—a rare lot for a technical Marathi magazine—and is not only paying its way but bringing an income of a couple of hundred rupees to the Association, a thing for which the Editor deserves congratulations. But the special feature of this year's work and sign a of new life and reinvigoration is the opening of the Rural Uplift centre at Khed-Shiwapur, a group of three villages at a distance of about fifteen miles from Poona. As a preliminary measure and with a view to giving the villagers a fair idea of the problem and the various ways in which it could be approached, the Association organised an Exhibition on a small scale with different sections dealing with Agriculture, Co-operation, Village Sanitation and Adult Education. During the days of the Exhibition a conference of workers interested in this problem of national importance was also held at the village under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, and a number of prominent people from Poona and outside took part in the discussions. At its Rural Uplift Centre the Association is conducting various activities such as a Reading Room and Library, a gymnasium and a play ground, night classes in English and Marathi for adults, sewing and music classes for women, carpentry and weaving classes, with a view to provide facilities for the promotion of cottage industries, medical relief and sanitary rounds, hiring of iron ploughs, grading of seeds, agricultural demonstrations in the use of scientific and chemical manures, etc. The magic lantern and cinema shows were also availed of to give visual instructions on various topics such as prevention of diseases, cattle-breeding, etc. A number of meetings of the village people were arranged which were addressed mostly by the office bearers of the Association. This went a long way to arouse local enthusiasm. It is a pity that some of the activities at the Uplift Centre such as the Classes in English and Carpentry were required to be closed down because of lack of local support. The Report acknowledges the help and co-operation of the Poona Seva Sadan Society, which largely contributed to its success.

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#### "Stronger Action."

IT is highly significant that the Presidents of the South African and East African Indian National Congresses advocated, in their Addresses at the last sessions of the Congresses, that, failing redress of their main grievances, they should launch on "stronger action" to secure justice and vindicate India's national honour, to wit, passive resistance and non-payment of taxes. It is evident that they are getting impatient of their disabilities and humiliations and have begun to despair of amelioration as the result of constitutional agitation. The fortunes of the civil disobedience movement in India are not without their influence on the attitude of Indians in Africa. The Governments of the two countries would do well to take note of the temper of their Indian citizens, and refrain from driving them into desperate channels of action. Indians in South Africa have had experience of passive resistance, and both in South Africa and East Africa a new generation has since grown up which is vastly more self-conscious and sensitive and determined to uphold the self-respect of India. It is very unwise to provoke them into passive resistance. The Governments may feel confident that they can put down such a movement, if it was started, but their success would be worse than defeat. As Mr. Wedgwood Benn said in the House of Commons with reference to the national movement in India,

such a campaign is not a trial of strength, but a struggle for the support of public opinion. And public opinion will reprobate any Government which represses a people who suffer from intolerable disabilities and indignities.

We hope the situation will not deteriorate to such extent. For East Africa the British Government have accepted the principle of the common franchise, and to that extent the cause of justice and of the Indians has triumphed. The Government has appointed a Joint Select Committee to explore the methods of implementing the decision. Pending final decisions on the subject, it would be premature to turn to desperate measures. Friends must be distinguished from foes, and not all tarred alike as foes. The Labour Government has shown both strength and fair-mindedness. They deserve support and not threats of extreme action.

The position in South Africa is, of course, far different. But we hope that, thanks to the intervention of the Agent of the Government of India and Mr. C. F. Andrews, the situation will be eased and an honourable settlement will be reached.

It has since been reported by the special correspondent of the *Hindu* that the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill was not mentioned in the Governor General's speech in opening the South African Parliament and that it might mean that the Bill would be dropped. It is some relief, if that be true.

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#### Indian Bankers in Malaya and the New Bill.

AT the ensuing session of the Malayan Federal Legislature, a bill will be introduced to restrain the sale of small plantations of less than 25 acres in extent, in execution of money decrees. A Tamil translation of the draft bill has been published in the *Tamil Nesan* from the *F. M. S. Gazette*, dated the 18th December 1930. The Bill when it becomes an Act will be in force for a period of 12 months and after the expiry of that period may be extended for a further period of six months if found necessary. The Bill when passed into law will vitally affect one of the most important Indian communities in Malaya, the Nattukkottai Chettiers, a community of indigenous bankers of South India who have built up a network of banking business all over the Malay Peninsula. It is admitted that the small plantations in question belonging to the Malaya and other nationalities are heavily involved. In these days of worldwide trade depression, and especially in the rubber trade which is the mainstay of all Malayan plantations, it is likely that small plantations have considerably gone down in value. Creditors will not be wanting to take advantage of the misfortune of these small plantation owners. They may try to get the land either by foreclosure or in execution of decrees for a very low price. In these circumstances it is but right that the state should come to the protection of these landowners. But the Bill as conceived is fraught with serious consequences and when brought into force will paralyse the banking business and trade of the Indian community in F. M. S. Indian bankers will not be able to realise their outstandings at least for one year to come. Strangely enough, the Bill contains no clause extending the period of limitation during the life of the Act, but we may expect this omission to be remedied by the Legislative Council. The object of the Bill, however, could be very well secured by an administrative act of the Courts viz., by their fixing a fair upset value when plantations are brought to sale. If this suggestion is adopted the legitimate interests of neither party will be injured while exploitation will be prevented.

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## Articles.

### VICTORY BEFORE PEACE.

MAHATMA GANDHI in his statements and interviews since he was released from prison has stated that he was hankering after honourable peace and mentioned the conditions which would induce him to call a truce. They are the release of all political prisoners, withdrawal of repressive measures and an undertaking by the Government that, at least during the period of negotiations, breaches of the salt law shall be overlooked and that peaceful picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops shall not be interfered with. In asking for these conditions, except one, the Mahatma is knocking against the open door. Even before he and the other members of the Congress Cabinet were unconditionally released, both Lord Irwin and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had undertaken to release political prisoners and withdraw the Ordinances if the Congress helped to restore peaceful conditions by suspending aggressive action against the Government. It was open to the Government to wait till negotiations were completed to bring about a bilateral truce simultaneously, but with a nobility and high-mindedness which characterises him, Lord Irwin took the first step, and released unconditionally the Mahatma and the Congress Cabinet, notwithstanding the real risk that his action was liable to be mistaken for surrender to the Congress. The release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of Ordinances and repressive action depends entirely on the Mahatma and the Congress; they can be had any moment. To the generous action of the Viceroy the Mahatma has replied that the Congress work should go on as usual and the "movement is to continue unabated." It is evident that the Mahatma and the Congress are out for "victory before peace," a natural but nevertheless suicidal weakness.

Another condition laid down by the Mahatma is that Government should overlook the breach of the salt law. It would have been far more sensible if he had asked that the salt tax should be abolished altogether when the Finance Minister presents his budget at the end of the month. But it borders on the ridiculous for a Mahatma to demand that the Government should solemnly and deliberately give an express undertaking that breaches of a law of the land would be overlooked! If the Mahatma had privately urged on the Viceroy the desirability of overlooking breaches, should they occur, it was possible that his wishes might have been accommodated. But it is a far different thing for the Mahatma to tell the Viceroy that he will deliberately preach the breach of the salt law and demand an undertaking that such breaches should not be noticed!

We fear that the Mahatma is overdoing the salt "stunt". He spoke of "the natural right that millions possessed of manufacturing salt out of the waters in their neighbourhood," and of "the right of the starving millions to manufacture salt." The right

to manufacture salt is no more a "natural right" than many another "right", as, for instance, the right to use forest produce, the right to cultivate land, the right to earn a living, but which are all subject to taxation. It is entirely a matter of administrative and financial policy whether salt should be taxed at all, and if so, whether a Government monopoly is the best means of it. Indian opinion has been unanimous that the salt duty should be abolished or at any rate considerably reduced, and it is open to the Mahatma to urge the abolition of the tax.

As for the relief that the repeal of the tax will give to the 'starving millions' of India we are frankly not impressed. The starving millions will not get more food and starve less because the salt tax is removed: salt is not food, it will not take the place of staple food. The Report of the Commissioner of Salt published recently shows how utterly artificial and ridiculous was the relief that Mr. Gandhi secured for the starving millions by the breach of the salt laws. Notwithstanding the intensive and extensive propaganda that has been carried on for the breach of the salt law, and notwithstanding the utter impossibility of guarding the huge coast line of India against illegal manufacture of salt, the number of people who indulged in the game, and the duration of the campaign and the total quantity so manufactured were ridiculous in the extreme. The labour involved in the manufacture of salt by boiling sea water and the unwholesomeness of the salt so crudely manufactured have done more to inhibit the practice than Governmental action. Even if the people were allowed to make salt freely, the extent of relief to the people along the coast will not be much and none to those in the interior. Salt law is a good stick to beat the Government with but for little else. But whatever may be the ethics and economics of the salt duty, it is open to us to urge its repeal now, or failing it, to do it ourselves under the new reforms.

The Mahatma's next condition was that peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops should not be interfered with. As a matter of fact they are not to-day. The Ordinance affecting picketing has lapsed. The Mahatma is asking for something which he has already. He has defined picketing as peaceful persuasion and the Congress Working Committee, under his influence, has said that "picketing of foreign cloth, and drink and drug shops, is itself no part of civil disobedience campaign, but it is the exercise of the ordinary right of the citizen, as long as it remains strictly peaceful, and causes no obstruction to the public." The picketing ordinance, when it was in force, was never intended to penalise peaceful persuasion, though it is true that in several cases Magistrates penalised it. But it must be remembered that the picketers, as a rule, refused to defend themselves, and the Magistrates had to rely only on the prosecution evidence. If they had defended themselves or appealed to the High Courts, the injustice would have been remedied. Apart from that, the Congress leaders are shutting their eyes to inconvenient facts if they persuaded themselves that picketing was

generally confined to peaceful persuasion with no obstruction to the public. Peaceful persuasion would not have led to the clashes between picketers and the merchants that have occurred in Bombay and other places. Picketing has largely been coercion and tyranny, nuisance and annoyance. It was very far from being an appeal to the convictions of the people.

It will thus be seen that of the three conditions mentioned by the Mahatma for restoring peace, the release of political prisoners and the repeal of Ordinances depend entirely on the Congress, the right to peaceful persuasion was never questioned and is not likely either, and the proposition that the breach of the Salt law should be overlooked is utterly untenable. It is not love of honourable peace that prompts the Mahatma to make impossible or unnecessary demands but the desire to achieve some spectacular victory.

#### AD INTERIM REFORMS I

A CERTAIN section of opinion here and in Great Britain has recently expressed itself in favour of an immediate introduction of unitary responsible government in the provinces, partly as an attempt to realise as early as possible that measure of constitutional reform on which there appears to be a substantial agreement amongst political parties in both countries, but more so as an indication of that change of heart for which the Mahatma and his countrymen so earnestly hanker. Such a proposal raises several issues which have got to be correctly appreciated before people bring themselves to spend their energy on its pursuit. In the first place it is presumed that what is sought is not a miniature Government of India bill as a preliminary to the full-fledged Federal Act that will have to follow. Rather it is partly to avoid the delays of that lengthy parliamentary procedure that the present proposal is made. How far, then, can the rule-making authority of the Secretary of State-in-Council be utilised for the establishment of a virtual autonomy, i.e. unitary responsible government, in the provinces would appear to be the main issue. It is obvious that Section 19 A of the Government of India Act would operate as the governing clause in the procedure to be followed. This clause requires all rules made under it to be submitted for the sanction of the British Parliament. There are, therefore, three different aspects of the proposal to be decided upon:

(1) Firstly, is it legally possible to utilise the rule-making authority of the S. O. S.-in-Council so as to establish virtually, though not technically, full responsible government in the provinces?

(2) Secondly, granting that such a legal possibility exists, is it practicable to bring either the advisers of the Government or members of the Parliament to sanction a radical change of this character in such a piecemeal and subsidiary fashion?

(3) Lastly, even supposing that it were legally and practically feasible to get the British Parliament to sanction an amendment of rules which would have the effect of establishing full responsible government in the provinces, is such a step likely to have any appreciable influence on the fortunes of the constitu-

tional fight that centres round the united Indian demand that the substance of political power should be immediately transferred to the Indian people?

Those who feel that the rule-making power can be utilised for the purpose of securing almost complete responsible government in the provinces have particularly the following two amendments in view: (1) the removal from the reserved to the transferred list of all important subjects e. g. finance, law and order, land revenue, irrigation etc, leaving on the reserved side only a few unimportant subjects so as to satisfy the formal requirements of the statute regarding the existence of a reserved side to the provincial administration; and (2) making of rules by which the control of the Secretary of State over these transferred departments will be restricted still further than what it is. So far as the former amendment is concerned there is nothing in the letter of the Government of India Act to invalidate the contemplated procedure. But on more fundamental grounds of constitutional law it may be seriously doubted as to whether powers of subsidiary legislation can be exercised to defeat the purpose of the main act or to amend it in important structural spheres. The *virtual abolition* of dyarchy in the provinces, howsoever laudable or necessary a reform it may be, cannot, consistently with the constitutional limitations on all subsidiary rule-making, be thus evolved out of a constitution of which practical dyarchy is an integral and vital part. With regard to the restriction of the control of the Secretary of State over transferred departments, it must be clearly understood that so long as the Secretary of State continues under the Act to be responsible to the British Parliament, for the administration of India he cannot divest himself of powers placed in him for the adequate discharge of that responsibility. For the sake of expediency he may delegate authority, but, as the minority of the Reforms Inquiry Committee put it, delegation is not divesting, which will have to be specifically done by the British Parliament in favour of the provincial legislatures if the responsibility of the latter is to be real. The rule-making authority conferred on the Secretary of State in Council does not, therefore, in the humble opinion of the present writer, offer any adequate means to secure the substance of complete responsible government in the provinces.

The maintenance of important departments on the reserved side and enforcement of the responsibility and authority of the Secretary of State over the whole field of Indian administration is really part of the basic scheme of the Act of 1919. For instance, clause 3 of Section 52 reads as follows: "In relation to transferred subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with this advice." Now this is a very vital clause and no amount of supplementary rule making is going to help in its removal, which, however is essential for the establishment of complete responsible government in the provinces. There is another constitutional impropriety that is involved in the proposal to reduce by an amendment of rules

the reserved side to a virtual nothingness. The Act allows the appointment of not more than four executive councillors, insists upon at least one of them being a government servant of twelve-years standing, and in general treats of the executive council as being composed of a plurality of members. If, however, the reserved departments are to be only nominal where is the need of more members than one, and if only one member, with the Governor who has no portfolio, is to constitute the Governor-in-Council, where is the propriety of the Act going into details, as it at present does, about the composition and internal organisation of the Executive Council? The whole proposal to utilise rule-making authority for the virtual abolition of dyarchy is based on a wrong version of the scope of subsidiary legislation and on an ignoring of the fact that dyarchy, live and real, enters too pervasively into the clauses of the Government of India Act to be got rid of by the mere formal removal of all important functions to the list of transferred subjects.

Even granting for the sake of argument that rules made under the present Act could bring about the virtual abolition of the reserved side, and the almost complete restriction of the interference of the Secretary of State in the administration of a province, it is hardly reasonable to expect that at a time when decisions taken with regard to the central government are likely very vitally to affect the structure of the provincial governments, a change amounting to a constitutional revolution in the latter will be either considered or sanctioned by itself. To take only the case of the position of the provinces vis-a-vis the central government: in a federal India it may be possible to take one view of the relations between the two, and quite another where a federation was only a distant ideal. Another case would be that of finance. The ordering of the finances of the central government will materially affect the extent of the influence that it may be left to wield on the provincial governments. In the absence of these and similar data, it would hardly be desirable, even though it may be possible, to move much further in the direction of amending by rules or otherwise the provincial constitutions. Another practical difficulty must at least be noticed. The whole question as to how far the immediate constitutional advance would secure the transfer of real power and responsibility to the Indian electorate, is at present under discussion. From that standpoint reforms both in the central and the provincial governments have the same meaning for a member of Parliament. The British Parliament, unlike continental legislatures, has always frowned upon the use of supplementary legislation, and neither on grounds of law, nor of tradition and expediency can it be expected that the Parliament, supposing that he were technically empowered to do so, would allow the Secretary of State to use his rule-making authority for changing the policy of the Act in a material respect, viz., the virtual extinction of Dyarchy.

It may be contended in reply that, granting the legal feasibility of this course, it should commend itself to members of Parliament as it is calculated to

convince the Indian politicians that there is a change of heart on the part of Great Britain, that it means business and that it is ready to transfer the substance of political power to India at an early date. This, however, is the weakest side of the proposal under discussion. The present writer makes bold to observe that were complete provincial autonomy introduced tomorrow it would not materially affect the fortunes of the struggle that rages round the possession of power at the centre. That complete provincial responsibility will be established as the next step in constitutional advance was known at least as early as 1918, and neither its prospect nor its realisation is likely to strike the imagination of the people in the desired direction. The control of finance and economic policy, the thorough Indianisation of the Army in less than a generation, the eventual reduction of the Governor General to the position of a constitutional sovereign, these are matters that now exercise the mind of every intelligent citizen of the country; and an unequivocal declaration of policy on them is calculated to make a far greater appeal than any amendment of rules, release of prisoners, or even the appointment of Indians as Governors of provinces.

D. G. KARVE.

#### AN APPEAL TO THE CONGRESS.

THE Premier's statement promising responsibility at the centre and in the provinces subject to certain safeguards creates a new situation which at any rate deserves the most honest consideration from the political leaders of the country. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri declares that India has got all she desired, and Sir Tej Bahadur is full of hope of a better India. Only Mr. Jinnah has sounded a note which might be considered as something apart from the chorus of admiration that was seen in the delegates' camp. There is no doubt that the Premier's statement goes some way in the attempt at the progressive realisation of full responsible government for India, but whether it is possible to interpret the announcement of the Premier as anything more than a kind gesture for goodwill is a matter that only the future can reveal with any measure of clarity. At present the value of the announcement depends entirely on the safeguards which are proposed to be introduced in the constitution. On the nature of the safeguards insisted on by the British in England and India depends the reality of the advance made by India.

An All-India Federation is envisaged as the first step in the evolution of the India of the future. What such an All-India federation may mean it is difficult to appreciate. What would be the position of the Indian states' subjects in the Federal Assembly? What would be the constitutional position of the Indian Princes in the Federal executive and legislature? What would be the limits of interference of British India with the Indian States in regard to legislation on matters pertaining to the central government? So long as the Indian States are what they are—relics of a mediæval age—their rulers' association with the Indian Government must only have the consequence of making the Government

of India less progressive than it would be if we exclude from the future federation these autocratic Indian states. It is a little curious that the delegates to the Round Table Conference—both of Britain and India—should have been swept off their feet by the general statement of their objective by the Indian Princes.

The Premier contemplates that the question of defence, the question of external relations, and certain questions relating to Indian finance would be reserved. What does this mean? Where does this end? Supposing the Governor-General is advised to go to war with Afghanistan or some other territory would it come under the cognisance of the executive in India and the Federal Legislature?

What is exactly meant by "external relations" must be made clear. Should we consider that the relations with the Indian States should come under the category of external relations? It would be curious indeed to give the Indian Princes a hand in the administration of British India and to deny to the Government of India the right to influence and control the evolution of Indian States. The Paramount power of the Government of India must be recognised unequivocally both by the Princes and the Government of India. Otherwise we shall only be repeating the story of so many Ulsters in India, with results it would be hard to contemplate at the present time.

In the matter of Indian Finance it is difficult to see that any reservations are at all necessary. It is ridiculous to think that a responsible Indian Government would deliberately do anything which, in its opinion, would be jeopardising the credit of India in the eyes of the world. A nation could be trusted to look after itself if responsible government means anything. It is the supreme test of good faith both of India and Britain that no safeguard should be asked for or given. To the extent we want to reserve anything over the head of the legislature, to that extent it reveals want of faith in the sense of responsibility in the new government which is to be inaugurated with such flourish of trumpets. To say, as Lord Reading does, and to repeat that, as the Premier does, that such reservations are necessary in the best interests of India herself, shows a strong sense of humour in the British representatives. Our representatives seem to have missed the joke.

It is also alleged that the British Indian delegates have agreed to set up a convention that there would be no discrimination between British and Indian in matters of trade and other matters in India. This can be understood if such Britishers settle down in India and accept Indian citizenship with all its rights and liabilities. But to ask for rights without responsibilities to India is a little too ungenerous. That the British should insist on their special privileges in regard to criminal trials in India is again an example of want of trust in the sense of fairness of an Indian jury.

Under a responsible government worth the name India must have the constitutional right to look to the interests of India first, second and the last. It

must have a free hand in the matter of the tariff of taxation, of immigration and emigration. Without prejudice to the existing contracts of the Government of India, the Government of the future must have a free hand to deal with any matter in the best interest of India subject to any diplomatic representations which His Majesty's Government may see fit to make from time to time. The problem is brimful of difficulties and India requires the best of her brains to bring order out of this chaos. Mr. Winston Churchill sounded the true note when he said the other day that if reservations are real there can be no true responsibility, and if there be true responsibility in India the reservations are unreal. If anything valuable is to come out of the Premier's declaration it can only come by a frank recognition on the part of the British Government that their days of power in India must end and Britain must reconcile herself to a position of merely influencing India. India is interested in the development of her industries and is anxious to protect in some degree a good number of her industrial enterprises. Obviously this cannot be done if any individuals or firms which do not accept Indian domicile are allowed free entry to set up in India to avoid the tariff. If England trusts India it should not be impossible to work out a scheme of Imperial preference on some of the commodities in which Britain is interested in her trade with India. A happy and contented India will buy more from England than a surly India which distrusts British statesmanship.

The time has come for the Congress to cry halt to its unhappy activities. After all civil disobedience is only a means to an end. It is not the end itself. We have come to a stage in the progress of the conflict of interests where both parties to the misunderstanding must cry halt to their undoubtedly bona fide activities. As reasonable men and women we must see that no opportunity is lost for negotiation. And the results of the deliberations of the Round Table, full of vague generalities as they are, still offer to leaders of political opinion in India a great opportunity to come to grips with the details of their requirements.

The Congress leaders have to do some hard thinking both on political and economic matters and must make up their minds to make out a proper case. It would not be fair to leave this responsibility to the Indian Liberals. They have done good work at the Conference to the best of their lights and the time has come for the Congress leaders to offer their co-operation to their Indian Liberal brothers in the search for a progressive Indian Constitution. There can be no doubt that with the Congress in, India will come out of the next stage of the Conference with more real powers than would otherwise be the case.

Obviously an Independent India can only be an ideal for the present. It is not at any rate practical politics.

S. V. AYYAR.

## BRITISH PRESS ON SANKEY REPORT.

**P**UBLIC interest in England, from the Indian point of view, centred round the report of the Federal Structure Committee in mail week—that "small plant" which Lord Sankey in true grand motherly fashion asked the Indian delegates to take back to India and "transplant it in the kindly Indian soil." The acceptance by the Committee of the principle of responsibility at the Centre strikes even the *New Leader*, the organ of the I. L. P., as a "big step." It rightly understands the Indian opposition to the financial safeguards when it says that "control of finance is essential to real power". Its fear that the Round Table might "accept the limitations" has not come true, for even in the Conference itself they gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the delegates which duly found unequivocal expression. Its reminder to the Labour Government that its task was "not to satisfy the Round Table delegates, but to induce India to accept its proposals" was perhaps uncalled for, for the whole idea of the Conference was designed to secure the co-operation of all parties, including the Congress. The paper faithfully reflects Indian opinion when it urges upon Government "a general amnesty for the political prisoners and a cessation of its police tyranny" as "the first prerequisite for obtaining a hearing" in India for any proposals it is prepared to make.

The *News Chronicle* warns Indians that "there are plenty of forces" in India and elsewhere that would do their best to destroy the "the small plant" and urges the need of their sinking their differences.

Certainly the success or the failure of this experiment will depend on the power of Indians to compose their differences and work peacefully and efficiently their new constitution. But no one can compel them to do this liberty is a gift which, from its very nature, cannot be forced upon anybody. The utmost that an onlooker can do on this side of the question is to point out to Indians that they have here an opportunity of working out their own political salvation great beyond all that could have been expected but a very few months ago, and that it rests entirely with them to use it or to throw it away.

Though the Sankey scheme of responsible government for India has been blessed by all the three parties in English politics, it cannot yet be said to be completely out of danger. Conservative die-hards like Mr. Churchill, retired British administrators like Sir Reginald Craddock and Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the more extreme elements in Indian politics might combine to wreck the scheme. But there can be no doubt that what has been done at the Conference cannot be undone. As the *Spectator* puts it:

Whatever may happen steps have been taken by the Conference which can never be retraced. An indestructible measure of progress has been registered.

Again:

The vicissitudes in the Conference are so rapid—there are such alternations of confidence and doubt—that it is impossible for those who are normally optimistic, as we are not ashamed to be, to say more than that the main achievements of the Conference are indestructible. A solid foundation has been laid. The worst that can happen is that the architecture upon it may have to be redesigned. One architectural proposal, so to speak, is that a strong Committee consisting of both British and Indian members of the Conference should go to India as soon as possible and consult not only with the Government of India, but with prominent Indians who were not at the Conference. This Committee would complete its work by the autumn and its information would be available before the drafting of the India Bill. Of course there would be, according to the existing arrangement, yet another opportunity for Indian opinion to be expressed

when the Bill is before the Joint Committee of the House of Lords and House of Commons.

It is clear from this that the Labour Government is particularly anxious to enlist Congress co-operation in elaborating their scheme and would even go out of its way to do so. Only the Congress must make things easy for them instead of adding to their difficulties.

While the extremists in Great Britain and India will lose no chance of running down the Indian Liberals on some pretext or other, sober and responsible opinion in England as represented by the *Spectator* is by no means behindhand in appreciating their services.

The Indian Liberals who have not spared their labours either at the Conference or outside it must be specially applauded for their courage. When they return to India they will have a difficult and hazardous time before them. They will be cold-shouldered or denounced, but they may be assured that they will have the constant sympathy and support of all British well-wishers of India. To go through a bad time for a political cause which you believe to be right is one of the most profitable kinds of suffering. Time brings its just revenges. The reward always comes in the end.

How sympathetic is the atmosphere in England to Indian aspirations just at present may be clear from the following extract from that paper.

The vast changes of thought which have occurred recently in India are only to be matched—though it is possible that they are outmatched—by the changes of thought in Great Britain. There has seldom been such a great tide of sympathy with the aspirations of another country for autonomy as there is with India now. Are the Indians going to let slip such a glorious opportunity? It is necessary to say plainly that if the opportunity is lost it may not recur. Benevolence, indeed, may never be absent from Great Britain, but new and intractable circumstances may intervene. The circumstances are now altogether favourable. We who have pleaded whole-heartedly for a generous grant of a new status to India feel it our duty to remind all Indians who accept the proposals of the Round Table Conference that everything depends upon their own efforts and particularly upon their capacity to agree upon communal rights.

If we do not take time by the forelock and fail to garner the harvest owing to a mistaken sense of self-respect or prestige, we shall be showing up our complete want of political sense. Nobody pretends that the Sankey scheme is completely satisfactory. Even the Liberals who have laboured so hard in giving it its present shape are not blind to its flaws. It is not expected that "the extremists in India will be reconciled at once". All that is hoped for is that these proposals will lead to "a crumbling process" which will result in detaching "an increasing number of Indians from the extremist position." Time will show whether the *Spectator's* expectations are going to be realised.

Financial safeguards which are almost universally distrusted in India are justified by Lord Reading and others as being necessary in the interest of the credit of India itself. It would be hard to convince Indian opinion that it is so. A plan which would at once prove British bona fides in the matter appears to be the one to which the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* refers in its issue of January 16. Under this plan, provision would be made in the constitution

for the office of an independent financial adviser. He might be selected by an international authority to hold office for a term of years, to have access to all sources of information, and the right to be informed and consulted by the Finance Minister in regard to policy. The publication of his reports might of themselves be suffi-

cient to ensure the propriety of India's financial policy or if stronger safeguards were considered necessary, the Viceroy might be given extra-ordinary power to intervene on his recommendation. Such an arrangement would apparently give India safeguards both against rashness or inexperience in her own politicians and also against the undue predominance of the London point of view.

This proposal deserves to be carefully considered by British statesmen if they are anxious to leave no ground for suspicion in the Indian mind about their intentions in regard to Indian finance.

D. V. A.

## Reviews.

### A CHAPTER FROM ENGLISH HISTORY.

THE ENDLESS ADVENTURE, VOL. I. 1710-1727. By F. S. OLIVER. (Macmillan, London.) 1930. 22cm. 428p. 15/-.

IN the history of England, the Glorious Revolution, as it is called, which put an end to the old order of things which enabled the King to bank upon the convenient fallacy of the Divine Right and which marked the beginning of an era of constitutional rule can be said to be an important landmark. Politics in England then assumed a definitely constitutional complexion and power passed from the King into the hands of Parliament and consequently into the hands of politicians who ruled it. Parliamentary supremacy which, until then, was at any time in danger of being assailed and overthrown, was firmly established, and the King's prerogative which was assumed to be capable of over-riding and setting at naught the declared wishes of Parliament came to be regarded as a thing of the past. Political parties which were before that event based upon nebulous principles and undefined policies then grew into prominence with definite and well-arranged policies and programmes. It is a time like this that Mr. Oliver has chosen to delineate and comment upon. He has examined the principles of certain politicians like Walpole, Stanhope, Sunderland, Carteret and Bolingbroke, who played a very prominent part in the parliamentary game at the beginning of the 18th century, down to the end of the reign of George I.

The book under review, which is the first of a series of three volumes intended to carry us down to the year 1745, when Walpole died, carries the investigation up till 1727. It is not so much a history of the period as a description, a broad but incisive survey of the work of certain dominating political personalities in the reign of George the First, of the currents and cross-currents of the political life of the period. As the author himself says, his theme "is the depiction of the skill and blunderings, the courage and the faint-heartedness, the energy and languor, the failures and successes of a small number of eminent men who followed the trade of politics some two hundred years ago"; and in selecting his characters, he has, as he, of course, could not but help doing, dealt in the main with the life and doings of Walpole, who fills the chief place in the stage during the period. Mr. Oliver's aim is not really to write a biography of Walpole or a history of his administration; but as Walpole is typical of the prominent politicians of the times, he had necessarily to be given a conspicuous place.

Most of those who have read the history of England in the eventful times which immediately followed the accession of the Hanoverian sovereigns can recall the fact that the political



life of the country in those days was surcharged with fierce squabbles between the Whigs and the Tories, the former supporting the Hanoverian succession and the latter aiming at a Jacobite Restoration. Each party endeavoured to gain and retain strength for itself and for this purpose followed practices which will not be deemed altogether honourable and commendable nowadays. Walpole, a strong protagonist of the Whig policy, was not above these practices: but he had many other qualities which served to counterbalance his weaknesses as a party politician. In dealing with Walpole, Mr. Oliver says that "like most great men of action, he (Walpole) had a simple as well as a practical mind. Spite, cruelty and vindictiveness had no part in his character. To people of slight importance, he showed a contemptuous forbearance; but on the faintest suspicion of rivalry, his great jealousy of power made him implacable to his foes and distrustful to his friends." Mr. Oliver continues, "Walpole made use of bribery, as a matter of course, to keep his followers to their allegiance, but he was neither the first to use it for the purpose nor the last. Among the succession of corrupting ministers who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries, he was not the most profuse but he was incomparably the shrewdest". This is a correct view to take of Walpole and Mr. Oliver will find that there are many to endorse his viewpoint.

Mr. Oliver has also made a gallant attempt to redeem the character of George I, who is popularly regarded as a solid and hard-headed German who was incapable of any intelligent appreciation of the viewpoint of his English subjects and ready to sacrifice British interests for the glorification and success of his Hanoverian policy. There is of course some truth in the complaint as so stated; but it is not the whole truth. As Mr. Oliver says, "George I possessed certain noble qualities, some of them by no means common. He was honourably distinguished by his truthfulness, by his honesty of judgment, by his fidelity to his word, by his loyalty to his ministers. His course of action was determined by a sense of duty." That he was not scrupulously sensitive with regard to the honour and integrity of England, as, for instance, that eminently English and national sovereign, Elizabeth was, was not a great fault or failing considering that he had spent the best part of his life in his native country, Hanover.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the book under review has got certain high literary merit apart altogether from the question of whether it fills or does not fill a real need, so far as a purely historical narrative of the period is concerned. The author has maintained throughout that detached outlook which is very necessary for a correct visualization of historical facts and unbiassed interpretation of historical events—a characteristic which enhances the value of the work. We await with interest the publication of the remaining two volumes in the series.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

## WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

**A PICTURE OF WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1930.**  
(National Industrial Conference Board, New York.) 1930. 23cm. 196 p. \$ 2.50.

As indicated in the preface by President Alexander, this is the fourth of the series of semi-annual publications on world economic conditions issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, U. S. A.

The study consists in part of an appreciation of world economics by the President of the International Chamber of Commerce and partly of estimates of the conditions of individual countries by a number of

correspondents. There is a lot of useful information on the industrial, financial, agricultural, and other aspects of life and the book is a mine of information, both statistical and otherwise. It presents facts in a readable, intelligent and concise form, worthy of imitation by writers on economic subjects generally.

Some of the remarks made by the President of the International Chamber of Commerce are of much interest as a survey of the tendency of modern economic life. Says he: "While attaching primary importance to its money market, London is obliged to give increasing attention to the needs of British industry. Able minds are urging upon English Banks a change of attitude and the adoption towards industry of the policy of the banks of continental Europe, and in particular of the Banks of Belgium and Germany. But in order to perform this the English banks must increase their own strength. It should be pointed out that the Bank of England has supported the claims of national industry by the creation of the Securities Management Trust—a body that will develop into a powerful long term credit organisation." Words full of the wisdom of experience, and yet India will not easily learn it in spite of the big attempt at investigation that is proceeding in the country.

On the industrial side the writer is naturally struck by the increasing importance assumed by the production of articles of consumption. The general improvement of the living conditions of wage-earners in recent years and the spread of education have intensified the demand for food-stuffs, luxury articles, radio sets and so on. Industrial concentration proceeded with vigour in a number of countries, especially in the U. S. A., France, Belgium, Britain, Germany and Italy. Rationalisation has been going on apace.

In an extension lecture at the University of Dacca on Indian Agriculture about a year ago the reviewer put in a plea for farming on a large scale and suggested the buying out of uneconomic holdings. It is interesting to find that Russia is attempting something very much similar under the auspices of the Government. Says Mr. George Theunis: "The Soviet at present are trying the experiment of immense collective farms cultivated in common by scientific methods."

Unemployment, in the opinion of the President of the Chamber, is found in an alarming degree in many important industrial countries but the year 1929 has been on the whole relatively freer from labour conflicts than in previous years. The centres of depression that threaten the world are to be found neither in London nor in New York, but in agricultural countries like Asia and Africa.

The writer rightly gives prominence to the creation of the Bank for International Settlements. Primarily an offshoot of the Young Plan, though intended to act as a trustee for the various governments, its functions are expected to provide increased facilities for co-operation between the different banks of issue and facilitate international financial operations. There is no doubt that anything that assists in the stabilisation of the credit structure of the world will go a long way to stabilise industries in the world.

The study of the economic conditions of individual countries cannot obviously be summarised here: but there is no doubt that it is bound to be of vital interest to those concerned with particular countries. This symposium on economic conditions is of undoubted value and supplies a real want in the literature of the day.

The reviewer however feels that at any rate by the time that the next issue is brought out arrangements would have been made to find a responsible

correspondent in India and an estimate of Indian conditions would find a place in this otherwise interesting publication.

S. V. AIYYAR.

### INDUSTRIAL STANDARDIZATION.

**INDUSTRIAL STANDARDIZATION.** By the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD, (New York.) 1929. 22 cm. 306 p. \$ 3'50.

THE arrival in India of the Manchester mill-valuer for the rationalisation of the Bombay cotton industry gives us a new interest in the subject of this book. For, standardisation is an important aspect of rationalisation.

"In addition to presenting a simple and clear statement of the nature and meaning of standardisation this volume has a twofold object; first, to present a concise but comprehensive description of the working structure of the industrial standardisation movement . . . , and, second, to examine, in the light of available evidence, the authenticity of the numerous economic advantages claimed for standardisation by its advocates."

The "standard" is "any type, model, example, or authority with which comparison may be made, a criterion of excellence." The standard may be evolved, or may be deliberately selected. "Standardisation," in the present book is used in the sense of deliberate selection of standards, deliberate selection of materials, sizes, products, means and processes.

One has only to look at the statement of the scope of the standardisation movement in America to be convinced of the economy which it can effect in production and the facility it can give to purchase and sale:—(1) Nomenclature—definitions of technical terms used in specifications and contracts—abbreviations—symbols. (2) Uniformity in dimensions necessary to secure interchangeability of parts and supplies. (3) Quality specifications for materials. (4) Methods of test. (5) Ratings of machinery and apparatus which establish test limits under specified conditions as a basis of purchase specifications. (6) Provisions for safety. (7) Rules for the operation of apparatus and machinery in industrial establishments.

The book proceeds to give a detailed account of how the various standardisation associations are working in America in various spheres, how they are linked together in a greater association, and, lastly, how the American Standards Association is linked with the standardising bodies of other countries.

The second part of the book opens with a chapter to prove "that industrial standardisation increases profits by cutting costs of buying, processing, distributing and selling, and by extending markets. Numerous estimates of savings realised through standardisation support the contention that these savings are so great and so significant that no large industry can any longer afford to ignore the standardisation technique." To support this conclusion, the book devotes some forty pages of a most systematic discussion.

The major problem of business has shifted from production to marketing. To the marketing technique, therefore, the book devotes an independent chapter. Standardisation in advertising "can be held to have affected the market to the advantage of the business community in many ways. First among these is the building up of a reputation for the product by the guarantee of quality that the standard assures the consumer." Another important chapter is on "standardisation and the consumer."

P. J. JAGIRDAR.

### THE PEARLY PARADISE.

**CEYLON.** By ASHELEY GIBSON. (J. M. Dent, London.) 1929. 19cm. 235p. 5/-.

THIS addition to the "Outward Bound Library" series is an extraordinarily fascinating book which really ought to have a better title than the prosaic unilluminating "Ceylon." The author's original "Cinnamon and Frangipanni" suggests something of the fragrant riches to be found within. Certainly aesthetic arm-chair travellers will get a fund of everlasting pleasure in the vivid descriptions which Mr. Gibson portrays so well and so easily.

Perhaps I may be a little severe in criticising the lack of the cruder elemental picture of what lies behind the scenes, behind the glowing wonder of verdure and mystery; but then the writer himself, at the beginning, makes it clear for whom he writes—"there is more squalor than romance about the night life of Colombo. No place for you."

The opening chapters, describing first impressions, and the chapters on gems are crammed full of that subtle allurements which draws the whole Western world to the Orient. What cold-blooded Northerner can resist the longing for this Pearly Paradise when enticed with the following artistry? "Yephyr-borne exhalations of cinnamon and Frangipanni . . . of vanilla, coconut and musk, I doubt not, nard and cassia, and all the spices, herbalists at Kew and Regent's Park will find long names for..."

Besides explaining, in minute painted detail, the process of producing "stimulated" pearls, there is one mundane suggestion, which, if true, means that in gemming there is the greatest opportunity for "get-rich quicks." These seekers of wealth, or gems, must read the book. Perhaps, on the Indian Ocean they will feel a little ashamed of themselves.

There are amusing stories. Of the Devil Bird, of the queerest of animals—the cabragoya, of the origin of the Sinhalese from the Lion and many humorous accounts of island legends.

There is a chapter concerning the prototype of Robinson Crusoe who lived on the island for twenty years, and who "could fill his own pockets in a situation where an Aberdonian Hebrew would have perished miserably." Mr. Gibson has a healthy contempt for would-be archaeologists who spend a few months and then write books "all about the buried cities."

While showing an open contempt for sacred books as "nebulous romances", it is strange to find such space given to lengthy details of Hindu, Mohammedan and Buddhist ceremonies and customs. It may be that their picturesque glamour appealed to the artist and overcame the sceptic.

Rubber, tea and all the commonplaces of Ceylon are invested with live interest. Of its kind, and especially in the way of musical description this book tops the list of usual travel books. The black and white drawings of Barbara Shaw vividly portray the idea of brilliant tropical sunshine.

But all the time one would like to know a little of the life of the humbler inhabitants of Lanka.

K. V.

### INDUSTRIAL PHILOSOPHY.

**THE FILENE STORE. A STUDY OF EMPLOYERS' RELATION TO MANAGEMENT IN A RETAIL STORE.** BY MARY LA DAME. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1930. 20cm. 541p. \$2'50.

BEING an excursion into the field of Industrial

Philosophy the book describes the principles by means of which ready cooperation between the employees and the employer can be secured in a large retail store. A high degree of efficiency cannot be secured in any business or industrial undertaking unless the workers effectively participate in management, profits and ownership. The Filene Store embodies the above three principles in the code of its bye-laws.

Part one is devoted to the historical growth of the Filene Store and the evolution of the personnel programme of the two Filenes, viz., E. A. Filene and A. L. Filene. This is followed by an intensive analysis of the Filene Cooperative Association. The final part is the most valuable part for the Indian employers as well as employees, for herein we get a reasoned and impartial valuation of the above programme, and its results in enlisting the willing cooperation of the employees in the direction of understanding the aims of business and putting forth their best efforts to realise the above programme.

Apart from philanthropic considerations or sociological feelings the modern worker has to be treated as a human being. In addition to a systematic plan of recruiting work people and the formation of a cooperative association of the employees and the employer, the efforts of the modern employees would have to be concentrated on a wide range of welfare work, such as a clinic, a credit union, a library, a house organ, a men's club, a women's club, a girls' club, educational classes, musical and athletic organisations, and a host of other personal services, the sharing of the profits by making employees hold the stock of the company, the imparting of further systematic training in the methods of business and promoting the abler people to higher rank and granting to these employees some participation in the management of the concern.

It is indeed true that unless the labour force is active and intelligent these positions would not be taken advantage of. An inert and indifferent labour force would fail to understand the full significance of modern industrial philosophy. This is what the Filene experiment itself teaches us. But good will and better production effort even on the part of intelligent workers would not be forthcoming until the managerial officials of the employer lay greater emphasis on the development of more human relations between the employers and the employees. The application of these methods alone will lead to the evolution of a sound industrial philosophy. As the first singularly complete experiment in the direction of evolving a sound industrial philosophy, these efforts of the Filenes ought to be studied by every industrialist, be he an employer or employee.

There are four Appendices illustrating concretely the methodology of the Filenes. If permanency, increasing profits and sound service to the consumers are to be the ideals of our industrial organisation the securing of some of the above features which have been developed in the Filene Store would be absolutely essential. We commend this book heartily to all our industrialists, labour leaders, philanthropic workers and legislators who hope to ameliorate the working conditions of our labourers. I hope the Whitley Commission itself would not fail to take notice of the positive as well as the negative results, which flowed in as a result of this experiment in industrial relations.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

## ON CATHOLICISM.

**CATHOLICISM: A RELIGION OF COMMON SENSE.** By P. J. GEARSON. (Burn, Oates.) 1930. 20 cm. 215 p. 3/6.

**SURVIVALS AND NEW ARRIVALS.** By HAILAIRE BELLOC. (Sheed and Ward.) 1929. 20 cm. 288 p. 3/6.

THESE two manuals of Roman Catholicism may briefly be said to deal with the pros and cons of the Church of Rome. That which deals with the pros under the practised hand of Fr. Gearson would make out all who are not members of that Church to be knaves. While the wizard pen of the layman, Hilaire Belloc, would prove that those who remain outside the Fold are mere fools.

Father Gearson calls out of his armoury the weapon of logic to defend the faith, but though fairly successful in dealing with the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, his weapon seems to fail him when he deals with the less obviously tenable dogmas of his Church, such as those of Papal Infallibility and concerning Indulgences. It must also be said that it is difficult to understand the sequence of the book, wherein the reader is rushed from one doctrine to another, and is left with the impression that fundamental beliefs and trivial theories are incomprehensibly placed alongside each other. Moreover, the writer's tiresome assertions that he has proved what he has asserted and the fact that the whole book is an argument, naturally induces opposition in the reader, so that instead of looking to the writer as to a priest for spiritual truth, he is inclined to regard him merely as an advocate and desires to test his case. To the non-Christian reader Fr. Gearson's prejudice against Protestantism must be more than obvious, while if we apply the test that he suggests in his preface for using the term 'Catholic,' Mr. Belloc's book will show, especially in his most interesting chapter on the "Two Cultures", that Roman Catholicism is not universal in time, place or doctrine.

Mr. Belloc's book however, as may be expected by those familiar with his literary genius, is a most readable volume both because of his clear-cut thought and the wide field of past and contemporary ideas and philosophies which he brings into his purview. Mr. Belloc's review of the anti-Christian and degenerating forces at work in the world today is very thorough and his sections on Scientific Negation, Rationalism, the Modern Mind and the Neo-Paganism are especially brilliant; but he has the same tendency as his co-religionist, Fr. Gearson, to despise his allies in the fight of the Christian Church against the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and he also indulges in undocumented dogmatism: his passing mention of the "Paganism of the East" will not be acceptable to readers in India. Indeed, Mr. Belloc's book may be compared to one of those pictures painted by modern artists—extremely striking at a distance but sadly lacking in body and detail on close inspection.

Roman Catholicism is most certainly not a religion to be despised, but the spiritually thirsty outside the Roman Church will more readily find satisfaction in reading the beautiful lives of her children—the Catholic saints—and of all those who love her Founder, than in such legalistic arguments as these.

BROTHER FOX. O. S. S.

## SHORT NOTICES.

**ANNUAL REPORT; INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER, BOMBAY, FOR 1929.** (Pub. by the Secy.) 1930. 22cm. 677p.

THE book under review is the Report of the work turned out by the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay during the year 1929. The Report contains among other things the number and names of the members of the Chamber, the Annual Report of the work done by the Committee of the Chamber during the year, the reports of the speeches at and proceedings of the quarterly meetings of the Chamber, the correspondence carried on by the Committee with the several departments of Government and other public bodies, the minutes of the interviews which the Chamber had with important representatives of Government like the Finance Member of the Government of India, the Railway and Commerce Member of the Government of India, the Financial Commissioner for Indian Railways and others. Among the subjects dealt with by the Committee may be mentioned the Report of the Indian Road Committee, the questionnaires of the Provincial and Central Banking Enquiry Committees, questionnaire of the Royal Commission on Labour and the amendment of the Indian Income-Tax Law and the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act besides many others of equal importance. The report is a witness of the great vigilance, the astute caution, the unswerving devotion and the fearless advocacy of the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in the matter of safeguarding the commercial and fiscal interests of India. During the year of the Report, Mr. L. R. Tairsee was the President and Mr. J. K. Mehta the Secretary of the Chamber and the work done is a tribute to them and to the other members who collaborated with them. The Report serves as a valuable reference book to any student of Indian business and commerce during the year 1929.

C. V. H. RAO.

**CANAL IRRIGATION IN THE PUNJAB.** BY PAUL W. PASUTIAN. [Columbia Univ. Studies in History, Economics & Public Law: No. 322]. (King, London) 1930. 23cm. 179p. 12/-

THIS book is "an economic inquiry relating to certain aspects of the development of canal irrigation by the British in the Punjab," written by one who came into intimate contact with the conditions of the Punjab during his four years' residence in Lahore. The first part of the book traces the historical development of irrigation in the Punjab from 1849 to 1927. The author gives a brief account of the general geographical features; the character of the people and its early history and describes how, under British initiative, great progress has been made in the development, construction and expansion of canal irrigation projects. The result of this development is that up to the year 1927-28 an area of "11,157,624 acres had been successfully reclaimed from the desert". The second part of the book discusses certain economic aspects of this development. It has led to the extension of the cultivated area. While population has increased by about 20%, cultivation has increased 50% and the gross value of the produce has risen, roughly from Rs. 35 crores to Rs. 100 crores per year.

The concluding chapter is devoted to the financial aspect of canal irrigation. The irrigation policy "has been a fiscal success", "the entire capital outlay has been repaid out of net earnings and a considerable surplus has been developed in addition". This surplus flows into the general revenues and the author points out how it is utilised for the launching of various social welfare schemes.

There are several statistical appendices, a selected bibliography and maps, which add to the value of the book.

S. H. R.

**FAMOUS PARSIS. BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCHES.** (G. A. NATESAN and Co., Madras.) 1930. 20 cm. 488 p. Rs. 3/-

MESSRS. NATESAN & CO. have already given to us in book form the lives of eminent Mussalmans and Indian Christians. The publication of the present volume completes the trilogy. In the present volume are given the lives of fourteen eminent Parsis. They are Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, F. C. Banaji, Naoroji Ferdoonji, Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Sir D. M. Petit, S. B. Bengalli, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir D. E. Wacha, J. N. Tata, K. R. Kama, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, B. M. Malabari, Sir J. J. Modi and Sir M. M. Bhowndree. We have mentioned all the names here with a view to show that the selection has been made with all possible care. Even so, one feels that a few more Parsis like the late Sir H. A. Wadya might well have been included. We hope the omission would be made good when the time for the issue of a second edition arrives. Apart from this there is no doubt that the publishers have laid the Indian public under a debt of gratitude by bringing out the volume under notice. The book is very useful and deserves to be on the book shelves of all libraries.

H. D. M.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- THE STORY OF FERGIE BEY (AWARAQUAY). TOLD BY HIMSELF AND SOME OF HIS FRIENDS. (Macmillan, London.) 1930. 22 cm. 356 p. 18/-.
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