

The Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	397
ARTICLES :—	
The Bombay Convocation Address	399
The Malabar Tenancy Bill. By P. Kodanda Rao ...	400
How to Keep Minorities Happy ?	401
Cottage Industries in Madras. By V. Venkata- subbaiya	403
REVIEWS :—	
Failure of Liberal Idealism. By Rev. Fr. O. C. Clarke	405
International Law and Relations. By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer	406
Personal Freedom and Communism. By S. G. Sardesai	407
Short Notices	408
Books Received	408

Topics of the Week.

The Sind Floods.

THE heavy rainfall during last week and the bursting of the Shyok Dam have together created a serious situation in Sind causing immense anxiety. Many towns and villages have been under water and people have been obliged to take shelter in railway wagons or to go to the highlands. As there was some danger apprehended to the Sukkur Barrage the machinery and the dredgers were removed from the danger zone to safer places; both the Indus banks near it were patrolled day and night and sand bags had been collected for protection against the rising floods. The authorities took early precautions by posting notices of evacuation in low-lying tracts and villages; the Chief Engineers of Sind and the Barrage issued instructions to all the engineers to guard the bunds in co-operation with the revenue authorities. The help of the military authorities was also obtained to meet the situation at Hyderabad as well as the surrounding areas. On August 25, however, the Sukkur Barrage was declared entirely free from danger since the peak had been reached and water was going down after reaching the level of 15'3 feet. On the same day the whole of Sind was reported to be free from danger from the Shyok Dam flood although it is said that heavy rains may delay the fall or may even cause a slight rise in the flood. The low level at Mithankote has reassured the engineering authorities that the worst is over. The heavy rain has however caused several breaches in the N.-W. Railway, and communication has been interrupted. It is creditable to the Punjab Government that they had already in anticipation devised a system of warning and an organization for evacuation in case the Shyok Dam burst. It was owing to these precautions that the floods passed by Attock without the

loss of a single human life. The rainfall has caused great damage to the standing crops and it is apprehended that any further rain will cause utter misery and ruin to the agriculturists. Thus Sind will require an amount of relief for the next few months. The Sind authorities ought to copy the example of the Punjab Government which has already offered Rs. 2 lakhs as takavi for purchasing seed, replacing cattle, &c. in one district alone. Suspension of land revenue will of course be necessary owing to the actual loss of present crops as well as poor prospects of rabi crops. In any case one has to be thankful that a great danger has been averted in Sind which might easily have proved more ruinous.

A Strategic Retreat.

A VERY intriguing situation has been created by the publication of a new Legislative Assembly Rule intended to prevent the President from blocking the passage of a Bill through the House and of the news at the same time that the Public Safety Bill which was the cause of all this pother is not going to be proceeded with. The Public Safety Ordinance will expire in October, and if the Government of India is not going in the meanwhile to arm itself with a regular law passed by the Legislature, it has to all intents and purposes accepted the advice which Mr. Patel tendered to it when the Public Safety Bill was before the Assembly. He contended that a discussion of the merits of the measure could not be conducted without prejudice to the trial of the accused in the Meerut case and that therefore the only alternatives open to Government were to proceed either with the Bill or with the prosecution, dropping the other. If the Government now takes power to itself to proceed with the Bill concurrently with the prosecution but elects not to proceed with it, then its action can only be understood as a strategic retreat. Nor is it clear that the new Rule gives Government the power which it is designed to give, for it says that the President will be debarred from holding up a Bill unless expressly prohibited "by any provision of the Government of India Act, these Rules or Standing Orders." Mr. Patel's contention was that Standing Rules precluded him from letting a debate of the Public Safety Bill go forward when a prosecution involving identical issues had been launched; and these Standing Orders are to be interpreted by the President himself. It is therefore more than doubtful if the new Rule would have helped Government at all, if the latter had intended, as was generally expected, to pass the Bill. We shall however know soon after the Assembly meets what the Government's intentions are.

Village Organisation in Trichinopoly District

WE should invite attention to the work of village organisation in Kulitalai taluk of the district of Trichinopoly undertaken by Mr. Sivaswamy, a member of the S. I. Society. For a long time it has been

felt that the civic life of villages has been deficient in many respects, and the various conferences have indicated a striving towards a better cultural life in rural areas in the province of Madras. At the request of the Kulitalai Co-operative Union Mr. Sivaswamy was deputed to strengthen the Co-operative Society as the people's organisation for their economic advancement. In the beginning propaganda work for awakening the spirit of combination and self-confidence among the people had to be done; as for the economic problems connected with irrigation facilities and cottage industries a survey has been made of the various industries which would assist in increasing the earning capacity of the rayats and attempts will be made to start them in the years to come. It is also intended to perfect the Panchayat organization in which a start has been already made by Mr. C. N. Ramasesha Ayyar, honorary organizer of Panchayats. In the centres of a large Adidravida population three co-operative societies have been started and effective anti-drink propaganda work has been done in all the villages; in addition continuation courses in civics and morals, have been started in two centres, in which the health and agricultural leaflets issued by the several departments have been explained. It is a good sign that the workers from the Adidravida communities themselves are coming forth to assist in this work. Owing to the large part played by women in the agricultural occupations and even the subsidiary industries it was found necessary to appeal to them and to strive to create a broad outlook among them so that they might exercise healthy influence over men in all their activities. Mr. Sivaswamy says that so far there has been a very good response to this attempt to build up a healthy citizenship among the women in the villages by means of gatherings; it is hoped that these gatherings would be developed into regular organisations for giving discourses on sanitation, home economy, child training and allied subjects. In his opinion the expansion of the work of reconstruction requires the close and continuous attention of a full time worker in a central village and he has made an appeal to the district agencies to consolidate the work and in particular to the District Board. It is proposed to start a 'Village Organisation Centre' of the S. I. Society in Trichinopoly district; and it is hoped to enlist the sympathies of a number of voluntary workers among the educated classes. We hope the educated and wealthy classes will give their financial as well as moral support to the scheme.

* * *

Subjects stand Outside the Picture.

IN an editorial notice of the Chamber of Princes' publication entitled *The British Crown and the Indian States*, the July number of the *Journal* of the Royal Institute of International Affairs has some very weighty observations to make on the silence which Princes usually observe, in pressing their claims on the attention of the British Government, about the claims which their own subjects are so clamorously putting forward. It says:—

There is no recognition of the potential rights of the subjects of the States, or the part which they may look forward to playing. For it is almost impossible to envisage any form of federal constitution into which the States can be fitted, unless their subjects also are given constitutional government. The Butler Committee approach this difficult question delicately in para. 50 of their Report. We agree with them that there need arise no question of the "elimination" of the ruler. But his evolution into a constitutional monarch must surely involve a great modification of existing rights and privileges; and it is hard to see how in the long run the paramount power could lend its strength to preserving these in their entirety against a popular demand for change. Not the least factor there-

fore, among those contributing to the ultimate solution of the Indian political problem will be a change of attitude towards their subjects upon the part of the more old-fashioned Princes.

The *Journal* says quite plainly that the British Government cannot possibly guarantee the maintenance intact of all the existing rights and privileges of the Princes, for the Princes must surrender, in obedience to the time-spirit, several of their rights to the people in establishing constitutional government; and that the establishment of such government is not a matter left to their discretion but is a duty incumbent on them. If the Princes of their own accord do not surrender these rights and the people of the States are required to carry on an agitation for them, the British Government must support the people as against the Princes, and therefore as Paramount Power they can only guarantee such of the Princes' rights as belong to constitutional monarchs. Unless the Princes are willing to transform themselves into constitutional rulers, there can be no possibility of a federation such as the Princes sometimes dream of. This opinion of a body, whose competency to pronounce on constitutional questions is universally acknowledged, deserves to be noted, not merely by the Princes, but also by British Indian politicians who are apt to insist upon assuming control of the Princes' external relations in their own hands without stipulating for a standard form of government in internal administration in the States. If the Princes agree to confer with the All Parties Convention the latter must not ignore, like the Princes, the point of view of the subjects, but they must let it dominate the whole conversations.

* * *

Sir C. V. Raman at the Mysore University.

IN spite of its brevity Sir C. V. Raman's address delivered at the Convocation of the University of Mysore was highly stimulating. He dwelt on the pursuit of knowledge as being a sphere of activity which draws peoples of diverse lands and cultures together and creates a bond of sympathy and instanced the speedy reconciliation of England and Germany after the war. Since intellectual activity leads to a quickening of national life it is the leadership offered by the Universities that determines the level of national efficiency. Sir C. V. Raman deprecated a deadly routine of formal teaching at the University and pointed out that the teaching must lead to the development of individual freedom of study and work; he would call upon the Universities therefore to provide opportunities for research work for the student and teacher alike. In spite of some progress during the last ten years, the position in respect of scientific work is in his opinion still quite unsatisfactory. In view of the new movement for the synthesis of knowledge India with her well-known power of philosophic thought, he rightly thinks, may yet rise once again to the position of a leader in intellectual advance. Detailing the requisitions of the spirit of modern science he mentions rigour, logic, precision and the most rigid power of self-criticism and he recommends a University to promote an attitude of mind in which knowledge is not passively received in formal treatises but is generated as a result of criticism and personal investigation. We wonder how many Universities can answer to this description! Speaking of culture he says that a University ceases to be a temple of learning if it lends itself to the propagation of religious antagonisms; instead of this it ought to be a place where a broad tolerance enables men of divergent views to work together for a common cause. As for political unrest he said that the remedy was not a restriction of education but an extension of it and the promotion of its useful appli-

cations in the interests of national efficiency and wealth. He is of course in full sympathy with the idea of self-determination; only he stipulates that we should prepare ourselves for it by labour, study and thought and by engaging the services of our women along with men.

The Rieu-Patel Correspondence.

MR. VALLABHBHAI PATEL still feels aggrieved about certain errors in the Broomfield Report and has written several letters to Sir Louis Rieu stating his case. In the first place Mr. Patel's contention is that the Committee base their final proposals on rental data, in spite of their disapproval of that method, and those too very scanty. The percentage of increase is in many cases absolutely arbitrary and in individual cases there has been in his opinion anomalous grouping and rating; as for the general enhancement of dry crop rates the reasons given are in all cases flimsy. Mr. Patel adds that these cases could be dealt with by executive action. In his reply Sir Louis Rieu does not admit the main point in the dispute and observes that the Committee's proposals are not based solely on rental data; and in consideration of the unhesitating acceptance by Government of the proposals of the Committee he thinks that the landholders ought to do likewise instead of reopening the question. In a recent correspondence, Mr. Patel has given notice to Government that in case retrospective effect is not given to the proposed new legislation in the two talukas, along with the rest of the province he will have to press for it even at the risk of a revival of Satyagraha. As for the last point Sir Louis Rieu has in his reply repeated what he declared anent Mr. Pataskar's Resolution—which was passed by the Council a few days ago with Rao Bahadur Kale's amendment—that the Government are not prepared to give any undertaking at present that the revision of these two talukas will be further revised in the light of new legislation intended to amend radically the existing Land Revenue Code. It is too early to say much about the new legislation and its possibilities till we have been made aware of its leading principles; but even at present it can be safely laid down as a workable maxim that fresh legislation which is the result of overhauling and radical amendment ought to be utilized for rectifying recent cases of injustice.

The Public Accounts Committee.

THE important question of the control by the Finance Member over the Railway finances was raised by the Public Accounts Committee and many non-official members expressed an opinion that he had practically no control and that he had abdicated his functions to the Financial Commissioner of Railways. In fact Sir George Schuster admitted that latterly the Financial Commissioner had been tending to become more a railway man than a finance man, which he was essentially. He further agreed with Mr. K. C. Roy that the Railway Board were simply managers and that the real directors were the Railway Member and the Finance Member, the former being responsible for efficient management of the Railways while the latter was responsible for the general effect of the finances of the Government of India so far as they were related to the Railways. It would certainly not do to make the Railways a sort of *imperium in imperio*, trying to set up an authority co-ordinate with, instead of being subordinate to, the Finance Member who in the last resort ought to be the bulwark against the vagaries and extravagances of a spending department like the Railways.

Articles.

THE BOMBAY CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

THE address delivered by H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes to the Bombay University graduates at the Convocation for conferring degrees is far less academic and much more practical than the ordinary pattern usually associated with such an occasion. He dilated on the theme of success in life and gave some very valuable advice on the steps to be taken to ensure it and on the virtues which are necessary to be developed to make it higher and fuller than superficial brilliance. In these days of organization and large syndicates in industry we are apt, the Chancellor said, to forget the basic reality of the individual for whom the grouping exists. Although it is quite necessary in these to emphasize this aspect of the question we would demur to the description of the corporation or the group as an abstraction, as Sir Frederick Sykes does; in fact it has been made clear by Bradley and other Hegelians that both the individual and the corporate organization are equally real; so much so that it would be equally true to say that the individual is an abstraction without the group or society. With all this it is quite true that an individual student when he leaves the college has to shift for himself and rely on his individual qualities.

Considering that it is a common conceit with students that they have finished their education when they have secured a degree, he has done well in emphasizing that education in the real sense begins when the alumni are out of the portals of the college; that life and education could never be divorced; and that there is no break at the point of emerging from the university but a continuity of personality. Sir Frederick's advice to the graduates to take hold of time and turn it to the purposes of cultivating good qualities instead of letting it slip by them unused ought not to fall on deaf ears; it is only in this way that one can develop character and any frittering away of time and energy is suicidal. We do not think he is over-optimistic when he says that within twelve or fifteen years from leaving college a man can make of himself what he has willed to be with a purposive effort. Amongst the qualities which go to make a successful worker in life he mentioned the sense of duty or trustworthiness which would make every one feel that you would work steadily and intelligently putting your whole heart into your allotted task; this he said was an opener of all the doors in real life. Such a quality would ensure that a man will put his best into every task which falls to him and that he will keep his eyes steadily on the goal which he has placed before himself without being discouraged by temporary failure. Sir Frederick Sykes warned his hearers against being fascinated by mere brilliance and eulogised the man who is a plodder and pointed out that the leading men in the history of all nations have been intensely hard workers. In fact Carlyle defined genius as the infinite capacity for taking

pains and even if Sir Frederick errs, according to some, in his presentation he errs in good company. We think that in India at least such a caveat against mere brilliance is very necessary and appropriate since real hard work in ordinary avocations as well as in public life is sadly deficient, and it is up to the Chancellor of a University to warn the graduates against developing the weakness of playing to the galleries and a fondness for clap-trap.

Amongst intellectual qualities necessary for success Sir Frederick mentioned pre-eminently a capacity to think for oneself instead of echoing other people's opinions and judgments; nothing, he said, is more unsatisfactory than a mind exclusively furnished with second-hand materials. This independent thinking in his opinion must be achieved by everybody for himself since no system can impart it; he advised the graduates for this reason to develop the quality in their later life and display a sane, well-

reasoned and independent judgment, arising out of their own thinking on life. Sir Frederick impressed on the alumni going out into the world that they would be on probation for a number of years, and would have to satisfy the impartial test of the world before they could hope to achieve success in life; unless the world trusted them and admired their qualities they would not be allowed to go ahead. With regard to the complaint that the education given in Indian colleges does not encourage first-hand thinking, Sir Frederick Sykes is inclined to think that even if it is true—apparently he has not made up his mind about it—it can easily be explained by the fact that the system has to deal with large numbers in India. But we do not think as he does that independent thinking is wholly a matter for the individual; on the contrary, we believe that a system of collegiate or school education that fails altogether to foster the habit of original thinking stands condemned and that something is very wrong with it.

THE MALABAR TENANCY BILL.

I.—SECURITY OF TENURE.

CONSIDERING the long and chequered history of the Malabar tenancy agitation, and the failure, for one reason or another, of the repeated efforts to regulate by legislation the relations between landlords and tenants in Malabar, it is a relief and a matter for thanks-giving that at long last a bill has been introduced in the Madras Legislative Council which, because it is a Government measure and because it is based on the compromises agreed upon at the round table conference subsequent to the report of the Raghaviah Committee, has every chance of reaching the statute book. Under the circumstances more than ordinary justification is necessary to warrant an adverse criticism of the bill. There is reason to fear, however, that the parties to the compromise were only the janmis and kanamdars, and that the cultivating verumpattamdars, the most deserving and at the same time the most inarticulate, have been left out in the cold.

The Raghaviah Committee, on whose recommendations the present bill is mainly based, had no hesitation in declaring that the cultivating verumpattamdar was rack-rented, that his tenure was insecure, and that his cultivation was less efficient than it was where conditions regarding rent and security were better. They, therefore, recommended that these cultivators should be given security from arbitrary evictions and fair rents. They have, however, shackled the grant with limitations and restrictions which practically nullify it or render it unrealisable. In the first place, the grant of security is contingent on the cultivator applying for it. In this respect the bill is unlike other land acts and even the previous Malabar tenancy bills. As well might the Factory Act be brought into operation on the labourer invoking it! Somehow it is not done, and the Committee have not made out a convincing case for this unheard of departure from all precedents. The great bulk of the

cultivators will fail to avail themselves of this optional clause for obvious reasons—ignorance, inertia and fear.

As if these were not sufficient deterrents, the grant of security is made conditional on the cultivator depositing one year's rent in advance. The Committee themselves found that this class of cultivators was poor and lived from hand to mouth, and recommended that it should be given relief by way of fair rents; and yet it is this very class that is required to advance one year's rent! Here again all precedents are violated, and without convincing cause. It is not advocated as a measure of insurance against non-payment of rent by the cultivator. Special provision is made in the bill for the speedy collection of rents by summary methods. Moreover, non-payment of rent for three months is made sufficient cause for evicting the tenant. The deposit is not justified on the ground that it is compensation to the janmi for the curtailment of his rights in the land. For the janmi cannot touch the money. It is just a vexatious provision, which will only result in defeating the grant of security to the cultivating verumpattamdars.

If any class of tenants in Malabar deserves and requires protection, it is that of the cultivating verumpattamdars. Mr. Logan, Sir Charles Turner, Sir Charles Innes and several other investigators have pleaded in the past for permanent rights of occupancy for the cultivating tenants—not mere security from arbitrary evictions; the janmis have readily agreed to it and asked for no compensation; and even the kanamdars have consented to it. The bill, which, at the instance of Mr. Krishnan Nair, was passed by the Madras Legislative Council, provided for such grant. The Raghaviah Committee have found that the cultivators were rack-rented and that they suffered from insecurity of tenure. And yet when it comes to the question of affording relief, the bill gives with one hand what it effectively takes away with the other. It is a mockery, a cruel joke.

II.—FAIR RENTS.

It is a matter for gratification that the Raghaviah Committee have accepted the principle that the cultivators are entitled to a third of the net produce of the land. They have admitted that they were not getting it in many cases, and advocated that they should get it. They realise that this would mean a smaller amount to be shared by the superior landlords and are prepared for it.

The principle of one-third net for the cultivator has not been uniformly adhered to. The fair rent varies with wet, garden and dry lands. The method of arriving at the net produce and thereby at fair rent also varies. In the case of dry lands, fair rent is made a multiple of Government assessment; in the case of wet lands, it is a proportion of the net produce. The net produce is to be arrived at by deducting the costs of cultivation from the gross produce. The gross produce is to be the average of three previous years, and the costs of cultivation are to be reckoned at two and a half to three times the seed required to plant a wet holding. In the case of garden lands the fair rent is a proportion of the average gross produce. The Raghaviah Committee do not discuss why they chose different methods of calculating fair rent, and why they did not accept Government assessment as the basis in all cases. There is every reason to fear that the proposals of fair rent contained in the bill will only serve to open the floodgates of litigation in Malabar to an extent which seems avoidable. The gross produce during the previous three years and the seed required to plant a particular holding are both liable to be contested, the consequences of which on the fortunes of the contestants and on agriculture may well be imagined. There is no apparent reason why the Government assessment should not be made the basis of fair rent in every case. Malabar is a ryotwari district; and at the moment resettlement operations are in progress. For purposes of Government assessment net produce is estimated. As a matter of fact, the bill itself accepts Government assessment as the basis of fair rent for dry lands. There is no reason why the same basis should not be adopted for all lands, and why fair rent in the case of wet and garden lands should not be made a multiple of Government assessment as is done in the case of dry lands.

It may be urged that the Settlement Officer does not enquire into the net produce of every holding, and that, therefore, assessment would be an arbitrary basis for rent. But even under the procedure adopted in the bill rents are bound to be arbitrary. If the Courts have to depend on evidence for finding out the gross produce during the previous three years and the seed required to sow a holding, it is hardly likely that they will be able to arrive at the truth in a great majority of cases. The bill, as it stands, makes several arbitrary assumptions: two and half to three times the seed as the cultivation expenses; twenty times the fair rent as the janmum value; kanarthams not to exceed sixty per cent. of the janmum value; the rates of interest on kanarthams, and so on. In either case the element of arbitrariness enters inevi-

tably. But if rent is based on assessment, every cultivator will know at once and without resort to courts what the fair rent is. "Looking solely to the occasion for differences of opinion that such enquiries (about rent) would afford," said Chief Justice Sir Charles Turner, "it would be far more merciful to fix rent arbitrarily than to open the floodgates of litigation."

Another feature of fair rent that calls for notice is the one that provides that existing rents shall continue to be paid for a period of twelve years from the enactment of the bill. The reason behind it is laudable. A sudden change for the worse in the family budget is bound to create hardship. But the bill does not provide against such a sudden change; it merely postpones it for twelve years. Only notice is given of the impending change. A more effective method of attaining the object of the bill is that of spreading the change over twelve or fewer years: a gradual slide from the current rent to the fair rent by equal annual instalments.

P. KODANDA RAO.

HOW TO KEEP MINORITIES HAPPY?

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU has brought from her European and American tour a message to India from the high-souled President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, a message which above all India must let sink into her heart if her dream of swaraj is ever to become a reality. The message is no other than that India must keep her minority communities happy. There is no country in the world which has a greater title to give this advice than Czechoslovakia, for she has solved the minorities problem as no other country has done. The Czechoslovak constitution is universally held to be an ideal constitution for ensuring for all citizens of the state all civil and political rights irrespective of nationality and for offering to them all the same conditions for political, economic and cultural development. This of course is well known, but what is not so well known in India is the fact that the Czechoslovak government has given full effect to the constitutional guarantees for equality of civil and political rights. This equality therefore does not remain in Czechoslovakia, as it does in several other countries equally well-equipped with up to date democratic constitutions, a merely theoretical equality. Some facts culled here from the "Year-Book of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1929" (published by "Orbis" in Prague) make it evident. And for this result the beneficent influence of Masaryk is mainly responsible.

Schools.—The Constitutional Charter, besides giving to minorities an unfettered right to establish private schools, guarantees to them, in districts where there lives a considerable fraction of state citizens, speaking a language other than Czechoslovak, instruction for their children in their mother tongue at the state and municipal schools. It also guarantees to the religious, racial and language minorities the right to a due share of the public money for their educational, religious and philanthropic purposes. These provisions are observed in letter and spirit. The government has undertaken, in all places where the children of a certain minority do not possess any public schools in their mother tongue, to establish and maintain what are called minority schools—primary schools where at least 40 children speaking that tongue are registered and grammar (central) schools

where at least 400 children are available. At the present time there exist 983 such primary schools and 157 grammar schools. This is in so far as the central government is concerned. But besides this there are the so-called national schools maintained by individual provinces, there being in Czechoslovakia very few private schools belonging to convents, &c. It is the peculiarity of Czechoslovakia that it divides its schools according to the language through the medium of which instruction is given. Throughout the country there exist all kinds of Czechoslovak schools, German schools, Ruthenian schools, Hungarian schools, Polish schools, Jewish schools and Rumanian schools. The Year-Book contains a large number of statistical tables, and if one were to work out the proportion of schools belonging to any particular minority to the total number of schools in the country one would find that it is very nearly the proportion which the minority bears to the total population. At the end of 1926 there were altogether 1,403,823 children in primary schools, the total population being 13,613,172. Of these children 91,367 (or 6.5%) were contributed by Hungarian schools, Hungarians being 5.6% of the total population; 62,854 (or 4.7%) by Ruthenian schools, Ruthenes being 3.5% of the population; 10,407 (or 0.74%) by Poles, Poles being 0.6% of the population. We have taken here the smallest minorities because it is they who are likely to be neglected, but we find that they are not. We can give some more statistics (though relating to 1925) which are still more eloquent. Out of 318,410 German children of school age 308,595 could attend national schools in which they are taught in their mother tongue, and a further 2,851 children went to mixed schools. Of 101,859 children of Hungarian speech 91,032 could go to Hungarian schools and 5,275 to mixed. The percentage of German and Hungarian children who did not go to German and Hungarian schools is in no way higher than the percentage of Czech and Slovak children going to schools of other nationalities, so that it is obvious that the majority of these children are those who are purposely sent to schools in another language, thus proving that though ample provision is made by the state for every child being in a position to go to a school of its mother tongue, both the majority and minority communities have so wide an outlook that they often prefer to learn in schools where instruction is imparted through languages other than their own.

Language Rights.—As regards the language question, the minorities use their languages freely both in private and public business, as provided for in the Protection of Minorities Section of the Constitutional Charter. Their relation with the public offices is regulated by the Language Law and by the Complementary Order to that law in such a manner that all members of a minority in a district which contains at least 20% of its population of that minority, may use their own language not only in the courts of justice but in all public offices, and that all matters shall be dealt with concerning them in the language of the minority. In districts in which the proportion does not reach 20% the Ameliorations to the Language Decrees ensure that no disadvantage shall accrue to a person for ignorance of the official language. In practice this means that, in the sense of the Language Decrees the single language régime in which German is the language used applies to 2,943,644 Germans living in 107 districts of the Republic, and the double language (Czech-German) régime applies to 753,220 Germans living in 34 mixed districts. Similarly Hungarian only is used in 13 justiciary districts, containing 435,426 Hungarians, and Hungarian and Slovak in districts containing a further 232,254 Hungarians. The Poles have Polish only in one Polish justiciary district containing 18,950 Poles and Czech and Polish in two

districts containing 44,296 Poles. As regards Ruthenian, this language possesses over the whole of Carpathian Ruthenia the same rights as the national (Czecho-slovak) language, and is therefore an official language.

Representation in Parliament.—The elections to both Chambers of the National Assembly take place on the principle of Proportional Representation, with three scrutinies specially adopted with a view to giving protection both to weaker racial minorities and to weaker political parties. The system is worked out to the minutest details, and the second and third scrutinies ensure that all communities and all races get a fair proportion of seats. The Year-Book says: "If in the case of each party we compare in percentages the number of votes registered with the number of seats assigned, we find the following proof of the technical advantages of the electoral system: in the 16 parties to which were assigned 300 seats (in the Snemovna or the Lower Chamber), there is not even a difference of 1% between the two percentages as regards 15 parties, and in the case of one party the difference is only 1.34%. This is surely the best of testimonies to the justice of the Czechoslovak electoral system." The racial composition of Parliament also coincides exactly with the racial composition of the population. Thus of the 300 members in the Lower Chamber 204 belong to the Czechoslovak nationality, 73 are Germans, 13 Hungarians, 8 Ruthenes and 2 Poles. How closely the representatives of the minorities in Parliament correspond, in proportion of numbers, to the proportion of the minorities to the Czechoslovak majority will be seen from the percentages given below:—

Races	Percentage in Population	Percentage in Parliament
Czechs and Slovaks	65.5	68.0
Germans	23.4	24.3
Hungarians	5.6	4.3
Ruthenes	3.5	2.6
Poles	2.0	0.8

It will be noticed however that no proportions are fixed by statute; only by means of P. R. every racial or political minority is guaranteed the number of seats to which it is entitled by its numerical strength. Excessive representation, whether as a concession to its historical importance or to its inability to stand on its legs, is to the Czechoslovak peoples unthinkable.

Representation in Cabinet and Services.—Members of the minority races have naturally free entry into the public service under the conditions generally obtaining, free entry to all posts and a right to the free exercise of all trades and professions; and that here also the right is not merely theoretical is shown by the part played by the minorities in industry and trade, by the highly developed associations and by the development of journalism among the minorities. The Czechoslovak constitution stands unique among all constitutions inasmuch as it provides as no other constitution does for what Dr. Hoetzel calls the democratization of the public administration. The Constitutional Charter in section 86 provides that "in subordinate administrative offices the citizens must so far as possible be represented and the widest protection of the rights and interests of the citizens shall be assured." This provision, viz. that in the subordinate offices of state the civic element shall as far as possible be represented proportionately is of course only possible because of an eight-year compulsory school

attendance law which is in force, combined with another law which makes it obligatory for boys and girls over 14 years who do not receive education in other schools to attend continuation schools for at least two years. The uniform enforcement of these laws makes it possible even for backward communities to take their rightful share in the subordinate offices, but higher offices are assigned on the ground of sheer merit irrespective of nationality. Minorities enjoy no protection there because such protection is held to do harm to them in the long run as well as to the general community. In the Cabinet it is of course impossible to arrange for a proportionate distribution of seats among five or six racial minorities ranging from 23% to 1%. Nor would it be sound if it were practicable. But every time a Cabinet is formed, the President who appoints Ministers naturally pays tender regard to the claims of minorities. President Masaryk tells us in his epoch-making book "The Making of a State" how "at the Geneva Conference between the delegates of the Prague National Committee (which corresponded to our All Parties Conference Committee) and Dr. Benes a proposal was adopted without discussion, as something self-evident, that a German Minister should be included in the Government" (p. 389). "In a democracy," Dr. Masaryk adds, "it is obviously the right of every party to share in the administration of the state as soon as it recognises the policy of the state and the state itself. Nay, it is its duty to share it." But a statutory provision to this end would be neither desirable nor feasible.

It would thus be seen that Czechoslovak practice does not sanction the following Moslem demands in India:—

- (i) communal electorates,
- (ii) reservation of seats,
- (iii) excessive representation,
- (iv) fixed share in any but the lowest grade services,
- (v) representation in the Cabinet, and
- (vi) a federal government, with only enumerated powers to the central government.

For, in respect to the last, it should be remembered that Czechoslovakia is, in the words of Dr. Hoetzel, "a unified, not a federative state."

Privileges Dropped.—Are all the minorities then fully satisfied with the existing arrangements in Czechoslovakia? No. Those minorities which under former rule were cruelly oppressed are now more than satisfied, but those who were formerly pampered and privileged have since lost their position of ill-gotten power and privilege and are very much dissatisfied, or rather were for some time. Now they have learnt to take a long view of the matter. The following passage from

the Year-Book explains the point very forcibly:—The arrangements in force in Czechoslovakia have

"undoubtedly brought great gain to those minorities which were minorities before the War, being then as they were objects of a systematic policy of denationalization. This is true for instance of the Ruthenians, who formed part of Hungary, where they had neither civil, political language rights, nor schools, and for whom the Czechoslovak system means the rescue from collapse and disappearance. It is true also of the Germans in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, who were, under the former régime, equal objects with the Slovaks of a systematic Magyarization, and to whom Czechoslovakia first brought the schools and other conditions necessary for the renewal of their own cultural and political life. It is true also to a considerable extent of the Poles and Jews, which last were not only given the right freely to declare themselves Jews, but were also provided Hebrew schools. For the German and Hungarian minorities, who under the old régime formed part of the ruling nation, and who enjoyed many advantages and privileges at the expense of the Czechs and Slovaks, the new régime is no gain. It closed to them schools for which there were no German and Hungarian children and which therefore were intended for Magyarisation and Germanisation, materially altered the language situation, and forced those who had previously been of the ruling nation into the position of minorities. This is to a considerable extent the origin of the discontent of these minorities with the new régime, expressed particularly in the years immediately succeeding the revolution, and here too is the origin of the complaints of the situation of the minorities in Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to realise that the internal and external consolidation of the new state, which also convinced these minorities of the lasting character of the new state, has gradually altered the importance and character of this criticism and complaint. The Germans in particular realised that nothing remained but to accommodate themselves to the present state of affairs, and to endeavour by the use of their political power, given by the suffrage law to the German minority in like measure with the others, in co-operation with the Czech to secure advantages for this minority which are considerably in excess of the minimum to which every minority is entitled in the sense of the international treaties, and which could only be the fruit of political work in agreement with the majority. It is to be expected that the Hungarian minority also will sooner or later find this way."

If the Czechoslovak leaders are to be praised for the forbearance which they showed in dealing with their former oppressors, upon whom they took no reprisals but whose goodwill they ever made it a point to seek they are no less to be praised for the firmness with which they made the Germans and Hungarians shed their former privileges and come into line with all the other races within the state.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN MADRAS.

IN February 1927 the Madras Government ordered a preliminary survey of the cottage industries in Madras Presidency with a view to take suitable action under the State Aid to Industries Act of 1923 for the revival and extension of rural industries on an economic footing and for the organisation on an increased scale of subsidiary occupations for agriculturists. Special mention was made in the press *communiqué*, issued on the occasion of the hand spinning and handloom weaving industries. "A

careful enquiry will be made", stated the *communiqué*, "into the economics of hand spinning with a view to ascertaining *inter alia* the counts of yarn which are most remunerative to the spinners as also the most suitable organisation for the distribution of raw cotton and the spun yarn". A special officer was appointed to collect detailed information in respect of the existing cottage industries regarding the methods, tools, appliances, the number of persons employed, the supply of raw materials and the mar-

kets for finished products.

The special officer, a Deputy Collector, was engaged in this survey from April 1927 to the end of December 1928. During the latter years he was given the assistance of three Deputy Tahsildars. The area surveyed was the whole of the Madras Presidency with the exception of the Agency tract and the City of Madras. Separate reports are produced for each of the twenty-five districts and also a general report for the whole province. The latter is divided into two parts, in the second half of which information relating to the various industries is summarised. There are also several useful appendices to the general report, one giving typical family budgets of weavers, another giving the centres of hand spinning with the number of workers, output, wages, etc., others giving interesting particulars regarding the hand loom industry, the metal industry and mat-weaving—the most important of the cottage industries in the Madras Presidency. Though in ordering the survey the Government thought only of rural industries and the provision of subsidiary occupations to agriculturists, the special officer was obliged to include the cottage industries of the urban areas also in the enquiry, as most of the skilled artisans are found in urban areas. None regrets this inclusion.

The enquiry could not, in the nature of things and within the time allotted for it, be thorough in respect of all the industries. But enough information has been collected to enable the Government to take the first important step in promoting cottage industries. Public workers in the districts, including those in charge of co-operative institutions, will find the district reports of very great value. On the whole it should be admitted that good spade work has been done.

There are many among us who are despondent about the future of cottage industries in an age of well-organised large scale industries. Here is a paragraph that ought to put heart into them.

"It is no proper argument to advance that cottage or small scale industries cannot hold their own in these days. Such industries are flourishing in very many advanced and civilized European countries and have not been altogether replaced by the factory. The Sheffield cutlery, one of the glories of England, is not made by machinery. It is chiefly made by hand. Other instances in England are the pottery and the chain and nail making of the Black country, the lace making and hoisery of Nottingham and the straw-plaiting of Bedford, etc, while in Germany toys are made by cottage workmen. Likewise, small industries show a remarkable vitality elsewhere too."

The largest cottage industry is the hand-loom weaving industry in which some two million persons are engaged. The workers include men, women and children, on the whole in the proportion of 4 : 2 : 1. The industry is more prevalent in the Madras Presidency than in the other provinces, thanks mainly to the preference which the women of South India have for bordered colour saris, which the mills cannot produce. The weavers are also as skilled as any in India. In spite of the great strides that the cotton mill industry has made in India,

there has been no decrease in the the number of handlooms, because the cottage weaver is still able to get a wage which enables him to live, though not in any comfort. An ordinary weaver earns six to eight annas a day, while a skilled one earns between 12 as. and one rupee. His chief difficulties are the middlemen dealers who keep him indebted in order that he may be under their thumb and the drink evil which weakens his body by denying him nourishment and robs him of the will power to improve his lot. In these two respects he needs the help of the State, and unless that is given with courage and liberality, all professions of sympathy are mere waste of breath.

In the better class of goods the margin kept by the dealer for himself is between 25 and 35 per cent. of the value of the finished product. Where he supplies the raw material he makes a profit over that also. Often the weaver is a coolie working under a master-weaver. The latter usually keeps a margin of 12 to 15 per cent. The wage of the actual worker is thus very much reduced and when prices fall in competition with mill cloth, or on account of fluctuations in demand—and it must be remembered that the weavers of each locality have their own narrow markets—the wage is forced below the level of subsistence. The weaver is chronically in debt and when after a long struggle he is unable to extricate himself he generally absconds from place to place. "The employer, acting on the principle of 'get rich quick', cuts down wages, cuts short supplies of materials and cuts down quality. The worker has to work up allotted quantities quickly, works badly and makes up poor stuff. For a time the articles, being cheap, sell well, the dealer makes profit and thereafter the trade gets into disrepute". Again, the dealers require the weavers to produce closer texture at the ends than in the body so that on folding the better texture comes to the top. By such deception the market is lost and the weaver has to face unemployment. What is true of weaving is true also of other industries. The maintenance of a good standard of quality is absolutely essential for having a steady market. The report shows how the State can help in this matter.

Special mention having been made of hand spinning by Government in ordering this survey, we find a good deal of information relating to it in the district reports. Apart from the *Khaddar* propaganda started by Mahatma Gandhi, it seems to be much more prevalent than most of us are aware. In the Telugu districts it has persisted as a subsidiary occupation among the agricultural classes, the cultivators preferring to clothe themselves, on sentimental and economic grounds, in coarse cloth made of yarn spun in their homes out of cotton grown by themselves. The districts in which the largest number of spinning wheels are found are Guntur, Kurnool and Nellore, with 100,000, 34,000, and 18,000 respectively. The revival of spinning in the Tamil districts is chiefly due to *Khaddar* propaganda and is most noticeable in Salem and Coimbatore districts, where, unlike in the Telugu districts, it is taken up as a whole-time

occupation, chiefly by women, though the wage earned is never more than two annas a day. The report gives interesting figures regarding the comparative cost of hand-spun and mill yarn of certain counts and also of weaving charges of mill-made and hand-spun, hand-woven cloth. The cost of 10 lbs. of hand-spun 12 counts is Rs. 8-12-0 against 6-4-0 of mill yarn; while that of 40 counts hand-spun is Rs. 32-8-0 against 11-2-0 of mill yarn. Thus the competition is less unequal in the coarser than in the finer yarns. The cost of making 1 lb. of mill cloth is calculated at Rs. 0-7-0 while that of hand-spun hand-woven is put at Rs. 0-12-0. In spite of these figures, the report truly says, "To the old and infirm and to those who could find no better occupation, however meagre might be the earnings, it is a substantial addition to the family income, and, in the absence of a more universally agreeable occupation suitable to the social status of the different classes of people, handspinning has its own merit. There are other industries, for instance, coir spinning, palmyra plaiting, etc., which bring no better income but are still carried on, and, as compared to them, hand-spinning is more homely and dignified." The report makes certain recommendations regarding hand spinning, of which we should attach special importance to these two: that good cotton should be supplied to spinners at important centres, if possible in a carded form, using cheap jail labour for the purpose and purchasing Government requirements of cloth in *Khadi* as far as possible.

Some years ago high hopes were entertained about the co-operative movement being able to benefit the cottage worker, and a number of societies were started in every province for his benefit. But the record of these societies has been very depressing. There are no doubt special difficulties: the dealer's hostility, the drink evil, the worker's indebtedness, his lack of co-operation, his lack of will, etc. But by universal experience the greatest difficulty is the marketing difficulty. Societies have worked well so long as there was a big Government or other order to meet, and then have languished. Some societies of weavers owe their continuance to the efforts of philanthropic bodies in marketing their products. The central recommendation of the report is therefore very rightly the starting of an emporium at Madras for the sale of products of cottage industries. The constitution suggested is that of a co-operative society. Its membership should be open to non-credit industrial societies and to individuals. A substantial part of the capital needed for the emporium should be supplied by Government, the balance coming from co-operative societies. The working expenses for some years should be borne by Government, who should in addition provide two special officers, one to be in touch with the market and the other with the societies.

The emporium should insist on an unimpeachable standard of quality being maintained and should also serve as an information bureau able to advise workers regarding patterns, designs, etc. At least 60 per cent. of the value of goods should be paid to the societies on the delivery of goods at the em-

porium and the balance after sale. These are to be the main features of the emporium,

This idea of an emporium at Madras, with these essential features, is no new one. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Director of Industries, unofficial workers in the field of co-operation have all been asking for it for some years now. It is the Government which is hesitating. There need be no such hesitation so late in the day after transferring the subject of Industries to a Minister and after passing the State Aid to Industries Act. The Chambers of Commerce might oppose the idea. But the scheme is for a Co-operative Emporium, and aid to co-operative societies is now an old idea. There will be difficulties no doubt, but 'nothing venture, nothing gain'. It is earnestly to be hoped that the emporium will materialise in the near future.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

Reviews.

FAILURE OF LIBERAL IDEALISM.

ENGLAND'S HOLY WAR. A STUDY OF ENGLISH LIBERAL IDEALISM DURING THE GREAT WAR. By IRENE COOPER WILLIS. (A. Knopf.) 1928. 21cm. 398p.

IN this work Miss Willis gives us an exhaustive study of the collapse of English Liberal idealism during the Great War. She shows how step by step the pacifist Liberals were lured on to give their approval to the war against Germany, and how they were compelled to proclaim the gospel of the War to end War, by which alone they could exhibit some sort of consistency with their pre-war principles. Miss Willis sticks closely to her documents, the leading newspapers of the day, and presents her case with overwhelming force. Behind this book lies a wealth of patient study and industry, and for later historians it will provide a mass of carefully arranged first-hand evidence.

We recommend the careful perusal of this book not only to those interested in the history of their own times, but to all concerned with the progress of the big social, political, and international movements of the day. To these latter it will minister a salutary dose of realism. It provides for all a vivid commentary on the power of the press, a subject much canvassed but we believe rarely studied. The Great War gives us an excellent period for such an investigation because of the need of the then dominant English political party to adjust itself quickly to a situation for which it was unprepared, to sustain the War when once it had been started, and finally to help in the production of a Peace Treaty representing an even more disgraceful betrayal of Liberal principles than even the War itself. In moulding public opinion, in infusing the fighting spirit into a normally peace-loving population, in blinding all and sundry to the real facts about such things as the blockade of Germany, the press played a tremendous part.²

Miss Willis' book might move some to cynicism. The future might appear dark indeed were there not a

hope that the studied mendacity of press propaganda has in some measure proved its own undoing. Few, we venture to think, who now realize how they were first of all stampeded into the War and then into that most disgraceful of all treaties, the Peace of Versailles, will again tamely submit to such a process. A

sign that the press has fortunately lost some of its power in England may be found in the fact that the party with no press worthy of the name is now supreme and in office.

O. C. CLARKE.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS.

STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS. By A. PEARCE HIGGINS. (Cambridge University Press.) 1928. 22cm. 314p. 15/-.

PROFESSOR PEARCE HIGGINS has brought out in a collected form his lectures and articles on various topics of International Law during the last 20 years. Several of these studies relate to topics suggested by the Great War. But they are not on that account of merely passing interest. The other studies are of a more general character. The first three lectures which deal with International Relations and the duties of States and the 6th lecture on the work of Grotius and the modern International Lawyer belong to this class. It was the object of Grotius to rationalize the law of nations and he endeavoured to bring it into conformity with the law of nature. The International Lawyer of the present day has set before himself the same high ideals as Grotius entertained. Owing to the greater complexity of the relations between States, the variety of the interests affected thereby and the increase in the number of the States within the so-called family of nations, there is a tendency to divergent views upon points of International Law, and there are many topics upon which, owing to their novelty, rules of International Law have not yet been definitely formulated and accepted. As pointed out by Professor Higgins, the duty of a writer on International Law is not merely to expound the accepted rules of the law of nations but also to endeavour to harmonize the rules in cases of conflict of opinion and practice, and to make suggestions to supply the deficiencies of the existing law and formulate new rules for dealing with new situations and questions. The contact of jurists of different countries in the League of Nations and the need for arriving at solutions generally acceptable to the members of the League have helped to promote the desire for uniformity and certainty in the rules of International Law and their codification and for the enunciation of suitable rules for filling up the gaps in the existing law in the manner most consistent with justice, humanity and the requirements of closer intercourse between nations. Professor Higgins justly emphasizes the importance of the work that lies before the International Lawyer of to-day.

The chapters of interest to the general reader are those which deal with the difficulties which arise in international relations and with the duties of States. It is rightly pointed out by Professor Higgins that the greatest and most prominent of all the difficulties are those which arise from the imperfections of human nature. He is supported by the remark of Lord Bryce that the prospect of improving the rela-

tions of States and peoples to one another depends ultimately upon the possibility of improving human nature itself. After referring to the difficulties which arise from the defects of human nature, he adverts to those which arise out of the inherent condition of some of the States included in the family of nations. The doctrine of the equality of States requires in his opinion important qualifications. In what sense are States to be considered equal? As a matter of fact, States are very unequal in size, population, strength, wealth and civilization. Politically even States which are fully sovereign do not possess equality. But in so far as the term 'legal rights' is permissible in International Law, they are regarded as equal. One important consequence of this position is that, in matters which have to be settled by the consent of States, every State has a right to a vote, and to one vote only. Notwithstanding the apparent exceptions to this rule in the case of the British Empire, it is recognized by the League of Nations. Professor Higgins considers 'the equality of States' a somewhat misleading and unfortunate catchword. He seems to be of opinion that the doctrine is not inconsistent with the capitulations which have been imposed upon Asiatic and other countries in the past. The existence of backward countries puts a stumbling block in the way of the full application of the doctrine of equality of States. They constitute a grave danger to international harmony,

"because they offer an opportunity to an unprincipled State to take undue advantage of the internal weakness or maladministration of such a State to increase its own power. This it may do either by acquiring a *de facto* protectorate while protesting that its intervention is in the interests of humanity or by acquiring such a predominant interest in the affairs of the State by means of financial assistance accompanied by the nomination of certain of its own citizens as advisers in the internal reorganization of the State and as supervisors of the proper application of the funds provided that a relationship is established which is little removed in effect from annexation".

That weak and backward States are a danger to the peace of the world in the sense explained by Professor Higgins may be admitted. But what is his solution? We hope that he would not recommend their extinction by forced absorption by some powerful State. They may rouse the cupidity of a powerful neighbour like Naboth's vine-yard. But they cannot on that account be regarded as lawful prey. Backward States may be a nuisance to the International Lawyer as poor relations are to a rich man. But they have as much right to existence and self-preservation as any other State. Their preservation and advancement should be the concern of the League of Nations. The mutual jealousies of the great

powers of Christendom have been the main bulwark of backward countries, except where they have agreed to divide the spoil, as in the case of Africa. We have no wish that backward nations should be preserved in a condition of backwardness, but their progress has to be achieved by the daily growing opportunities for intercourse with advanced countries and not by a process of effacement. The more powerful States have to be educated to a conception of their duties towards the weaker. Professor Higgins has done well to lay stress upon the duties of States under International Law rather than upon their rights. He is of opinion that for a complete enjoyment of rights under International Law a State should be able to fulfil certain duties, the duty of protecting all persons within its jurisdiction and administering justice fairly and the duty of co-operating in the moral evolution and social advancement of the whole society of States of which it forms a part. Apparently, the drift of his argument is that if a backward State is not able to fulfil these duties, it should submit to capitulations for the benefit of the nationals of the more civilized States. Whether and how far the system of capitulations is justifiable is rather a big question and it is not possible to deal with it here. Incidentally it raises the question whether a country has a right to isolate itself and exclude all foreigners from its territory, though it may not be one of great practical importance at the present time. Professor Higgins is not oblivious of the duties of advanced States not to take unfair advantage of the weakness or incomplete development of the backward States. It is hardly necessary to refer to the practice of concession-hunting, the display of the mailed fist, and the other methods employed by aggressive powers against weak and peaceful nations.

Professor Higgins barely glances at the problems arising out of the desire of States for security, self-preservation and legitimate expansion. He does not explain what is meant by legitimate expansion. Any expansion of a nation into the territories of another nation must be held to be illegitimate, unless it takes place with the free consent of the latter. The consent given by any nation to the expansion of another nation into its territories is hardly ever free. Professor Higgins is perhaps thinking of the scope for expansion into countries either sparsely peopled or occupied by backward peoples as in Africa. The morality of such expansion by the expropriation of the indigenous owners of the soil is open to question. If the need for expansion felt by any nation is ever to be considered legitimate, the need for the expansion of the Japanese nation into Korea and China must be admitted to be so. But every attempt by Japan to acquire influence in these countries is looked upon with jealous hostility by the Western powers who, while professing a regard for the territorial integrity of these countries, insist upon the policy of an open door. This policy only means an open door into other countries than one's own and is not supposed to imply any reciprocal obligation. America demands an open door into China, but is not willing to open its

own doors to Chinese immigration. Nor are the British Dominions prepared to admit Asiatics as immigrants. This policy in the mouth of the nations of Christendom means only, "Thou shalt open thy doors to me, but I will close my doors against thee."

The chapter on the Monroe doctrine gives instances of the manner in which it has been twisted and misapplied by the United States so as to cover its own interference in the other States of America and its imperialistic policy in the annexation of adjacent countries. The Monroe doctrine has been claimed to rest on the law of self-preservation. But the foreign policy of America has been seldom confined within the limits indicated by the doctrine. The interpretation of the doctrine by President Polk has led a writer to remark upon the contrast between the principle that foreign nations must not annex American territory and the equally well-established principle that the United States may annex what she pleases. As admitted by Mr. Elihu Root, grandiose schemes of national expansion have often invoked the Monroe doctrine. It has been claimed that this doctrine has helped towards the maintenance of peace in America. In so far as the doctrine implies the non-intervention of the United States in European affairs, Professor Higgins rejoices that it has not appealed to the generous hearts and purses of the American people and that it was fortunate for millions of starving and homeless people in Europe that the intervention of America brought the Great War to a speedy end. We doubt, however, whether the intervention of America on the side of the Central powers would have furnished equal occasion for rejoicing. Foreign policy is always coloured by interest and sentiment. Is it possible to be certain that the intervention of America in other parts of the world will always be dictated by the desire to advance peace and to establish sound economic conditions? It may be that the ethnical and the linguistic affinities of America may link that country with the British Empire. But one cannot be certain that the weight of America will always be thrown into the scales on the side of the British Empire or on the side of Justice and Freedom.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

PERSONAL FREEDOM AND COMMUNISM.

LIBERTY UNDER THE SOVIETS. By ROGER N. BALDWIN. (Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia Series.) (Vanguard Press.) 1928. 18cm. 272p. 50cents.

INDIVIDUAL liberty under Soviet rule is one of those aspects of life in Russia in which everyone desirous of studying the affairs of that country evinces the keenest interest. Rigorous restriction of personal freedom and the terror of the G.P.U. are the two most favoured targets aimed at by the democratic press of Europe and America in attacking the government at Moscow. The plain fact of the matter is that individual liberty, as understood in a democracy, is to the democrat a priceless treasure, but to the communist a downright fraud perpetrated by the bourgeoisie on the proletariat. Where, in all honesty, opinions differ so fundamentally, an absolutely unprejudiced or objective treatment of this subject with regard to Russia is humanly impossible.

The author himself is quite conscious of this difficulty, and frankly admits that the title of the book is indicative of his own bias in the matter. This does not mean, however, that the book has been written in a partisan spirit. All that it means is that in certain social questions your opinions depend on the emphasis you lay on this or that aspect of the hypothesis before you, so that it is possible to draw two different sets of conclusions from the same facts. With this qualification borne in mind, the book can be read with great interest and profit. Without going into the technical details of the theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, or of the communist analysis of the democratic conception of liberty, the author makes it clear that once you accept the communist thesis that all liberties are class liberties, there is nothing fundamentally inconsistent between the ideal of complete liberation of the individual and society from every kind of domination, and the policy of ruthless suppression of individual liberty followed by communists during the period of transition between capitalism and communism. In Lenin's own words, "Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalist is finally broken, when there are no longer any classes, only then does the State disappear, and can one speak of freedom."

The book is divided into two parts, one dealing with what the author considers are liberties under the Soviets, and the other with what he calls "Political Control." In fact, both deal with the efforts being made in Russia to crush individualism and to replace it by collectivism. It is difficult to label any act of the Communist party as falling within the first or the second category when every act is deliberately calculated to extirpate one class of persons, and supplant it by another. Separate chapters are devoted to the State control of institutions like the press, the school, the church, the theatre, the cinematograph, the judiciary, and others. The author has some very strong criticism to offer on Russia's treatment of Georgia, and on the methods adopted by the government to weed out the political opponents of the régime. Neither does he think it necessary that dissentients within the Communist party should be as severely dealt with as they are. On the whole, though he believes that the drastic character of the Russian methods of government is largely determined by communist philosophy and the necessity of having to fight a hostile world singlehanded, still he holds that the Soviet government could give a good deal more liberty to its subjects than it does in practice, without in any way endangering its own life. The book is worthy of the series in which it has appeared and deserves to be read by all who have an interest in Russia. It may be significantly noted in conclusion that the writer as a champion of civil liberty and pacifism, has served a term of imprisonment in America during the Great War.

S. G. SARDESAI.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE LABOUR OUTLOOK. By ARTUR GREENWOOD. (Chapman & Hall.) 1929. 19cm. 246p. 5/-

MESSRS. CHAPMAN & HALL hit upon a very happy idea of issuing, on the eve of the General Election, a five-shilling volume explaining both the fundamental political philosophy and the immediate practical aims of each of the three political parties of Great Britain. The volumes are written by prominent members of the respective parties and introduced by

their leaders. The book under review which contains a statement of the Labour Party's policy and programme is written by one who is recognised as an authoritative exponent of the Labour platform and who is now included in the Labour Ministry. It sets out very carefully what tasks the Party will immediately undertake; it also explains what are the more remote purposes of the Party. In both these respects the book will be found very instructive. But even more important is the exposition it contains of the underlying principle on which Labour politics are founded. The principle is the application of Socialism to every branch of activity; or, in the words of Mr. MacDonald, the Party aims at nothing less than "transforming Capitalism into Socialism." The volume should be on the shelf of every publicist in India.

V. M. P.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIAN MERCHANTS CHAMBER for 1928, 1929. 22cm. xcvi+716p.

AS usual, this last year's Report of the Indian Merchants Chamber contains, besides the Report proper, the text of the bills and circular letters from Government departments inviting the Chamber's opinion on various industrial and commercial matters and of the representations made by the Chamber on those subjects. This takes up no less than 643 pages and is of very great importance to all those who take an interest in the subjects with which the Chamber deals. And who is not interested in these subjects?

P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE INDIAN FERMENT: A TRAVELLER'S TALE.** By H. G. ALEXANDER. (Williams & Norgate.) 1929. 20cm. 253p. 7s. 6d.
- THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES IN SOME OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS.** By GASPARD BACON. (Harvard University Press.) 1928. 20cm. 201p. \$2.00.
- THE BALKAN PIVOT: YUGOSLAVIA.** By CHARLES A. BEARD and GEORGE RADIN. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 21cm. 325p. \$2.50.
- INTERNATIONAL GOLD MOVEMENTS.** By PAUL EINZIG. (Macmillan.) 1929. 22cm. 114p. 6s.
- THE WORK OF MEDICAL WOMEN IN INDIA.** By MARGARET I. BALFOUR & RUTH YOUNG. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929. 22cm. 201p. Rs. 6.
- THE FRENCH FRANC, 1914-1928.** By ELEANOR LANSING DULLES. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 22cm. 570p. \$6.50.
- JURIDICAL ESSAYS AND STUDIES.** By JOHN C. H. WU. (Commercial Press, Shanghai.) 1928. 24cm. 267p. \$3.00.
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