

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

A Magisterial Excess.

SPEAKING on Sir Hari Singh Gour's resolution in the Assembly last week, Sir Abdur Rahim, no irresponsible agitator by any means, said: "I maintain that the scope of the Ordinances is to deprive every one of every vestige of right of personal safety, right to liberty, right to association and every right that a human being may possess..." Nobody can say that Sir Abdur Rahim was laying it too thick. The least that was expected of the Government was that Ordinances of such a sweeping nature would be administered with the greatest possible restraint and moderation. This however is not the case as even a cursory glance at the daily newspapers is enough to show. Among recent magisterial excesses a high place must be given to the attempt on the part of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Tellicherry to deprive a lady Congress worker of her *mangal sutra* or marriage knot, so sacred to Hindu women, in satisfaction of the fine imposed upon her. The magistrate should have known that even the jail rules which prescribe the removal of all articles from a prisoner on his or her admission to a jail explicitly state that women should "in no case" be deprived of the Tali or marriage ring. But to him the realisation of the fine was apparently even more important than the feelings of the lady or the observance of the rule in question and so when she refused to part with her Tali he ordered a court servant to remove it forcibly from her person. There is no doubt the order would have been enforced but for the common sense shown by the lady in asking a co-worker to do what the court servant was ordered to do. The incident naturally caused a great stir in the Madras Presidency and when the matter was represented to the higher authorities they promptly set it right by arranging for the restoration of the marriage ring to its owner. We are curious to know

if any action has been taken by Government to mark their displeasure at the want of imagination displayed by the magistrate in question.

* * *

Prevention of Har'

THE official attempts to prevent hartals have only served to add to the difficulties of the merchants, none too few at the present time. They seem to find themselves really between the devil and the deep sea. If they keep their shops open in order to please the officials, they hardly do any business and in the bargain incur the displeasure of their customers for not respecting public sentiment, whereas if they participate in a hartal, they run the risk, according to the official view of the matter, of their shops being locked and sealed, as was done at Surat, under Government orders, and as a matter of fact participation in a hartal has in some cases resulted in imprisonment. At Farrukhabad and Surat e. g. some merchants were asked to apologise for their failure to keep their shops open on a particular day and on their refusing to do so are reported to have been sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment with a small fine. At Cawnpore too, we find, a merchant was fined Rs. 500 for observing hartal. Some merchants of Dholera in Ahmedabad district also have had to pay a heavy penalty for closing their shops as a protest against the arrest of some volunteers. The position of the Cawnpore merchants has apparently become very delicate as a result of the official attentions paid to them with the result that some of them at any rate seem to have decided to secure mental peace for themselves by closing their shops indefinitely and leaving for their native places.

* * *

"Sickening Abuse of Power."

A CASE of what the *Leader* is constrained to characterise as "sickening abuse of power" is reported from Saharanpur. The police there, it would seem, arrested two Congress volunteers, and instead of sending them to the jail, blackened their faces and carried them in a procession with a posse of constables armed with *lathis* through the main streets of the town. They are also stated to have followed the unworthy example of their *confreeres* in Bombay in removing some women pickets to a distance of some miles from the town and leaving them there in a helpless condition. The only way to stop such police excesses is by making an example of some of them. Let us see how the U. P. Government deals with the offending police men.

* * *

"Firm Rule" in Bombay.

WE in Bombay are at present experiencing something of the "tightening up" of the administration in this presidency and "the firm handling" of the situation by the local Government for which the London correspondent of the *Leader* has been preparing us.

The latest indication of such strong rule is the blank cheque the Bombay Government have given to the police in the matter of firing on mobs. It is true that on some occasions in recent days the behaviour of the Bombay crowds has not been altogether peaceful. But that is no justification for the unrestrained authorisation to the police to resort to firing in order to disperse mobs they may consider violent. To do so is to give evidence of a needlessly panicky temper and to remove all safeguards against the possible use of excessive force by the police. Luckily there has been no occasion so far for the exercise of this extraordinary power by the police; but it is to be hoped that the Bombay Government will take an early opportunity of rescinding this order the possible misuse of which will be fraught, as can be easily imagined, with disastrous consequences. The preventive provisions of Section 144, Cr. Pr. C. have been, quite unjustifiably in our opinion, used in Poona for stopping public meetings and processions in furtherance of civil disobedience. Not that there was a plethora of such meetings and processions in Poona and the need for such prohibition is somewhat difficult to see. There are complaints that on the only occasion on which there was a lathi charge in Poona the use of force was not limited strictly to the minimum requirements of the situation.

Forcible Closing of a Hospital.

A HOSPITAL conducted at Madura under unofficial auspices for giving first-aid and medical treatment to persons injured in lathi charges was recently closed under Government orders and the articles found therein seized. One fails to appreciate such drastic action in the case of an obviously non-political institution. If the Government suspected that the place served as a Congress centre, its closure should at least have been preceded by a warning to its organisers. But to stop such humanitarian work merely on suspicion that the hospital was used as a place for promoting the Congress cause seems too high-handed even for a Government out to smash the Congress.

Some Recent Arrests.

AMONG the persons arrested last week may be mentioned Mr. Sarat Bose, brother of Mr. Subhas Bose. Action was taken against him under Regulation III of 1818 and he is being lodged with his brother in Seoni Jail. Mr. Devidas Gandhi, youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi, was also arrested at Delhi on his way to the Frontier Province.

The situation in the N. W. F. P.

WHILE news about happenings in that province continues to be scarce, an interpellation in the Assembly has elicited the information that prisoners in the Frontier jails number more than 10,000, while the number of those detained under the N.W.F.P. Ordinance was in excess of 6,000. Some Moslem public men who recently visited the province with a view to acquaint themselves with the situation at first hand have come back apparently none too pleased with the manner in which the inhabitants of that province have been treated by the authorities. Their impression is that repression of a drastic kind is at work in that province. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference which cannot be charged with any anti-Government bias had appointed a sub-committee to proceed to the N.W. F.P. in order to study the situation on the spot. This Committee appears to have been promised by the Foreign Secretary the necessary facilities in their inquiry which, they complain, were not forthcoming.

Even so, they came back convinced that all was not well with the administration of that province, and apparently as a result of their recommendation, the Working Committee of the Conference has demanded an independent inquiry into the recent events in that Province and the immediate stoppage of repression. It goes further and asks for the withdrawal of the Ordinances now applicable to that province without which, it thinks, the new reforms cannot be successful, for the release of persons not convicted of violent crimes, and for the transfer of officers found guilty of ruthless and unjustified repression. Similar demands are proceeding from Mahomedans of other places as well. It remains to be seen how the Government deals with these demands.

In the meantime it may be some comfort to be told by the London correspondent of the *Leader* that "a highly competent informant in very close touch with official circles here expressed the confident hope that it would be possible within a very few weeks to revoke the Ordinances."

Unsettled Conditions in Kashmir.

CONDITIONS of life in Kashmir State are from all accounts in an unsettled state at present and His Highness' subjects in some parts of the State do not seem to enjoy any security of life and property. According to an official *communiqué* 28 villages have recently been burnt in one tahasil. How such an atrocity became possible in the year of grace 1932 passes our understanding. The presence of troops sent by the Government of India to aid the State forces in the restoration of peace is no doubt having a reassuring effect on the population; but it is equally true that the establishment of peace in the State will take some time more. The Muslim rebels have in a few places succeeded in terrifying the Hindus to the extent of making them seek refuge in British territory. What adds to their misfortunes is the long period for which these disorders have lasted. This does not speak well for the Paramount Power's sense of responsibility for the welfare of the people of the Indian States and for its capacity to protect them from rebellious attacks when the State forces have failed to secure to them that protection. The latest reports however show that the situation is not now quite as bad as it was a few days ago; but should it again unfortunately deteriorate, it is hoped the Government of India will lose no time in taking more vigorous action intended to restore peace to that State.

Attempted Assassination of Sir Stanley Jackson.

THE recent attempt on the life of the Governor of Bengal will, we doubt not, be viewed with horror by the whole of sane and sober opinion in the country. On Saturday last H. E. Sir Stanley Jackson was addressing the annual convocation of the Calcutta University when a girl degree-holder fired five shots at him in quick succession. Luckily owing to the presence of mind shown by the Governor all the shots missed their target and the Governor had really a miraculous escape from death. The intervention of the Vice-Chancellor, Col. Suhrawardy, was also instrumental in saving the Governor's life. The emergence of young girls as assassins is a new feature of revolutionary crime in Bengal which however by no means lessens the heinous character of the offence. It is time the revolutionaries saw the complete futility of their violent methods which cannot be said to have brought Indian swaraj even a day nearer. Such violence only goes to strengthen the hands of British reactionaries in their demand for coercive action against the nationalist movement in this country.

Articles.

CONCILIATION THE ONLY REMEDY.

THE resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of the Indian Liberal Party with regard to the present situation, which will be found elsewhere in this issue, will show how the Liberals feel on the subject. They condemn the present repressive policy of the Government no less strongly than any other party in the country. Indeed they have been unable to see clearly the need for the Ordinances which the Viceroy promulgated early last month, as the party's demand for their repeal contained in their Allahabad resolutions will show. No prophet is however needed to forecast that in the present temper of the Government it is too much to expect that this demand will be acted upon by them. In this case the Liberals as practical politicians urge the Government to make substantial modifications in the Ordinances, which are universally regarded as being of too sweeping a character, "so as to restrict their scope to the minimum necessities of the situation." This is the least the Government ought to do and will, we hope, do to meet public opinion before the situation is hopelessly aggravated.

But the one resolution to which pointed attention deserves to be drawn more than to any other is where the Liberals express their unequivocal dissent from the policy of no compromise with the Congress which has recently become a current coin in official circles. Nobody who is at all in touch with public opinion in the country can help feeling that it is a short-sighted policy and one which fails to give due weight to the extent of Congress influence. In his speech at the European Association dinner in Calcutta towards the close of December last, the Viceroy himself described the Congress as the only active political organisation in the country. Can the Government afford to ignore such an important party in the manner they apparently intend to do? If the Government persist in the unwise and imprudent course of alienating the Congress, they may be sure that any reforms, however liberal, that they may grant to India will stand little chance of being successfully worked. It is in order to ensure a calm consideration of these reforms by the country that the Government would do well to conciliate the Congress. This is a fundamental fact of the situation which nobody having the true and abiding interest of the country at heart can afford to lose sight of even for a moment. In this connection the *Leader* puts some pertinent questions to the Government:

"But what will be the end of it all? Do the Government contemplate that they will never have to take cognisance of Congress or Gandhi? Can they avoid this at one stage or another before the last is reached? Will they renew the Ordinances and confine imprisoned Congressmen in jail for ever and a day? If they do not, what is their plan?"

The fact is, as pointed out by the same paper, that "they cannot root Congress and Congressmen and Congress ideas out of existence" nor can they "succeed in making the country effectively anti-Congress." It is also equally clear that "they cannot win affection by coercion."

What, then, is the remedy? To quote the same paper once more:

"*Conciliation* will have to be the method if not today, tomorrow; if not tomorrow, the day after. The slogan of "No Compromise" must yield place to the wholesome formula of healing conciliatory measures. If this is so—and we believe with our whole being that it is so—obviously, the sooner the better, for then bitterness will cease to grow and success will be less difficult."

It is to be hoped that the force of these wise words will not be lost on the Government.

INDIAN LABOUR AND THE R. T. C.

(Continued from our last issue.)

UNIFORM LABOUR LEGISLATION.

AS regards the powers and functions of the proposed Federation, there are some points which deserve special mention from the point of view of the workers. The first of these is the place of Labour Legislation in the Federal Constitution. The present position of this subject is that while Labour Welfare is a provincial subject, it is subject to central legislation, provincial legislatures being empowered to legislate in regard to labour matters with the previous sanction of the Government of India. Although the Central Legislature legislates on labour matters it has no power to spend money on that object, as Labour Welfare is a provincial function. The Federal Structure Committee had, so far as British India is concerned, practically retained the *status quo* except that the Provincial Legislatures need not hereafter seek the previous sanction of the Government of India for passing any labour legislation. The Federal Structure Committee has not made any definite recommendation that the Central Government should have power to spend money to carry out its legislation in labour matters. In the absence of such a provision, difficulties are bound to arise when the Central Government undertakes legislation for the provision of Social Insurance including Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, etc. which require contributions from the State for the carrying out of the legislation. While the Central Government will have no power to spend its own money on these matters, it is equally doubtful whether it will be empowered to pass legislation requiring contributions from the Provincial Governments. The only alternative is that such legislation will have to throw the whole burden of Social Insurance on the industry, without expecting any contribution from the State, which is against British practice.

Even if this difficulty is removed, it will not meet the needs of Labour in the country if it is provided that there should be central legislation only for British India. Several industries in British In-

dia have already begun to be affected by the competition of similar industries in the Indian States, which will continue to happen more and more in the future. Therefore the need for labour legislation common to the whole of India including the Indian States has become very urgent. The Whitley Commission has recognised this need, and has emphasised the desirability of Labour Legislation being made a Federal subject. It has also recommended the establishment of a Statutory Industrial Council. Even this cannot be formed for the whole of India unless the Federal Legislature has power to pass legislation on this subject. The inconvenience due to the Federal Legislature not being competent to pass Labour Legislation is felt in several countries with federal constitutions. In the United States of America the industries in the New England States are adversely affected in competition with the industries in the Southern States, on account of the backward Labour Legislation in the latter. For the same reason, both in the United States and in Canada, it has been found that while the State and Provincial Governments are unable to cope with the problem of unemployment, they experience a difficulty in dealing with the question federally for want of legislative power.

RATIFICATION OF I. L. CONVENTIONS.

Connected with the subject of Labour Legislation is the subject of the ratification of Conventions of the International Labour Conference. At present it is the Government of India that ratifies these Conventions on behalf of British India unless the Convention itself provides for a limited ratification. But a Convention which does not specifically limit its applicability to British India, must be ratified on behalf of the whole of India including the Indian States, as India as a whole and not only British India is a member of the League of Nations. Some Conventions have thus been irregularly ratified. But no complaints have been made about this irregularity either by the International Labour Organisation or by the Indian workers as such a course would only result in non-ratification even by British India, ratification being at the option of each State member of the Organisation. In the proposed Federal Constitution, foreign affairs is a Crown subject under the sole authority of the Governor General who would of course be responsible to the British Government. The Governor General being in charge of foreign affairs will have authority to ratify the Conventions of the International Labour Conference. But he will have no authority to legislate on Labour matters, and so will have no power to implement the ratification. Thus although in theory he may have the power to ratify these Conventions he will in practice not be able to exercise it. The Report of the Federal Structure Committee envisages the desirability of leaving foreign affairs, so far as they are concerned with the commercial and economic relations of India with other countries, to the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature. If this is done the ratification of International Labour Conventions can very easily be left to the authority of the Federal Government and the Federal

Legislature. But even then the main difficulty about ratification will still remain if the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature are to have no authority to legislate on Labour matters for the whole of India including the Indian States.

Thus the authority of the Federal Government to ratify the Conventions will be limited, and according to Article 405, (9) of the Treaty of Peace, where the authority of a Federal Government to ratify Conventions is limited, the Conventions may be treated as Recommendations. But a Recommendation has not the same binding force as a Convention: when a Convention is ratified it becomes an international agreement, and the ratifying Government is bound to give effect to it both in the spirit and in the letter. But the effect to be given and the action to be taken on a Recommendation, when accepted, is left entirely to the option of the Government concerned. Therefore, when the authority of the Federal Government to ratify Conventions is limited, whatever little protection the International Labour Organisation may give to the workers is completely lost. This has been amply proved by experience. While a comparatively backward country like India, under a unitary form of Government and with full authority to ratify Conventions, has so far ratified eleven Conventions, Canada and Australia whose Governments do not possess full authority have each ratified only four which deal with maritime labour, a subject only in regard to which they possess full authority to legislate. Therefore it is necessary that the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature should possess power to legislate on Labour matters and to ratify the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation for the whole of India.

PROVISION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

The workers' representatives at the Round Table Conference have demanded that the Indian Constitution should explicitly provide for certain well-known fundamental rights. It is true that these rights are not and cannot be a substitute for legislation giving effect to them. But they have considerable moral value, inasmuch as they bind the State to the acceptance of certain principles. In a country like Great Britain, these principles are not now challengeable, but in a country like India, even the enunciation and acceptance of these principles have a definite use. The fundamental rights which are demanded on behalf of the workers are as follows:—

“ Recognising that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of the workers of India is of supreme importance in assuring the peace, progress and prosperity of the country, and recalling the solemn obligations of India as a Member of the League of Nations, and of the International Labour Organisation, to endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, and to collaborate in the international settlement of social justice, the Federation declares the following principles to be accepted as fundamental principles of the constitution, and as regulating the exercise of the legislative, executive and judicial powers within the Federation:—

(1) It is the duty of every citizen so to use his mental and bodily powers as to contribute to the welfare of the community, and correspondingly it is the duty of the

community to secure, as far as lies in its power, that every citizen shall be given the training and opportunities necessary to enable him to maintain by his work a decent standard of living.

(3) The Indian Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, the securing of a living wage for every worker and provision against the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment.

(3) The protection of motherhood and the rearing of the rising generation to physical, mental and social efficiency are of special concern to the Federation. Women, young persons and children shall, therefore, be protected against moral, spiritual or bodily injury or neglect and against exploitation and excessive or unsuitable employment.

(4) The welfare of those who labour shall be under the special protection of the Federation and the conditions of Labour shall be regulated, from time to time as may be necessary, with a view to their progressive improvement.

(5) The right of workers to express their opinion frankly by speech, writing or other means, and to meet in peaceful assembly and to form associations for the consideration and furtherance of their interests, shall be granted by the Federation. Laws regulating the exercise of this right shall not discriminate against any individual or class of citizens on the grounds of religious faith, political opinion or social position.

(6) No breach of contract of service or abatement thereof shall be made a criminal offence.

(7) The Federation shall co-operate with other nations in order to secure the realisation of the principle of social justice throughout the world.

(8) All citizens in the Federation have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of caste or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institutions maintained or aided by the State, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority.

(9) All citizens are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights.

(10) All citizens have an equal right of access to and use of public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort."

Some minorities and interests, in demanding the insertion in the Constitution of certain fundamental rights, have made proposals which, in my view, are not in the best interests of the country and will in fact retard progress. Some of these in seeking to protect the different religions, cultures and languages will only serve to perpetuate and intensify differences and prevent the country from being a united nation at any time. The people must doubtless possess religious freedom, but surely religion must be kept in its proper place, viz. in the heart. We ought certainly to try to maintain our respective cultures but cannot afford to introduce anarchy into our educational system. We may retain our pride in our own languages, but we must prevent India from becoming a Tower of Babel. It is also wrong to insert a provision in the Constitution which would prevent the future Government of India from resuming for the use of the community all the natural resources in the country such as land, water, air and minerals, either with compensation or when necessary, even without it. It is not intended to advocate that it is always good policy to confiscate private property without compensation, but it is wrong to deprive

the State, as the Trustee on behalf of the community, of its undoubted sovereignty over all the natural resources of the country.

N. M. JOSHI.

(Concluded.)

Reviews.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENTS.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENTS. (Section of Economic Relations: League of Nations.) 1931. 24cm. 39p.

THE Section of Economic Relations of the Secretariat of the League of Nations has just issued a pamphlet entitled "General Report on the Economic Aspects of International Industrial Agreements." This report was prepared by four experts who have specialised on the question of cartels and have already published a study on various international industrial agreements.

In this general report the writers set before themselves two problems:—(1) Are industrial agreements capable of enabling the markets to be more regularly supplied at more favourable prices? (2) Are they capable of establishing a better balance between world production and international trade and would these mitigate the harmful effects of excessive customs protection? It is now recognised that big international combinations or trusts are a powerful factor in the social and economic life of the world and it is a great service that the authors have been able to give serious attention to the subject so full of potentialities for the future of the world.

The existence and growth of these combines have been relatively recent and so far it has been difficult to work out sufficiently definite conclusions. But Professors Antonio St Benni, M. Clemmens Lammers, M. Lois Marlio and M. Aloys Meyer have not shirked an investigation. They set forth their analysis as follows: (1) International agreements certainly constitute an important attempt to remedy certain disadvantages of the present economic evolution, but they do not apply to all products and though they may mitigate economic crises it is not in their power to abolish them. (2) Further, these agreements are liable to error, and even abuse, but experience shows that they very quickly pay for any mistaken policy and that their very existence may be imperilled by a false step. It can be shown that especially when agreements are of long duration, their interests definitely coincide with the general interests. (3) Agreements do not abolish competition but limit it and such a limitation is not to be regretted since although competition is a good thing when it gives rise to research and progress in a technical or commercial sphere it is not desirable when it leads to the destruction of capital representing savings accumulated with great difficulty. In the opinion of these experts it is the world crisis that brought out the present developments of international agreements to mitigate or reduce its consequences. The expert authors conclude by indicating that viewing the subject from a higher angle, contacts of long duration between men and material interests of the different countries constitute a valuable guarantee for peace and goodwill and the political stability of nations.

We commend this very interesting pamphlet to all students of trade and industry, whether national or international and though it is difficult to agree

with the authors that such international agreements are all that they are represented to be, it is an undoubted economic fact of modern times. It is as though Marx's prophecy would justify itself in regard to the interpretation of economic policy. For all thinkers and actors in the economic drama of the world this study must be prolific in possibilities of analysis and action. The projected establishment at Bombay of an office of the League of Nations should go a long way to interest the Indian politician and economist in the academic and statistical labour of the high priests of internationalism in economic and political process.

S. V. AYYAR.

THE INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA AND ABROAD.

By S. S. TALMAKI. (Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.) 1931. 20cm. 502p. Rs. 3/8.

CO-OPERATION as a means of economic betterment came to be officially recognised in our country about thirty years ago. The progress of the movement during this period has been slow in all branches excepting the credit side, while even here it is not free from defects. It would not have been difficult to realise a fairer record if only sufficient emphasis had been laid from the start on the necessity and importance of co-operative education and propaganda. Illiteracy has been a serious obstacle. Paucity of good co-operative literature to guide the workers is another. When books written from the Indian standpoint by experienced workers are rare, the present work of Rao Bahadur Talmaki will be welcomed with great delight by all co-operators.

The author, as a co-operative missionary for the past twenty-five years and as the secretary of the Bombay Co-operative Institute since its foundation, is in intimate touch with the movement in all its branches. Realising the difficulties and the needs of the workers he has planned his book in a thoroughly practical manner. After enumerating the general principles underlying the movement each branch of it is discussed separately from the point of view of its theory and practice in other countries and its development in India. While dealing with India the author is unreserved in his appreciation or condemnation as the case may be and always suggests remedies and the future course of action.

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas in his foreword after paying well deserved compliments to the author sums up the value of the work as follows :—

"The book which will prove a *vade mecum* for all co-operators in India and for all foreign students of Indian co-operation gives information about the history and growth of the various sides of the movement both in India and in all foreign countries where the movement has taken root. It shows the deep and vast study of the subject by the author, who has not confined himself only to the giving of the history of the inception and growth of the movement in other countries; but has made very valuable suggestions for its expansion in various directions in this country. As these suggestions are based not merely on study of books but on actual practical work in the field, they deserve the careful consideration of all those interested in making the movement successful in all its branches."

This just and correct estimate of the work by the veteran co-operator should serve as the best recommendation for it.

S. GOPALASWAMY.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE WORLD IN THE BALANCE. By COLIN ROSS. (Routledge.) 1930. 21cm. 214p. 10/6.

MR. COLIN ROSS has presented to us in this book his view of the world problems in the post-War era—a view gained, as he himself claims, by long and continuous travel for over twenty years in different parts of the world. The book is written from the point of view of Europe and the author discusses world problems from an European angle, with a view to warn the European nations of the dangers that face them and what he considers to be the best method of getting over them. European nations had hitherto considered themselves unassailable in any field and were able to domineer over weaker and backward nations by their superior technology and skill in science. They had also very easy means of expansion and colonisation in backward Asia and Africa. But nowadays these conditions have changed. Asiatic countries are no longer in the same backward state as they were nor are they willing to be the dumping ground for European nations. They have discovered themselves and in doing so have been seriously disputing the claims of European superiority. The problem therefore now is for European nations to discover new ways and new places of colonization and expansion.

The author deplores the antagonisms between European nations which make concerted action amongst them difficult, but he is hopeful that the "West is still strong enough to create a new world hypothesis capable, with the help of an incomparably better civilization in external and technical matters, of changing the face of the earth."

To the westerners the author's warning is that their unbounded belief in technology will not enable them to save their own civilisation unless they develop a spiritual hypothesis, but he advocates as a remedy not a return to nature but only more and more technology. This is a remedy which may or may not prove successful, but in Mr. Ross's opinion it means an advance forward, a great advance which would revolutionise the present conceptions of time and place by increasing man's power over them.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

INDIA'S PAST. A SURVEY OF HER LITERATURES, RELIGIONS, LANGUAGES AND ANTIQUITIES. BY A. A. MACDONELL (Oxford University Press.) 20cm. 293p. 10/-

MR. A. A. MACDONELL'S is a name to be received with consideration, if not respect, among the circles of esoteric erudists called "Indologists". It is, of course, a rather intriguing point that at least sixty per cent. of the sum total of "Indologists" seem to be of foreign origin, whereas the proportion of that useful section of humanity in India itself, who are interested in the mysteries of her past, form only a negligible contribution to the array of "Indologists" throughout the rest of the world. However, that is a purely academic question relevant to the jealous psychologist. What strikes one in handling this book is, indeed, the queer fact that all the learned pages of its extensive survey do not whip the reader (at any rate the Indian reader) into the same live consciousness of the chronicled growth and glories of India's Past as a stray newspaper article by Tagore or Sarojini Naidu will do.

"This work summarises India's intellectual history... It sets forth... the mental development of the... Aryan civilization... till it came in contact..." etc. The above is an attempt to quote the author's explanation of the scope of the book, but as such prefatory dis-

sertations are a too common feature of the plethora of condescending modern Indologist books, we need not go into details over it. "During these four centuries," the author goes on to say, "the newcomers from the West have gained acquaintance with and recovered the history of India's past mental development." Oh, and have they really? But we are puzzled over it all. How can this dry masterpiece of sheer intellectual grind "contribute something to clearer mutual understanding by two civilizations" when we know that only very recently, the most beloved and responsible representative of the Indian people, within a few days of his setting foot on his native soil after a "mutual, round-table talk" with the members of the "other civilization" overseas, was clapped into jail like an escaped convict by the same people who had been "conferring" with him on "equal footing"?

The contents of this book include, among other things, "The Recovery of India's Past: (a) Epigraphy, (b) Numismatics."

A. MADHAVA MENON.

THE NATION'S VOICE: GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES IN ENGLAND AND SPT. MAHADEV DESAI'S ACCOUNT OF THE SO-JOURN. [September to December 1931.] Ed. by C. RAJAGOPALACHAR & J. C. KUMARAPPA. (Navajvan Press, Ahmedabad) 1932. 22cm. 340 p. Rs. 2.

INDIA'S CASE FOR SWARAJ. By GANDHI. Ed. by WAMAN P. KABADI. (The Editor, Vallabh Mansion, Forjett Street, Bombay.) 19cm. 157p. Re. 1.

THE second session of the R. T. C. was made memorable by Mahatma Gandhi's participation in it. His speeches in the Federal Structure Sub-committee and in the plenary session of the Conference were reported in full in Indian journals at the time. The public was also treated every week in the pages of *Young India* to an attractively written account of his doings outside the Conference from the pen of Mr. Mahadeobhai Desai. All this is now brought out in convenient book form in "The Nation's Voice" for which the publishers must be heartily thanked. The book also contains the full texts of both the speeches of the Prime Minister made in bringing the proceedings of the two sessions of the R. T. C. to a close and the constitutional clauses of the Gandhi-Irwin pact all which considerably enhances the utility of the publication.

The second book is also largely devoted to a reproduction of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches in England. But it is doubtful if it reproduces in extenso all the speeches made by him in the R. T. C. and the Federal Structure Sub-Committee. The short editorial prefaces to some of the speeches found in the book appear to be more misleading than helpful. In any case those who want a fuller and more reliable report of the speeches of the Congress representative are sure to turn almost instinctively to the *Nava-Jivan* publication. That these two publications should have made their appearance so soon after the occurrences to which they relate is a testimony alike of the widespread public interest in the Indian constitutional problem, and the Mahatmas's popularity.

M. P. K.

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN HISTORY (1851-1926). By J. SALWYN-SCHAPIRO. (Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 21cm. 840p. 15/-

It is perhaps only too true that an outsider can watch

and understand a game better than those who take part in it. The American writers have given us some of the best books on modern European history. This book is another example of this type. It is a history of Europe from the end of the French Revolution right up to our own times. The history of the last century makes pleasant reading. The author seems to have a special knack of arranging facts and of interpreting the consequences of events, in an admirable manner. He does not confine himself to only political questions but also discusses the social questions and the industrial development of the period.

The real value of this book lies in the fact that it is perhaps the only one that gives us the history of the post-war period. A number of developments in European polity have taken place as a consequence of the Great War. This book gives a full and detailed account of them.

The book is richly illustrated with maps, which are indispensable to a study of history of different nations. An interesting Reparation Chart has also been added. It must be said that it is this kind of treatment of history that makes its study fascinating.

M. S. CHEEMA.

THE KEY TO THEOSOPHY. BY H. P. BLAVATSKY. (Theosophy Co. Ltd., 51 Esplanade Road, Bombay.) 1931. 20cm. 257p. Re. 1.

MADAME BLAVATSKY, the founder and the first President of the Theosophical Society, wrote this book in 1889, as a key to unlock the door to the deeper study of Divine wisdom. It is written in the form of questions and answers and tries to meet the objections raised by the average western inquirer. That it would make theosophy intelligible without mental effort is too much to expect. To the mentally lazy or obscure, as the author says, theosophy must remain a riddle and hence it is no wonder that some obscurities would remain owing to the depth of thought which the reader must fathom by his own mental effort. The writer cannot obviously do the reader's thinking for him. The book was meant to supply authoritative information, stripped as far as possible from technicalities, to many whose attention has been awakened but who are as yet merely puzzled and not convinced. In short, as the publishers have said, it is a clear exposition of philosophy and ethics for the study of which the theosophical movement was inaugurated as far back as 1875.

V. C. GOKHALE.

A MISCELLANY OF FRAUDS AND DEFALCATIONS. BY G. R. FREEMAN. (GEC. & Co. Ltd., 8 KIRBY STREET, E. C. 1.) 19cm. 23p. 1/-

THIS booklet embodies a lecture delivered to the Chartered Accountant Students' Society by Mr. Freeman last year. It is an interesting collection of cases of fraud and defalcation come across by the author in his capacity as a professional auditor, and as such should prove useful both to the practising auditor and to the student of accountancy. The emphasis laid at the end of the booklet on the efficiency of internal audit, scrutiny of bank pass books, the measure of responsibility of an auditor in connection with title and mortgage deeds and other legal documents, should be thoroughly borne in mind by all engaged in the auditor's profession.

K. D. A.

THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM. By LEWIS WATT. (The Catholic Social Guild, Oxford.) 1931. 19cm. 72p. 1/-

IN these days of labour unrest and Bolshevism spreading its claws everywhere, the general belief among laymen is that the days of capitalism are numbered. But capitalism in one form or another is bound to remain so long as human nature is what it is and the author of this brochure has examined most of the substitutes and remedies proposed for doing away with the evils of capitalism. He has pointed out the defects and dangers of them all and concludes in substance that capitalism only when associated with Catholicism would remedy most of the social evils and bring economic peace. In short, so long as greed does not leave man and capitalists do not rise above their petty self, the consequent social inequality would not vanish. This can be gleaned from a perusal of this brochure in which the modern and latest theories of doing away with social inequality propounded by eminent economists have been neatly summarised and examined.

V. P. RAVERKAR.

Miscellaneous.

INDIAN LIBERALS ON THE SITUATION.

THE Council of the National Liberal Federation of India met at Allahabad on the 7th inst. to consider the present political situation. The Council passed the following resolutions on the subject :-

NO ADVANCE ON FEDERATION.

While it is satisfactory that the policy announced by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Labour Government at the conclusion of the first session of the Round Table Conference, was reaffirmed at the conclusion of the second session and endorsed by both Houses of the British Parliament and that the Committees announced in December for carrying on the work of the Conference have since been set up and have begun to function, the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India are constrained to record their sense of disappointment that, owing mainly to the attitude of the Government, no encouraging progress was made at the Conference on the proposed scheme of All-India Federation and no conclusion was reached on the proposed reservations and safeguards.

The Council further express their dissatisfaction at the composition of the Round Table Conference Committees as being insufficiently representative of progressive Indian opinion and as including no single representative of British India on the Federal Finance Committee nor can the Council omit to notice that all the Committees have been nominated by the Prime Minister and none were elected by the Conference itself.

WIDE-SPREAD BITTERNESS.

The Council are gravely concerned at the alarming developments in the recent weeks which have

produced a most acute and widespread bitterness in the public mind. It is the considered opinion of the Council that the no-rent campaign in U. P., the refusal of the Viceroy to see Mr. Gandhi, the revival of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the promulgation of a number of Ordinances almost boundless in scope and their administration without discrimination are calculated to increase bitterness, retard progress and make a settlement more difficult than ever. In particular the Council are bound to stress the adverse effect of some provisions of the Ordinances on trade, indigenous industry and the promotion of Swadeshi.

The Council strongly dissent from the policy of no compromise with the Congress announced by His Excellency the Viceroy and resent the language of the Secretary of State in his latest speech. The Council are of opinion that the Government and the people of India can have peace only by substitution of conciliation for coercion and by a prompt and practical recognition of the right of the people to real self-government.

DEMAND FOR REPEAL OF ORDINANCES.

The Council urge in this behalf :-

- (a) Repeal or at least substantial modification of the Ordinances so as to restrict their scope to the minimum necessities of the situation ;
- (b) Their enforcement with justice and humanity and to no greater extent than may be indispensable ;
- (c) The inauguration of a policy of conciliation ;
- (d) Conclusion with the utmost expedition of preparation for the introduction of the new constitution, responsible central Government being a most vital part of it ; and
- (e) The effectuation without any delay of all advance possible under the present Government of India Act .

The Council must state that in the absence of a policy such as has been outlined above, it is becoming increasingly difficult for any political party of Indians to continue the part of co-operation with the Government.

The Council also adopted a resolution urging the people to buy Indian goods.

BOOKS RECEIVED,

- PROBLEMS OF WORLD ECONOMY. By V. G. KALE (University of Madras.) 1931. 25cm. 163p. Rs. 2.
- MALABAR AND THE DUTCH. By K. M. PANIKKAR. (Taraporevalla, Bombay.) 1931. 25cm. 187p. Rs. 6.
- PRANAYAMA. Part 1. By SRIMAT KUALAYANANDA (Author, Lonavla.) 1931. 21cm. 156p. Rs. 2/8.
- THE SACRED KURAL OR THE TAMIL VEDA OF TIRU-VALLUVAR. By H. A. POPLEY. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1931. 18cm. 120p. Re. 1/4.
- GANDHIJI IN ENGLAND AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. (B. C. Paul & Co., Madras.) 1932. 18cm. 241p. Re. 1/8.
- INDIA'S CASE FOR SWARAJ. By MAHATMA GANDHI. (Waman P. Kabadt, Vallabh Mansion, Forjett Street, Bombay.) 18cm. 157p. Re. 1.