

# The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO. OFFICIATING EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.

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## Topics of the Week.

### Indian Crisis in Parliament.

THE Labour Opposition in Parliament raised the Indian issue over the motion for adjournment for Easter without extracting any satisfactory assurances from the Government. It has been a puzzle to the Opposition why "the machinery of conciliation" had suddenly broken down and why the Viceroy refused to discuss the situation with Mahatma Gandhi. It does not appear from the cabled reports of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech as if he made any attempt to throw any fresh light on the point. Nor did he seem to hold out much hope of an early termination of the present extraordinary methods of administration. His defence of the ordinance regime covered the old ground with which the Indian public is painfully familiar. Most of the charges about police misconduct had been found on inquiry by him to have been without much substance and if he was satisfied that a mistake had been committed he would be the first to admit it. This is evident from the manner in which he expressed his unreserved regret for the physical injury mistakenly inflicted by the Madras police on Dr. Paton. Sir Samuel's conduct in this respect, we must admit, was in refreshing contrast to that of the Home Member to the Madras Government who even so recently as last week was engaged in a clumsy attempt to justify the abuse of authority of which the police were clearly guilty in their behaviour to Dr. Paton. But for one case in which the Secretary of State thought fit to make suitable amends, numerous cases are apparently happening in the southern presidency in which the police are going beyond the instructions given to them by Government in regard to the use of force for the dispersal of picketers. Sir Samuel Hoare, if he cares to know such instances, will find a perusal of the

proceedings of the last session of the Madras Legislative Council full of enlightenment and instruction. It was elicited in reply to a question that soon after the promulgation of the Ordinances, on the 15th January last to be exact, the Madras Government sent out clear instructions to District Magistrates impressing on them the fact that "isolated (i. e. less than five) picketers do not by themselves constitute an unlawful assembly and obviously cannot be dealt with by the use of lathis; in such cases, if the picketing is conspicuous, it may be necessary to have recourse to arrest and prosecution." And yet in the face of such instructions instances have happened under the nose of the Madras Government in Madras City itself, not to mention mofussil centres, in which batches of two or three picketers have been subjected to lathi beating of a brutal nature instead of their being quietly taken into custody. Such cases have been brought to the notice of the local Government by popular representatives without their successfully inducing that Government to make suitable amends to the aggrieved persons. If Sir Samuel Hoare interests himself in such cases as he did, or was induced to do, in the Paton case owing to his high connections we are sure he will come to see the working of the ordinances in a totally different light.

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### The Muslim Ultimatum.

WHATEVER the effect on other minorities of the British Government's recent reiteration of its intention not to postpone unduly its award on the communal problem and to see that it provided ample safeguards to the minorities, it has certainly failed to reassure the Muslims that recently met at Lahore under Sir Mohammed Iqbal's banner. They seemed to be considerably perturbed by the delay in settling the problem and have hurled at the Government what is virtually an ultimatum. This calls upon the Government to proclaim the unconditional acceptance of the demands of the All-India Muslim Conference and grants them three months' time to do so. Should the Government not capitulate in the interval, a threat of non-co-operation with the Round Table Conference and its committees followed by organisation of the community with a view to resort to direct action in the event of the British Government's award failing to give satisfaction is held out. Without wishing to belittle the importance of these decisions, we may say the strength of public opinion behind them can be easily overestimated. In assessing this we must, for obvious reasons, exclude the Nationalist Muslims out of our calculations. So far as the non-Nationalist Muslims go, even they seem to be sharply divided as to the wisdom of the uncompromising and defiant attitude which the All-India Muslims assembled at Lahore chose to adopt. Even Mr. Shaukat Ali who presided over the Conference last year and who may be trusted to leave no stone unturned for the purpose of securing satisfaction of

his communal claims does not seem to approve entirely the lead that Sir Mohammed Iqbal thought fit to give to his co-religionists, and contrary to general expectation, fought shy of the Conference. But apart from this all-important question of whether to cooperate with the British Government in the matter of framing a scheme of constitutional reform or not, there does not appear to be complete unanimity among Muslims even on such questions, as the desirability of immediate provincial autonomy unaccompanied by any responsibility at the Centre. While Sir Mohammed Iqbal is backed by the Lahore Conference in his demand for the introduction of full autonomy in the provinces while the details of the federal plan are worked out, an influential section of Moslem opinion seems to take a different view of the matter. But whatever appeal the idea of mere provincial autonomy may make to the Muslims, it may safely be said that the policy chalked out at Lahore can by no means be said to have the backing of even the entire non-Nationalist Muslim community, much less the whole of the Muslim community. Lest our estimate of the measure of Muslim support to the decisions of the Lahore Conference may be regarded as biased or ill-informed, it may be mentioned that the *Mussalman* of Calcutta which must presumably be fully in touch with Muslim sentiment expresses the opinion that the Conference represented only a section of Muslim politicians and points out that even such Moderate Mahomedans as Sir Md. Yakub and Mr. Shaukat Ali were not in it, while Bengal sent only a solitary representative to voice its views at the Conference. It will thus be clear that though the Conference claims to represent Moslem opinion in the whole of India, as a matter of fact it can be said to speak only for a section of it.

#### The Indian Daily Mail Appeal.

THE judgment of the Bombay High Court in the *Indian Daily Mail* case shows to what dangerous extent the so-called liberty of the press is restricted under the present ordinance regime. It will be remembered that the keeper and publisher of the *Mail* were recently ordered to deposit a security of Rs. 6,000—an order against which the editor preferred an appeal to the High Court. The appeal being dismissed, the management of the paper thought it prudent to suspend its publication rather than to deposit the security and continue its existence. The demand for security was based on two articles by Mr. Horniman on the subject of the administration of the ordinances which were recently published in that paper. In these articles the writer drew pointed attention to cases of palpable excesses on the part of magistrates in order to support his contention that in spite of official assurances repeated times without number that the ordinances would be worked with moderation and restraint, they were in fact not so worked. Everybody knows that that is the general view about the rule by ordinances which Mr. Horniman voiced in his writings. It is also true that he did so with the laudable desire of inducing the Government to remedy the evil. This is not to endorse all that he said in those articles or to approve of the style in which he did it. But there is no doubt that in criticising police and magisterial excesses he was doing nothing which was not done by other journals in different parts of the country. It may be stated that no attempt was made by the prosecution to challenge the correctness of any of his statements. No evidence was led before their Lordships to that end. Indeed, as pointed out in the Judgment, the Advocate General argued the case on the basis that truth was immaterial. The only question for decision was whether the articles in question brought the

Government into hatred or contempt, and not whether Mr. Horniman's criticism was justified or not. The lesson of this case is obvious. It will not be enough hereafter for editors of newspapers to make sure of their facts but to express their views on them in such an innocuous manner that it will not make it possible for the Government to say that the criticism brought them into hatred or contempt. In other words, the press will enjoy only such measure of liberty as the Government in their wisdom deem fit to allow it, for even the mildest criticism of Government measures can be represented as having the result of bringing the Government into hatred or contempt.

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#### Mr. Jamal Mahomed's Presidential Address.

PARTICULAR interest attaches to the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers which met at Delhi last week-end under the presidency of Mr. Jamal Mahomed, in view of the fact that that was the first session of the Federation since the second session of the R. T. C. The president took the opportunity to point out that the repressive policy adopted by the Government during the last three months had created an atmosphere of such uncertainty and tension that it was futile to expect that trade and commerce would fare normally in it. Trade and commerce between India and England, he pointed out, could flourish only if their mutual relations are based on good-will which the present Ordinance regime was doing its best to supplant. He therefore hoped that the Government would see the necessity of adopting a conciliatory policy with a view alike to further the interest of trade and commerce and to the creation of a proper atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration by the Indian people of the scheme of constitutional reforms that is being hammered out in India and England. It was only to be expected that Mr. Mahomed would voice the public dissatisfaction at the financial and commercial safeguards proposed by the Federal Structure Committee, which are almost universally looked upon as erring too much on the side of caution. The British Government's anxiety to maintain the financial credit and stability of India unimpaired is of course cited as a justification for them. Referring to it, the President of the Federation asked: "Can there be any reasonable apprehension that the future popular minister handling the portfolio of finance would be less zealous of the financial stability and credit of his own country than the alien nominee of the British Government under the present Act?" These safeguards are also insisted upon, it is claimed, in order to allay the fears of foreign investors. Mr. Jamal Mahomed considered this ground for their continuance as unsubstantial in view of the fact that Britain herself was giving substantial loans to "insignificantly small foreign nations" without demanding any safeguards in their financial administration. He could therefore not escape the conclusion that the safeguards were being demanded not so much in India's as in Great Britain's interest.

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#### Punjab Minister's Salaries.

ONE more attempt was made without success by the Punjab Legislative Council last week to reduce the salaries of the ministers, this time to Rs. 3,000 a month. But the reduction, it was explained, was not attempted by way of censuring the ministers or expressing disapproval of their policies but with a view solely to cut down public expenditure. That there is pressing need for retrenchment in public expenditure, nobody who knows anything of the financial crisis through which the Central and Provincial Governments are at present passing need be told. The urgency of the need is proved beyond doubt by the fact that heads of provincial Governments have

imposed upon themselves voluntary cuts in their salaries and that Parliament has consented to a cut of 10 per cent. in the salaries paid to members of the Indian Civil Service. This would be unthinkable unless it was really unavoidable. If the present unsatisfactory state of the Government's finances cannot induce the ministers to accept a reduction in their salaries, one wonders what will. The opponents of reduced salaries for ministers trotted out all the familiar arguments about the lowering of ministerial status being the probable result of such action. But it has never been satisfactorily established that there is any essential connection between salary and status; and the advocates of reduction were right in pointing out that it was a mistake to suppose that a decrease in the minister's salary necessarily meant an inferiority in their status. The responsible nature of the minister's duties was also cited as an argument against their salary being reduced. But salary does not seem to us, as it does not seem to many others, to be a correct measure of the responsible nature of ministerial duties. Ministers in some provinces are receiving Rs. 3000 as their salary. Is it seriously contended that because they are paid less than their Punjab brothers therefore their sense of responsibility is less developed? The fact really is that the payment to our ministers on the present high scale is difficult to defend by any considerations that can be called rational. It is true the Punjab Legislative Council was unable to pass the motion for reduction; but can anybody doubt as to what it is that is expected of the ministers by public opinion?

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#### Sir Nilratan Sircar on Medical Council Bill.

WHAT is known as the Indian Medical Council Bill at present before the Legislative Assembly was subjected to scathing criticism by Sir Nilratan Sircar in his presidential address to the All-India Medical Conference held at Calcutta last week. In the first place he is unable to understand why it should have been considered necessary to consider the Bill in such a hurry, why it could not have been conveniently postponed till after the introduction of the contemplated constitutional reforms. To him the conclusion was irresistible that the real object of the measure was not so much to safeguard the interests of the Indian medical profession as to placate the

General Medical Council of Great Britain. The main defect of the Bill is, according to Sir Nilratan who doubtless speaks for a large volume of public opinion in the country, that while it imposes heavy responsibilities on registered medical graduates, it fails to confer on them corresponding rights or privileges such e. g. as the reservation of appointments in the medical department, the right of granting certificates, etc. These are some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by the members of the medical profession in other countries and it is really amazing that a Bill professedly designed in the interest of the indigenous medical profession should be silent on the point. This is a serious drawback which ought to be removed and will, we hope, be removed by the select committee. The only gain held out to Indian medical practitioners by the Bill is that its passage will make it possible for them to practise in Great Britain. A little reflection will show that this advantage is more theoretical than practical, for the number of Indian doctors wishing to avail themselves of it is bound in any case to be infinitesimally small. Then, the Bill is also open to the objection that the proposed Medical Council which is to regulate the medical profession in this country will be an officialised body with a President nominated by Government. It is only reasonable to expect that if the Council is to look after the interests not only of medical graduates in Government service but of the independent medical profession as a whole it should be dominated by non-official medical men. Moreover it is inexplicable why the first schedule mentioning Indian Universities whose medical qualifications will be recognised throughout British India fails to include the Patna, Andhra and Rangoon Universities. Sir Nilratan Sircar speaking from personal experience about the first-named University had no hesitation in stating that the Patna Medical College was a thoroughly well-equipped and well-staffed institution, and he also believed that the other two Universities were in no way inferior. Further the Bill ignores the claims of Licentiatees which is very unjust to them. The drawbacks pointed out by Sir Nilratan in the Bill are undeniably serious and will, unless remedied by the select committee, take away greatly from the utility of the proposed measure.

## A STUDY IN DIPLOMACY.

WHATEVER else our politicians may be lacking in (if they are lacking in anything at all), they certainly are not lacking in diplomatic skill. This particular article at any rate there will be no need for us to import when freedom will arrive and we shall be thrown on our resources. In fact we shall be able to do a roaring trade in it by exporting it to all the other countries in the world unless these are foolish enough, in a spirit of economic nationalism, to put an embargo upon it. Recently our statesmen of the constructive variety had an excellent opportunity to show off their skill in handling delicate negotiations. It would seem that at one point in the discussions of the Consultative Committee they were faced with a deadlock from which no escape appeared possible. In any other country politicians engaged in such discussions would have thrown up their hands and owned defeat, but our own politicians are made of sterner stuff. No circumstances are baffling

enough to baffle them. They will find a way out, or at any rate try to.

The particular difficulty which they came up against the other day was this. British Indians showed themselves dreadfully in earnest in writing a Declaration of Rights into the federal constitution, and the States' representatives showed themselves equally violently opposed to it. What then was to be done? Was the Bill of Rights to be inserted in the constitution or not? One section could not do without it, the other section could not endure its very name. An attempt was therefore made first to persuade British Indians out of their zeal for fundamental rights and then to persuade Indian States into it, but it was of no avail in either case. British Indians were told from the wealth of constitutional knowledge which is ever handy at such gatherings that fundamental rights were not really worth worrying about too much; that they were merely maxims of political freedom

and philosophical enunciations of political theories of no particular value as constitutional law ; that the legislature could not in fact be held in leash in any way ; that it always discovered means of circumventing any limitations that one might seek to impose upon it. There was no reason therefore for any one to be so enamoured of these rights as to insist upon them to the point of shipwrecking the whole project of federation. But the Mahomedans could not be got round that way. They are inclined to be somewhat undiplomatic at times. They have made a fetish of a declaration of rights, and nothing can bring them to reason. An appeal was then made to the States by our diplomatists in their most insinuating manner. Was there in fact any State in which these rights were not completely safeguarded? Would any State in India allow private rights of life, liberty and property to be arbitrarily infringed as sometimes they are infringed in autocracies? That was perfectly inconceivable. Had not several States their own declarations of rights? A federal declaration would not be any more comprehensive than theirs nor any more effective. Why then should they shy at it? The States' representatives however are not less dexterous negotiators. It is so of course, they said. We guard our civil liberties very jealously, more jealously than you ever will. Not that we are fond of arbitrary power, oh no. Our scruples arise only from the fact that a declaration of rights inserted in the federal constitution would abridge our internal sovereignty. It's no use your saying that such abridgment is desirable in the public interest and is cheerfully permitted in all federations. Well, we shan't allow it, and that's all there is to it. If you must have a declaration, we shall not come in your way. But let it be clearly understood that it's your own funeral, we are not concerned with it in any way. This declaration will apply only to British India and not to the States. Don't say that it would be a novel experiment to have elementary rights of citizenship safeguarded for one section of the community and left exposed to attack for another. We have sufficient faith in your cleverness as lawyers to find out some means of reconciling these conflicting views. Why, you have already a number of subjects in the federal government which are not federal, but purely British Indian. Let the declaration of rights be one of these, and it will save trouble for all of us. There is no precedent for what you call central as distinguished from federal subjects. Having agreed to this larger anomaly, why do you boggle at the smaller one?

Ordinary politicians unversed in the more subtle types of diplomacy would have quietly yielded. Not so our diplomats. They kept up the show. They said: This question is of course entirely for you to decide. We are determined to have federation at all costs, and we shall make no demand upon you which you may be unwilling to grant. We never for an instant thought of making such a declaration of rights, operative in the States, to be a condition precedent to federation. If you won't agree to it, we shan't press for it at all. But please do let us ask you, just ask you, at the time when you are ready to

enter the federation by signing a treaty or convention or whatever other instrument it may be, whether you are willing to have our constitutional guarantees of civil liberty enforced in your States. We shall not insist that you shall say yes. We shall quite understand it if you will say no. We know in fact that that is the reply you will give. But, for heaven's sake, do let us just put you that question. It will do you no harm and we shall appear ( we have our own extremists to deal with, you know ) as fighting hard for individual freedom for everybody in India. Who else but skilled Indian diplomats would have hit upon this clever device of saving one's face? And it is a thousand pities that the States' representatives would not allow them even that much consolation. Who are you, they said, to ask us questions, questions about our internal affairs? It is true that there is going to be a mutual understanding in advance as to the answer. But it is an encroachment upon our rights that any questions pertaining to our domestic matters should be addressed to us and that we should have to answer them. Such questions must be regarded as wholly irrelevant to federal purposes, and British Indians must desist. The very asking of such questions would be treated by us as what is known in international relations as an act of a non-amicable character which would put federation itself in peril. Undaunted by what others would regard as a finishing stroke, our British Indian politicians persevered in their self-appointed task. We'll drop the query if you like, they said. We shall do nothing to hurt your susceptibilities. We shan't ask you any questions, but it is still possible that, without any questions on our part, without our taking any initiative in the matter, the States themselves, some of them, of their own motion, of their own free choice, of their own accord, in the full exercise of their own powers, may agree to have the federal guarantee of elementary rights, or some of these rights, to be applied to their own States. They may agree or may not agree. But would it not be open to them to make such an offer if perfectly voluntarily they wanted to do so? Would they not be free to make it? Or would you preclude them from making the offer? Pray, don't be so harsh. That is all that we urge upon you. It's a question of the rulers' own rights. We want to safeguard them even more than the fundamental rights of the people. Will you absolutely prohibit any ruler from offering to come under our declaration of rights? We beg you not to do so. It is not known what the State's reply will be, but the gentlemen who are championing our cause in the Consultative Committee are sanguine that their prayer will be granted.

And there the matter now stands. Our politicians are certainly happy in the conviction that by dint of superior skill they have converted a certain defeat into a marvellous victory and that it has been given to them by Providence to do a good stroke of work for their country. Let us all join in giving thanks to our politicians.

## Reviews.

### THE WORLD'S WOOL TRADE.

THE MARKETING OF WOOL. BY A. F. DU PLESSIS. (Pitman.) 1931. 22cm. 337p. 12/6.

THE publishers say that this is "a comprehensive study of the organisation of the marketing of wool," and the claim seems to be fully justified. The greater part of the book is a detailed "examination of the system of marketing" the commodity. The first chapter gives an account of the different systems of sheep-farming and quotes statistics for the production of wool in the world, which are interesting. "In 1928, the estimated total number of sheep in fifty-six listed countries in the world was 689,262,000, and the amount of wool produced was 3,467,381,000 lbs." How and where does India stand? The answer to the question is not encouraging. British India has 23,201,000 sheep and produces 70,000,000 lbs. of wool. That is, British India possesses a little over 3 per cent. of the total number of sheep in the whole world; and her production of wool is a shade over 2 per cent. of the world production. Clearly therefore British India's efficiency in wool-production is low when compared to that in other countries. The world figures show that on an average we get 5 lbs. of wool per sheep per year; in India however we get only 3 lbs. Obviously, there is ample scope for improvement here.

Chapters II-IV are concerned with the manufacturing of wool and its preparation for the market. They are more or less too technical for the man in the street. The rest of the book, chapters V-XIV, deals with the subject proper, and makes instructive reading. It seems that progress in the wool trade has not kept pace with that in the trade of other textiles. Wool is a commodity whose existence and trade are of great antiquity; but only during the last century, wool-growers achieved marvellous results on the side of production. The remarkable record of development of the Australian merino is the most astounding achievement of modern times. Then, on the manufacturing side also, mechanical improvements of astonishing magnitudes have been effected; but systematic scientific research has only been just started and the scope for investigation is very wide. After the manufacturing of wool comes its marketing; and the state of affairs as regards marketing is much less satisfactory. For instance, when we read in the book a description of the circumstances in which the English farmers market their wool, we are often reminded of the conditions obtaining in India as regards the production and marketing of our agricultural products. The English farmer seems to be as orthodox and ignorant as his Indian counterpart is supposed to be. Both persistently follow the conservative methods of production. As with our agriculture, wool is a seasonal product and therefore necessitates the adoption of some system of credit for financing its production, and "production is inevitably based upon credit." As in India, again, the English farmer is granted credit allowances against future business transactions with the result that he is never out of debt. Thus in India as well as in England, the farmer is at a disadvantage as a seller. Finally, family ties, personal friendship and good will are also very strong factors helping in both countries to maintain the antiquated system. The similarity is almost complete. It seems that the so-called progress does not radically change human nature which in spite of our devices manages to maintain its uniformity. Our critics will do well

to bear this in mind and be a little more charitably disposed when speaking of our agriculturists.

In England, the sale of wool is conducted by private treaties—a system open to a good deal of abuse. The evils of such private sales are sought to be modified by promoting local public auction sales and establishing central public auction markets. The most important market in England is the London Wool Market. But it is not so well organised as the markets for some other important commercial commodities as e.g. the cotton and wheat markets. The organisation in the U. S. A., Australia, New Zealand and South Africa is more systematic. In this connection, the movement towards co-operative marketing deserves close attention. The tendency towards consolidation is almost universal in these days. The increasing complexity of modern civilisation is partly responsible for this. In England, the co-operative marketing of wool has been inaugurated, but its progress is slow. Perhaps the conditions of wool-production there account for it. In America the conditions are more favourable, and therefore "the American system is much more elaborate and large-scale economies are much more pronounced in increasing the efficiency of their organisation." In Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, on the other hand, the co-operative enterprise has so far not been very successful. The conclusion to which the author comes is that "the existing system of marketing wool falls short in many important respects."

The last chapter briefly analyses the causes making for fluctuations in the short and long period prices of wool. There is nothing new in particular in the enumeration of the causes; but here and there we come across interesting bits of information. Let me quote from the section entitled "Fashion." In the "good old days," it was a full-time job for a sheep to grow sufficient wool in a year to clothe a woman but "the modern woman wants but little here below nor wants that little long."

The utilisation of central heating in dwellings and offices has resulted in the adoption of lighter weight clothing in preference to the heavier wool-clothing.

The popularity of the closed type of motor car has had the same influence. With less need for warmth in clothing, rayon... has displaced wool and cotton in hosiery, underwear and dresses of women.

In the field of sport, greater freedom of action demands short dresses and therefore the amount of wool utilised for dresses has been decreasing.

The entry of women into business has had profound influences. The ready-to-wear has become popular and the piece-goods trade and the tailor-made costumes have declined.

The chain of causation is too long to be within sight of economists!

Altogether, a book stuffed with solid information.

H. B. BHIDE.

### ENGLISH FINANCE AND CURRENCY.

THE DISCOUNT MARKET IN LONDON. ITS ORGANISATION AND RECENT DEVELOPMENT. (2nd Edn.) By H. W. GREEN-GRASS. (Pitman.) 1931. 22cm. 198p. 6/-.

HOW TO READ THE MONEY ARTICLE. A GUIDE TO THE PROPER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CITY NEWS. (6th Edn.) By CHARLES DUGUID. (Effingham Wilson, London.) 1931. 20cm. 142p. 5/-.

**A MONEY MARKET PRIMER AND KEY TO THE EXCHANGES.** (2nd Edn.) By GEORGE CLARKE. (Effingham Wilson, London.) 1931. 22cm. 287p. 6/-.

ALL these are old books—rather classical books. One of them was first written forty years ago, the second thirty years ago, and even the last book is "second edition." But none of them have lost their original informativeness, nor even their serviceability at the present moment.

Clarke's Primer will always be handy to students taking examinations in Foreign Exchanges and Money Market (which, of course, is not conterminous with the Bank of England). But the last Chapter dealing with "The War and its Effects" (and extending over fifty pages) will be of the greatest interest to students of current economics. The Cunliffe Committee Report, the Currency and Bank Notes Act, the Gold Standard Act (1925) and the Macmillan Report are described and discussed with the original "Clarke" touch and attractiveness. As the book was published in July last year, there was time only for insertion as a supplement of the text of the Gold Standard Amending Act of 1931.

Duguid must now have been read by millions of persons—probably by everybody who knows English and has interest in the "City news." It may be, as the reviser says, that "thirty years ago the financial articles of even the best newspapers were apt to be abysmally dull". To-day however there is so much force in these articles, that it is considered want of etiquette or frozenness of manners on the part of a gentleman with refined habits not to know the happenings overnight in the financial world even though he may afford to pass over news of "arrivals" in Government Houses, or "deliveries" from Hollywood. There is no exaggeration in this, nor is it true that all the statistics in the finance page of a daily newspaper is wasted over "the ordinary reader." I do not know who this estimable person is, but he may remember the following obiter dictum of Burke which the premier financial journal, the *Economist*, has taken as its motto: "If we make ourselves too little for the sphere of our duty, if, on the contrary, we do not stretch and expand our minds to the compass of the object, be well assured that everything about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of ourselves." Financial journalism, though senior to science journalism, is a new, risky, but a necessary craft and writers like Duguid set on this work permanent, wholesome and high headlines.

The last book in this list, by Greengrass, is "fresh", and is "primarily written for the benefit of banking students." But, as just explained, this term "banking students" is rapidly comprehending a wider circle than the Associates of the Institute of Bankers. One can rapidly read from Chapter VIII to end of this book—"The return to the Gold Standard," "The present Bank of England Return," "The Influence upon London of Foreign Money Markets," and "The Outlook for the Future," but while doing so with the blue pencil in his hand, he will tarry at many places in retrospective judgment—in that sense of did-I-not-tell-you-so psychology. But it is clear that some persons at least had disguised Gold Influenza, and were sure that in finance, as in other matters, all things have an end.

K. B. MADHAVA.

## INDORE LAND SYSTEM.

**THE LAND SYSTEM OF THE HOLKAR STATE.** By C. U. WILLS. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 22cm. 136p. Rs. 6.

THE book will be of real interest to all who are connected with land revenue administration and agriculture in this country. It is well-written and holds one's attention throughout. The author specially emphasizes and defends three salient principles which underlie the new Land Revenue and Tenancy Act of the Indore State. The raiyatwari system explained by the author is practically the same Raiyatwari system (raiya paying revenue direct to the state) as we have in the Bombay presidency which is known as the Khalsa system; it has much tradition and history behind it. Similarly, here, the Patils are hereditary officers and hold watani lands. One of the important principles ably propounded by the author is the State ownership of land. Once this principle is admitted the State can restrict alienation of land.

Restrictions on transfer by sale, mortgage or subletting are the main features of the new Act. It is a pity that no attempts are made in this Act to define an "agriculturist", which is an exceedingly difficult task. The author claims that with these restrictions placed on transfer of land, agriculture will immensely improve. On the other hand, there are those who hold the opposite view and condemn restrictions on alienation of land and assert that free trade in land as in other things is a pressing need. The most effective means for preventing land becoming the inheritance of poverty-stricken peasantry is to afford the greatest possible facilities for its conveyance from one party to another. If the owner of a new motor car is always drunk, drives the car rashly, often neglects it, and causes damage to it, would it not be desirable if another man who wants to purchase it and can well manage it is allowed to purchase it if of course the owner consents to sell it? Would the restriction on sale be advantageous either to the former owner or the car itself? Land may be sold and purchased like any other commodity. On the condition of the cultivators depends the collection of revenue, and whatever system is most advantageous to the cultivators will best enable them to meet the State demand and will be conducive to the stability of revenue.

Mortgage of lands with the co-operative credit societies is permitted under the new Act. The experience gained so far of the societies in this country is not very encouraging. Will not the members of a society be the same agriculturists who borrow money from local *saukars*? The working of a society no doubt depends on the quality of the members. A large staff and much vigilance will be required to work the provisions of the Act.

There is no suggestion as to what is to be done by the other members of the family after the eldest son has inherited his father's landed property. They will not have sufficient land and restrictions on fragmentation will have to be enforced since there is little scope for work for all. The problem of sub-divisions is one of the most acute ones which Government will have to solve if the aim is to improve agriculture. But the Act as well as this book is curiously silent on this vital question.

It is too early to say as to what extent the State will be benefitted by these measures and the novel system now introduced in the Holkar State. If the new Act becomes a success there is no reason why similar action should not be taken in other Provinces as well.

D. S. MODAK.

## INDIAN SOCIAL PROBLEM.

**THE CRUX OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM.** By  
R. P. PARANJPYE. (Watts & Co., London.) 1931.  
29cm. 116p. Ra. 1.

THIS book is a sort of an introduction to the publications for the spread of Rationalism in India. Dr. Paranjpye has, very clearly, shown how our attitude towards religion is the cause of our backwardness in every direction. He wants us to think rationally and also to act rationally. The main object of the book is to show that it is only by the spread of Rationalism and by the decline of the reign of authority that real and rapid progress can be expected in India. This is not to preach revolt against authority. A Rationalist is prepared to accept provisional conclusions; he is even prepared to sympathetically examine prevailing customs, however unreasonable, on the ground that they might have had some rational basis in the beginning; but his quarrel is with the man who thinks that all thinking was done for us by our forefathers and that all we have now to do is only to follow without question the prevailing customs.

Religion is considered by many as very useful in keeping society on a high level of morality. Dr. Paranjpye has given some striking examples to show how this notion is wrong and how religion in India and in other countries has been the cause of low morality. It is a well known fact that in India religion is at the bottom of communal strifes and the only way to remove these denationalising strifes is by keeping religion within due bounds.

The chapters on 'Death,' 'Sacred Books' and 'Omens and Prophecies' are very interesting inasmuch as they show how blindly we follow some of the expensive and foolish customs. The chapter on 'Education' deals with the question of teaching religion as one of the subjects in our educational institutions. Dr. Paranjpye has no objection to the teaching of the various religious philosophies or comparative religion at stages at which the pupils will understand these subjects; but what he objects to, and rightly so, is the teaching of sectarian religion which will only serve to make our boys and girls even more sectarian than they already are. It need hardly be said that this will prove to be a great hindrance to our national growth.

It is pointed out in the concluding chapter that the book is written with the object of pointing out the main obstacles in the path of Indian progress, not of course in the spirit of Miss Mayo but in that of a true nationalist which Dr. Paranjpye unquestionably is. He does not belong to that category of Indian reformers who would themselves slur over our defects and would expect others also to do the same. Dr. Paranjpye believes that that is a suicidal policy to follow for a nation desiring to come into its own at no distant date. For unless we know our failings, how can we try to remedy them? Dr. Paranjpye makes pointed reference to the defects in Hindu society with the sole object of facilitating their removal. A society which wants to live and progress must have men like Dr. Paranjpye who are frank, rational and national. If a man is a rationalist he is sure to be a true nationalist as well and Dr. Paranjpye in his book exhorts us to be nationalists both in thought and action so that we may be true nationalists.

D. L. SAHASRABUDDHE.

## Miscellaneous.

### REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR.

MR. N. M. JOSHI'S VIEWS.

*The following note was submitted to the Indian Franchise Committee by Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A.*

*Adult Suffrage:*—For the proper protection of the interests of the working classes in the Legislatures it is necessary that every adult person should have a vote. I am, therefore, against any qualification based on the possession of property or literacy. Possession of property does not make a man better fitted to exercise his vote and literacy is not insisted upon as a qualification for those who possess property. The qualification based upon monthly rent paid for residence is also objectionable from the point of view of workers in organised industries as a large number of them share one room and only one of them will be enfranchised. For instance, in Bombay city on an average five persons occupy one room. The qualification based upon a man's annual earning if it is fixed at a low figure is less open to objection as a necessary qualification for the possession of the vote. The difficulty of unwieldy constituencies can be mitigated to some extent by making the size of the Legislatures larger than what is proposed by the Federal Structure Committee, but it never can be got rid of and therefore has to be tolerated and faced as inevitable. The difficulty of lack of polling officers is not wholly real. According to the census figures there are about forty lakhs of people engaged in Public Administration and Liberal Arts while the number of villages in India is about five lakhs. Besides I see no objection to the employment of some private educated people engaged in other occupations as Polling Officers. If it is at all necessary to restrict the number of voters out of practical considerations that should be done by keeping the qualifying age higher than usual so that the restriction will apply equally to all economic classes. If people between the ages of thirty and sixty are enfranchised the proportion of the enfranchised people will be about thirty per cent. of the total population. The total number of voters for British India will be about 75 millions.

*Direct and Indirect System:*—I prefer the direct system of election to any system of indirect election, but if the indirect or group system is to be adopted it must be made equally applicable to all. I cannot approve of a plan in which some people will be enfranchised directly and others indirectly or through the group system. I would also prefer, if it is possible, to group together persons of the same economic standing and insist that no one outside that group should stand as a candidate for being the representative or delegate of the group. Moreover, the election of the representatives or delegates should be by a secret ballot.

*Trade Union Constituencies:*—Even if adult suffrage is adopted the working classes have very little chance of securing adequate representation for some time to come on account of lack of funds to fight the elections and want of sufficient organisation. If adult suffrage is not adopted there is absolutely no chance, either immediately or at a remote date, of the working classes securing representation through general constituencies. Unless they have an overwhelmingly large majority in a constituency they have no chance of winning elections on account of the two deficiencies mentioned above. I, therefore, suggest that till experience proves that the working classes actual-

ly secure adequate representation through general constituencies they should be given representation through registered Trade Unions, as is recommended by the Whitley Commission. This special representation will be necessary for a temporary period even if adult suffrage is adopted. The total representation for the working classes should be divided according to the industries, the Unions in each industry being grouped together. The share of each industry for representation should be based upon the number of workers in that industry. For representation in the Central Legislature either the Unions in each industry or each group of allied industries throughout the country should be grouped together, or, in the alternative, Trade Unions in one province should be grouped together. I personally prefer the former plan. If members for the Upper Chamber are elected through the Provincial Legislatures Labour representatives for the Upper Chamber should be elected by the group of Labour representatives in the Provincial Legislatures elected through special constituencies. If election of the members of the Upper Chamber is based upon direct election then Labour representation for that Chamber must be secured through Trade Unions. If the Upper Chamber is not to be the representative of wealth but of experience and distinguished public service the qualification for voters and candidates should be so fixed that not only the wealthy but even those who are not blessed with riches but might have rendered distinguished service to the community may become eligible to be voters as well as candidates in adequate numbers.

Election through Trade Union constituencies should preferably be by the direct method, each member of the Union casting his vote directly.

In the present Legislatures Labour interest is very inadequately represented. Out of the total number of 1108 members of the Central and provincial legislatures there are only eleven members who are expected to represent Labour interests. None of them is elected but all are nominated. The seat in the Legislative Assembly is not even provided for by rules and Labour is not represented at all in the Council of State. While Labour interests are so inadequately represented the employing interests are comparatively very strongly represented. Out of the total number of 1108 seats the employers as represented by Europeans, Landholders and Industrial and Commercial bodies have 110 seats through special constituencies, besides having a large number of seats secured through general constituencies by persons belonging to these classes.

The number of representatives to be allotted for the protection of Labour interests should be based upon the total number of wage-earners in the country and in the province for the Central and Provincial Legislatures respectively. According to the census figures for 1921 I estimate the total number of wage-earners in the country as follows:—

Occupation.	Millions.
Agriculture ...	25
Industry (including mining)	12
Transport ...	1
Trade ...	4
Domestic Service ...	2.5

Total...44.5

The India Office in a memorandum submitted to the League of Nations while India's position as one of the eight countries of chief industrial importance was being discussed has estimated the number at 50 millions. Besides the wage-earners the interests

of the low paid employees in public administration can only be represented by Labour representatives. The total population supported by the wage-earning classes will be about eight crores. It is not right to base the number of Labour representatives merely on the total Trade Union membership nor merely on the total number of workers in organised industries. The object of creating Trade Union constituencies is to secure representation to the wage-earning class which cannot secure the representation of their interests through general constituencies. All wage-earners have common interests as they are affected generally by legislatures and so they are expected to have common principles and policies on questions that generally come before the legislatures such e. g. as taxation. The fact that Federal Finance is almost wholly to consist of indirect taxation clearly proves the need of a strong separate representation of the relatively poor wage-earning community by whom the burden of indirect taxation is more heavily felt. At present there are no Unions amongst the agricultural workers and in the absence of such organisations their interests will be on the whole better represented by those elected through Trade Union constituencies in other industries than by the representatives elected either by landholders or tenants. The principles and policies which will be in the interest of agricultural wage-earners will have more in common with those of the workers in other industries than those of landholders and tenants.

#### DISQUALIFICATION OF CANDIDATES.

If at all it is decided that Labour should be represented by separate constituencies of industrial workers in cities and in some industrial towns those people who are employers and those who are placed in a position of authority over workers should be disqualified from standing as candidates for those special constituencies.

#### ASSAM AND N.-W. F. PROVINCES.

In Assam where at present there are no Trade Unions at all separate Labour constituencies of workers on plantations should be formed and as plantation labour is generally isolated from the general community there can be no objection to the formation of such separate constituencies of plantation labour only. The election should be by the direct or indirect (group) system. But in any group system the candidates for being representatives or delegates of groups should not be persons who have in any way any authority over ordinary workers. Similar disqualification must also be placed upon candidates for election to the legislature. Similar provision will have to be made in the North-West Frontier Province.

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