

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

India in Parliament.

THE debate in Parliament last week on India initiated by Mr. Stanley Baldwin is most reassuring inasmuch as it finally disposes off the apprehensions that the Conservative party, with the concurrence of its leader, Mr. Baldwin, had decided to non-cooperate with the Round Table Conference in its further stages and that Mr. Baldwin had abandoned Lord Irwin. In unequivocal language Mr. Baldwin gave his assurance that there has been no change in the attitude of the Conservative party, and there will not be as long as he was the leader. He would continue to cooperate with the Government and the delegates in India with every desire to be helpful. In language of unusual vehemance, he said :

If there are those who would approach this subject in niggling, grudging spirit, who would have forced out of their reluctant hands one concession after another and if they be in a majority, in God's name, let them choose the man to lead them.

Mr. Baldwin has reiterated the Conservative attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards the Round Table Conference. But that is not enough. He himself acknowledged that "more important even than party unity is the unity of all parties on this subject." The Conservatives should take a hand in the shaping of the Indian constitution and not merely assume the roll of destructive critics, with nothing to contribute themselves to the construction.

As a result of his disapproval, however, the British Government have had to change their plans for the next stage of the R. T. Conference. The idea of sending out the British delegates to India to

confer with Indian delegates has had to be dropped, and instead, after preliminary and essential investigations in India have been completed, the Federal Structure Committee would meet in London. We hope Government will soon set up the necessary committees and see to it that the personnel of them are satisfactory from the Indian point of view.

Irwin to the Rescue.

THERE can be no doubt that a solution of the communal and minorities question will greatly facilitate the solution of the bigger problems of federation and central responsibility. This is a problem which is essentially a matter for Indians themselves to settle, if they can. Past experience, however, has not been hopeful. But there is nothing like trying again. We hope the leaders of the Congress and other parties in India will soon get to work on this question. Though primarily a matter for Indians themselves, we venture to think that the help and cooperation of Lord Irwin will be of the utmost value. There are occasions when personalities succeed where arguments and reason fail. The atmosphere today is propitious for the play of personalities. The Gandhi-Irwin combination has achieved one miracle; it may achieve another. There is a new spirit abroad, of peace, of trust, of confidence and goodwill. Full advantage should be taken of the unique concatenation of healthy forces and a supreme effort should be made to solve that unique problem of India. It will be recalled that in the very first speech that Lord Irwin made after his arrival in India, at the Chelmsford Club, Simla, he volunteered his services to bring about a settlement of the vexed Hindu-Muslim question. Somehow that offer was not then availed of. Today Lord Irwin commands a place in the affections and admiration of Indians far in advance of what he enjoyed five years ago. We wish he would again offer his services to solve the communal problem and that his offer will be gratefully accepted by all communities. If the good offices of Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin should fail to bring about an agreement, we will go so far as to suggest that the solution of the communal problem should be left to their arbitration. Such arbitration is any day better than a settlement imposed by the British Government when Indians finally fail to agree between themselves. We hope an influential move will be made to invoke and initiate the co-operation of Lord Irwin in the matter. The progressive conclusions of the Round Table

Conference are not a little due to the silent influence of Lord Irwin. He has brought peace to India, he has secured responsibility in the central Government of India. The one great stumbling block in the path is the communal problem. Will he not crown his great and successful career in India by making one last and final attempt under his guidance to remove it?

Defence of India.

THE debate on the Army Budget initiated last week in the Assembly by Mian Shah Nawaz is of more than average interest. In a brilliant and searching speech Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar subjected the Army Department and the Finance Department of the Government of India to a terrible and telling fusillade of criticism regarding military policy and expenditure. It is noteworthy that the non-official European group also joined in the attack on the Government. The Army Secretary and the Finance Member made some important announcements in their replies. The former said that, though the Skeen Committee had recommended that the Indian Sandhurst should be started in 1933, Government had decided to anticipate the date and start it in 1932. Government had discovered that during the last three years the required number of candidates was forthcoming to justify the starting of the Indian Sandhurst. This sudden discovery is obviously due to the new outlook engendered by the R. T. C. Government had further decided to set up a committee of "experts" to draw up a scheme for accelerating Indianization of the Army, and had interpellated the Secretary of State to define "experts." We hope the mistake will not be made of confining the membership of the Committee to British military experts. That would be a disaster. The Simon Commission should be a warning for all time. The composition of the Committee must command the confidence of the Indian public and should have a majority of Indians on it. Also, it is very advisable that the non-Indian membership should not be confined to the British, but should include non-British experts as well. As Mr. Arthur Moore pointed out in his striking speech in the debate, a new outlook regarding defence policy is essential. More and more the Air Force is rendering the Army obsolete. The policy of defence should be viewed as a whole and it needs overhauling and re-thinking. The Navy is Britain's speciality and the best experts in the other arms of defence are not to be found in Britain alone. Germany, France, Japan and the United States may well be drawn upon for assistance in formulating a comprehensive defence policy for India. If the object of the Committee is to investigate the defence needs of India and not to maintain Britain's military hold on India, there ought to be no squeamish objection to the association of foreign experts in the enquiry, if only in an advisory capacity, even as there was none when the Central Banking Enquiry Committee was given the assistance of foreign and non-British experts.

Army Reservation.

THE recommendation of the R. T. Conference that the Indian Army should be a reserved subject for the transitional period has been criticised in certain quarters both with reference to its political and financial implications. As regards the political, it may be remembered that the National Liberal Federation of India had agreed to it in advance. It had the support of no less a person than Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, the foremost among Indian authorities on the Army question. On the economic side, some Indian economic experts have thought that the reservation meant that the present military expenditure will not be reduced. This is a mis-

conception. Of course, if the control of the Army is reserved to the Viceroy, it follows that he must be empowered to find the necessary money. But it does not follow that the present scale of expenditure should be maintained undiminished. The R. T. Conference accepted not only the plea of rapid Indianization of the superior ranks in the Indian Army but also the reduction of the British element in it. Such economies as these proposals may result in are not prejudiced by the reservation. Then there are the capitulation charges. The Finance Member in his reply to the Army Debate in the Assembly last week announced that the British Government had agreed to the reference of the whole question to independent arbitration and that the settlement would have retrospective effect from the 31st March 1926. An earlier date may well have been fixed. Nevertheless, it will be unfair to contend that the reservation agreed to at the R. T. C. debars retrenchment in the Army expenditure. The question will arise only when the Expert Committee has made its recommendations and the Government, rather the Viceroy, takes action on them. All that needs now to be pressed is that the composition of the Committee should inspire confidence in India.

Inquiry into Frontier Regulations.

THE anachronistic character of some of the Regulations in force in the Frontier Province were thrust on public notice on two recent occasions in the Legislative Assembly. The case of a Pathan by name Habib Noor was raised by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed over an adjournment motion which was carried against Government. The facts of the case may be briefly stated. Habib Noor made a murderous assault on one Captain Barnes, Assistant Commissioner of Charsadda. He was apprehended by Captain Barnes himself, placed before the Sessions Judge of Peshawar, tried *in camera*, sentenced to capital punishment, and executed the next day. His trial took place under some old and obsolete Regulation called the Murderous Outrages Act of 1867 which did not allow the accused any right of appeal. As Sir Hari Singh Gour explained, under this Act the trying judge was not required even to record evidence and not even his judgment! He had only to specify the charge and pass sentence of death which must be carried out forthwith. The Act was intended to apply to so-called fanatics which term was nowhere defined. We do not wish to go into the question whether Habib Noor was a fanatic or tried to carry out his murderous intent with other motives. Nor do we desire to question the strictly legal nature of the whole proceeding. But what is legal is not necessarily right and there is no doubt that the punishment of death for an attempt to murder and the indecent hurry with which it was carried out are matters which have rightly caused the strongest public indignation in the land. The Home Member tried to twit non-officials, especially Sir H. S. Gour who was a member of the Repressive Laws Committee, on its failure to recommend this particular Act for repeal. That, of course, is neither here nor there. But the fact is there that what public opinion now wants is the disappearance of such barbarous and inhuman laws from the Indian statute book. A later debate shows that the Act in question has even worse features. According to Mr. Yamin Khan, it provides capital punishment with forfeiture of property or transportation for life with 20 lashes a week and forfeiture of property for attempted murder. The Act also contains the hair-raising provision that should the suspicious man be killed before attempting the murder, his dead body may be tried and disposed of in any way the magistrate thinks proper and if such body was convicted, the property of the dead man be forfeited. It is clear

that such regulations were designed to meet a state of things which no longer exists in the Frontier Province. The case for the radical modification, if not the total abolition, of this and similar regulations is unanswerable and we are glad that, as announced by the Foreign Secretary a few days ago, the whole question is going to be inquired into by means of a committee with adequate non-official representation. At a time when civil conditions in the Frontier Province are very nearly analogous to those obtaining in the other provinces, there appears to be no reason why it should have a different system of judicial administration.

* * *

Uplift of Depressed Classes.

THE untouchables in Nasik have, under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar, revived their Satyagraha to seek admission to the Kalaram Temple. The local Congress leaders are divided on the question, which must have surprised the untouchables. They get no better comfort from the decisions of the Bombay Government on the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee's Report which have at last been made public recently. The Committee inquired into the economic, educational and social condition of these people and recommended certain measures for their uplift. The more important of these related mostly to the introduction of compulsory education to begin with as an experimental measure in some areas, the grant of an increased number of scholarships, the opening of more hostels and the provision of more extensive educational facilities generally. This meant much additional expense for which provision cannot be too easily made in the present financial stringency. This is perfectly understandable. But we are surprised that Government have also rejected recommendations which did not involve additional expense, but which merely suggested some financial adjustments with a view to enable these classes to benefit more largely from the funds earmarked for their benefit. We have in mind the Committee's proposal that the whole scholarships allotment for these classes should be regarded as one unit. If this recommendation had been accepted, it would have enabled the amounts of unutilised scholarships in high schools and colleges to be used in primary schools. But apparently red type came in the way and it was turned down on the ground of "serious administrative difficulties." Equally unsatisfactory is their decision not to accept the Committee's suggestion for the provision of a curriculum with an agricultural bias suited to the special needs of these classes. If this is done, they are afraid that it would put an undue strain on the pupils of tender age and would make their educational progress suffer. It is really a question why they should have prejudged the issue instead of introducing the suggested reform as an experimental measure. Such a thing might not, as they say, exist anywhere else; but that is no reason why the experiment should not have been tried here. The problem of the Depressed Classes is peculiar to India and calls for special measures. The recommendation of the Committee for the provision of manual work in hostels which is also dismissed as being impracticable, not on the ground of finance, but on that of the inability of the students to do the work without detriment to their studies. Those who expected that even in these difficult times some way would be found for giving effect to some of the less expensive recommendations of the Committee are sure to feel, not without justification, that if such a fate was to overtake the Committee's recommendations it might as well not have been appointed at all.

* * *

Articles.

THE PRINCES IN CONFERENCE.

IN the course of his opening address to the Princes' Chamber on Monday last in Delhi the Viceroy said that "the spirit which inspires a Government and in which its functions are carried out is more important than its constitutional form and whether it be an autocracy, constitutional monarchy or democracy, its success will be guided by the extent to which it provides certain essential conditions for the welfare of its subjects". He immediately set about telling their Highnesses some of these "essential subjects": the reign of law, independent judiciary, a limited civil list for the ruler, means of consulting the subjects, and some others equally important and elementary. The fact that His Excellency felt it necessary to lecture their Highnesses on these elementary though essential characteristics of the modern state is itself the most convincing proof that the spirit of government in most of the States is thoroughly unsatisfactory. The autocratic system of government in the Indian States has reproduced, not "the ancient Hindu ideal of kingship", but black spots in India. It is futile to argue at this time of the day that the form of government is independent of the spirit of it. The only way to restore the "ancient ideal of Hindu Kingship" is to democratise the administrations of the States.

Of that His Excellency has not given much hope. He reminded the assembled Princes that their internal affairs had for the most part been excluded from the questioning of outsiders, and he promised that the contemplated federal constitution would not affect their internal autonomy in non-federal matters. Their personal and dynastic relations were likely to be with the Crown through the Viceroy and that their guarantees would remain under the same conditions as before. Which means there is not much hope of the British Government putting diplomatic pressure on the Indian Princes to modernise their administrations. Nor will the new Dominion Government of India have the right to do so.

It was only in the federal matters that His Excellency told the Princes that they would have to bring to the common pool information which only the Government of India hitherto obtained from the States. That is to say, that in federal matters the States' administration should come up to British Indian standards. But there is no guarantee of this either. For His Highness of Patiala, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, took care to say in his summary of the achievements of the R. T. Conference, that it was open to the Princes to reserve to themselves the administration of even federal matters. His Highness went on to say that they had agreed to transfer to the federal government the minimum of functions absolutely necessary for common purposes. Even these subjects were federal for legislation and policy only, the States retaining their administration. It was also open to States joining the federation to reserve subjects which

other states had surrendered to the federal government.

His Excellency however significantly remarked to the Princes :

As you acquire a share in the control of common subjects and as your internal affairs become of increasing interest to public opinion in India, there will come to you more and more responsibility for bringing your administration to the level demanded of all modern governments.

This process, though inevitable, is bound to be much too slow, halting and uneven. It is doubtful if it will be rapid enough without some kind of revolution disturbing the peace and tranquillity in the States. Taking into account the rapid pace of progress in British India, it would be fatal to leave the progress in the States to drag out slowly and by fits and starts. Some way out of this danger must be found.

One of the basic features of the conclusions of the R. T. Conference was that the progress of India to full Dominion Status should be automatic, that there should be no need hereafter for Parliament to legislate for India. Provision was intended to be made for internal growth and the transitory duration of the reservations. In the case of the Indian States, however, there is no specific provision for internal growth, no guarantee that in a certain period of time autocracy would be replaced by democracy or that the nomination of the States' representatives to the federal legislature would be replaced by election. There is no provision for tapering off the autocracy in the States or eliminating the non-democratic *bloc* in the federal legislature. This grave defect must also be remedied.

We hope the Princes will have the political wisdom to agree to put a time limit to their autocracies, and give hope that the old state of things will in time pass away with their cordial consent and cooperation and without a revolution, non-violent or otherwise. Of course the best course would be to introduce representative institutions in the States and permit the States' representatives to the federal assembly to be elected by them. If this is too much for them, they may consent to give their subjects the federal franchise even if they withhold the State franchise. Precedents for this can be found in the German Empire fashioned by Bismarck and in Canada as well. This system, while it will continue the autocratic system in the States for some time longer and give time to their Highnesses to think again, will take away the great handicap under which the Federal Assembly will suffer by the presence of a big bloc nominated by the Princes.

There are many intriguing points that will come up for discussion in the Princes' Chamber. Will all the States join the federation immediately; if some of them do not join, what would be their relations with the federal government in matters of common interest? At the present moment the Government of India, in virtue of paramountcy, secured obedience, if not consent, to their policies. But if paramountcy be retained in the Viceroy as the sole agent of the Crown, the federal government will be greatly handicapped in pursuing common objects by the recalcitrancy of some States.

More delicate still is the question of the share of each of the federating States in the representation allotted

to the States in the federal legislature. Obviously it is impossible to give direct representation to all the 600 and odd states; nor can all the present members of the Princes' Chamber automatically walk into the federal Chamber, because they will be too many and the Chamber will then become unwieldy. Moreover, the composition of the Chamber, in so far as the Princes are directly represented, follows the model of the League of Nations. All the States have equal representation, for it is only the Princes that are members of it and a large state has but one Prince even as a small State. That system was acceptable in a purely advisory assembly. But it is very doubtful if in the federal legislature a large State, like Hyderabad, will be content to have the same representation as a small petty state. There is no easy and automatic method of assessing the representation due to each of the federating States. The criteria of area and population will not be acceptable to the Princes. Salutes, internal powers of administration, status according to treaties or sanads, ancient lineage and dignities, all these will enter into the calculations and some of them are as intangible and incalculable as they are important. It will be very little short of a miracle if the Princes can agree between themselves as to their relative representations. It may be that the Viceroy may have to arbitrate finally and impose a settlement. But this great and embarrassing difficulty will be put out of the way if the Princes will agree to permit their subjects to elect the States' representatives on the same franchise as will obtain in British India. The difficulties of the Princes as well as the interests of British India and the subjects of the States, not to speak of the requirements of modern progress and political wisdom, all point to the same solution: the election of the States' representatives by the peoples of the States.

TANNERY LABOUR IN BOMBAY—II.*

A very small section of the tannery workers live with their families at Dharavi. On enquiry, I found that out of the total of 1,500 tannery workers the number of those who had brought down their families to Bombay did not exceed 125. The reason is obvious. The earnings of a tannery worker are utterly inadequate for the requirements of his family. Nor can his women find employment in the industry, for it does not employ women. There is no other industry in which his womenfolk can easily secure employment. The enforced separation leads to results which can be easily imagined.

Those workers who have not got their families to live with them, live in the common shed and take their food in the common kitchen. It frequently happens that the workers working in a particular factory come from the same village. At any rate most of them know one another and are invariably inspired by a sense of local patriotism. Even those few workers who prefer not to stay in the shed belonging to the factory-owner by whom they are employed, lead a sort of club life. People coming from different villages form themselves into different

*The first article appeared in our issue of March 12.

clubs. Membership is not necessarily restricted to workers in the same factory, and several clubs have members who work in different factories. The only qualification insisted upon is that members must have a common native place. But the number of such clubs is small. Their membership varies between 15 to 20. They hire a room 15 by 10 feet in which they live and take their food. They prepare their food by turns and instances in which they have engaged a cook are very rare indeed. As the clubs are run on cooperative lines there is no profiteering. Regular accounts are kept and expenses are shared equally. The monthly charges for two meals a day vary between Rs. 8 and Rs. 12 with the result that the food is of a very poor quality. It is also doubtful whether they ever get a full meal. In short, the tannery workers are miserably poor, ill-fed, huddled together in unhealthy and insanitary cells, meagrely clad, strangers to even ordinary relaxations and comforts of life, and thinking themselves lucky if they get two meals a day of the cheapest variety.

By coming down to stay at Dharavi they have got to forego all intimate contact with their relatives. They cannot visit their villages often enough owing to the prohibitive cost of travelling. The expenses incurred by a single individual on a journey back to his native place amount to about Rs. 20 which very few can afford. Moreover many of them come to Bombay with borrowed money and naturally their first anxiety is to return the loan. But they generally visit their native places once every three years; and when they go, they stay there for three or four months. Apart from the expense, the fear that they may have to remain unemployed after their return also acts as a deterrent. No provision for leave is made by their employers nor do they recognise the necessity for making it. If at all any worker is re-engaged when he returns, it is due to personal considerations and not as a matter of right.

I visited almost all the tanneries at Dharvai and I found all of them old and ill fashioned structures. Not being built on new and up-to-date lines there is no proper provision for ventilation and lighting. Not only are these factories as bad as the dwelling places of the workers but they are even more insanitary and unhealthy. No tannery is kept clean. Dirty and decayed things are allowed to accumulate. The fleshy substance removed from the raw hides is often not removed until it decomposes. The old process of tanning hides in India requires a considerable quantity of water and as the floor of the tanneries is rugged and uneven the dirty water never drains off. There are no proper drains either. The ill-designed drains leave deposits just in the vicinity of the tanneries. The floors of all the factories without exception are covered with a thick layer of bark which is used for tanning hides. The whole atmosphere in the tannery is gloomy, dismal and depressing. A very foul, offensive smell fills the factory and a stranger stepping into the tanneries can hardly hope to escape the sensation of nausea and suffocation. It will, therefore, be quite evident that the insanitary condition of

the tanneries in which the tannery worker has to pass the whole working day doing hard manual labour affects his health very adversely. Epidemics thrive among them. They have to suffer in silence as they can hardly afford to pay for medical aid. Circumstanced as they are, they believe that to be treated by medical men during their illness is a luxury which is beyond their reach. These conditions, in my opinion will not improve unless and until the scope of the Factory Act is made sufficiently wide to include these tanneries.

The various processes in the tanning of hides involve skill as well as hard manual labour. Some of them involve painful risks. In handling very sharp knives when cleaning the raw hides the workers hurt themselves very frequently. But the most arduous, painful and harmful processes are those connected with the soaking of hides in lime water. Nearly half the work of tanning hides has to be done in lime. The workers have to stand in pits which are filled with lime water to a depth of 3 to 3½ feet and have to soak hides with bare hands and without any protection to the body. While soaking the hides the whole body of the worker gets splashed with lime water. It would be superfluous to enumerate in detail the injurious effects of lime on the body of the workers. Their hands get swollen by continuously working in lime. The inner surface of the palm becomes very stiff and hard. The joints of the fingers of the hands get so badly inflamed that they can hardly use them even for taking their food. So long as they continue to do that particular work the wounds do not heal. The spectacle is really pitiable.

A little less painful but nonetheless harmful is the work of that class of labourers who have to soak hides in the pits. They are called *Tottiwalas* in Tamil and they are all boys of tender age, ranging between 9 and 14. It is a pitiful sight to see these children doing the very obnoxious work of soaking hides in the pits that are full of bark water which gives out a foul smell. To turn the hides over and over again in the pits from morn till night is their job. For this purpose they have to remain in the pits all the time they are working in the tanneries, as the hides get spoiled if the process of turning them over is not incessantly carried on. Even the stoutest constitution cannot stand such a strain for very long, much less that of these young boys. And yet this is the class of workers in the tannery which gets the least leisure! The fact that the owners of the tanneries prefer to employ invariably boys of tender age for this kind of work is accounted for by the fact that they are more amenable to discipline than grown-up men, that more work can be ruthlessly exacted from them and, last but by no means the least, their labour is cheaper.

Hours of Work.—The tannery employees have no fixed hours of work. It is no doubt true that the tannery workers enjoy a certain amount of latitude as regards the exact hour of starting their work. But they can on no account stop the work for the day until the day's allotted work is finished, as the skins get

spoiled if the work is left half done. The Factory Act is not applicable to the tanneries. Nor are the owners under the necessity of fixing the hours of work as all classes of employees except the *Tottiwallas* are engaged on the piece-work system. As all that the employers require of their employees is that they must necessarily finish the day's work before they return home, it is immaterial to them as to when they start work. It will, therefore, be evident that the absence of restrictions as regards the time for starting work does not mean any very great concession to the workers. All the workers come to the tannery together and start work at the same time. They generally go to the tannery between 7-30 and 8 A. M. The work that has to be completed on a particular day is equally divided among the workers. The amount of work available on a particular day is the sole deciding factor that fixes the number of hours each worker has to put in on that day. The hours of work naturally vary from day to day according to the condition of trade, the purchasing power of the owner of a particular factory and the number of workers employed in the tannery. But there is absolutely no limit whatever to the hours of work. Indeed, during the boom period of the industry the owners extracted work from their employees for more than fourteen hours a day! And even at present when the industry is passing through a phase of depression they are often required to work for twelve or even thirteen hours a day! My enquiries into the hours of work of *Tottiwallas* led me to conclude that these boys worked in these insanitary places for more than thirteen hours a day generally, before the tannery workers were organised into a Union. They used to go to their work at 7 A. M. and toiled in the tanneries till 8 or 9 P. M. with hardly half an hour's recess for meals in the noon. One of the demands for which the Union had to organise a strike immediately after it came into existence and which was granted by the Owners' Association was that the hours of work of the *Tottiwallas* should not exceed ten a day. The hours of work of these boys do need to be restricted; but this can be effectively done only by legislation. The workers would have felt compensated to some extent if for work beyond the stipulated hours they were paid extra. But the understanding between the employers and the employees being that they must anyhow finish the work for the day before they can leave the tannery, no overtime allowance is paid to them. The employers are under no obligation to pay any overtime allowance as the tanneries do not come within the scope of the Factory Act. Like every thing else in this world, the present trade depression is bound to come to an end soon; and if the relentless exploitation of these helpless workers is to be checked the Factory Act must be so amended as to include the tanneries within its scope. It will be seen from what has been said above that the workers badly need legal protection and their demand for it cannot but be said to be eminently just and reasonable.

Midday interval :—The hour for mid-day recess has also, as already pointed out, not been fixed by the employers. The usual practice is that the work-

ers retire to their homes at about 12 noon to take their meals and return to the tannery to resume work again after about half an hour. The workers, however, can, if they so choose, take rest for a longer time. But they prefer not to do so as they are naturally anxious to finish their task as early as possible. So far as the *Tottiwallas* are concerned, they do not enjoy latitude as regards the period of mid-day rest to the same extent as the other classes of workers in the tannery do, since they are employed not as piece-workers but as paid servants. They have consequently to come back to their tanneries immediately after they have had a hurried meal. Whenever there is great pressure of work, they are dragged away even in the midst of their meal. Though the Union has arrived at an understanding with the owners of the tanneries that the *Tottiwallas* should be allowed to have a mid-day recess of at least an hour it cannot hope to check effectively any breach of this understanding on the part of the owners, as this class of workers, being boys of tender age, are easily frightened by the supervising staff and forced to resume work before the recess hour is over. They are also easily prevented by their *maistries* from approaching the Union with their complaints. Here too the real remedy is legislation.

S. V. PARULEKAR.

(To be continued.)

FILLING IN THE DETAILS.

WHAT the R. T. C. has produced is only a "design," the details of which have yet to be filled in. It is, as Mr. MacDonald has said, "rough wood full of knots, full of difficulties in handling and using." Some of the "details" may be considered here.

What is this R. T. C. structure? Provincial autonomy has been fully granted; but the Governor of each province is still vested with powers "to secure in exceptional circumstances" the preservation of tranquillity and to guarantee the maintenance of statutory rights for the public services and to protect minorities. The Governor's power of veto to preserve these interests may well not be an absolute one on the U. S. A. President's model but should be made a *suspensory* one.

The bi-cameral structure at the Centre is invested with some responsibility. While one is bound to criticise the Central Legislature's limited responsibility this is an improvement on the Simon Report and the Government of India's despatch thereon. Stability rather than liability to removal by gusts of popular disapproval has been the guiding aim of those who have framed the constitution of the Central structure. With not less than 30 p. c. of the States' nominees in the Lower House and a higher percentage of Princes' representation in the Upper House combined with the proviso of a two-thirds majority of a joint session of both Houses for the effectuation of a vote of no confidence in the Ministry—it is practically certain that the possibility of such a vote being passed is well-nigh nil. This difficulty is a necessary

concomitant of the Princes' willingness to come into a federal structure at once.

The financial safeguards for existing services and "guarantees" for transactions by the Secretary of State cover an important and wide field. This must be taken to give full liberty of action with reference to new recruitments to all services. Revival of Indian industrial and commercial life is bound to suffer if the Indian Legislature has no control of exchange, transportation, tariffs and currency. Subject to the Paramountcy of Indian interests, a free India is sure to give equality of treatment to British economic interests.

The reservation with reference to observance of "constitutional rights of minorities" is bound to retard further progress. This safeguarding should be entrusted to the interpreter of the constitution—the Federal Supreme Court—and not to the Viceroy.

A strong and impartial Supreme Court is a necessity in all Federal Constitutions. When this court is ushered in, the states will perforce have to part with some of their judicial powers.

An examination of the scheme leaves the impression that residuary powers have been left undefined and some sovereign powers remain with the states. It is desirable to leave the residuary powers with the Federal Legislature rather than with the provinces since the Canadian model is preferable to the Australian one as being better suited to Indian conditions.

One fails to see any provision for amendments in the R. T. C. Scheme. All Federal constitutions provide for such amendment either by way of referendum or special legislative majorities. Such a provision, it is obvious, could not be inserted in the Indian constitution during the period of transition. It is necessary that this transitional period with regard to military affairs should be delimited to a definite number of years, say fifteen.

Apart from the improvements here suggested, more difficult and delicate work yet remains to be done in the following directions:— (1) Place of the States in the Federation, (2) The exact composition of the Federal Legislature, (3) The specific character of the Central Executive, (4) The communal settlement, (5) Detailed delimitations regarding safeguards, and (6) The extension of the Franchise. There is hope for the proper working out of these and other details since the drafting is to be done by politicians aided by the expert Civil Services.

K. R. R. SASTRY.

THE TWO AMERICAS.

IMPERCEPTIBLY but unmistakably a new tendency is at work in international politics. Within the last six months two high officials of the League of Nations organization have crossed the Atlantic and besides bringing back with them interesting impressions of the two American continents, have been able to obtain satisfactory assurance of greater cooperation in the future between the League and the countries they visited. A reference to the report of the visit of Mr. Butler, the Deputy-

Director of the International Labour Office, to Canada and the United States has already been made in these columns. Two outstanding features of that report, it will be recollected, are the tendency to treat the economic problems of the North American continent as a whole, irrespective of political barriers and the emphasis on the economic interdependence of Europe and America, especially the fully reciprocal nature of this relation. Even without entering into the more controversial grounds of finance—war debts, reparations payments and the like—Mr. Butler has been able to make out a convincing case for closer cooperation between the two halves, so to speak, of what may be described as the economic system on which Western civilisation rests and to point to such an internationalism as the only certain and almost inevitable safeguard against the repetition of an industrial crisis like the one with which the United States, like the rest of the world, is faced.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who has lately returned to Geneva after a ten weeks' tour of South America, would seem to insist on the same moral. Asked, on his arrival, whether the Latin American countries were likely to form a group within the League (like the European States) for the special study of Latin American problems, Sir Eric Drummond gave the significant answer that "though the Latin American countries were producing countries, their products differed widely, and therefore apart from questions of culture and language there were wide differences of interest." He added that "the most effective action by the Latin American States, from their purely personal point of view, would be to establish relationship with the consuming countries in other continents rather than between themselves." The Exhibition which will be held shortly and the elaborate tour preliminary to it undertaken by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his brother are an earnest of the eagerness on the part of exporting, or to employ the Secretary General's expression—consuming, countries to reciprocate any such gesture from the Latin American States.

These happy results to which economic factors would seem to point are unfortunately not easy of achievement. A report from America, for instance, states that American businessmen, made uneasy by the possible repercussions of the Princes' tour on their commerce, are arranging a counter tour of Charles Lindbergh. Such rumours are substantiated by similar manifestations in the past on the part of the present President of the United States on the one hand and that of a trade delegation headed by the late British ambassador at Berlin on the other. Sir Eric himself has apparently come across two kinds of doubts about the League during his tour, both calculated to cast reflections on the strength and security or the present political order in Europe. He was astonished to find a widespread feeling among leading politicians and the Press of Latin America that a European War was probable in the near future, and the relation of the League to the Monroe Doctrine still caused anxiety to Argentina and other South American countries.

The political and economic issues involved in the situation created by the relations between Europe and the two Americas undoubtedly make it a fitting subject for the League's attention whether it be considered negatively as made up of explosive elements which must be prevented from bursting or positively as consisting of suitable material for the construction of an economic structure. Sir Eric undertook this trip even at the risk of missing the inaugural meeting of the Committee created by the

last Assembly to give effect to Monsieur Briand's proposal to set up a European federation, and that may be taken as the measure of the League's earnestness of purpose in this regard. It is Sir Eric's answer to the criticism—which the Maharaja of Bikaner found it necessary to repeat—that the League was becoming a wholly European institution, and to such critics in Latin America, the Secretary-General was indeed able to say that a European Federal Union within the framework of the League must be an additional inducement to the Latin American countries to cooperate with it because they could thus reduce any unfavourable effects it might have on the trade and tariffs of Latin America. In Geneva South American countries are known for their cohesion and for their increasing prestige and participation in League affairs. It is well-known that for more reasons than one they seek to attain more power at Geneva. To succeed in this they must be represented in the League in all their strength. Neither apparent indifference towards it, as in the case of the Argentine, nor the American habit of making the League part of the controversies of domestic politics can lead to it. The Secretary-General's visit has undoubtedly cleared away many misconceptions and paved the way for more fruitful cooperation between Europe and Latin America in general and the League and the latter in particular.

But it may be asked whether the economic instability of the world at present, which was Mr. Butler's concern during his visit to North America, and the political uncertainty, signs of which Sir Eric came across during his recent travels, depend wholly, or even for the larger part, on conditions prevailing in that part of the globe. In a notable speech recently in the House of Commons Mr. Churchill summed up the causes of the dislocation of world trade in the one word: Asia. So far as the British Empire, an important member of the League, is concerned, the nerve centre of that continent is India, herself an original member of the League. Yet in all these ten years none of the highest officials of the League organization has found it necessary to visit that country although apparently both Sir Eric and Mr. Butler appreciate the importance of personal contacts. Political conditions in India are, it is true, peculiar but in their dealings with the North and South American continents these distinguished visitors must have frequently marked embarrassing circumstances. It is sometimes asserted that public opinion in India is not responsive to the League and the concentration on domestic problems makes the League a matter of remote interest to Indian public men, but on the other hand it can also be urged that lack of any very serious effort on the part of the representatives of the League to assure the Indian people that India has an honoured place in the family of nations, and that in the present world conditions she has the power to do good and responsibilities towards the League organization, is hardly calculated to create that measure of interest in Geneva on the part of Indians which is obviously desired. After all Indian conditions are no worse than Chinese conditions and they have proved no very great obstacle on the path of closer cooperation between China and the League. It is time that Geneva realized the realities of the Indian situation.

R. R.

Reviews.

BUDGETARY REFORM.

THE NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM, WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT.

By W. F. WILLOUGHBY. (The Brookings Institution. Washington.) 1927. 22 cm. 343 p. \$ 3'00.

TRACING the movement for budgetary reform from its very beginning the book clearly points out the advantages which would be forthcoming if a proper system of financial administration based squarely upon a budget as its central and controlling feature were to be adopted. The budget itself should give complete information regarding the condition of the treasury, revenues and expenditures in the past and the financial programme for the future as designed by the chief executive. The U. S. A. adopted a budget system in harmony with their political system based on the separation of powers. The Congress has the power to modify the proposals of the President, and action is taken only after modifications are made as a result of searching inquiry into the merits of the budget proposals. The differences between the English budget system and the American budget system are pointed out clearly on p. 142 and p. 155.

Problems of budgetary technique such as the submission of estimates and appropriations for payment of personal services or public works are next dealt with. Suggestions for the improvement of the new budgetary system are next outlined. The abolition of unnecessary departments and their merging into the Bureau of the Budget is wisely conceived, for the mere duplication arising out of a number of independent agencies for performing the self-same task only leads to mere waste and loss of energy.

The necessity for the use of supplementary budgets in order to give independent consideration to the financial operations and needs of special revenue-producing services is also pointed out.

The desirability of improving the appropriation system of the national Government is another welcome suggestion on which there would be no two opinions. Without the abolition of the permanent appropriations a complete statement of the funds would not be forthcoming. The improvements necessary in the accounting system for the proper presentation of information in the Budget are also pointed out. (p. 276).

Though the minor imperfections can be removed as a matter of slow progress it is essential to recognise the vast improvements brought about by the adoption of this budget system. The initiation of correct financial methods, the presentation of the mature programme of finances, the granting of time to discuss the questions of policy, the sacrifice of local interests for the common good, the early consideration of the appropriation bills and the acceleration of the work of all the committees are the direct results of the new Budget and Accounting Act passed in 1921 which has been rightly acclaimed as the greatest reform in the financial history of the U. S. A.

It is indeed true that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments show an admirable instinct for managing the finances in a scientific way. But even these can learn important things by a careful perusal of this lucidly written book on this highly important but unfortunately least understood subject.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

EUROPEAN HISTORY.

EUROPE SINCE WATERLOO. By UPENDRA NATH BALL. (Atma Ram and Sons, Lahore.) 1930. 20cm. 427p. Rs. 3/12.

IN this book Prof. Ball has drawn an outline of the political history of modern Europe since the downfall of Napoleon. He has, we think, ably dealt with the material in his hand, and treated the subject so as to sustain the interest of the reader in the narrative. Writers outside Europe are both under an advantage and a disadvantage in writing the account. The advantage lies in being able to bring a dispassionate and detached judgment to bear upon the various incidents. The disadvantage on the other hand is due to the lack of proper perspective, because of the author having no living touch with the topic with which he has to deal. All his knowledge, such as it is, comes from books. Prof. Ball is conscious both of the advantage and the disadvantage and has narrated the incidents with great caution and judgment.

The merit of the book lies in its closing chapters. There are few books that deal with the history of Europe from 1871 to the present date. The books that were published during war times and soon after were mostly meant to put up the European case before the world tribunal, and therefore were one-sided. The book under review is not an attempt to present a case but aims at carefully sifting and utilising the material for a continuous narrative. The various incidents following the murder of the Archduke have been narrated in their proper sequence and we are able to know how the Serbian officials were intimately connected with the murder. We also learn that the determination of Russia to support Serbia made it impossible to localise the struggle and that the British Government promised their naval support to France *a few hours before* there was any desire expressed by Germany of violating the neutrality of Belgium. We read in this book how the Great War was an inevitable outcome of the international competition of the war-like nations of Europe.

Keen competition in trade and commercialized rivalry in political life. In such circumstances, war was a necessary corollary. To say therefore that Germany was responsible for the war is to beg the whole question." (p. 345).

The writer who could state the proposition in such a dispassionate manner has unfortunately not provided it with a suitable unprejudiced background. We entirely differ from him when he describes the ex-Kaiser as "impulsive, reckless and arrogant," (p. 302) and says of Bismark that "with him departed the wisdom and cautiousness which marked the Government of the German Empire." One wonders whether Germany went headlong, for twenty-five years from the fall of Bismark in 1890, on a continuous course of recklessness and folly and that her people, as well as statesmen allowed themselves to be stupefied so as to be drawn behind the chariot wheels of the "arrogant" Kaiser, much against their will. The whole of chapter XII has been treated so as to create an impression that Germany lost much by a policy of rashness and vacillation of William II. We think that Germany lost not because the ex-Kaiser was either rash in his policy or unjustified in the aims that he held before his eyes but because she was successfully overpowered by the statecraft of the Empire-builders who very craftily utilised the services of the Professor-President for accomplishing their object and then turning his fourteen points into as many disappointments for him. The quarrel between the ex-Kaiser and the blood and iron Chancellor was not due to any

essential difference of opinion over the policy to be followed but it took place on account of the simple rule that two swords cannot remain in one sheath.

Another defect in the narration of recent events is the failure of the author to make any reference to the story of Irish freedom so fascinating and instructive to the Indian reader. The writer probably has presupposed his readers to be familiar with the outline of British history of which Irish events form a part and avoided touching the subject. Yet the explanation of the omission is not and cannot be its justification. Concerned, as the author is, with merely narrating the political incidents, he not only makes no reference to the social and the economic events of importance but fails to take note of the influence of political philosophers like J. S. Mill and Carlyle, or List and Nietzsche, though he has made a passing reference to the latter on p. 343. The book under review is a history narrating the story proper and not a philosophy of history that would seek to take note of the under-currents. Yet such as it is, it would assuredly satisfy the purpose of the student world of having in a nutshell a continuous and readable account of this complicated period of European history.

R. V. OTURKAR.

MEGHADUTA.

THE CLOUD-MESSENGER. AN INDIAN LOVE LYRIC. TRS. FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT OF KALIDASA, BY CHARLES KING. (Murray.) 1930. 17cm. 61p. 2/6.

THE Cloud-Messenger of Kālidāsa has for long fascinated generations of critics—Indian and foreign—by its lyric intensity, its charm of description, its splendid imagery, and above all by the truth of its emotional experience and the skill with which it is communicated. Grant the initial illusion—the willing suspension of disbelief, as Coleridge puts it—the rest is as near life as possible. Herein do we find that 'rounded perfection and felicity of loveliness' of which Shakespeare is held the great master. So to translate such a work in the English language is a noble ambition; but to succeed in it even partially, if not wholly, is a rare achievement indeed. The work under review deserves praise for its partial success. In judging of such a work, one is reminded of Shelley's strictures on the headlong rashness of translation:

It were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as to seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from its seed—or it will bear no flower.

This excellent remark may be taken to lay down the end and purpose of a translation. There is much more than mere ideas—the innuendoes and suggestions, the subtle nuances of style and colour and sound—in fine, the perfume of poetry that requires to be reproduced in the translation in order that a work may be relished with the same zest and pleasure as in the original.

It would have been much better, therefore, had the translation been in the first place metrical. It is no doubt in places very happy in its phrasings, and there are a few really refreshing inversions in the level prose of its translation; but there are quite a large number of places where these sins of inversion are 'scarlet'; for they add neither to the charm of its prose rhythm, nor serve to spread the aroma of poetry over its language; and we get the impression of something halting—something which is neither prose nor poetry but a dash between the two; while in

quite a large number of places are introduced rhythms which arouse without satisfying an expectation of their recurrence at regular intervals. One such specimen is the following :—

" Casting *shade* thou shalt be *made* for a moment intimate with the faces of the flower-gathering girls; faded in their ear, the blue lotus doth *appear* stricken in wiping the sweat from off their cheeks " (XXVI. p. 32)

One does not know what the following sentence means. "Season by season is his love made manifest by consummation with thee." Does consummation mean 'union' which is the right word to translate 'Samyoga'? There are a few places where the idea of the original seems not to have been grasped—e. g. the translator speaks of the Kadamba flower "all yellow and brown with infant stems"; but the poet is not speaking of the stems but of the filaments or stamens inside the flower 'Kesara'; the translator speaks of the water of the river Revā as *robed* with the fragrant rut of the forest elephant. Now that is too bold and strange a conceit; but what Kālidāsa means is that the water is perfumed and not *robed* (*vasitam*) with the fragrant rut.

But at this rate it would be possible to pick any number of holes in any work, and when that work is a translation the dangers of misapprehension, overstatement and understatement are palpably great. It is well that one more translation of this exquisite lyric is added to the already numerous versions, showing how strong a hold this fascinating work has on the minds of foreigners. There is a valuable introduction which gives information about the life and date of the poet and a short and running summary of his main works. It is to be hoped that this small book will help to fulfil the object of the series which is "by means of the best oriental literature—its wisdom, philosophy, poetry and ideals—to bring together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, good will and understanding."

C. R. DEVADHAR.

MUSSOLINI—AN EMPIRE BUILDER ?

THE EXPANSION OF ITALY. BY LUIGI VILLARI. (Faber & Faber.) 1930. 23 cm. 290 p. 15/-

THE old Austrian Empire was completely broken up in the World War and a considerable portion of the spoils came to Italy. Why, in entering the War it was Italy's avowed intention to reconquer the Alto Adige and Trentino. It was no wonder then that these provinces, the "unredeemed Italy" as the Italian nationalists used to describe them, were given to Italy. But they do not appear to be quite pleased with their new masters. Mussolini's vigorous administration of these provinces is denounced as unendurable and harsh by non-Italian critics. They maintain that the Italian Government is harassing the Austrians, the Germans, and the Slavs, who form the more important minorities of the provinces. It is also asserted that the German and other non-Italian schools are made to close by the authorities and parents are forced to send their children to the Government schools, where no consideration is shown to the child's mother tongue. It seems that the Italian Government wants to make the provinces thorough-bred Italian. Mussolini had the bad luck to experience the degeneration of these people when he was a mere Socialist and writing to the columns of Cesare Battisti's paper, the *Popolo*. Now that the "unredeemed Italy" is redeemed and brought under the Italian colours, the Deuce will not lose a single moment in instilling into the people there the real Italian spirit. The sum total of Sign. Villari's argument is that the action of the Italian

authorities is simply to restore the old Italian spirit. In his opinion, no injustice is being done to the non-Italians there. The chapters on 'Alto Adige' and the 'Venezia Giulia' are an able attempt to support Mussolini's policy there. However, the reader should be excused if he suspects Fascist propaganda in this book, under the specious name of the expansion of Italy.

The political intentions behind the book apart, Signor Villari's treatise is an excellent historical study of the movements of the Italian people in the Near East, North Africa, and the Mediterranean Islands. Broadly speaking, after the Venitians, the Romans were the great maritime people who sailed to all corners of the world. The Italians are a prolific people, and naturally prone to expand. That explains their migration to America in so large a number. The present ruler, Mussolini, is avowedly an expansionist, who openly declares that the population of Italy must grow from 4 to 6 crores within the next ten years. Malthusian philosophy does not find favour with him and he maintains that "all contraceptive and birth-control means a humbug" and has declared them "immoral and illegal."

Under the present circumstances Italy is bound to be looked upon as 'a danger spot' in international peace circles. As long as Mussolini's philosophy holds good in Italy, the Italians are sure to explore new ground for colonization. Their North African Colonies, and notably that of Tripolitania, goes a long way to prove with what vigour and thoroughness the present Government of Italy is pursuing its objective. Not a stone is left unturned to help the agriculturist and make the soil yield more and varied produce.

All this vigour displayed is really praiseworthy; but if it merely shows unrestricted ambition on the part of Mussolini to have more space "under the Sun", then certainly Italy is a "danger spot." Despots often provoke wars to keep themselves in power. We hope Mussolini does not belong to this category and that the fears about his bellicosity are groundless.

D. V. TAHMANKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

ROAD-MAKERS. BEING THE ADULT SCHOOL LESSON HANDBOOK FOR 1931. (NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION, LONDON.) 19 cm. 312 p. 1/6.

THE Adult School is a unique movement in England and although conducted by religious-minded people its scope is far beyond that of religion. Indeed, religion, as narrowly conceived, occupies a very small portion of the activities of the Adult School. As the name signifies, it is really an educational movement directed towards broad-mindedness.

All over England there are various such 'schools' where adults assemble once a week to discuss, under the guidance of a leader, different problems of life. This organization affords a chance to the ordinary person, who is absorbed in the daily routine of toil to come out of his narrow sphere of life and glance at the wide world. A lesson generally consists of singing of some hymns and reading the appointed portion from the Adult School Book, followed by a discussion on the salient points in the reading. Every year a theme, upon which the lessons of the year are based, is chosen. Usually a guest is invited to give a short talk on some subject of general interest, which is likely to widen the vision of the members.

This book compiled by the Committee appointed by the National Adult School Union of England, contains lessons to be followed in 1931. This year's programme consists of lessons about the life-work of

pioneers, the path-finders, in various walks of life. There have been many men of vision who have pioneered on the unknown ground and prepared the roads for others to follow.

The book naturally begins with the greatest of road-makers, according to the Christian belief, Jesus Christ, and other religious road-makers that followed him. Then follow the explorers, Christopher Columbus and Captain Scott. The pioneer printers, who prepared the way for the spread of modern knowledge brought education from byway to highway, and this broadening of the road is very interesting to study. Then the weekly lessons cover the field of poetry, science and even politics.

Thus the topics in this year's schedule of work are spread over a wide area and the discussion of the lives of so many pioneers is sure to inspire the young and old with higher ideals of life. The Adult School Movement is doing great service to humanity by spreading the spirit of fellowship through enlightenment of the adult mind. Although discussion is the important part of a weekly lesson, the book itself is interesting to read.

B. D. KARVE.

IF I WERE JEEJEEBOY JAY! BEING THE DREAM OF A HAPPY WORLD, WITH SP-REFERENCE TO INDIA. BY JAL F. KALIANIVALA. (Stockwell.) 20 cm. 16 p. 1/-

MR. Jal F. Kalianivala gives in this small and admirably got up brochure what he would do "if some kind of people of a small state in a corner of mother Earth were good enough to make me their Chief and *gen d'arms*, and Nabob of them all." Mr. Kalianivala, if made Nabob of them all, would flood his state with posters bearing wellknown and, I am afraid, well-worn admonitions to his subjects to "lead a peaceful life", to "remember that love for your fellowmen begets love from them" and to "keep tidy, and look prosperous", to "remember you are a gentleman" and so on. He would invite all to join "the Servants of toil", a new proletarian Order competing with King Arthur's aristocratic Round Table. Education would be free but not compulsory and inducements of free-clothing, books, etc. would be provided at state expenses. As for prohibition, Mr. Kalianivala naively puts aside any idea of compulsion as he believes that "human being, be he an adult or an infant, will have one thing or another to keep up his spirits". He would ask the State so to manage its policy as to make the instinct of enjoyment an asset in guiding it to other channels. For unemployment he would depend on "the help of gentlemen of charitable disposition" to provide industrial homes. Particular care would be taken to discourage overcrowding in any line." Laws of sanitation would be taught by a monster propaganda through cinemas, health exhibition trains and lectures. This benevolent Nabob would tackle all problems, social, economic humanitarian, international, with the same airy combination of charitable capitalism helping omniscient Socialism. This dream of a happy world is as pleasant as it is vague and flimsy. Indeed, it would have been more in the fitness of things if the author had quoted Socrates on the title page instead of in the body of a para in the book. That sage remarked: "though no man undertakes a trade he has not learned, even the meanest, yet every one thinks himself sufficiently qualified for the hardest of all trades—that of government."

M. D. SHAHANE.

INTERNATIONAL GOLD MOVEMENTS. By PAUL EINZIG. (Macmillan, London.) 1929. 22cm. 114 p. 6/-

DR. EINZIG who has had considerable academic grounding and practical experience of finance, banking and exchange, has explained, in the book under review, the process of international gold movements with a thoroughly practical flavour. The disturbed exchanges of the War and the post-War period seemed to have thrown out of court the classical theory of the automatic adjustment of the trade balance by the movements of specie when exchange departed from the gold points. Prof. Cassell and others have restated the theory of foreign exchanges in a fashion conformable to the extraordinary experience of the War. To Dr. Einzig may be given the credit of having done the same with respect to the practical aspect of international movements of gold in such abnormal times. Most of the articles, that here figure as separate chapters in book form, were already published at various times in such reputed journals as *The Economic Journal*, *the Banker* and *The Financial News*. It is to be hoped that careful students of finance and those practically interested in large-scale bullion transaction will benefit by a perusal of the book.

D.

MYSORE CITY. BY CONSTANCE E. PARSONS. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 20cm. 208p. Rs. 3/-

THE city of Mysore in South India described by travellers as the 'most beautiful city', the 'cleanest city' and 'the garden city' attracts crowds of people every year. The book is an attempt to help the sojourner in Mysore to enjoy the beauty spots of that place. The author has portrayed in vivid colours the charm of the city, its palaces, people and its roads. Every shrine and temple is clothed in a legendary hallow. The city boasts of many hospitals and educational institutions, which speak of the noble ideals with which the State is inspired. The Krishnaraja Sagara Dam is a marvel of Indian engineering enterprise. One wonders why the author did not mention the name of Sir M. Visweswaraiiah, the engineer-statesman in connection with the dam. The space devoted to the narration of the story of the University is inadequate, especially when one is reminded of the distinguished scholars that have contributed to the success and glory of the institution. The information about Hotels and Theatres will prove useful to travellers, but we see that the Hindu Hotel is not mentioned in the list. The map of the city that is attached at the end of the book adds to its utility.

G. V. RAMACHAR.

HUMAN NATURE. A STUDY. BY DAN GRIF-FITHS. (Daniel, London.) 1930. 19cm. 74 p. 2/6.

THIS is a small book but full of interest to judges and psychologists. The author believes that human nature is the result of heredity and environment, or in other words, a bundle of inherited instincts and acquired habits, a reflex of physical, economic and social conditions. It is good if the factors composing it are good, it is bad if the factors are bad. And mostly it is bad, as the environments which make it up are and have been unjust and immoral. Reduced to simplicity, the naked truth is that the present evil is the result partly of the past and partly of the present evil social structure. And as we cannot remedy the past, the only course for us is to change, as much as we can, the present social and economic structure of society. But it is a herculean task, and sounds

like a Utopian dream. We agree, and every one will agree, with the author that "the remedies for erring human nature are food, clothing, shelter; employment, education and leisure: recreation health and vigour." But how to provide them to all human beings is a question which is not yet solved.

V. M. BHAT.

AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN. A RECORD OF ECONOMIC WAR. By LUDWELL DENNY. (Knopf., London) 1930. 25cm. 420p. 12/6.

A BOOK full of amazing facts and figures—facts and figures replete with the flesh and blood of human destinies. The author proves to the hilt the proud title he has chosen for the book, and the proud conclusion :

"We were Britain's Colony once. She will be our Colony before she is done : not in name but in fact...Too wise to govern the world we shall merely own it. Nothing can stop us. Nothing until our financial Empire rots at its heart, as empires have a way of doing.....If Britain is foolish enough to fight us, she will go down more quickly, that is all."

The all-embracing survey which this book takes of America *vis-a-vis* England is quite astounding. Nothing illustrates more vividly the extraordinary pitch of the development of capitalism and the out-cropping of the self-destructive forces within its womb than this well-attested picture of the desperate war carried on in peace-time between the two most highly developed capitalist countries that dominate the world to-day. Under headings and subheadings as Decline of the British Empire; Rise of the American Empire; The Prince of Wales, Salesman; Are the Dominions British?; Canada is in America; Britain Lacks Capital; The World is chained to Wall Street; Grabbing Raw Materials; Key Industries; The Nickel Truce; Rubber Rebounds; Oil Diplomacy. etc., such revealing and copious facts and figures are given as make us sit up and rub our eyes metaphorically. No reader who pretends to follow intelligently the movements of "the rolling wheels of this great world," and to understand the pressure of the modern economic world system on nations and individuals, should miss reading this well-documented work. I have never known facts and figures to endow the world with such a vivid personality as the facts and figures of this book succeed in doing.

J. J. VAKIL.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY. By M. P. GANDHI. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1930. 25cm. 127p.
 AN INDIAN DIARY. By EDWIN S. MONTAGU. (Heinemann.) 1930. 23cm. 410p. 21/-.
 EARLY DAYS IN EAST AFRICA. By FREDERICK JACKSON. (Arnold.) 1930. 23cm. 399p. 21/-.
 KACHALOLA OR THE EARLY LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF SIDNEY SPENCER BROOMFIELD. (Peter Davies.) 1930. 32cm. 310p.
 CALIBAN IN AFRICA. AN IMPRESSION OF COLOUR-MADNESS. By LEONARD BARNES. (Gollancz.) 1930. 22cm. 245p. 10/6.

- COMPLEX SOUTH AFRICA. By WILLIAM MILLER MACMILLAN. (Faber & Faber.) 1930. 22cm. 293p. 12/6.
 LIBERTY IN THE MODERN STATE. By HAROLD J. LASKI. (Harper.) 1930. 22cm. 288p. \$3-00.
 PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES. By A. B. LATTRE. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona.) 1930. 20cm. 177p.
 PROPHETS OF THE NEW INDIA. By ROMAIN ROLLAND. (Cassell.) 1930. 22cm. 548p. 21/-.
 TURKEY FACES WEST. By HALIDE EDIB. (Yale University Press, New Haven.) 1930. 22cm. 273p. \$3-00.
 SECRETS OF MODERN SPYING. By "VIGILANT." (Hamilton.) 23cm. 299p.
 NEWEST EUROPE. By MARTIN MACLAUGHLIN. (Longmans.) 1931. 20cm. 214p. 6/-
 MEMORIES OF LENIN. By NADEZHDA K. KRUPSKAYA. (Martin Lawrence.) 1930. 20cm. 213p. 4/-.
 AN UPHILL ROAD IN INDIA. By M. L. CHRISTLIEB. (Allen & Unwin.) 1930. 20cm. 253p. 6/-.
 AFTER TWO THOUSAND YEARS. By G. LOWES DICKINSON. (Allen & Unwin.) 1930. 30cm. 213p. 6/-.
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