

The Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	241
ARTICLES :-	
India and the World Economic Conference.	244
U. P. in 1931-32. By S. P. Andrews-Dube.	245
Germany and World Peace. By Madame L. Morin.	246
OUR LONDON LETTER.	247
REVIEWS :-	
International Trade. By Prof. D. G. Karve	249
Present World Situation. By Prof. R. Sadasiva Aiyar.	249
Indian Philosophy. By S. S. William.	250
India's Foreign Trade. By S. V. Ayyar.	251
Frontier States. By M. V. Subrahmanyam.	252
BOOKS RECEIVED.	252

Topics of the Week.

Very Caddish.

IT will be recalled that some weeks ago the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya published a statement containing grave allegations against the conduct of the police towards certain delegates to the last session of the Congress at Calcutta and that over a score of members of the Indian Legislative Assembly took the matter up with the Government of India and that Sir Harry Haig replied to say that the Bengal Government was asked to make an enquiry into the matter. Considering the gravity of the allegations and the status of those who sponsored them, it was very disappointing that the Bengal Government or, preferably the Government of India, did not order a public enquiry in the first instance. Replying to interpellations in the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Hoare stated last Monday that the Government of India had just received the report of the Government of Bengal and that it showed that the allegations were entirely unfounded and false. He added that, while he saw no reason why the Report should not be published the Government of Bengal intended shortly to issue a *communiqué*. He went further and with surpassing caddishness cast aspersions on the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Bhishma of Indian politics, whom he accused of having given his name twice to totally "vicious and false charges." It ill becomes a Minister of the Crown to refuse to

institute an impartial and judicial enquiry when grave allegations were made against the executive, to accept as gospel truth the judgment of the accused and on the strength of it, to accuse a person of the standing of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of fathering totally false and vicious charges. The case for a public enquiry, strong as it was, has become stronger still and urgent. In the meanwhile, the public cannot be blamed if they refuse to accept the *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of State.

Alwar.

The sudden development of the situation in Alwar has taken the public by surprise. The brief press *communiqué* issued from Simla on Sunday refers to the Maharaja's intention of going on a two years' tour to western countries, which virtually means his temporary abdication. During his absence, the Prime Minister, who is a British officer 'lent' to the State by the Government of India, will be responsible for the entire administration and has been invested with full powers by the Viceroy. The finances of the State are stated to be in a very bad way and a loan to the State of half a crore of rupees with a view to enabling the Prime Minister to set them right is apparently being considered by the Paramount Power. It has also been announced that the Maharaja's civil list will hereafter be reduced roughly to three lakhs of rupees. All which sounds very much like the entire administration of the State being taken over by the Supreme Government. It must be supposed that all these drastic steps would not have been decided upon unless they were rendered inevitable by the present *impasse* in Alwar. In this connection one cannot help wondering why the Paramount Power which is responsible for ensuring good government to states' subjects in general allows things to drift till nothing short of such stringent action as is reported to be necessary in Alwar is forced upon it. Why could it not intervene at a comparatively early stage and prevent the situation from getting out of hand? A stitch in time in such cases may in all probability lead to a wonderfully improved situation and may avert indignity to the ruler. It is to be hoped that this aspect of the matter will be borne in mind on future occasions by those in authority. We are equally unable to understand the unwillingness of rulers of Indian States to face an open investigation into their administration by a commission. No authoritative information is

available as to whether this alternative was open to the ruler of Alwar before he decided to withdraw himself from the State. There is no reason to suppose that the verdict will always go against the ruler. In any case that strikes us as a more honourable course for a self-respecting ruler than a quiet exit from his State, which virtually amounts to pleading guilty to the charges levelled against him.

A Gloomy Outlook.

THE examination of witnesses is not expected to be taken up by the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee before the beginning of next month. Besides discussing matters of procedure etc. the Indian delegates are in the meanwhile engaged, we are informed, in expounding to their British colleagues the White Paper proposals relating to the provinces, and making out a case for full provincial autonomy by the transfer of all subjects including that of Law and Order to popular ministers. If even at this stage the British wing needs to be convinced of the necessity of the grant of complete provincial autonomy, all we can say is that the outlook is extremely gloomy indeed. The British members of the Committee must be sadly ill-equipped for the task they have undertaken if they still find themselves unable to appreciate the Indian opposition to the attenuated provincial autonomy offered in the White Paper. It cannot be too strongly borne in upon them that if the proffered reforms are to be looked upon in any way as a measure of political appeasement, they need to be substantially improved before they become acceptable even to the most moderate opinion in the country. Unless the British members have grasped this fundamental fact, their consideration of the proposals embodied in the White Paper will be so much wasted labour. It is a matter for satisfaction, however, that it has been decided to extend to the Indian wing the right of cross-examining witnesses who appear before the Committee.

Extension of Councils' Life.

THE Bill enabling heads of provinces in India to prolong the life of the existing legislatures in view of the pending constitutional discussions has been passed by Parliament. It is a matter for regret that no limit to the prolongation has been specified in the measure. Public opinion is naturally apprehensive that the provisions of the Bill which are designed to meet the present contingency are likely to be abused by Governors bent upon defying public opinion and would have welcomed the Governors' discretion in this respect to be limited to a maximum period of two years. An amendment to this effect was, as a matter of fact, moved in the Lords but failed to secure the requisite support. The indefiniteness of the provisions of the Bill was defended by Lord Irwin on the ground that if the time-limit was short it would have the appearance of hustling Parliament into passing the Bill in a hurry and limiting its freedom. On the other hand, if it was long it would lay the Government open to the charge of dilatory tactics and of not meaning business in the matter of Indian reforms. We are afraid Lord Irwin's reasoning is more plausible than convincing. According to the plans of the present Government in Great Britain, the passage of the new Government of India Bill is not expected to be delayed later than two years from now. Indeed the general belief is that elections to the reformed councils would be held in the autumn of next year, with the result that the new councils would be in working order by the beginning of 1935.

Nothing would have been lost but something would have been gained if he had been able to persuade Sir Samuel Hoare to accede to the proposed time-limit. If the Government seriously believes that two years is too short a period for Parliament to consider the Bill in all its stages they would have done well in immediately dissolving the present thoroughly unrepresentative legislatures and ordering fresh elections. Incidentally, this would also have served as a convenient means of ascertaining the country's feeling in regard to the White Paper proposals.

Sir M. Habibullah on the Situation.

AS president of the second session of the Kerala Muslim Conference which recently met at Calicut, Sir Mahomed Habibullah made a speech which fully justifies his reputation as a progressive and broad-minded Muslim nationalist. In view of his experience as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the public would have welcomed a detailed criticism by him of the White Paper proposals; but this he somehow did not attempt in his speech. His examination of the document in broad outline however shows that he fully shares the apprehensions of progressive opinion about the dangerously wide character of the proposed safeguards and reservations. But the important question is what is to be the attitude which public opinion has to adopt at this juncture. He has addressed himself to this question in his speech and is unable to see eye to eye with those who challenge Parliament's right to frame a constitution for this country. Such a claim would, in his opinion, have been a matter of practical politics if Indians had been able to present a united front. But having regard to the existing communal and other divisions in the land, this remains for the present at any rate nothing more than an adorable dream, and a consummation devoutly to be wished for. The total rejection of the proposals fails to commend itself to him as it does to all normally-minded people. The only thing then that can be done is to get the proposals amended with a view to bringing them into line with advanced political opinion and to this end he would like all the best brains in India to bend their energies, such as they are. We have no doubt that this is the only wise advice which Sir Mahomed Habibullah could have given to his co-religionists and to non-Muslims whom too he had in mind.

Speaking about the question of Hindu-Muslim unity Sir Mahomed pleaded for the cultivation of a spirit of tolerance by all concerned, without which real and lasting unity between the different communities would be unattainable. In doing so he did not cease to be a Muslim and a cent. per cent. one at that. But, as explained by him, he is not a believer in "unavoidable antagonisms." Nor has he any misgivings that the Hindus would fail to offer their co-operation in all attempts to bring the two communities together. Unless communal unity was an accomplished fact, Sir Mahomed Habibullah had no hesitation in saying that Indian aspirations about self-government were bound to be utopian. This is the bare truth and the sooner it is realised the better for the cause of Indian Swarajya.

Repression in Travancore.

IT is deeply to be regretted that the Government of Travancore, whose administration has during the last many years been peaceful and progressive, besmirched its fair name by a resort to repression during the last few months: the prohibition of public meetings called by certain sections of its people to protest against certain aspects of the constitutional

reforms recently promulgated by the Maharaja and the suppression of a newspaper which supported the agitation. A perusal of the representation to the Government of Travancore made by Mr. M. M. Varkey, of the *Desam*, Trivandrum, makes it abundantly clear that, whatever be the merits of the cause of the agitation, the character of the agitation was not in the least such as to justify the high-handed action of the Government. The article which offended the Government and brought on the head of the editor its severe displeasure is not, in our opinion, in the least calculated to create disaffection towards the Government of Travancore or promote enmity between the different classes of its people. It is certainly not flattering to either Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Constitutional Adviser, or Mr. Austin, the Dewan of Travancore. But the article does not justify action under the Press Act.

The suppression of agitation against certain features of the new reforms is also most unwise. The leaders of the agitation have not committed any unlawful act in merely declining, as a mark of protest, to contest the elections and accept nominations. On the other hand, they have scrupulously obeyed prohibitory orders, given at the last and most inconvenient moments, however arbitrary and uncalled for. It is a great and unwarranted misuse of power thus to stifle the expression of public opinion.

That such repression should occur in a State of which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is the Constitutional Adviser, is the saddest part of the affair. Why blame foreign bureaucrats or indigenous Princely autocrats?

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Excise Administration in Bombay.

THAT the Government of Bombay lives to a considerable extent on the income derived from the sale of intoxicants is shown once again by the Excise Administration report for 1931-32 published recently. The total Excise revenue for the Presidency for the year under notice amounted to over Rs. 333 lakhs, which exceeded that for the previous year by about Rs. 33 lakhs. There is recorded an increase of 7 per cent. in the consumption of country liquor in the Presidency proper over that of the previous year and 8 per cent. for Sind. It is said that this was everywhere below the ration, being about 59 per cent. of it. But this can bring only cold comfort to temperance workers to whom all increased consumption is anathema.

Similarly, the use of toddy also increased in Bombay and Sind, the most marked increase being in Thana (72%) and Surat (70%), and is ascribed mainly to the improvement in the political situation! The Ratnagiri district happily shows a decrease of 34% in toddy consumption due to shops being closed for about a month on account of a strike of licensees intended to secure a reduction in license fees and in the tree-tax. The number of trees licensed for tapping in the Presidency proper rose by 1,15,700 to 3,88,400, Surat and Thana recording the most marked increase.

The consumption of foreign liquors showed a considerable decrease: 16% in fermented liquors, 20% in wines and 24% in spirits. The decrease is thought to be due chiefly to the high selling prices which prevailed as a result of the enhancement in the customs and excise duties. The revenue from foreign liquors nevertheless increased by Rs. 1,04,000 and amounted to Rs. 28,42,000.

On account of there being a sufficient balance of *ganja* from the previous year's stock to meet all

requirements, its cultivation was not allowed during the year under report. The consumption of this drug has been showing a steady decline from 1929-30. In three years it has fallen by 22,600 seers to 19,000 seers.

Opium is reported to be used less and less. In 1917-18, its consumption amounted to 56,000 seers; in 1930-31 it dropped to 18,230 seers and last year it was 17,960 seers only. Poona and Ahmedabad have the unenviable distinction of showing an increase in the consumption of this drug, due to the low selling prices charged by the licensees as a result of competition.

Referring to temperance activities the Report says that there was no genuine temperance movement in Bombay City or the mofussil. This must cause concern to the friends of the movement and spur them on to vigorous action. The Bombay Government will do well if it followed the example of the U. P. Government and allotted a share of the Excise revenue for temperance propaganda through genuine temperance societies.

* * *

Educational Waste.

ONE of the points dealt with by Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, Director of Public Instruction, Mysore, in his thoughtful presidential address to the recent session of the Madras Provincial Education Conference referred to the huge waste that has been taking place all these years in education and the means of mitigating it. As is well known, the problem is not peculiar to Madras but is an all-India one and the observations of an experienced educationist of Mr. Subba Rao's status are full of instruction to all those who are interested in the cause of Indian education. He did not deal with the wastage that is found to prevail in the primary stage. That in the secondary stage he attributes largely to the foreign medium of instruction—a view almost universally held in educational circles in this country. Mr. Subba Rao is by no means to be understood to favour the banishment of English from the curriculum of our high schools. What he would like done is the vernacularisation of instruction in the secondary stage, "while taking all care that the study of English is effectively maintained, specially for those who desire to proceed to the University." His other remedies for reducing this wastage are improved curricula, more efficient staff, better equipment and greater application on the part of the students themselves. While it is obvious that any action designed even to obviate this waste which might involve fresh financial outlay has to await better times, there is no reason why that which can be undertaken without any additional expense should be held up any longer. It is sheer commonsense that attention should be concentrated upon consolidation when development is barred by financial considerations.

Another important point dealt with in Mr. Subba Rao's address is the problem of educated unemployment. In that connection he commented upon the inadequacy of the provision for vocational training and suggested that Universities should themselves provide post-secondary vocational courses on the successful completion of which diplomas will be given. Affiliating universities should, in his opinion, recognise institutions preparing students for such diploma. There can hardly be any doubt that this is the only way to invest such courses with respectability in the eyes of the public. It is to be hoped that Mr. Subba Rao's suggestions will receive careful consideration at the hands of our University authorities.

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Articles.

INDIA AND THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

THE World Economic Conference will meet in London on the 12th of June. For months, if not for years, such an international gathering has been indicated as the proper channel through which a solution could be found for the grave economic problems confronting the nations of the world. Most of these issues have been recognised as being mutually dependent. The solution, or even the discussion, of any one of them depended so vitally on the decisions taken on the rest that the holding of a conference among nations without the establishment of some sort of a preliminary understanding on the fundamentals would have been courting a certain failure. Thanks, however, to a "like purpose and a close similarity of method at the main objectives of the Conference" reached as a result of the recent *pourparlers* between the British Prime Minister and the American President, the prospects of a successful session of the World Conference have distinctly improved.

In the economic sphere the most urgent problem is undoubtedly that of the falling price level. Movements of prices are, however, only the outward expression of several changes in the field of currency and tariff legislation. The World Conference will not come off even with the semblance of success unless it is able to adopt some practicable plan of immediate monetary and fiscal reform. In the background, but overshadowing all, are the problems of War debts and disarmament. A rational solution of the German Reparations hangs on the prospect of America consenting to a virtual writing off of her dues from the ex-Allied governments. Unless these non-commercial transactions between nations are terminated, or at least reduced to insignificant limits, the channels of international exchange will not run with their usual smoothness. In the absence of untrammelled exchange the functioning of the gold standard is impossible. The stock of available monetary gold is at present distributed among nations in inverse proportion to their readiness to follow a liberal foreign trade policy. As most of the currency systems are normally linked with gold the loss of that metal means an inevitable contraction of currency and credit. A falling price level, already induced as a result of overstocked markets, is rendered precipitous on account of the appreciation of the means of payment. In a rapidly falling world market trade balances are unexpectedly upset, and country after country, led by the most conservative supporter of the gold standard, viz., England, has repudiated its obligation to find gold for its paper medium.

The reversion of the movement of prices and the restoration of a gold standard are thus dependent on the removal of the artificial barriers in the way of international commerce. War debts are only one

such obstacle. Fundamentally more important is the new enthusiasm for nationalism created among the smaller and less developed nations as a result of the late War. In the economic field national enthusiasm is bound to be expressed in highly protectionist policies. The bigger and the more advanced nations counting upon the safe possession of pre-War markets have built up productive systems which press as a dead burden when trade barriers have narrowed the markets. From frustrated aggression it is only a step to militant defence. The prevailing uncertainty in the political field emphasises the immediate necessity, though not the ultimate virtue, of adopting policies of exclusion and consolidation. Suspicion breeds suspicion and even the most responsible statesmen have begun to talk of the world as being on the brink of another disastrous war. Political insecurity is the most important cause of the recent surging of protectionist feeling. Unless the larger nations establish a workable political understanding among themselves and succeed in reassuring the smaller and backward nations of their good intentions, the decisions of an 'economic' conference will be built on sand.

The advance of negotiations for a Four Power pact to maintain the peace of Europe is an encouraging circumstance. The last minute, and rather unexpected improvement in the prospects of the disarmament conference, is also indicative of a welcome change in the temper and policies of the leading nations. With the political issues satisfactorily settled and a workable understanding arrived at regarding reparations and inter-allied debts, we can look forward to the meeting of the World Economic Conference with more hopefulness than we could have permitted ourselves a few weeks ago. It is unthinkable that the American President would take the lead in convening the oft-postponed Conference for the 12th of June, knowing that on the 15th of that month irrecoverable instalments of allied debts fall due. It is probable—and we do not altogether regret that probability—that the U. S. A. will utilise its crucial position to secure acceptance for its proposals in the sphere of disarmament, currency and tariffs. It is expected that a tariff truce will form part of the programme of the Conference. In respect of currency and exchange it is not considered probable that a restoration of gold parity will be insisted upon. The recent action of the U. S. A. Government in partially abandoning gold has improved the prospects of an agreement between Britain and that country on the new rate of stabilisation. France, which at present is the only important country on a gold standard basis, might be inclined to oppose this agreed depreciation of other currencies. But as France had already fixed upon a lower parity and as among leading nations it is the least affected by variations in the terms of international trade, no serious obstacle need be anticipated from that quarter. The introduction of some type of an international gold standard will doubtless be canvassed as a remedy for the currency ills. Under the guidance, if not the actual control, of an international body substantial addition to the

volume of currency and credit may be attempted. These efforts, if successful, are bound to induce a psychological change which will herald the advent of a world-wide economic revival.

The prospects before the World Economic Conference are thus far from gloomy. As India is vitally concerned in the problems of peace, tariffs and exchange it is necessary to define our position *vis-a-vis* the Conference. The personnel of the India delegation to the Conference is not as yet known. Judging, however, from past experience there is reason to fear that the composition and status of the 'Indian' delegation will be unsatisfactory. The Finance Member of the Government of India will in all probability be a member and its most prominent member. By his administrative irresponsibility and non-Indian nationality he is the least fitted to head an Indian delegation. Granting that a Government Member has to be chosen to lead the delegation it would be better if the choice should by preference fall on Sir Joseph Bore. But the most blameworthy feature of the so-called Indian delegations is that they are unaccompanied by a sufficient number of Indian and unofficial experts. This omission is doubly objectionable. The delegates have mostly to depend upon the advice of British officials found for them by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. Single-minded devotion to Indian interests is not assured by this arrangement. In the second place, it is flagrant injustice to Indian experts that all opportunities of useful co-operation with foreign colleagues should be denied to them. Politically and economically it is desirable that the Government of India should nominate a sufficient number of Indian experts as advisers to the delegation.

The presence of Indian advisers is all the more necessary because on all the important issues before the Conference, India's interests are likely to demand special consideration. For instance, the adoption of a tariff truce can have no application for a country like ours which has yet to gain the necessary freedom to adopt a policy of national economic development. If under British pressure the Indian delegation makes inconvenient commitments it would be well-nigh impossible to remedy them in future. The queer attitude that Government has adopted on the question of Japanese dumping is an apt illustration. The Government of India acts under British pressure, and Britain is prepared to make the best bargain for itself out of the difficulties of India. In respect of currency rehabilitation it is likely that while some sort of a gold standard will be adopted for the world at large an effort will be made to keep India within the sphere of sterling influence. This move ought to be stoutly resisted. So also any conspiracy among the Western nations to force silver upon unwilling Eastern nations ought to be exposed in good time. Nothing short of a Gold Standard, which of course is distinguishable from a gold currency, will place our monetary system on a sound footing. Closely connected with currency is the question of exchange. Making allowance for the depreciation of sterling, the 18 pence rate comes

to less than 15 pence in gold. By keeping India within the sterling sphere an attempt will be made to avoid the reopening of the ratio controversy. But if a gold basis is to be found for the rupee obviously it cannot continue to be on a high pedestal when all the other currencies have tumbled to a new lower level. In all these respects Indian attitude at the London Conference ought to be governed by an exclusive concern for India's benefit. Unless the composition of the Indian delegation is satisfactory from the Indian point of view, and unless it is assisted by a strong body of Indian experts the interests of our country are likely to suffer an irretrievable blow.

U. P. IN 1931-32.

THE U. P. Administration Report for 1931-32 is a fairly impartial record of the state of things in that province during the year. Referring to the civil disobedience movement after the arrest of its most prominent leaders it draws public attention to the attitude of its smaller leaders by saying: "What leaders remained were shy of exposing themselves to the risk of imprisonment, either through actual fear or in the belief that they could best keep the agitation alive from outside the jails and as funds ran low, it became increasingly difficult to find the hired labourers who had largely formed the rank and file of the army of martyrs." Ingenious methods were devised by some of the local leaders for holding their conferences. "At Cawnpore, a committee tried to hold a meeting in a boat on the Ganges; at Muzafarnagar, the president disguised himself in a *burqa* (veil), while in Jhansi a conference was to be held during a performance in a cinema hall." This movement led by the Congress reached, according to the Report, such a low level that only seven districts made any effort whatever to commemorate the death of Lala Lajpat Rai.

Describing the no-rent campaign, comment is made that the Congress party was faced by the difficulty that their local leaders had seldom any natural taste for country life, and were not ready to court imprisonment for the sake of addressing the small number of villagers who could be collected without long and intensive work. The Swadeshi Leagues come in for a word of commendation. The failure of the political campaign directed greater emphasis on the Swadeshi propaganda. At a number of meetings held for this purpose, direct hostility to Government was shown, although guarded in tone. When Mahatma Gandhi announced his fast of September last on behalf of the depressed classes, there was an immediate display of popular sympathy with these classes, but within a month the majority of even the politically-minded Hindus seemed oblivious of the reason for the fast.

Well-merited praise is paid to the Sarda Canal and the Ganges Canal Hydro-Electric schemes, beneficent schemes which have promoted considerably the economic welfare of the rural people. The electric supply industry is having fairly good business. No less than 85 towns in the province

have an electric supply, apart from isolated plants established in some rural areas. Besides this, investigations are in progress in nine other towns to see if electric schemes would pay. The co-operative movement seems to be marking time. Progress is tardy. It is feared that Government is not in earnest about the successful spread of this movement which develops among the people powers of organisation and moral qualities of leadership and character besides improving their economic and social condition. The work of the better-living societies has been augmented by the increasing amount of rural welfare work done by the ordinary credit societies.

In regard to Excise, the Government remained adamant in the policy it had adopted of going back to the auction system for the sale of intoxicants, which it had rejected ten years ago. For reintroducing the discredited system, lowering the rate of duty and selling price of country liquor and for offering other facilities for the sale and use of these poisonous waters, Government put forth the plea that it wanted to check the growing illicit distillation. Perhaps augmentation of its own revenue by encouraging consumption of intoxicants and the consequent moral and material deterioration of the people were far from its noble intentions! The consumption of opium fell from 21,175 seers to 19,770 seers. This is attributed not to lack of money, since the opium consumer cannot do without his opium, but smuggling. The total Excise revenue fell from Rs. 112.44 lakhs to Rs. 109 lakhs. Expenditure including cost of opium was reduced from Rs. 12.81 lakhs to Rs. 11.30 lakhs.

The last and most important subject that we shall notice is Education. The total expenditure under this head amounted to Rs. 389.21 lakhs. Of this total 56% was provided by Government, 17.3 by fees and 13.3 by other sources. The share of municipal and district boards was 3.9 and 9.5 respectively. This expenditure was distributed as follows: University 12%; Collegiate 2.25; Secondary 29.75; Primary 24.5; Technical 7.98; the remainder was spent on buildings, equipment, inspection, etc. Discipline in all institutions, except the Aligarh Muslim University and Bareilly College, is described to have been poor during the last two years on account of Congress propaganda. This sounds a somewhat too sweeping statement. The standard of English continues to decline in the higher classes without being accompanied by an improvement in the vernaculars. There are 6 colleges for girls, 13 high schools and 47 English Middle Schools—none too sufficient for the needs of female education in this backward province. The total direct expenditure under the sub-head of girls' education came to Rs. 9.28 lakhs only. We consider progress in this line extremely slow and inadequate. Special measures need to be devised to give this movement a big and long push at an early date, if the province is to shake off the shame of being one of the worst provinces in girls' education.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

GERMANY AND WORLD PEACE.

WHILE HITLER'S authority and prestige seem to hold the Germans in a stronger grasp and spell every day, world opinion is proportionately reacting in the opposite direction. Outside the German frontiers, Hitler has succeeded in turning everyone against him. In the Press of all nations, the same apprehensions, the same indignant criticism, emanating from the most divergent political parties, find expression in almost similar terms. A number of recent facts must also be noted, which are no doubt still more important than mere declarations, especially if their cumulative effect is considered. We shall just enumerate a few of them at random.

The dockers in Antwerp have refused to unload a German ship. President Roosevelt has expressed to Mr. Schacht his anxiety at a possible failure of the Disarmament Conference through the German attitude. The conversations between Germany, England, Italy, France and the United States have failed in Geneva. Italy, in a vote on the pre-military German organisations, has refused to vote with the Reich; in fact, only one country, Hungary, sided with Germany. An article in the Bulletin of the German Association for the League of Nations, and another in the Illustrated Journal of Leipzig, where Herr von Neurath announced the intention of his country to rearm, have received the most unfavourable welcome, especially in England. In London, street manifestations have taken place to protest against Hitler's envoy, and the wreath that the latter had laid on the Unknown Soldier's tomb has been removed and thrown into the Thames. These incidents have been the object of passionate debate in Parliament, where Mr. MacDonald's Government has been severely criticised; it is interesting to note that the most violent protests have originated from those very people who were particularly prompt to attack France and to exalt Germany not very long ago. In the House of Lords, the Secretary of State for War, answering a question of Lord Cecil, said that any attempt by Germany to re-arm would be a breach of the Versailles Treaty and would bring into operation the sanctions which it provided.

The persecution of the Jews under Hitler's regime has no doubt been one of the most decisive factors in this revolt of world opinion. Everywhere, it has been keenly felt that this was not to be considered as a religious or a racial question, but as a most vital human question. That in any civilised country, human beings should be the victims of such complete injustice, of such coolly-calculated atrocities, is almost incredible. Mass meetings of protest have been organised everywhere. The last one of the kind was due to the initiative of a Catholic organisation and filled one of the largest halls in Paris. A great number of different religious denominations were represented on the platform and the public was visibly impressed by the successive declarations of the delegates. A great effort is also being made in all quarters to help the Jewish refugees, and the

task is a difficult one owing to the present economic conditions and general unemployment.

Hitler seems to have convinced everybody that his "crusade" is a most dangerous menace to world peace, and French apprehensions, which have so often been misunderstood, appear, alas, only too well justified, and are now shared by others.

France has never ceased to press for general disarmament, providing it were simultaneous and controlled. Herr. von Neurath writes that whatever be the general reductions and limitations of armaments proposed in the British plan, the Germans will be obliged to complete their armaments programme. This intention to re-arm, whatever the other nations do, seems to clearly indicate the Germans' desire to break the negotiations at Geneva. This attitude will not meet with a better welcome than the persecution of the Jews, even if it is for different reasons.

What is the attitude of France towards Germany? "Even with a Hitlerian Germany, we want to seek peace and understanding," says M. Bayet in the *Republique*, "but as much as we are ready for a simultaneous and controlled disarmament, we must remain opposed to a re-armament which would announce and prepare war. If Hitler in a sudden mad impulse decides to undertake re-armament, we can and must make an appeal to all nations who will spontaneously contribute to safeguard peace by pacific means."

L. MORIN.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, May 13.

THE TORY REVOLT.

IT would be a serious mistake to underrate the importance and the extent of the revolt against the Government proposals as contained in the White Paper within the Tory Party. It has certainly given, and is still giving, the Cabinet cause for the gravest anxiety. The wild men have been given an unusually long rope, and whilst they contain among their numbers few, if any, of the oratorical power of Mr. Winston Churchill, who leaves no occasion unused to pour contempt upon the Government policy, which he does not scruple to distort with pungent malevolence, the group of dissentients includes a number of distinguished figure-heads, more or less decorative, and many of them exercising a considerable influence upon Tory opinion. There are also energetic and spiteful busibodies, like the Duchess of Atholl who has been energetically engaged in misleading the Tory women's organisations by an appeal to ignorance, prejudice and emotion.

It is not easily realised how widespread is the influence of the retired Indian Civilian in this country. He has usually come from the middle and upper-middle classes, and has maintained throughout his life close contact with the ancient Universities and Public Schools and Colleges from which he has come. Since his retirement he has settled down in country places and more rarely in commercial centres. Sometimes he has taken on voluntary or paid jobs of local administration. He has maintained a powerful

professional organisation in London, and in various ways he has been in a position to exercise considerable pressure upon public opinion in his supposed capacity as an expert. Thirty years of administrative experience in India is supposed to give him a unique authority to speak learnedly, convincingly and finally upon all the phases of Indian life, and the look of pained contempt will pass over the countenances of the average Tory audience if anyone be quite so audacious as to stand up and question the dictas and dogmas of these very well-informed people. That is the kind of thing that has been happening for years in country areas, where Tory influence is strongest, and where middle-class people have more leisure for the improvement of their minds at social gatherings and party meetings. The result is that there is already in many of these local organisations a considerable readiness to succumb to a propaganda such as that which has been more recently inaugurated by the Churchill faction, on the one hand, and the Indian Empire Society, on the other. Whilst on the one hand Conservatism is associated with energy, aggressiveness, and Imperialism, on the other it implies timidity, caution, and distrust, and when you get a combination of all these elements, together with that of vested interest, it is no matter of surprise that, whilst the so-called progressive Tories are not so very progressive, the reactionaries are very fearful and they disguise their fears behind the mask of ultra-concern for the beneficiaries of their trusteeship.

THE CABINET AND THE SITUATION.

It is not unnatural, therefore, that the Cabinet should have been considerably disturbed by recent happenings within the Party, having all the aspects of a determined revolt, under Mr. Churchill's general leadership, which in itself is the one not quite unsatisfactory feature of the whole unsavoury affair, for Mr. Churchill as an alternative leader of the Tory Party is almost unthinkable, having regard to the instability and variability of his political career. Within the last few days the young Conservatives, or a section of them, have expressed strong distrust of the official policy relating to India, and more recently still an important Tory women's conference was prevailed upon to give a vote in the same sense. Indeed, so harmful have these and other similar events been in the country and so dangerous to that party unity upon which Conservatism has always set the greatest store, that Ministers themselves, including the formidable personality of Mr. Baldwin, have felt impelled to take a much more prominent and vigorous part in the support of the official proposals; with a view to the steadying of public opinion thereon, than they would have deemed it necessary or advisable to do once the White Paper had been referred for consideration to a Joint Select Committee of Parliament. The activities of the "anti-abdicationists," as they would not be indisposed to dub themselves, had irritated and annoyed many members of Parliament on the Tory side, who would have otherwise been prepared patiently to await the result of the labours of the Select Committee before publicly expressing their opinions. With a view to helping to steady opinion in the Party, thirty-one of them, somewhat hastily, deemed it necessary, earlier in the week, to issue a letter to the Press protesting against the campaign of misrepresentation now being vigorously prosecuted throughout the country by the Churchill brigade, and asking for the patient suspension of public opinion until the Select Committee had reported, and the formal proposals had come before Parliament for acceptance. Unfortunately the impartiality of the Select Committee itself is being challenged by *The Morning Post* upon the ground that it is already largely com-

mitted to the acceptance of the White Paper's proposals. Throughout the whole of this turmoil there does not appear to be the slightest hint of any alternative proposals that Parliament could be induced to accept, or that Britain would be able to put into operation in India, save at the cost of the forfeiture of every shred of friendship and co-operation among Indians and at the point of the bayonet.

SIR JOHN THOMPSON'S ADDRESS.

There are exceptions. I was present at a very interesting meeting this week at Caxton Hall, when Sir John Thompson addressed the East Indian Association on "The Reform Proposals and Their Reasons." I said above that until recently public opinion in the Conservative Party had been largely created and "educated" by retired Indian Civilians. The latest returned Civilians, however, are of a rather different school. During the last ten years or so they have collaborated in one capacity or another with distinguished and responsible Indians of high character and ability. They have been able to test at first-hand the formidable extent to which Indian opinion, educated and otherwise, has been organising itself in a multi-fold expression of national resurgence. They have watched the effects of the reforms instituted under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme at close hand. They have observed the inefficiency of the administrative machine under the conditions that have developed during the last decennial period and its inelasticity to meet the demands that are about to be made upon it during the years immediately ahead. They are under no illusion whatever regarding the problem of governing India without the assent of her people and upon their return here, they have been at pains to go about in the country and explain how different is the Indian situation in reality from the description of it given by their professional predecessors. To some extent their services have been used to good purpose through the intervention of the India Office. But there is a very great deal of leeway to make up in spite of the great impression that they have been able to produce. Though strictly he does not come within the character of a retired Civilian, Sir Malcolm Hailey has, I am told, lately done a great deal at private gatherings at the Universities and elsewhere to explain the urgent necessity of a policy not less extensive than that contemplated in the White Paper. No one can say that he is ill-equipped for his task, that he is not a man of courage or that he is in the least likely to betray the nation by supporting a policy of abdication. Indeed, probably no one is better equipped than he to refute the very concept of abdication as applied to the White Paper proposals, replete as it is with safeguards, reservations, special powers of intervention, limitations and restrictions.

The East India Association meeting was peculiarly interesting because of the immediate summons by the Chairman, Lord Lamington, to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to put forward a criticism of the reform proposals. Sir Michael's, however, was a very poor performance, whose principal merit was that it drew severe castigations from two such unexpected quarters as the Maharaja of Burdwan and Sir Annapu Patre. The former roundly reminded the audience that except among "jo-hookums" Sir Michael was not regarded as a friend of India, and that whether there was federation or not there would have to be central responsibility, and he added a protest against Sir Michael's allegation that it was unsafe to hand over the police administration to Indian Ministers. Sir Annapu joined in this protest, and having effectively exposed the futility of Sir Michael's position, he insisted that strong nationalist sentiment in India had extended far

beyond the limits of the intelligentsia and was now widespread among the peasantry, of which fact it would be the height of folly not to take serious account. Sir Manubhai Mehta added an important corrective to the fear expressed by one or two speakers, including the Chairman, with the encouraging statement that, in his opinion, there was very little doubt, if any, that the Princes would come into the Federation in sufficient numbers to bring the Federation into operation without undue delay on their part.

PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN INDIA.

The hopes of early peace between the Government of India and Congress aroused by Mahatma Gandhi's unconditional release, in order to enable him to fast, followed by the latter's immediate advice that civil disobedience should be suspended for a period of a month or six weeks, in order to enable the paths of peace to be pursued, and suggesting further to the Government that the release of political prisoners would help in that direction, have been destroyed by the immediate and uncompromising refusal of the Government to release political prisoners without the express abandonment of civil disobedience. But it is not alone in unfriendly quarters that the view has been expressed that it is unfortunate that so soon after his release Mahatma Gandhi should have made a political pronouncement, giving thereby to the Government of India some colourable justification for their decision. At any rate it may be taken for certain that that view is held by the Cabinet who will support the Government of India in the decision that they have taken. It seems a pity that so delicate a matter could not have been more discreetly handled, and the blame for this lies as much at least upon the Government as it does upon Mahatma Gandhi himself. It seems now clear that some other occasion than this almost providential one would have to be looked to for the release of the political prisoners.

Meanwhile we are thrown back upon the slow progress of the Mahatma's fast. The latest news, whilst indicating continuing weakness, natural in the circumstances, is encouraging in the sense that Mahatma's cheerfulness is being maintained, the unfavourable physical symptoms noticeable a couple of days ago have disappeared, and there is no immediate anxiety regarding his condition among those closest to him, of whom, so far as the English Press is concerned, Mr. Devidas Gandhi is the most prominent. A very important letter appeared from him yesterday of great length in the *Manchester Guardian* in detailed support of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya's allegations regarding the brutal ill-treatment of Congressmen held under arrest in Calcutta in connection with the prohibited session of the Congress.

It is interesting to note that even in newspapers ordinarily hostile to him, Mahatma Gandhi's fast, though its reasons are still obscure and not understood, is treated with sympathy and courtesy. His name is still an attraction in the headlines of the "Yellow Press." To-day's *Times*, which has throughout dealt with the matter sympathetically, declares that the announcement earlier in the week of Mrs. Gandhi's release was premature, but adds that her release is in fact anticipated very soon. Her continued imprisonment for a technical offence whilst her husband is at the hourly risk of life in the great sacrifice in which he is engaged, would be a first-class scandal for which there could be no possible justification. It is interesting to note that the *Manchester Guardian* this week held the view that Mr. Gandhi's action in recommending the suspension of civil disobedience provided a unique and totally unexpected occasion for the Government of India.

to secure the restoration of peaceful conditions in India, whilst the constitutional negotiations were proceeding; whilst the *Spectator* said that the Government's failure to take advantage of the opportunity "is profoundly to be regretted."

THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

On Tuesday next the Joint Select Committee will be meeting, at least, to begin with, not more than three days a week, and that only in the mornings, which would give somewhere about eighty hours if Parliament rises at the beginning of the Long Vacation. I understand that the difficulty of longer and more frequent sittings of the Committee is due to the fact that several of the important British members will be unable to sit more regularly. Of course this does not mean that conversations would not be proceeding among the members outside of official hours. Indeed, it is anticipated that a very great deal of the work of the Committee will be facilitated by such informal contacts. The Chairman, Lord Linlithgow, met a number of the Indian delegates on Thursday and discussed with them the lines of procedure adopted by the Committee which has sought permission to submit reports of its proceedings to Parliament daily or otherwise as it may deem fit. These reports will ordinarily be verbatim, but the proceedings themselves will not be open either to the Press or to the public, in order, it is said, to be free from the risk of exaggerated reports of occasional incidents. It seems now clear that the Indian delegates will unite themselves into groups whose spokesman on particular subjects will examine and cross-examine witnesses as occasion may require; but it is not yet certain whether the Indian delegates will be present during the hearing of all the evidence. It has been insinuated that some of the Indian witnesses would prefer to give their evidence to the Committee in the absence of their compatriots. It seems very much more likely, however, that some British or Anglo-Indian (old style) individuals or organisations are really anxious to give their evidence in camera, either because they do not wish to face Indian cross-examination or because it is a matter of pride with them that they should not do so.

Reviews.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFFS. By R. A. HODGSON. (Pitman, London.) 1932. 22cm. 191 p. 6/-

It is very rare to find that a book on an important theoretical subject is also one of great topical importance. Mr. Hodgson's book on International Trade and Tariffs hits this mark. The theoretical significance of a study of international trade is two-fold. What is the nature of international as distinguished from the intranational exchange is the first query that requires to be answered. What is the best policy in respect of foreign trade, protection or freedom, is the other question that has exercised the minds of many. Mr. Hodgson has succeeded in satisfactorily answering both these questions with accuracy and lucidity. With the help of several illustrations he has succeeded in demonstrating the process of international trade, which is only a particular operation of the law of exchange. Mr. Hodgson has done well once again to review all the so-called arguments for protection, those which were offered in the past and those which are now made current by the Neo-protectionists. His conclusion that the arguments for protection appeal in the last resort to other than economic criteria is entirely in keeping with the best

scientific opinion on the subject. In the latter portion of his book Mr. Hodgson describes some technical aspects of tariffs such as tariff structure, the implications of the Most-Favoured-Nation Clause, Tariff indices, Tariff authorities, and dumping. In this part also the treatment is characterised by comprehensiveness and balance.

Mr. Hodgson observes on p. 4 as follows:

"It was thought by the early economists that there were essential differences between home and foreign trade and that it was necessary to work out a special theory for the latter. This view was founded on the belief that within a country capital and labour circulated freely, while they did not move between different countries or hardly at all."

We feel that the foundation of this view was deeper still. It was the Cost theory of value which created for Ricardo and other Classical economists all their 'special' difficulties about international trade. The alleged difficulty of movement of capital and labour was offered mainly as an explanation of the apparent disharmony between costs and prices in international trade. Mr. Hodgson's refutation of the arguments based on immobility of capital and labour is as neat as possible. We wish that Mr. Hodgson had dropped all the algebraic examples, which are indeed in the best Marshallian and Tausigian style, but which do more to confuse than to explain. He would have done well to follow the older tradition of Smith, Ricardo and Mill of concentrating upon actual instances of trade. Mr. Hodgson's discussion of the mechanism of foreign exchange and of the limitations of both the gold parity and the purchasing power parity theories is very satisfactory. The author's remarks regarding the general tendencies of a protectionist policy could have been better expressed, because, as they at present stand, they are only 'half-truths'. "Protection seeks to preserve the position in which industries stand at the time when it is inaugurated as a policy." "In a word, free trade has a dynamic, protection a static, effect on the economic life of a community." Obviously these statements are calculated to give a misleading idea as regards the object and the operation of tariffs. Protection does not 'seek' to maintain the *status quo* as between the different industries within the country, though this might some times follow as a secondary result of the process that principally aims at creating an advantage for the national against the foreign producer. So also to deny all dynamic influences to a protective and all static to a free trade regime is only to invite a contradiction. It might as well be argued that the complete regime of free trade will result in a static condition and that protection sets on foot several powerful tendencies for a change. There is nothing inherently static or dynamic either in protection or in free trade.

The tariff problem is assuming great theoretical and practical importance in India, and Mr. Hodgson's book on the subject will serve as a very satisfactory introduction to the subject, for teachers and students, as well as for public workers.

D. G. KARVE.

PRESENT WORLD SITUATION.

AFTER DEMOCRACY: ADDRESSES AND PAPERS ON THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION. BY H. G. WELLS. (Watts & Co., London.) 1932. 21cm. 247p. 7/6

EVERYONE who has thought about the A. B. C. of world affairs has come to the conclusion that the present political and economic framework of the

world is far from fool-proof. As Wells put it: "The monetary muddle, the failure to balance production and consumption and the now quite obviously obsolete tradition of running human affairs as a system of hostilities between sixty-odd sovereign governments, are the three strands in the rope that tightens round *Homo Sapiens*" There you have in a nutshell the malady of the modern world—the suicidal tariff-war, the crazy competition for gold, plenty starving the world with over-production, the race for armaments and the vicious circle of international debts. "Mankind has fallen over a gold brick" and the economic machine is stalling in every country in the world. Humanity seems chained helplessly to a rock like Andromeda of the Greek Myth and no Persues is in sight to attempt the rescue.

No writer in our time has striven so consistently as Wells to make us look at the world as a unity and at History as the common adventure of mankind. Having endeavoured since the birth of the century to interrogate and interpret the trend of world-events, he has earned the best right to play the part of Moses to a generation lost in the wilderness. If his words, too, prove a cry in the wilderness, the reason lies in their amazing fertility even more than in their grand simplicity. Wells's warning counsel has, in the ears of those who hear it, the fatal defect of startling directness. To them his error lies in his very sureness and definiteness of vision. There are no loose ends to his plans, no haze in the vistas of possibility he unfolds. Mark, for instance, his desperate wail: "In a world of nineteen hundred million only a few score thousand ferocious and crazy-minded people really desire war.

... Then away with our patriotisms and sovereignties so far as these things make war probable," and elsewhere: "Professor Einstein has said that it needs only two per cent. of the populations of Europe and America to say plainly that they will resist any war that may be contrived for them, to put an end to the foolery of militarism for ever. I agree. I would go further and say two per cent. in the five leading countries in the world." Alas! *there* is the lion in the path! Two per cent. will not say so plainly.

Or, take again his solution for the economic muddle. *Mass production* must be met by *mass consumption*. If we can buy battle-ships, submarines and air-ships on the community plan, can we not buy equally well whole towns of perfectly equipped, gracefully and conveniently grouped houses — or boots and good clothes for all the children of the world, and heaps of other things in the same way? — he asks with the beautiful simplicity of a wise child. Our present-day towns all the world over are hideous patchworks before which your clown's motley is a piece of sartorial harmony. Away with them. And build the Cities Beautiful of the future — on the community plan. *Collective employment* must go along with *Collective buying* — the two together being the logical complements of mass production and technical rationalization. Let a World Economic Council erase tariff-walls, write down debts, inflate the currency of the world sufficiently enough to release enterprise. A single world currency and a world-controlled credit-system are indispensable conditions to that rationalization of economic life without which world peace and prosperity would be castles in the air. The at present sovereign states should surrender their economic autonomy to this World Council so that it may be possible for it "to organize the transport of the world by sea and land and air as one system, assigning types of cultivation and manufacture to the most favourable regions, possibly shifting workers to new regions of employment, irrigating deserts, and res-

toring forests." The Council should utilize the services of every industrial and agricultural organizer it could find to help establish a world-wide system of technical schools and research colleges to train the next generation of directors and managers. And the world should be re-mapped, with the copper-districts and coal districts, corn lands and pasture lands, forest belts and cotton lands marked out, instead of kingdoms and states.

It is all so feasible,—and yet so difficult! Why? Because the world is not yet educated to the new conditions that science has brought on, and teachers will not prepare the new generation for the challenge of those conditions. "The salvaging of civilization is a race between education and catastrophe." The conclusion is irresistible that the imaginative and moral outlook of the world lags far behind the time-and-space annihilating achievements of science.

It is a liberal education to read, re-read and ponder over the thoughts of these lectures, some of them spoken direct to the audience and some through the microphone—and articles thrown out with lordly profusion by a writer to whom thoughts about the future welfare of the world have acquired the intensity of religious passion; who utters them not like the scribes and pharisees, but as one thoroughly armed with knowledge, study and reflection, though his words have the ring of St. John on Pisgah.

R. SADASIWA AIYAR.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.
VOL. 7. BY S K. BELWALKAR and R. D. RANADE. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona, 4.) 1933.
25cm. 494p. Rs. 15.

SIR R. G. Bhandarkar says in his Foreword to the outline scheme for the History of Indian Philosophy that Professors Belwalkar and Ranade "are not only critical Sanskrit scholars acquainted with the modes of fruitful research, but have studied European Philosophy and are M. A.s of our University in that subject, and have acquired the knowledge necessary for a correct estimate of philosophic ideas generally... The work undertaken by these scholars is important and promises to be very interesting at the same time that it advances the world's knowledge of philosophy. I, therefore, believe that it deserves the attention and support of all who are interested in knowing fully what humanity has been thinking regarding the purpose and goal of its existence."

The Second Volume of this History, The Creative Period, was issued in Dec. 1927. This volume, the seventh, is entirely the work of Prof. Ranade, as the next volume, III or VI on the Mahabharata or the Vedanta, whichever is prepared first, will be the work entirely of Dr. Belwalkar.

In the Preface there is a discussion in a general way of the mystics of Maharashtra as compared with the mystics of the West, of the Psychology and Philosophy of Mysticism and of the Criterion of the reality of Mystical Experience.

The book is divided into five parts:

1. The Age of Jnanadeva : Intellectual Mysticism.
2. The Age of Namadeva : Democratic Mysticism.
3. The Age of Ekanatha : Synthetic Mysticism.
4. The Age of Tukarama : Personalistic Mysticism.
5. The Age of Ramadasa : Activistic Mysticism.

Each part deals with the biography of the Mystic, his writings and his teaching considered metaphysically, ethically and mystically, ending with a general review of the period, critical and constructive.

In his Introduction the author traces the development of Indian Mysticism up to the Age of Jnanadeva. He deals in a very interesting manner with the Mysticism of the Upanishad and of the Middle Ages; of the Bhagavadgita; Vishnu and Shiva Occultism; The Sandilya and the Narada Bhakti Sutras; the Philosophic Schools and their influence on Hindi, Bengali and Gujerati Mysticism; and the Tamil, Canarese and Maratha Mysticism.

The author refers to the theory of the Christian influence on the Bhakti doctrine both in the Introduction and throughout the book. His conclusion on this debatable ground comes, in our opinion, nearest the truth. He says:

"The feeling of devotion is present in a more or less pronounced fashion throughout all the stages of the progress of humanity from its cradle downwards, and it shall so exist as long as humanity lasts. On this view, we can argue for the early upspringing of the devotional sentiment in all races from within themselves, even though some influence of a kind may not be denied when religious communities mingle together, especially when they have a long contact with each other, a sympathetic imagination, and a genuine desire to learn and to assimilate." (p. 17).

Reviewing the work and teaching of Jnanadeva, the author says that the Jnaneswari contains both philosophy and mysticism; and that it is rooted in the firm philosophical groundings of the Bhagavadgita. His commentary on the Bhagavadgita may be regarded as evidently the greatest of the commentaries that exist on that immortal poem. In saying this the author is evidently giving it a place above the commentaries of Sankara and Ramanuja. He also says with jubilant hope that the world will await the day when the whole of Jnaneswari may be translated into English and thus be made available to the world of scholars. This creates in us a mood of curious expectancy.

The chief merit of the book is indicated by the author when he says: "Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar once expressed his great inability to understand how the Maratha saints could reconcile Advaitism with Bhakti. It is exactly this reconciliation which is made in Mysticism generally, and more particularly in the Mysticism of the Maharashtra School which is worth while noting." This reminds us of the Tamil Mystic, St. Thayamanavar, who sang about the Vedanta—Siddhanta Samarasam. But Dr. Maconicoll calls into question "the audacity of that pantheistic speculation which makes God feel the necessity of a devotee as it makes the devotee to feel the necessity of God." Though he says that "the resonant note of thankfulness which throbs in the 103rd Palm is outside of the knowledge of Maratha Saints who venture on the contrary to say that God is their debtor," and that "Such an audacity is beyond the reach of the Hebrew or the Christian penitent, unless his conscience is overlaid with pantheistic speculation as that of Ekhart," he also feels it necessary to recognise elsewhere that "not in the Monism of Sankaracharya nor in the Dualism that is satisfied to remain two, but in a Spiritual Experience that transcends and includes them both, is peace to be found."

The author concludes his great work with these pregnant words:

"This is exactly the problem of the Psychology and Philosophy of Mysticism. It is too wide a problem to be attempted in this historico-analytical work. For that, another time and another place may be necessary. How the mystic criterion of reality compares with the idealist, the realist, and the pragmatist criteria, how the mystical faculty of intuition compares with intellect and feeling, how we may reconcile the phenomenal and the denomenal

elements of human experience, showing man simultaneously to be a denizen of two worlds, the one human and the other divine—which alone can make it possible for him to realise the divine in the human,—shall form the subject of a forthcoming work on the 'Pathway to God'."

It is with eager expectation that we await this new work in the hope that it will make clear this psychological and philosophical problem of mysticism in general, that it will help to understand the Maratha mystics particularly and the Tamil and other mystics incidentally, and that it will help people to walk on the "Pathway to God."

S. S. WILLIAM.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN FOREIGN TRADE, 1757-1893. By I. DURGA PARSHAD. (King.) 1932. 23cm. 238p. 12/-

THIS is a very interesting and useful contribution to the literature on the economic history of India under the East India Company and of the half century after the Mutiny. Dr. Parshad has not spared time or energy to go into the dry bones of the Company's records to give us on the whole a readable book with documentary references wherever necessary.

In Chapter III, Dr. Parshad deals with the English Company's monopoly and has a good deal to say about the Dadney merchants and the investments by the Company. This system was bad enough, but in 1753 this system of reaching the weavers through the contractors was given up and the Company began direct dealings with the weavers through its own agents! These advances led to endless debts and quarrels and were very unwillingly received. Dr. Parshad adds:

"The new system, coupled with the Company's political authority from 1757, became an engine of great oppression upon the weavers. . . . In all places at least 15 p. c. and in some places even 40 p. c. less than the goods so manufactured would sell for in the public bazar—upon a free sale—were the prices paid by the Company."

Dr. Parshad quotes the view of the English Government in Bengal:

"Such was the rigour exercised to complete the quantity required by our Directors, that the Nabob found it difficult to procure the necessary supply for his household without making application to the English agents."

Glorious East India Company!

That the East India Company had some ambition for political power and prestige even in the seventeenth century appears clear from the instructions of the Directors to Fort. St. George:

"Establish such a polity of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both at that place as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come."

These prophetic words have come true to a very great degree.

The section that deals with the changes in India's foreign trade between 1757 and 1813 indicates how prohibitive duties were laid on imports of Indian commodities in England and how a premium was set on re-exports by a system of drawbacks (pp. 84-85). England also gave bounties on the export of calicoes and cottons and prohibited the export of machinery. All in the interests of India!!!

Dr. Parshad writes on p. 75:

"The Directors entered upon monopolies with reluctance, prevented their servants from monopolising goods and

trade, but finally succumbed to the temptation themselves because of the gains."

In Dr. Parshad's opinion the revolution brought about in the foreign trade between 1857 and 1893 was in a large degree due to the improvements in over-seas communications. He is also clear that the drain of wealth from India was definite and persistent :

"The major portion of the drain from India was not in the form of bullion, but in that of goods, though it does not alter the fact that wealth went out of India for which there was no adequate commercial return.

Dr. Parshad's conclusions are worth notice:

"The *laissez-faire* attitude adopted by the Indian Government towards the industrial development of the country until comparatively recent times is said to have been the outcome of an 'intellectual conviction' and practical politics. But this conviction was based on the special economic conditions which prevailed in England only."

It was the Crimean War, and again the American Civil War that created the two leading manufacturing industries in India. Dr. Parshad is convinced that greater strides would have been possible if proper tariff regulations had been made earlier, and the Government of India had taken an active interest in the matter of supporting Indian industries.

The book is a useful contribution and Dr. Parshad has shown a scientific mind in displaying commendable restraint in the expression of opinions where the facts would have justified even a passionate outburst! We agree with Dr. Gilbert Slater's appreciation of the writer of this volume when he says: "Dr. I. Parshad has shown zeal and ability in exploring the records and marshalling the facts."

S. V. AYYAR.

FRONTIER STATES.

BURMA AND BEYOND. By SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT. (Grayson & Grayson, London.) 1932. 22cm. 349p. 18/-

TWENTY YEARS IN TIBET. By DAVID MACDONALD. (Seeley, Service, London.) 1932. 22cm. 318p. 18/-

FRONTIERS. By GEORGE DUNBAR. (Ivor, Nicholson & Watson, London.) 1932. 22cm. 320p. 16/-

THESE three books contain a great deal of interesting information on the peoples that inhabit the frontier regions of India. Sir George Scott in "Burma and Beyond" describes the customs and manners and the character of the races inhabiting the inaccessible regions beyond Burma. The author is a recognised authority on the strange peoples of the inhospitable regions beyond Burma and in this fascinating work he gives us interesting information about the peoples whom he observed in the course of an expedition. The book is bound to interest everyone, particularly the sociologist, who will find in the characteristics of the peoples as well as in the intricate questions of law and custom a subject for investigation.

"Twenty Years in Tibet" is a book replete with very intimate details of Tibet and Tibetans from the pen of one who has lived with them for a very long period. Mr. David Macdonald, the author, was in close touch with the affairs of Tibet and with almost

every Tibetan of any importance during his stay in that land of mystery, and he has given in this book information of absorbing interest and valuable variety. The book may well be regarded as an authoritative publication on Tibet.

"Frontiers" by Sir George Dunbar contains a vivid account of the three frontiers of India. Though the book has the appearance of an autobiography of the author's military career spent mostly on the Indian frontiers, the reader gets interesting information about the physical features of the frontier regions and the racial characteristics of their inhabitants. The author belongs to the Churchill group of Die-Hards and his ideas on frontier defence and Indianisation of the Army are coloured by prejudice. Some of his effusions in the last chapter of the book may well be compared with the explosive violences of Churchill and the croakings of Craddock. We value the book for its geographical information, but as a book dealing with the problems of frontier defence, we are afraid that it presents a case for the Imperial jingo.

The three books under review contain maps and excellent illustrations and these considerably enhance their value.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

INDIANS OVERSEAS. By Dr. LANKASUNDARAM. (G. A. Natesan, Madras.) 1933. 18cm. 177p. Re. 1/8.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL DOCTRINE, 1891-1931. By V. M. CRAWFORD. (Catholic Social Guild, Oxford.) 1933. 19cm. 98p. 11.

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