

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XV, No. 46.

POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1932.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	461
ARTICLES :—	
Secession. By P. Kodanda Rao.	463
Linseed—in Parliament.	463
Bhavnagar and Nawanagar.	464
Indian Students Abroad. By T. S. Ramanujam.	465
OUR GENEVA LETTER.	466
OUR LONDON LETTER.	467
OUR PARIS LETTER.	468
REVIEWS :—	
Imperial Preference. By Prof. D. G. Karve.	469
Democracy and Religion. By E. Asirvatham.	470
Indian Currency and Exchange. By Prof. S. G. Beri.	471
SHORT NOTICES.	471

Topics of the Week.

The Unity Conference.

THE committee of the Unity Conference having concluded its work, the Conference itself will reassemble at Allahabad on 4th December. The committee was unanimous in all the recommendations that it made, but its composition necessarily subjected it to certain disabilities. In suggesting alterations in the proportions of seats allotted to various communities in the Premier's award, it had to deal with certain interests which were not represented on the committee itself. But this drawback can now be removed, and we hope it will be removed. Invitations are being sent out to representatives of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, landlords, labour, commerce and other special interests. If these invitations are honoured the Conference will be truly representative, and the country will then have a real chance of settling the communal question satisfactorily by mutual agreement. It is obvious that the consent of the smaller communities and special interests too will be required for any particular modification of the communal award to take effect if it is likely to affect them adversely. The committee's recommendations touch these communities and interests at many points. They will now be given a hearing at the full Conference, and it will be the earnest wish of all who desire unity and peace to rule in the country that they will respond to the call and take part in the proceedings of the

Conference. Their presence is a pre-requisite to the success of the Conference, and we cannot believe that any community or interest will wreck the Conference in advance by its own abstention. In this matter the Europeans and Anglo-Indians have a special responsibility to shoulder. The number of seats allotted to them in the communal award is proposed to be scaled down by the Conference committee. It will be easy for them to stay away from the Conference and thus make it impossible for the composition of the Bengal Council to be altered. But that will not be playing the game. It will be better by far and more creditable if they will attend the Conference with an open mind and with a genuine desire to serve the national cause.

Result of Burmese Council Elections.

WHEN the Burmese electors went to the poll in the recent Council elections, they did so with a definite knowledge of the issue before them. The Governor and the candidates for election had between them seen to it that the voters should labour under no sort of misapprehension in that behalf. They were clearly told by everybody from the Prime Minister downwards what kind of constitution to expect, should Burma decide to cut herself off from India. It was also unequivocally impressed on all concerned that the alternative was entry into the projected Indian federation from which Burma could not get out at will. As was authoritatively pointed out more than once during the last few months, the decision of the question whether the principle of Burma's separation from India was to be officially accepted or not was to depend upon the results of the elections. These have resulted in the return of a majority of the opponents of separation so that Burma's verdict may to all outward appearances be said to have gone against the idea of her severance from India.

But there is also another way of looking at the present Burmese situation. The success of so many candidates popularly represented as anti-separatists may appear to some as indicative, not of Burma having definitely set her face against separation in any circumstances, but of the unwillingness of a majority of the Burmese people to break off their association with India with the prospect of nothing better than the constitution outlined in the Premier's speech of January 12 last. It does not need a very profound knowledge of human psychology to express a doubt whether with a constitution more acceptable

to Burmese opinion the elections would have gone the way they have. That this is no idle guess is proved by the reply given by Dr. Ba Maw, the anti-separationist leader, to the Governor's request to form the ministry. He is officially reported to have told Sir Charles Innes that his party looked upon the election result as an anti-separation verdict on the basis of the constitution offered to Burma and that their immediate objective was to see if Burma could not be allowed to join the Indian Federation, retaining her liberty, however, to secede from it whenever she so chose. That being the view of his party, it is only natural that it should, as it has since done, ask for Burmese representation in the Indian R. T. C. being held at present in London.

The official tendency as disclosed by Sir Samuel Hoare's recent utterances in the House of Commons is by no means in the direction of looking upon the election results as definitely disposing of the separation issue, but in that of reserving judgment till the newly constituted Burmese legislature had met and discussed the question. If the official *bloc* remains neutral, as it should do in all matters whose decision rests exclusively upon real popular will and as it very properly did in the recent discussions in four provincial legislatures on the desirability or otherwise of second chambers, there seems no reason to expect that the Council's verdict would be different from that expressed at the polls.

* * *

Scavenging and Untouchability.

IN his Press campaign from within the walls of the Yerawada Prison Mahatma Gandhi has drawn pointed attention to the much-needed reform of scavenging in India. Scavenging is an essential service in all countries, but perhaps it is only in India, among the Hindus, it has become, as with all other professions, a hereditary one. It is one of the professions assigned to the Untouchables. Thus linked, the profession and the caste degraded each other and aggravated the disagreeableness of both to the rest of the community. The uplift of the Untouchables should therefore be accompanied by a reform of the profession; rather, it should precede it. Even apart from its relation to Untouchability, it is a great pity that a set of people should be condemned all their lives to the task of removing other people's nightsoil under the most inconvenient and insanitary conditions. Reform of scavenging methods is necessary even if those who undertake that work are not untouchables. It becomes more urgent if, as in India today, the curse of Untouchability attaches to the profession.

The problem hardly exists in rural India; it occurs only in urban and semi-urban areas. Where water supply is adequate, there is not the slightest justification for the continuance of human agency for scavenging. It ought to be replaced by mechanical means, underground waterborne sewerage, and where this is not possible, by septic tanks in individual houses. In many places however the supply of water will be the limiting factor, and human agency is unavoidable. In such cases every effort should be made to make the task more sanitary and less disagreeable.

Mr. Harilal Amritlal Shah of Bombay has made the very practical and helpful suggestion that municipalities should provide their scavengers with uniforms to be put on when on duty only and with facilities for washing after their daily work and before they return to their homes, on the analogy of surgeons, for instance, who put on their aprons while they perform their operations and immediately after wash, hospitals providing them with the necessary facilities. Mr. Shah's suggestion

is one that can be immediately adopted, pending other and larger reforms like decent housing for the scavengers and remodelling of lavatories to make them more convenient to clean. It will ensure the cleanliness of scavengers themselves and their homes and mitigate to some extent the prejudice against them among the other sections of the community.

The provision of such facilities should be a charge on all the citizens of a municipality and not on the Hindu section alone, because the service is rendered to all citizens, irrespective of communal consideration. It is essentially a municipal reform, and incidentally helps the removal of the stigma of untouchability. It is hoped that enlightened municipal councillors in all parts of India will set about in right earnest in giving immediate effect to this not-too-expensive but very useful and necessary reform.

* * *

Excise Administration in Madras.

IT appears from the Madras excise administration report for 1931-32 that the Congress anti-drink campaign combined with the economic depression was responsible for a fall in excise revenue to the tune of about one crore of rupees. The consumption of country liquor recorded a further decrease of 19 per cent. with a corresponding reduction of revenue from that source to the extent of nearly Rs. 42 lakhs. The decreased consumption of country liquor is in some cases accompanied by a disquieting rise in that of foreign liquor. This however did not happen in Madras where the consumption of all kinds of foreign liquor with the exception of denatured spirits showed a welcome decline. But this was counter-balanced by the increased consumption of locally made "foreign" spirits which successfully competed with the foreign ones owing to the low rate of duty levied on them. It is to be hoped that the duties in both cases should be so raised as to make the drinks, either imported or locally made, prohibitive.

The rationing arrangement which is borrowed from Bombay and has been in force in some parts of the southern presidency is open to the very criticism which it drew upon itself in this presidency. The ration is so liberally fixed that not only did consumers not experience any difficulty in getting all their requirements, but even the actual total consumption fell short of the ration. The working of the rationing experiment is described in the report as "inconclusive and barren of results" and the information is vouchsafed that the question of its continuance was under consideration by Government. The only suggestion that may be made here is that should it be decided to go on with the experiment, the ration may be fixed in the light of the actual needs for the preceding year.

Prohibition which would appear to be in operation in some parts of the presidency is reported to have been attended with varying results. In the toddy-drinking areas where it was in its eighth year in the year under report the prohibition of liquor is stated to be more or less successful; while in other areas where even toddy was banned, the experiment must, according to the Excise Commissioner, be written down as a complete failure. As can be easily imagined, failure of prohibition in official parlance means increase of illicit drinking. It would be interesting to inquire and find out why it was found possible to control this evil in one area and not in another. The report dwells at some length on the inconvenience caused to drinkers by the closure of liquor shops in the area in which it was found unsuccessful but is conveniently silent on this important point.

* * *

SECESSION.

AMONG the constitutional problems that will come up for discussion at the Round Table Conference in London will be the right of federal units to secede from the federation under certain conditions. It is an open secret that the Princes have been discussing the question for some time past and most probably they will raise the issue themselves. Point is lent to it earlier by the statement of Dr. Ba Maw, leader of the Anti-Separationist Party in Burma which secured a thumping majority in the last general elections. He is reported to have said that the immediate policy of his Party was to enter the Indian Federation on special conditions, one of which was the right to secede at some future date on terms to be arranged between India and Burma, notwithstanding that Sir Samuel Hoare has repeatedly warned the Burmans that if they once entered the Indian federation, they would have to stay there permanently and their right to secede at a future date could not be conceded.

It may, however, be considered whether it should be laid down that in joining the federation Burma was entering into an indissoluble union, from which under no circumstances she could, if she wished, release herself. The question applies to the Indian States and, for that matter, to the British Indian units of the federation. In constitutional parlance federation has been considered an indestructible union; the unit has the right to enter but not to secede. It is also true that there is no instance of a unit of a federation having seceded or been allowed to do so. On the other hand, the American Civil War is often quoted to the contrary effect; a unit of a federation has no right to secede. Recently, there was set up in Natal in South Africa a movement for the secession of Natal from the Union, but it was soon laughed out. Constitutional history offers no precedents for secession.

It should be noted, however, that the case of the United States of America is not relevant to the discussion. For one thing, when the States originally agreed to form a union and signed the Articles of Confederation they expressly contracted that the union was to be "perpetual." Secondly, the Civil War was principally due to the refusal of some of the States to implement federal legislation regarding slavery. It was a case of disobedience of federal law which subsequently became a revolt. It was not a case primarily of claiming or exercising the right to secede. It was in revolt against, to them, unpalatable laws that the Southern States decided to secede. Thirdly, the question whether the units had the right to secede or not was not referred to or decided by the Supreme Court but by the arbitrament of war. The theory, therefore, that the political concept of federation has indissolubility as a necessary element of it receives no support from the American example.

If autonomous States may stipulate certain conditions for joining in federation, there is no reason why they should not lay down the conditions under

which they might secede from the federation. Constitutions are after all meant to subserve the needs of the people; the people are not made to suit constitutional phrases. The terminus of political evolution has not been reached. Till a few years ago it was inconceivable that the British Dominions could have the right, if they cared to exercise it, of seceding from the Commonwealth; but now it is accepted as a matter of course. The constitution of India is inevitably bound to be unique, as every constitution is; and there is no need for her to be the slave of political concepts of the past.

From a political point of view it is far wiser to concede the right of secession and make provision for its exercise in the constitution under certain defined and equitable conditions. Autonomous units join in federation because of the advantages they expect from it and it is these advantages that will keep them in the federation. To tell a unit on the threshold of federation that then and there it must take an irrevocable decision and commit future generations to it for all time is to add to its hesitancy and frighten it. If the dogma of indissolubility of federation is flourished before the units, it will only discourage the formation of the federation, and not save it from dissolution. On the other hand, the concession of the right to secede will facilitate federation. And once it is formed, its advantages must be trusted to keep it intact and they will. The concession of the right of secession of the British Dominions has only served to tighten the bonds of union.

The important question then will be the conditions under which a unit may secede. It may, for instance, be urged with reason that the federal government in the discharge of the responsibilities laid on it has to undertake certain obligations which would have been unnecessary if certain units were not members of the federation and should be duly indemnified if these units seceded.

P. KODANDA RAO.

LINSEED—IN PARLIAMENT.

UNDER the Ottawa agreements the British Government has decided to remove linseed coming from foreign sources from the free list and make it subject to an ad valorem import duty of 10 per cent., in order to give preference to Indian linseed of which the exports have been dwindling considerably in recent years. The advantage which India can derive from this arrangement is pointed out as one of the major benefits which Ottawa has to confer, but it would appear from what has happened in Parliament that the scope of this benefit is likely to be very much reduced by the British Government's later decisions. For a demand was made by several influential members when the Ottawa Agreements Bill was in the Committee stage of the House of Commons that, if foreign linseed was not to be restored to the free list, at any rate a drawback should be given

upon exports of goods manufactured from duty-paid linseed. To this demand Government was very sympathetic; in fact they have almost acceded to it. Dr. Burgin, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, pointed out on its behalf that power had been taken in the Bill to set up machinery for applying drawbacks, and that drawbacks would have to be allowed in the case of the export trade of articles worked up from foreign linseed. Only under the present machinery a reference to the Import Duties Advisory Committee would be necessary, and this might involve some delay. When pressed to obviate this delay by making reference to the Committee unnecessary, Dr. Burgin promised to consider the matter and announce the Government's decision on the Report stage. Some announcement must have been made on this subject, but the proceedings of that date have not yet reached this country. In any case it seems certain that a drawback would be given on articles like linoleum, paints and varnishes, in which foreign linseed has been used.

It is clear that if such a drawback is allowed, the duty will in effect come to be cancelled on all but the retained imports. What proportion of the manufactures in which foreign linseed is used are retained by Great Britain for home consumption and what proportion are exported to foreign countries we are unable to find out at the moment, but we imagine the latter must be quite a large proportion. Anyway it will now be open to British manufacturers to use only Indian linseed in the manufactures consumed in Great Britain (the Indian export will be more than enough for the purpose) and export only such manufactures in which foreign linseed is used as a raw material. In that case the duty will practically have been removed. We are told that the Indian delegation pressed hard for this import duty, and that the British Government felt that it would be impossible to get preference out of India unless it agreed to make this concession to her. But we wonder if the Indian delegation realised then that even after the concession is made it is capable of being revoked, if not in form, in effect. It is due to the Indian public now to be clearly informed in respect to what proportion of the imports the duty will be taken off and what will be the consequent reduction in the advantage which India hoped to reap from the duty.

There is another matter to which attention was drawn in the House of Commons debate. It was pointed out that linseed grown in India was of a wholly different kind from that grown in Argentina. The Indian seed has a larger oil content, and the oil is of a better quality and has a special value. It has always been able to command a larger price therefore, larger by anything from 15s. to £2 or even £3 a ton than the Argentine produce. The prices then current on the London market that were quoted in the Commons were £8 17s. 6d. per ton for River Plate linseed and approximately £11 per ton for Indian linseed. Now if it is desired that the Indian and Argentine produce should sell in London at the same rate it is obvious that a 10 per cent. duty will be unable to effect that

object. The Argentine seed which is quoted £8 17s. 6d. in London will with the duty be quoted at £9 15s. 3d., and yet it will be cheaper than the Indian seed. A much larger duty than 10 p. c. will be required to bridge the gap on the basis of the current rates. On this point also some explanation is necessary.

BHAVNAGAR AND NAWANAGAR.

WE have recently been favoured with a copy of the administration report of Bhavnagar State for 1930-31. A copy of a publication entitled "Progress in Nawanagar State" has also fallen into our hands during the last few days. This is very finely got up and, being printed and published in England, is obviously intended for non-Indian consumption. It may be stated that this booklet is no administration report as such, but provides information about some administrative activities in the State presided over by H. H. the Jamsaheb, which makes a comparison of the condition of affairs in these two Kathiawad States possible. Roughly speaking, the population of Bhavnagar and Nawanagar is five and four lakhs respectively; but though the latter is less populous, its revenue is greater than that of the former by Rs. 15 lakhs, that of Bhavnagar being nearly Rs. 142¼ lakhs and that of Nawanagar Rs. 157¼ lakhs. The Nawanagar publication or "atlas of progress", as it is described, is not sufficiently detailed to enable the reader to know to what extent the different heads of revenue combined to make up the total; but it is a fact that in both cases railways and maritime customs contribute a considerable part of the income of the State. A comparison of the heads of expenditure in the two States would doubtless have been interesting but is made impossible by the lack of adequate information on the subject in the Nawanagar publication.

Looking into the educational statistics, it is found that literacy is more wide-spread in Bhavnagar than in Nawanagar, the percentage of pupils to the total population being respectively 6.4 and 5.5. The number of educational institutions in Bhavnagar is higher by 66 than in Nawanagar, the corresponding figures being 316 and 250. Similarly, the number of students in the former shows an excess of 3500 over that in the latter and stands at 26,875. It does not however need much mathematical calculation to see that neither of these States has yet traversed even one-half of the road to universal literacy. Their progress towards this goal would doubtless be accelerated by the introduction of compulsion in education. But primary education is compulsory in neither State nor promises to be so in the near future. In Nawanagar, however, it has been made free since 1907 in addition to secondary education in regard to which also fees were abolished in 1916. The Nawanagar publication defends the absence of compulsory education by appealing to the well-known proverb about the best being often the worst enemy of good. All we wish to say here on the point is that its applicability in the present case will not be clear to many. The educational expenditure in Nawanagar in 1929-30 was Rs. 285,700 which was lower by nearly Rs. 2 lakhs than that for Bhavnagar.

Prohibition has been in force in Bhavnagar now for some years and its experience in that line is of particular interest to the rest of India. The demand for prohibition is officially resisted on the ground that its introduction would result in the increase of illicit distillation. We do not know that Bhavnagar is exceptionally free from facilities for this purpose. Anyhow prohibition would not appear

to have given rise to any of the dire consequences which are feared to follow from its introduction in British India. No doubt there was an extended use of cologne water as a substitute for liquor now under a ban in the State; but the evil was met by the issue of orders for its sale only to bona-fide patients for medical purposes. It will thus be seen that while the introduction of prohibition is attended with difficulties, these are by no means of an insurmountable nature.

The last year witnessed the appointment of a special officer to promote the growth of the village panchayat movement in Bhavnagar. The officer had been in the saddle only for a couple of months by the end of the year but had succeeded in inducing 17 villages to ask for the establishment of panchayats. It may be noted that the panchayats in Bhavnagar are expected to discharge functions even other than municipal, as is the case in some British provinces which can boast of panchayats. But it is better to allow the administration report itself to speak on the point:—

"The grant of panchayat will mean the practical transfer of the whole village administration to the villagers themselves with the minimum of outside interference. For it vests the panchayat with the power to select and nominate persons of its own choice for the village offices of Talati, Mukhi, Patel, Chowkidars, etc. and the latter therefore will be servants and not masters of the village, rendering better, loyal and efficient service. This will also enable the panchayat to control and keep on their proper behaviour the bad and more intractable characters in the village. In an extreme case the village can also ask for the removal from their midst of a particularly desperate and dangerous character, who cannot be brought to book by the ordinary process of law.

"Where the ground is prepared and a demand is made, freedom will be given, within limits, to the village panchayat to determine its own method and procedure of revenue collection. It can also punish contumacy to the extent of forfeiture of land and auction a vacant building. It can also build up a reserve from the savings remaining after payment of the Durbar dues and the reserve will be available for any common use which may be decided upon by the panchayat. Where the reserve is large enough it can be even utilized for financing the agricultural needs of the Kheduts."

In view of the panchayat bill now before the Bombay Legislative Council, the above description of the functions of Bhavnagar panchayats is not without interest to the public in Bombay.

There are in all 10 municipalities in the State, but their constitution can by no means be said to accord with the spirit of the time. The premier municipality, viz. that of Bhavnagar, consists of 35 members, only 20 of whom are elected, and enjoys the right of electing its own President. The remaining 9 are described in the report as Darbari institutions and are run at State expense. They are under the control of an officer called the President, Mahal municipalities and their affairs are managed by committees of official and non-official members, the latter being periodically selected by the officer referred to already from among general bodies of members nominated by the Durbar. It will be apparent that the element of election is yet completely foreign to their constitution. This cannot reflect any credit on any State wishing to be known as progressive or keeping itself abreast of the times. It is to be hoped that steps will be taken without avoidable loss of time to place the elective element really in the ascendant in all these bodies so that the people of the State may be trained in the art of self-government. It is inexplicable to us how the State whose policy in regard to village self-government is so

liberal should not yet appreciate the desirability of placing its municipal bodies on a popular basis.

INDIAN STUDENTS ABROAD.*

MR. P. D. RANGANADHAN, Secretary of the International Student Service for Indian Students Abroad, has spent nearly twenty years of his life in Europe, identifying himself with various student movements and studying the technique of international student co-operation. During his stay in London as Secretary of the Indian Students' Union, he had exceptional opportunities for coming into close personal contact with hundreds of Indian students and discussing with them the problems that are peculiar to Indian students going abroad. His book deserves the careful perusal not only of students who intend going abroad but also of their parents who wish to spend their money wisely.

The scope of the book is modestly set out by the author in the following words:—

"What is attempted in this volume is to direct the student as to where he can get the necessary information and advice to meet his needs with the minimum of difficulty and in a minimum of time. It covers, therefore, information with regard to the different universities and their location, courses and fees, travel facilities, passport regulations, clothes and money, organisations that are interested in student welfare, and general hints and suggestions with regard to various creature comforts."

The author admits that he has copied liberally from Student Handbooks already published by various student organisations. But his book is by no means a mere addition to the list of travel directories. It is a thought-provoking commentary on the whole question of Indian students going abroad either for study or for travel, dealing with such important aspects of that question as who should go abroad, where they should go and what specific objectives they should have.

The chapter on "Who Should Come" contains some of the wisest observations on the subject:

"It should be serious students, post-graduates as far as possible, and in any case students who know their mind, and who know exactly why they are going abroad. . . The student is an ambassador of his own culture to the people among whom he studies. . . To be an ambassador and a propagandist are not synonyms. . . The world to-day needs people who will share, not people who will only proclaim their own superiority. . . If we are to escape from the curse of the nineteenth century nationalism to a real inter-nationalism, in which the value of no nation and its culture is overlooked, then the scholar must again become the interpreter, not the propagandist, the uniter of peoples, and not merely the trumpeter of the virtues of his own particular nation. The Indian student has a tremendous responsibility in Europe."

Mr. Runganadhan further points out that the "visiting student should know his own mind before he starts."

"To come, vaguely intending to study chartered accountancy, or if that does not suit, electrical engineering, and then suddenly to decide to read law, is a futile waste of time. . . Foreign study is a rare privilege and a big responsibility. Those who enter it so lightly are rarely worthy of it."

The section on "Money" must be read and re-read by students and parents alike. "There have been," as Mr. Runganadhan truly observes, "and are, far too many cases where students have crashed

* *Handbook of Study and Travel for Indian Students Going Abroad.* By P. D. Runganadhan. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1932. Re. 1.

against the financial rock—in Germany, in America, and in Great Britain—and their whole career becomes blighted. The tragedy of such cases is not so much the loss of money as the loss of hope and morale." The irresponsibility of some of the Indian parents is pointed out by the author in unduly moderate language. "Some parents," he says, "do not always realise the difficulties and the anxieties that the student suffers from when money is not sent regularly."

It is estimated that over 2500 Indian students annually go abroad for study and the number is steadily increasing. In 1931, 2000 of them went to Great Britain and Ireland and only forty to the French universities into which students from all parts of the world generally crowd. Mr. Ranganadhan's comments on the overcrowding of Indian students in British Universities are worth noticing.

"This (overcrowding) may be due to several reasons; lack of information, fear of the language difficulty, poor 'market value' of the Continental degrees in India, etc. No student to-day need suffer from lack of information; the language difficulty has very often been exaggerated; and as to the 'market value' of foreign degrees, including that of England, this factor need not worry the student, if his training is thorough."

After the establishment of the League Secretariat and the holding of several meetings of the League organs at Geneva, the University of Geneva as well as the other educational institutions there are increasingly becoming great culture centres and vast storehouses of information on international affairs. Our country has always boasted of her high Aryan ideals and pacific traditions. And yet, not more than five out of 2500 Indian students who were studying abroad at the end of 1931 chose to spend their time in Switzerland! Again, nearly 22% of our students in the West are absorbed by the Law faculty, while only 2% are absorbed by the faculty of Education and not more than 6% by the faculty of Agriculture. The irony of this situation is obvious when we bear in mind the facts that more than 70% of India's population depends in one way or another on agriculture and that the most liberal estimate of literacy in India today does not exceed 15% of the population. Mr. Ranganadhan's book will, I am sure, enable Indian students, to face the whole problem of foreign study seriously, to correct their many past mistakes and to decide rightly in the future.

T. S. RAMANUJAM.

Our Geneva Letter.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

Geneva, Nov. 9

THE I. L. O. AND THE CRISIS.

AT the invitation of the Spanish Government, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office met at Madrid for its Sixtieth Session and in the course of this meeting, it unanimously elected Sir Atul C. Chatterjee as chairman for the coming year. The Governing Body is the highest executive organ of the International Labour Organisation and to be called upon to conduct its proceedings is as high a distinction as any that can be bestowed on the representative of any of the States belonging to the League Organisation. Sir Atul Chatterjee has already been honoured by the International Labour Conference by being called upon to preside over it in 1927 and India as well as he has reason to be gratified at

this latest testimony to the confidence in a representative of India at Geneva.

An outstanding result of the Madrid Session is to place the question of the reduction of hours of work on the agenda of the 1933 Session of the International Labour Conference. This decision is a sequel to the discussions and conclusion of the Governing Body at the special meeting held not very long ago, when Mr. de Michelis, the Italian Government's representative, proposed that a special session should be called with a view to the adoption of international measures for the immediate reduction of hours of work, as a means of alleviating unemployment. At that meeting the Governing Body adopted by a majority a modified proposal to the effect that the technical problems arising from any reduction of hours of work should be considered by a Tripartite Preparatory Conference representing Government, employers and workers, to be held at Geneva in January next. The Preparatory Conference has now been fixed for 10th January and is expected to last for two or three weeks. Immediately following it, there will be a meeting of the Governing Body on 30th January to consider the desirability of communicating the conclusions of the Preparatory Conference to the coming World Economic Conference and possibly to the Governments, in order that they might perhaps provide guidance for the conclusion of bilateral or unilateral agreements, pending decisions which might be taken on the subject by the 1933 Session of the International Labour Conference to be held at the end of May. The question whether that Session of the Conference should be called upon to consider the matter as a definite item of its formal agenda could not be settled until the Madrid meeting. It has now been settled affirmatively and it has also been decided that, in view of the world-wide nature of the problems to be studied, in addition to all the States Members of the Organisation, those States which do not belong to the Organisation shall be invited to take part in the Preparatory Conference.

The whole question of reduction of hours of work, it will be readily recognised, is beset with difficulties. Despite the apparent simplicity of the principle of sharing out the available amount of work among all the workers and thus restricting the effects of unemployment due to a diminution in production, it involves various considerations which have to be taken into account before it can be acted upon. Certain types of work do not admit of thus being distributed and the scope of the application of this principle will have to be carefully ascertained. The administrative and practical difficulties involved in this arrangement may in some cases prove to be insuperable. The plan will be fully effective only if it is adopted internationally and the form that the international agreement or agreements should take is another important question. Finally, the repercussions of any reduction of hours of work on wages will have to be considered, and this is an issue which may give rise to a good deal of controversy among industrialists and even economists. In any case it is more than likely that when such approaches to socio-economic planning are explored they may be found to lead to labyrinths puzzling to those who still belong to the age of laissez-faire and are inclined to regard labour as a commodity, subject as much to the law of demand and supply as any other.

Consequently, in some quarters, along with much justifiable and commendable caution, there is a considerable amount of disapproval of the action taken by the I.L.O. in bringing up the consideration of reduction of hours of work before the International Labour Conference. It is argued that what are after all the effects of a passing crisis should not

be allowed to provoke discussions revealing far-reaching differences and in engaging the annual Conference on a general debate on the reduction of hours of work, the I. L. O. has taken up a question, the ramifications of which reach domains outside its competence.

That criticism recalls the memorable speech which the late Director of the International Labour Office, M. Albert Thomas, made at the Conference only a few days before he died. "The Treaty of Peace," he said, "has confided to the Conference the task of founding world peace on social justice. In spite of man's inadequacy, in spite of the difficulties which the nationalist spirit may place in its way, the Conference must do its duty; indeed, its obligations are all the stronger. But it has the right to turn towards those who hold the levers of control, it has its duty to say to them: "You have instructed us to put into force the principles of Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace, and now we ask you for the means of fulfilling this mission. We tell you that the life of this organisation will become impossible if it does not receive from outside the collaboration and the economic and financial assistance essential for the success of its mission." And he asked, "As every one has repeated, are not social and economic questions intimately connected? Is it possible at the present moment to make some progress in social matters without the support of economic factors?"

These remarks were addressed in connection with a resolution, putting forward proposals for world economic reconstruction, which the Conference adopted by an overwhelming majority. Since then, various happenings have caused the concentration of public attention on the issue which dominated the last Conference: the economic crisis and its social consequences. The new Director of the I. L. O., Mr. H. B. Butler, has from the outset made the problems connected with the depression his first concern.

The consideration of the question of reduction of hours of work as a means of alleviating unemployment at present by the I. L. O. is, consequently, highly significant. The coming months will show the results of the enquiry and meanwhile those who regard it as premature must take account of the fact that the subject was taken up on account of the Italian Government's insistence and it has reached the stage of being inscribed on the agenda of the Conference by the usual procedure. Various Governments have, moreover, as pointed out in these columns on a previous occasion, already taken steps to give effect to the forty-hour week.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, November 11.

LABOUR'S ABSTENTION.

I AM informed on unimpeachable authority that, whilst the decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party, following the advice of its Executive Committee, was unanimous, it is by no means the view of many prominent and well-informed members of the Party outside Parliament that Labour should not be represented at the Round Table Conference. Singularly enough, the decision has not been commented upon editorially in the party organ "The Daily Herald." That is not to be wondered at, when one recalls that whilst recording the fact that originally there was no representation of Labour in the list of appointees announced by the India Office, it was left to the "News-Chronicle" to lodge a protest,

against the omission of Labour and of women from the Conference, whilst the "Daily Herald" maintained a discreet silence on the subject, though it could find ample space for a scare-head paragraph on Gandhiji's health, against which I am authoritatively informed it was expressly warned prior to publication, and it could also spare space for a special article by its Financial Editor on the front page in support of the claims of the North Charterland Company, a powerful capitalist organisation, yet maintaining a discreet silence about the rights of the native inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia. Looking, too, to "The New Statesman" of to-day, it is interesting to find that it contains no comment whatever upon the decision. All that is stated is "The refusal to nominate delegates from the Labour Party is a matter of some importance. It means a definite break in the theoretical continuity of policy, which has been a feature of the last ten years." In truth it does nothing of the kind. In so far as there was any break in this alleged continuity of policy it took place some months ago when the Labour Party divided the House against the Government on, I believe, the India Office Estimates. Apart, however, from demonstrations of that kind let us recall that the Labour Party, in holding itself aloof at the present time, regards itself as free to deal with a Government Bill when it comes before Parliament in a few months' time. If the Bill is reasonably good it will have to support it. If it is unsatisfactory it will be largely because at the most important stage, namely, before decisions have been finally crystallised into Parliamentary proposals, the Party has failed to utilise the opportunity open to it of exerting its influence from within the Conference in argument and discussion. The real test, however, is whether, supposing the Party had been in the same position of authority in which it was fifteen months ago, it would have been able to succeed in passing through Parliament as then constituted anything substantially better than what may still be anticipated as a result of the present Conference. I have reason to believe that these considerations were rather bluntly placed before the Parliamentary Labour Party leaders this week by a progressive Indian member of the Conference who has already arrived, and that the reply to his remonstrations was thoroughly unconvincing. The real truth is that the relations between the Party and Mr. MacDonald are so strained and unpleasant that the only matter upon which Labour in Parliament is really prepared to collaborate with the Government is in the discovery of means to reduce unemployment during the coming months, and to avert the danger of further industrial breakdown. That, in any case, is a most laudable object, and Mr. Lansbury's speech opening the non-Party discussion on unemployment last Friday was a model of good feeling, good taste and generous aspiration. He has for so long been regarded as a thoroughly good internationalist that it is sometimes difficult to remember that he is equally a thoroughly good Englishman. My readers who are familiar with the adoration of Mother India will not fail to sympathise with Mr. Lansbury's exclamation to a Russian enquirer, who evidently thought him so obsessed by admiration of Russia and the Bolshevik experiment that he could not possibly be glad to return to his own country, that upon his arrival upon the shores of England he would fall upon his knees and kiss her soil. No Tory patriot could have spoken more lovingly of his native land than this Englishman whom everyone in the House respects and likes, whether he agrees with him or not.

LORD SANKEY'S LETTER.

To-day's "News Letter", of which Lord Allen of Hurtwood is the founder and the inspiration,

contains a letter to an Indian friend, written on the 1st instant by Lord Sankey to one whom he congratulates "on all you have done and all you are doing for peace and goodwill in India. I know only too well your difficulties. Do not, however, be discouraged or give up the contest. The struggle is worth while. Success will come and we in it shall be remembered". It is evident from the date that the letter was addressed to an Indian friend who is not already on his way to Europe, and who may not, like Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who is already here, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and others who are arriving tomorrow, be a member of the Conference. The early part of the letter, the full text of which will be going out to India by this mail, recounts the steps that have been taken to implement the Prime Minister's declaration towards the end of last year, with the assent of all the Parties. Lord Sankey draws a natural distinction between a paper constitution that anyone can draft, and the building up of a federal government that in the present circumstances in India, so entirely different from every precedent, will really work. Slightly adapting a quotation from John Stuart Mill, he says: "There is hardly any kind of intellectual work which so much needs to be done . . . by minds trained to the task, through long and laborious study, as the business of drafting laws." He pleads earnestly for peace in India and declares pungently that "a refusal to assist the cause of peace is just as much a weapon of war as are material weapons like tanks and aeroplanes". He agrees that no federation will work if people refuse to federate, and that it will be impossible to get the new constitution working unless the proper atmosphere in India can be secured. But he insists equally that it is almost as essential to get the proper atmosphere in England. He stands definitely for what he claims to be constructive and constitutional methods as distinct from non-co-operation and civil disobedience. Finally he pleads with Mr. Gandhi to come out with a great gesture and to drop the weapon of civil disobedience in favour of co-operation with the British Government, thereby transforming the whole situation. He believes that Gandhiji is big enough to make such a gesture, and concludes that "if he will bend his powers to the task of bringing men together instead of keeping them apart, I have no fear for the future."

I suppose that Mahatmaji would say in reply to this that even in promoting civil disobedience his sole purpose is to bring men together rather than to keep them apart, and that it is because his effort and his method is misunderstood that no progress can be made. Curiously enough, to-day's telegrams from India include a Bombay message stating that in reply to a question by some unnamed person, whether he believed that the campaign against untouchability was more important than civil disobedience, and whether he could not do more for the removal of untouchability if he were out of prison, Mr. Gandhi stated that both were articles of faith and of equal importance. In one sense his reply is in the nature of a reply to Lord Sankey, namely, that he will not give up civil disobedience. Perhaps, however, that was not what he meant, and that he reserved to himself as a matter of faith and conviction the right to continue or to resume civil disobedience according to circumstances. So far as the answer goes, it is not calculated to clear up the doubts of the questioner who obviously wanted to know whether Gandhiji would not regard in present circumstances the removal of untouchability as having a prior claim upon him. There is perhaps also a latent warning to his colleagues that in his opinion a position has been reached where at least one other subject, namely, that of the removal of untouchability, has, in his opinion, attained to equal

importance with the question of civil disobedience. In the nature of things, however, it would appear to be psychologically impossible for any inspired person to be equally moved by two great convictions, neither of which excludes the other. Sooner or later one or the other must become paramount. The question that now arises is how soon this conviction will dawn upon the country.

Our Paris Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 11.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

IN spite of appearances, the German Elections have not on the whole radically altered the composition of the Reichstag. It is true that important modifications have taken place: the National-Socialists have lost 2 million votes and 35 seats, while the Communists have gained 600,000 votes and the German Nationalists of Hugenberg (who are prepared to support the Government) 700,000. However, gains on either side have none but a relative value since they practically compensate one another as far as political orientation is concerned. The fact that the two extreme parties have secured the major part of the votes is expected to lead to negative rather than constructive results, since the principal activity of those parties consists in fighting against each other.

It has been remarked that a good many electors abstained from voting. Are German voters tired of electing legislatures which are dissolved by the executive as soon as they have appeared on the scene?

The von Papen government could hardly hope for a parliamentary majority. Its aim in provoking new elections was rather to destroy the chances of the majority which might have been possible through alliance of the Nazis with the Catholic Centre. In that respect, the government calculations have proved correct; the new Reichstag, still more evidently than its predecessor, is an assembly where no combination can realise a governing majority. The only possible majority could be realised through the association of the Communists with the Nazis, and could be effective only as a majority of opposition. The recent incidents and riots which have occurred around the Berlin strike prove that there exists a tendency towards this association; the decline of Hitler is bound to bring more and more followers to the Communist Party, which is reported to be steadily growing.

The von Papen government, having thus dealt with the legislature, will now probably endeavour to realise its plans of constitutional reform for the Reich.

THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS.

The United States' history could boast of only two Democrat presidents, Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Woodrow Wilson, up to Mr. Roosevelt's election. The Democrats have further confirmed their victory, by getting more representatives in the Chamber and a stable majority in the Senate. Many people were hoping for President Hoover's re-election with the idea that his very failure may often impart knowledge and wisdom to an honest man. It was hoped in fact that Mr. Roosevelt's long experience of public affairs would enable him more than any other to restore order in a difficult situation for which his government was in no small measure responsible. But finally the present state of things has culmi-

nated in Hoover's defeat perhaps still more prominently than in Roosevelt's victory.

The American people have the impression of having lived under a dangerous delusion. The promise of an imaginary prosperity engendered frantic speculation and finally ended in catastrophe. Pres. Hoover's political and economic policy has been adventurous and to high expectations disappointment has succeeded. Some tactical errors have also been committed in his last electoral campaign; for instance, he did not fully realise his opponent's cleverness. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, was prompt in taking advantage of the discontent and ruined hopes resulting from the Republican government and they proved a fine spring-board for him. But he will have to cope with serious problems, the most important being perhaps unemployment (11 millions unemployed workers). A heavy deficit is also weighing on the present budget. Mr. Roosevelt, it is said, proposes to cover part of it by heavy duties on drinks. This must be borne in mind by the French people who are already waxing enthusiastic over all the wine they can hand over the Atlantic when America ceases to be "dry." They will do well also to remember that other countries as well are reckoning on the benefit of similar exports and that competition will play its part. Nevertheless a great deal is expected from Mr. Roosevelt as regards tariff policy in general in view of reviving the commercial relations and thus bringing some relief to the present economic crisis.

It is hoped here that the new regime will lead to more unity in American policy both at home and abroad. Up to now, opposition between a Republican President and a Democratic Senate gave rise to perpetual waverings and destroyed confidence. If the President's opinions and actions, instead of being merely personal manifestations, generally in contradiction with the Senate, really express the wishes of the American nation, there will be more continuity and more confidence in America's relations with Europe. In any case, Mr. Roosevelt's presidency only becomes effective three months after election, and it is not likely that President Hoover will give up his prerogative before the time is due.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The experts who have met in Geneva to draft the programme of the coming World Economic Conference have parted again, without having finished their task. The draft will be completed by the second session of the Preparatory Commission which is due in January.

The question of monetary stability has been the main subject under consideration. The return to gold standard has been considered as desirable, but diverse opinions have been expressed as to the means of realising it. The collaboration of the banks of issue has been nevertheless almost unanimously advocated.

Experts are going to submit the results of those discussions to their respective governments, but it is evident the actual Conference will not meet before Christmas as it had been expected.

Reviews

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE FOR INDIA: THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT EXAMINED. By D. R. GADGIL, (Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.) 1932. 66p. 85cm. Re. 1.

IN view of the assertions of the Commerce Member

that the agreement at Ottawa is just a reciprocal trade agreement, and of the yet more emphatic dictum of Mr. Shanmugam Chetty that Imperial Preference is as dead as Queen Anne, the title of the present publication might appear hopelessly antiquated. But in protesting that they are not in for a piece of Imperial Preference the official and non-official protagonists of the Ottawa agreement are really protesting too much. The agreement is nothing if not an essay in Imperial Preference. It is another matter that, judged as a pure reciprocity agreement also, it is a very unprofitable deal for India. The Ottawa Conference recorded a resolution embodying the general principle of the several agreements. Section third of this resolution clearly points to the underlying 'Imperial' idea of the whole work done at Ottawa: "This Conference regards the conclusion of these agreements as a step forward which should in the future lead to further progress in the same direction and which will utilise protective duties to ensure that the resources and industries of the Empire are developed on sound economic lines." Utilising protective duties to develop the economic resources of the empire is but a thinly altered version of Imperial Preference. In accepting the Ottawa agreement, therefore, India not only accepts a particular trade bargain, but it also accepts the principle of an Empire economic system with all its far-reaching implications. Mr. Gadgil has done well to draw pointed attention to this deeper significance of the agreement.

It is a very noteworthy fact, ably brought out in the present publication, that all those officials and non-officials, who have ever been confronted with a choice between the acceptance or rejection of the principle of Imperial Preference for India have desisted from the positive course. Events have been even more emphatic and eloquent than words. During the three decades of the present century which have seen a startling augmentation of India's foreign trade, one tendency has persisted among a large number of varying factors. The share of the U. K. and Empire both in the export and import trade of India has steadily declined. The natural course of India's economic development would, therefore, appear to lie in a wider sphere than the Empire. Reversing a holy adage we feel tempted to say, 'Let no man join what the heavens have snapped asunder.' The underlying presumption of the whole Ottawa policy is so perverse, historically and scientifically, that neither here nor in Great Britain has any economist of any standing favoured it with his approval. "Whatever is the special significance of a halfhazard unit like the Empire?" asks Mr. Gadgil. Many here and elsewhere have asked this question without getting from the Imperialistic Tory Government the only possible answer. The recent refusal of Sir Walter Layton, the Editor of the "Economist," to serve as the British Government's representative on the Preparatory Committee of the coming World Economic Conference was the outcome of the same feeling of exasperation and disapproval that prompts the above noted question.

The Ottawa agreement has been received with a unanimous disapproval of the economists in the country, and these have naturally used all available figures to marshal their case. Had they failed to do so they would have earned the criticism of indulging in empty generalisations. Now that they have produced official statistics themselves to prove that the balance of immediate advantage and prospective progress is against the acceptance of the agreement, what has the Commerce Member to say in reply to the indictment? Simply that it is impossible to prove mathematically such things as the future results of the agreement, and that as on general considerations it is not definitely obvious that the

agreement will ruin any particular interest in India, but on the contrary it seems it will do considerable harm to important exporting interests, the only proper course is to adopt the proposal and if it is proved in practice to do more harm than good then to repudiate it under the six-months' notice clause. In putting forward such a policy, Sir Joseph Bore, the first Indian Commerce Member, is unfortunately following the long traditions of pure empiricism that have always characterised the economic policies of the Government of India. There never was any justification for Government to throw to the winds the advice coming from knowledge and experience. There is much less in the present case. Whatever might be said of any other critics of the agreement, Mr. Gadgil has acknowledged the undoubted difficulty of balancing figures and has refrained generally from using figures for more than their worth. He has done more. While the delegation itself were purely arbitrary in their choice of the year 1929-30 as a representative year, Mr. Gadgil has based his conclusions on the average figures for the four years ending with the year officially chosen. It is significant that both the figures for the year officially chosen and the averages for the quadrennial period lead Mr. Gadgil to the conclusion that 'the facts as we see them do not point to the Ottawa agreement as a profitable bargain.'

That India's bargaining position was not used to the fullest advantage in negotiating the agreement and that generally the delegation underestimated the loss that Great Britain would incur if refused preferences in India while exaggerating the loss that India stands to make by non-ratification are conclusions that will be generally acceptable. Some critics of the Ottawa agreement would no doubt place more store by the apprehended losses to India's export trade than what Mr. Gadgil does. The loss to the tea industry and to tanned hides and skins has been referred to by Mr. Gadgil himself, though he seems to have arrived at a more emphatic conclusion towards the end of his essay where he asserts that "on none of these (cotton, rice, jute, ground nut, linseed, raw hides and skins, and raw wool) do we stand to lose if the Ottawa agreement is not ratified." There is, however, complete agreement among Indian economists that the rejection of the Ottawa agreement would mean less loss to India than its acceptance. Mr. Gadgil's analysis of the agreement is characterised by a marked insight, scientific vigour and constructive criticism. It is a sad commentary on the present system of administration in this country that even the scientists are refused facilities to bring their constructive powers to the service of national interests and are led to develop an increasingly critical bias. What, for instance, would have been the course of events if before the Ottawa agreement Government would have seen fit to take into their confidence a few experienced economists of whose sense of responsibility there could be no doubt?

D. G. KARVE.

DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION.

THE NECESSITY OF POLITICS. By KARL SCHMITT. (Sheed & Ward.) 1931. 20cm. 90p. 2/6.
THE DRIFT OF DEMOCRACY. By MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE. (Sheed & Ward.) 1931. 20cm. 79p. 2/6.

THESE two volumes belong to a series known as *Essays in Order* edited by Messrs. Christopher Dawson and T. F. Burns. They are written avowedly from a Roman Catholic point of view. The author of the first of these two volumes is Professor of Political Theory in the University of Berlin. His point of

view is that of the scientific jurist. The title of the volume in English, "The Necessity of Politics," is somewhat misleading. It should really be, "The Necessity of the Catholic Church in Politics"! It is an antidote to the popular English conception that "religion is essentially a private matter, a question of personal opinion" and that, as such, it "has no business to interfere in political life." The author firmly believes that religion has a public character and that the Catholic Church in particular has the power to embrace all the vital elements of human civilisation. According to him, neither liberal humanitarianism nor nationalism can solve the problems of the modern world. The true solvent is the Catholic Church which combines "a boundless adaptability with "a most exact and rigid dogmatic system," an "a capacity for reaching momentous decisions such as culminated in the doctrine of Papal Infallibility." The author is much impressed by the authority of the Catholic Church "in its complete purity" and its championship of what he regards as sound common sense. He regrets the present-day tendency of letting the scientific and technical method dominate the modern mentality, and particularly of allowing political questions to be unduly influenced by economic considerations. The Church is not opposed to private property or to the existence of economic inequality. "What she condemns is precisely that denial of the primacy of the spiritual and that subordination of moral values to material interests which attain still more complete and conscious development in the Communist State." In a world of everlasting changes, the sovereign power of Catholicism alone remains dormant embodying as it does eternal truth and expressing the social principle.

"The Drift of Democracy" is less dogmatic and more useful than the essay that we have just considered. The author of this volume briefly examines some of the modern charges against democracy and comes to the sound conclusion that democracy is the only form of political order to which we can give our rational support. Some of the criticisms examined by him are (1) that it is a drag on the economic system and (2) that the democratic machinery is too slow and cumbersome to be able to achieve its own ends. In the judgment of this writer, the greatest value of democracy is that it retains "the essentially Christian belief in the value and dignity of every human being." The spirit of democracy is that each and every person has a right to count in the determination of the order to which all must submit, if they are to live together and that no person may be sacrificed for the good of others. The democratic article of faith is that all men are, in so far as they are men, equal. The democratic ideal is thus a religious ideal. Democracy is "doubtless a poor substitute for religion and the morality based on true religion, but it still has the power to inspire many who have lost their religious beliefs." If democracy is to succeed, says the author, it is essential that each and every man should be inspired to play his part in this democracy by building up his character and that of his children on a realistic and adequate philosophy of life. Democracy rests in theory and in practice on the character of each and every person. Whatever be the ways and means of giving effect to the "say" of the individual, all depends in the long run on the *quality* of the citizen. To all this we say ditto.

The author agrees with Prof. Carl Schmitt in giving a very high place to the Catholic Church. In his own words "the only religion in the West that can still claim the allegiance of every kind of man is Catholicism, while the only moral basis of political order that has still some value is the spirit of democracy." Another point where both the writers agree is in deploring the present-day tendency of

subordinating politics to economics. As the author remarks, we live in a world order where after religion and ethics have been reduced to politics, politics is itself reduced to economics. "Politics is up against economics, and it is certain that if the people do not fulfil the role of humanising the economic order, the latter will enslave the people." Politics must be related to religion, as surely as economics to ethics.

Whatever conviction the advocacy of Catholicism as a religious system and a social principle may carry to Western readers, it is not likely to make much appeal to the thoughtful in this country. At the same time, the point of view that religion and politics are allies and are not as opposed to one another as is generally made out to be is a timely and welcome contribution. Politicians and statesmen have been too long under the influence of Machiavelli. It is time they listened to the behests of religion and humanity. "Religion alone is left to support morality and to clear the ground for wisdom." A corroboration of this point of view comes from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi when he writes, "My devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

E. ASIRVATHAM.

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

HISTORY OF INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE. By B. E. DADACHANJI. [2nd Edn.] (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1931. 21cm. 247p. Rs. 3-4.

WE welcome this second edition of Professor Dadachanji's popular book on Indian Currency and Exchange. The fact that a second edition of the book was called for within three years of the publication of the first one shows that the book has met the long-felt need for a simple and easily digestible work for those who wish to be initiated into the mysteries and technique of Indian Currency and Exchange. The new edition, which has been revised and brought up to date, includes an additional useful chapter on Indian Currency and Exchange during 1927-31. The treatment of a new subject viz, 'Some Peculiarities of Indian Foreign Exchange,' is also desirable, but the propriety of placing this matter under the Introduction is doubtful. The reader cannot very well grasp this 'introduction' unless he has read the bulk of the book itself. The author would, therefore, be well advised to transfer it to a later stage in his book. A few errors appear to have crept into the book owing to oversight, for example, on p.5, where the silver rupee as introduced by the Act of 1835 is described as having a weight of 180 grains troy (150 grains pure metal and 15 grains alloy or 11-12th fine). Obviously the weight of pure metal should be 165 grains and not 150 grains.

We think it is not quite accurate to maintain that the Currency Act of 1927 does not touch the question of the Gold Bullion Standard at all and that all that it does is that it establishes the Sterling or Gold Exchange Standard on a firmer basis than before (pp. 116 and 190). While the transitional character of this measure is clear enough the standard it introduced is neither an exchange standard pure and simple nor a bullion standard in a full-fledged form but rather a Gold Bullion *cum* Gold Exchange Standard (until September, 1931).

The general impression which a perusal of the book leaves on the mind of the reader is that while the author has taken considerable pains in simplifying

a complex subject to the great relief of the average student, he has often refrained from offering comments and giving his own verdict on many controversial questions dealt with in the book. For example, he has merely summarised the arguments of the Majority and Minority of the Hilton-Young Commission on the Ratio controversy without any attempt at their appraisal. So also, while giving an account of Indian Currency and Exchange during 1927-31 he has failed to give any lead to the reader whether the various measures adopted by the Government were justified or not.

We would also suggest that in a book on the history of Indian Currency and Exchange more than a small paragraph should be devoted to the treatment of the Indian Currency system before 1800, in view of the vital connection between Mughul and British coinage and also in view of the need for emphasising the long tradition in favour of gold currency in India. The addition of an Index would also be welcome.

On the whole, the book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Indian Currency and Exchange and will be found useful not only by the student but also by the publicist who has no time to wade through the blue books and other publications of which a very useful bibliography is included in the book under review. The neatly drawn diagrams and charts relating to the genealogy of Indian Currency should immensely facilitate the understanding of a difficult and dry subject and have undoubtedly enhanced the value of the book.

S. G. BERL

SHORT NOTICES.

THE WORLD COURT, 1921-1931. A HANDBOOK OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. By MANLEY O. HUDSON. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1931. 20cm. 245p. \$2.50.

THE third edition of this handbook brings the story of the Permanent Court of International Justice down to the end of 1931. It gives a brief summary of the history of the efforts made to realise the conception of the World Court, together with an abstract of the judgments and advisory opinions which have been pronounced by the Court from its foundation to the end of 1931. It was the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899 that drew up the convention for the specific settlement of international disputes and the Permanent Court of Arbitration was organised by its Administrative Council in 1901. It is not, strictly speaking, a court, but it is only a panel out of which arbitration tribunals may be formed from time to time as occasion arises. Art. 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations directed the Council of the League to submit plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The project prepared by the Commission of Jurists who were invited by the Council of the League to formulate a plan was approved by the Council and the Assembly of the League in 1920 and the statute came into force in 1921. During the decade ending with 1931 the Permanent Court of International Justice has delivered 16 judgments and 20 advisory opinions. The Court exercises jurisdiction in two classes of cases. In contentious cases it is exercised upon the consent of the parties either by a special agreement *ad hoc* or by a previous agreement conferring compulsory jurisdiction in certain cases. The Court may also give advisory opinions at the request of the Assembly or the Council of the League

of Nations. The number of judges has now been raised from 11 to 15. The Court has fully justified the expectations of the founders. Besides the summary of judgments and opinions, the handbook contains also the full text of all the instruments relating to the Court, including the statute and the rules and regulations of the Court of International Justice. Readers in India will be interested in finding the instrument of acceptance of the optional clause signed on behalf of the Government of India by its representative, Sir Mahomed Habibullah.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYAR.

A STUDY OF RURAL ECONOMY OF GUJARAT CONTAINING POSSIBILITIES OF RECONSTRUCTION. By J. M. MEHTA. (Baroda State Press, Baroda.) 1931. 25cm. 387p. Rs. 6.

DR. MEHTA deals in this book with the neglected work of rural economic survey. This survey is a general one, and it includes two intensive village surveys conducted by the author. The rural economy of Gujarat with its own special features is not far different from that of the rest of the country. The author does not stop with mere statistics and generalisations, but gives many constructive suggestions for rural improvement. Though these are not new and their effectiveness has not been too thoroughly proved, they are worth an honest trial.

Dr. Mehta often gives instructive comparison with European countries and especially with Italy, whose rural conditions are similar to those of Gujarat. This comparison shows how glaringly backward Gujarat is when compared to Italy, which by the way is not as progressive as her neighbours. The blame for this pathetic state does not solely rest with the ill-organised sons of the soil. The helping hand of the State which is not missing anywhere in Italy is absent in India.

Dr. Mehta differs from Dr. Mann and proves that rising prices tend to rural prosperity. Agreeing with Mr. Datta, the author says: "On the whole it can be said that the position of cultivators has improved since the beginning of this century despite the rise in the cost of living. Falling prices will lead to just the opposite conditions."

While recognising the seriousness of the burden of the land-tax on small holders, the author tries to justify it on other grounds. The levy of an added tax on non-cultivating landholders as in Italy is a good suggestion in the interest of agriculture.

On the whole, the survey is very scientific, useful and instructive.

N. S. S.

UP FROM POVERTY IN RURAL INDIA. By D. SPENCER HATCH. (Oxford University Press.) 1932. 20cm. 208p. Rs. 2/8.

THIS is a fresh contribution to what is called the problem of rural reconstruction. A part of it is devoted to a consideration of what the author calls the "Indian Problem", expounding the usual and familiar arguments. What is new and useful in the book is a narration of the work actually carried on by the author and his Indian colleagues at a place called Martandam in Travancore. Dr. Hatch's book is the outcome of "personal study, experimentation, and practice" during his connection with India since 1916. And he even claims that some of the methods and principles related in the book

have already been found applicable in parts of the Orient as far afield as Korea and Philippine Islands.

The narration of methods that Dr. Hatch is applying to his centre at Martandam proves very interesting reading. Being a scientist himself, he has brought the touch of scientific organisation to everything he does—co-operation, rural vocations, the rural drama, creating village leaders, and so on. The author tells us that he has conducted and completed surveys of several villages round about his centre. But if the reader searches for any reference to the economic condition of the villagers—beyond what is generally described—he will be disappointed. The author is so much taken up with describing his own methods of work that he has failed to furnish us with the results thereof whereby they can be judged. This is a serious drawback in the book.

K. D. A.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL, 1933. (Times of India Press, Bombay.) 34cm. Rs. 2/-

THE Annual is a model of attractive get-up and fine printing. But it also provides a good deal of reading matter which is very interesting. The reminiscences of Sir Harcourt Butler and those of shooting contributed by Sir Edward Buck and Sir Hubert Sams's article on "Burrā Dina" may be singled out for mention as particularly readable. The pictures of Indian scenes are very artistic. There is no doubt the Annual is worth much more than its price.

M. H. N.

"Indians Abroad" Directory, 1933.

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY

S. A. WAIZ, B. A.

To be published by the Imperial Indian
Citizenship Association, Bombay,
in March, 1933.

The Directory will contain accounts of the historical, political, commercial, economic and social conditions of our countrymen living in the various parts of the world outside India. Among its chief features will be the names and addresses of leading Indian merchants, other Indian residents and Indian institutions such as Associations, Societies, Schools, etc.

Excellent medium for advertising.

For advertising rates please write to the

Secretary, Imperial Indian Citizenship
Association, Sohrab House, 235,
Hornby Road, Bombay.