

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Hyderabad Satyagraha.

IF the Hyderabad State Congress and the National Congress at whose disposal it has placed itself think that satyagraha is their monopoly, and that directly they stop it all agitation of that type would be suspended, they must have been disillusioned, though such disillusionment will cause something of pain to them. There are now over 4,000 satyagrahis in gaol in the State, though the Congress satyagrahis have earned their own release, not only by calling off their satyagraha but by agreeing to a condition on which, at Mahatma Gandhi's instance, they were insisting for a long time. Moreover, fresh batches of other satyagrahis are offering civil resistance and courting imprisonment. The batches are now fairly large. The other day about 250 volunteers left by a special train for Aurangabad under the captaincy of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar and have arranged to lodge themselves in prison.

MR. BHOPATKAR'S voluntary suffering at the age of 59 and in circumstances in which stories of ill-treatment in gaol are thickening has had an electrifying effect in the whole of Maharashtra. There is no doubt but that his example will be widely followed and that the Nizam's Government will have to improvise gaols for the reception of many more people, unless, moved by the sufferings the satyagrahis cheerfully undergo, the Government in the meantime abandons its policy of suppression of civil liberties. Mr. Bhopatkar made clear in a statement before he left Poona that he had no antipathy either to the Nizam's Govern-

ment or to Islam; and that for the moment he was fighting only for civil liberty—for all in general and for Hindus in particular who were the special objects of Government repression.

It is claimed by the Hyderabad State that the Hindus are labouring under no grievances. Even if it were so it would give us no satisfaction, for it would only mean that the disabilities attach to all communities. The fact of the matter, however, is that the laws which on the face appear equal are administered consistently to the disadvantage of the Hindu community. The State Congress leaders will be the best persons to establish this fact, for they were the authors of the numerous publications issued by them in the past, in which the one fact that they stressed was that Hindus, in addition to being subject to general oppression, were specially selected by the Government for additional oppression. They are regarded by the State authorities now as at least a little more free from communalism, and it would be their duty, while they have themselves withdrawn from the struggle, to help those who are still in the struggle in this way. It would be a serious mistake if they think that, now that they are escaping the Government's hammer strokes, it is none of their concern if others have still to suffer.

### Another Secret Circular.

IN the Bombay Legislative Assembly the other day, replying to a question whether it was a fact that Government had recently issued a confidential letter to all Government Departments directing them not to give advertisements to certain newspapers, the Hon'ble Mr. Munshi flatly refused to disclose any information on the point. "The matter being confidential," he is reported to have said, "Government considers it undesirable to give any information on the subject." The Leader of the Opposition, Sir A. M. K. Dehlavi, pressed the point and asked why such a matter should be regarded as confidential. Mr. Munshi evaded the question with the remark that the disclosure would not serve any public purpose. The Leader of the Opposition, therefore, complained that it was very unfair to maintain such secrecy in such matters and further pressed for information. Mr. Munshi plainly told him that he would neither deny nor admit the charge.

BUT, we suppose, Mr. Munshi said enough for people with ordinary intelligence to understand the real state of affairs. We are sure that, if the charge of purposefully withholding Government's patronage in the form of advertisements from certain newspapers had been baseless, Mr.

Munshi would have come out with a violent denial. By refusing to disclose information which is certainly in the public interest—though not in the Ministry's interest—to disclose, notwithstanding Mr. Munshi's view of the matter, the Government have put themselves in the wrong. Under these circumstances, people would be entirely justified in believing that this Government, with all its talk of a new deal for the people, is no better than its predecessors in matters such as distribution of patronage.

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#### The May Day.

THE First of May is observed every year and all the world over as an International Day of the working class. The All-India Trade Union Congress has taken this occasion to suggest to all its affiliated unions that they should bring to the notice of the different Provincial Governments and the Government of India as also the rest of the community the immediate economic and political disabilities under which they are labouring. As the T. U. C. circular says, "It is essential on this occasion to focus the attention of the workers on demands which are common to the entire working class in the country." Provincial Governments should, therefore, be urged through meetings and demonstrations to undertake a programme of labour legislation comprising the provision to workes of minimum wage, social insurance and adequate housing to begin with. Use of fire-arms and the notorious section 144 of the Cr. P. Code in wholly unjustifiable circumstances as well as the provisions of the barbarous Criminal Law (Amendment) Act on the occasions of trade disputes should also be condemned in the most unequivocal terms. All these demands of the working class, positive as well as negative, are essential for its well-being, but the working class must realise that they can be effective only in proportion to the organisation and unity which they bring into their ranks.

\* \* \*

#### Do at least this much.

ADDRESSING delegates to the Ministers' Conference at Gwalior last week, the Maharaja Scindia dwelt upon various aspects of the present political situation in India including the impending federation and the attitude of the Indian Princes towards it. The Maharaja seems to be willing to "consider the question of our accession to federation" on three conditions. These conditions are that the "fundamental interests" of the Princes must be "safeguarded," the existence of the States "as historical units" must be "assured" and the Princes must be "welcomed in the partnership by other partners in this unique political experiment."

\* \* \*

HIS HIGHNESS need not be apprehensive about the fulfilment of the first two of these three conditions. It would be a platitude to say that the States are the last bulwark of British Imperialism in India and that it is as much in the interests of Imperialism as in that of our feudal lords to preserve these outworn institutions as intact and for as long a period of time as possible. If the federation is to be of any value, the Princes must surrender many of the rights which they now enjoy; but if they give up these rights, the resulting federation will cease to have any utility to the British Government, whose sole object is to hamstring the democracy

of the Provinces with the autocracy of the Princes.

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THE third condition on which, according to the Maharaja Scindia, Princes should be willing to consider the question of federation is, however, not likely to be satisfied. The present British Indian Provinces, however meagre the measure of autonomy that they enjoy, are politically very far in advance of the artificially propped up feudal political institutions in the States. Most of the provincial legislatures and all the political parties in India (with the single exception of the Hindu Mahasabha, if it is a political party) have in the most unequivocal terms condemned the proposed federal scheme as absolutely unsuitable to their requirements for this reason, among a host of others, that it seeks to bring about an artificial and unholy alliance between the autocratic States and the autonomous provinces. The Maharaja Scindia may, therefore, rest assured that there is not the least likelihood of the British Indian Provinces doing anything like 'welcoming' the Indian States to form a federation with them. We hope Indian Princes will firmly stick to this condition suggested by the Maharaja. If they do so they will be, though unconsciously, doing signal political service to this country in that they will avoid the coming of Federation. Let them do at least this much.

\* \* \*

#### The Bombay Harijan Bill.

THE Government of Bombay have done well in introducing in the Legislative Assembly a measure called the Bombay Harijan (Removal of Disabilities) Bill intended legally to provide for the removal of certain social disabilities under which the 'depressed classes' of Bombay have been labouring for generations. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill, Government claim to have already taken "executive action to allow Harijans equal rights of enjoyment of public amenities, of access to public roads and institutions and of using public conveyances." This Bill is intended to "penalise any one prohibiting any Harijan from exercising those rights on the ground that he is a Harijan."

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CLAUSE 4 of the Bill confers on all Harijans the right to be eligible for employment by Government or a local authority, to have access to water supplies, sanitary conveniences, paths and roads, public conveyances and public buildings which are used by other classes or castes of the Hindus. Civil, Criminal or Revenue Courts are prevented by Clause 5 from recognizing any custom or usage which imposes any such social disability on a Harijan. Local authorities are likewise prevented from recognizing any such custom or usage by Clause 6. Clause 7 provides punishment for offences under the Bill or abetment of such offences.

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THESE clauses are good in so far as they go. We would have, however, very much appreciated a clause conferring upon Harijans the right to use any restaurant or eating house which is open to any other caste or class of Hindus. We are aware that Government's attitude in this matter also is sympathetic towards the Harijans and we do not know whether it was through oversight or of purpose that such a clause has not been incor-

porated in the Bill. We hope the Bill will go some way towards mitigating the social tyranny to which Harijans have been subjected for long. As Mr. Munshi pointed out in his speech, it will also serve the useful purpose of educating public opinion.

#### The Digboi Strike.

ABOUT 10,000 workers of the Assam Oil Company at Digboi are engaged in a grim struggle with their employers for the last three weeks and more. They have been on strike since April 2. It appears that the grievances of the workers, one of which is extremely low wages, have been of a considerably long standing and that, time and again, they had been brought to the notice of the employers by the Union of the workers, practically to no purpose. Matters, however, came to a head last December and the Company, at long last, agreed to have a Court of Enquiry appointed. The Court gave its findings in February last and they appear to have been somewhat favourable to the workers.

THE Company had apparently promised not to dismiss or otherwise to penalise men who would like to tender evidence before the Court of Enquiry. It is reported that, in spite of this undertaking, the Company thought fit to dismiss several workmen who had appeared before the Court and who were participating in other ways in the activities of the Union. Moreover, the findings of the Court were not acted upon by the Company though it had a voice in the appointment of some of its members. This was more than the workers' patience could stand and they went on a strike. The strikers include not only the manual workers but also the menial staff and, what is more, the entire clerical staff of the Company as well. This only shows how widespread and general are the grievances of the Company's employees.

THE workers had been conducting the strike in the most peaceful and constitutional manner. A moderate labour leader like Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, in a statement, complimented the workers on their exemplary conduct of the dispute. The workers had even enlisted the active sympathies of the whole population of Digboi. The shopkeepers even refused to sell their ware to the

Company bosses who could only obtain small quantities of provisions for exorbitant prices. They had, moreover, to attend to most of the menial household work as menial workers were no longer available. The rigours of the situation seem to have got upon their nerves. They, therefore, made a desperate attempt to procure labour, not by conceding the legitimate demands of the existing workers, but by simply replacing them with blacklegs. It is reported that on the 18th inst. last the Labour Superintendent, together with two European officers of the Company, went to the quarters of the workers for this purpose. It is reported that there was obstruction to this proceeding which led to a clash and to firing and eventually to the death of three innocent workers.

WE cannot see any justification for this piece of atrocity. The officers of the Company who went to the workers' quarters on the mission of blackleg recruiting were not, it may be presumed, too gentle and peaceful in their demeanour. Such officers seldom are, and that certainly is not the tradition of Assam. Moreover, they must have been extremely irritated by the strike of their workmen backed up by what was virtually a social boycott. One of their number, who had recently gone to the Digboi market in the guise of a Kabuli Pathan, with a view to making purchases had been found out and so humiliated. All these things must have added to the bitterness of their feelings. The workers, however, could keep calm, for their strike was a complete success. The whole blame of the incident must, therefore, be laid, so it would appear to us, at the door of the blackleg recruiters and the police who opened fire.

WHATEVER that be, an impartial enquiry must at once be instituted into the whole question including, of course, the incident of firing but including also the causes of the strike, the nature of the workers' demands and the proper responsibilities of the Company in all these respects. It is reported that the Hon. Mr. G. N. Bardoloi, the Prime Minister of Assam, interviewed the Governor of Assam on the 20th inst. and discussed with him the Digboi situation. We hope something tangible will come out of this discussion and the workers of the Assam Oil Company will be given their due at least after these sacrifices on their part.

## INDIA'S ATTITUDE TO THE EUROPEAN CRISIS.

THE question is being energetically canvassed in India at the present moment as to what the attitude of the Indian people should be if a war were to break out in Europe between Germany and Italy on the one hand and the Peace Bloc that is being formed for the purpose of countering the Nazi-Fascist threat of further aggression on the other. Anglo-Indian papers are busily engaged in preaching a homily to us that, since all Indians are democratically minded and are intent on political freedom, they must back the Government of India in all the measures it may deem fit to take not only with full sympathy but active support to the extent of their ability, for the Government of India will only help Great

Britain who is herself fighting for democracy and the independence of small States. The President of the Congress declares on the other hand that the war, if it came, would be an imperialist war and that it would be the duty of the Indians in such a contingency to give no sort of help to Great Britain, an imperialist Power. The opposite points of view thus placed before the public have at least one thing in common, viz. that though the decision on war or peace and the amount of military and financial assistance to be rendered by India rests solely with the Government of India, it is realised by everyone that the attitude of the Indian people, whether of warm support or frigid aloofness or active non-co-operation or

direct opposition, will make a great deal of difference to the effectiveness of the measures which the Government of India may decide upon. So far as the Government is concerned, it has done all that was within its power to render abortive any hostile designs that the people may cherish. It has made opposition to a recruiting campaign a penal offence; it has amended the Government of India Act, held forth before us as sacrosanct, so as to assume full control over the executive power over Provincial Governments in war (the legislative power being already controlled); it has told the Princes, though this was quite unnecessary, that the Paramount Power retains the authority, whatever changes their internal system of government may undergo, to see that the whole of their resources are placed at the disposition of the Paramount Power in case of need. The Government of India has thus left no stone unturned to crush opposition in India, should it show itself, to a war that Great Britain may wage in co-operation with other countries. But from the siren voices of the Anglo-Indian papers it would appear as if the Government of India is not at all certain, in spite of all the precautions that it has taken, that Indian opposition would in fact be crushed in this way, and that even if it were, something more than an attitude of sullen non-co-operation or indifference is required on the part of the Indian people if India is to pull her full weight in war. It is recognised that India's warmest sympathies must be engaged on the side of Great Britain in the coming war. For this purpose the genuine anti-aggression feeling of the Indian populace is being played up to, and to those who would remain cold to such a plea it is pointed out that India herself stands in imminent danger of being attacked by the anti-comintern Powers.

This much may be conceded at once, that Great Britain does not stand for any expansionist aims in this war. The utmost that can be said is that she has in mind the defence of her existing Empire against any possible threat that may develop in future from the growing strength of the aggressive Powers. But the immediate threat is against the smaller States. Should not then India join wholeheartedly the Powers preparing to resist aggression, some for self-preservation and some for less self-regarding reasons? In answering this question, it cannot be ignored that India, in coming into the Peace Front, will be standing beside Great Britain and will be led by her. And who can be certain, with the recent history of Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia and Spain fresh in our memory, that she can be relied upon to take a firm stand against unprovoked aggression? We know how the British Government betrayed these countries, and there is every likelihood of its betraying other countries when expediency points in that direction. Mistrust in the Government's intentions is general. Only the other day the Leader of

the Opposition Liberals said in the House of Commons: "For more than seven years the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Simon) has been the evil genius of British foreign policy. It will be difficult for a Cabinet of which he remains a member to present that aspect of unity and resolve which the need of inspiring confidence in our friends imperatively demands. Men like the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary (Sir Samuel Hoare), who have already once sabotaged the policy of collective security, ought to make way for men like Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill who have consistently advocated it." Sir Archibald Sinclair is the last man to make party capital out of national and international danger. If Mr. Chamberlain had resigned, and with him these sinister figures, after he found out that the Munich policy of surrender, retreat and betrayal was a mistake, it would have encouraged the Indians to put their trust in the reconstructed Government's real desire to stop aggression. But, as it is, it takes far too much credulity than we possess to believe implicitly that, if a suitable opportunity offers, other sacrifices will not be contemplated. In the Czechoslovakian affair last September, Mr. Chamberlain used all his influence in favour of France proving false to her pledge to the Czech State, besides Great Britain herself being false to her pledge to the League. With this happening before our eyes, we cannot set much store by the pledges which Great Britain and France are giving to other countries. It may be that the British Government has learnt wisdom and is now honestly crying halt to its policy of so-called appeasement, which really spelt encouragement of fascism. But those of us who are watching the scene will take some time to be reassured that even now it stands for that collective security which it disregarded so far.

India, moreover, has other considerations to take into account. Assuming that the objective of the British Government is right, the plans and policies that it will pursue for the attainment of the objective will be its own. We can have no say in framing these. The Government of India itself will have no say either before the war breaks out or after. The Indian people will only be concerned to pour their treasure and to provide cannon fodder, leaving it to their masters to make what use they might of them. Such a position is most humiliating. India, it may be said, has no voice in military affairs even in normal times; how can she expect to have a voice in times of such extreme danger? India has no voice because she is still a dependent country; she would have it when, like the Dominions, she becomes self-governing. Let her then become self-governing if active help is expected of her. Let it be for her to decide of her own free will where she will stand—whether she will join the anti-aggression alliance; if so, what help she will render; and what will be the kind of peace she will

press for at the end of the war—for this last is very important. The plea is made that it would be to India's own national interest to take her side by Britain in the war, and that it would be suicidal for her to refuse help because such refusal might in practice convert a sure success into a sure defeat—of both Britain and India together. Would India like to see Britain go under if with her India herself would go under? If India's help is really so essential, it would certainly be worth Britain's while to do everything

in her power to evoke such help by timely concessions. What is a grant of self-government to India beside the defeat in a world war, which is said to be the only result of her standing aside? Would Britain prefer fascist domination of the world to India coming into her own? It is for Britain to answer. If, even in face of such a tremendous menace, she chooses to treat India as a dependency, then it will be plain that either she does not put much value on India's help or does not reckon much of India's non-co-operation—or both.

## INDIANS IN THE WEST INDIES.

### I.

THE Memorandum of Evidence submitted to the West Indies Royal Commission by Mr. J. D. Tyson, C. B. E., I. C. S., on behalf of the Government of India is a very valuable document. It summarises the Indian case in a just and judicious manner which must carry conviction to all impartial students of the subject. Mr. Tyson has separate chapters dealing with Jamaica, Trinidad and Br. Guiana, though to some extent his recommendations apply to all the three countries as for instance, the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India. On this subject Mr. Tyson speaks with special authority. He was himself Secretary of the first Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and was for some time the Agent-General himself. He says:

From personal experience, covering nearly two years, as Secretary to the Agent and as Acting Agent of the Government of India in the Union of South Africa I have no hesitation in inviting the Royal Commission to seek an expression of opinion from the Dominions Office or from the Union Government whether the post of Agent to the Government of India has not been of considerable utility to that Government—as it has been to the Government of India.

He has also mentioned that India has Agents in Ceylon and Malaya. He has set out an unanswerable case for such an appointment in the West Indies. It is very surprising, if not suspicious, that the Colonial Governments and the Colonial Offices should so far have opposed the appointment. It can only mean that these Colonial Governments have something to conceal. It is hoped that the Royal Commission will once for all settle the question and recommend that India should be free to appoint Agents in Colonies where she has special interest or responsibility. On general principles, the more the Government and people of a part of the Commonwealth know of the Governments and peoples of other parts the better for the Commonwealth, and reciprocal official agencies are among the best means of spreading knowledge and understanding.

In his exhaustive Memorandum Mr. Tyson has referred to a variety of Indian problems such as repatriation, land settlement, education, civil

services, labour conditions, housing, marriage and divorce, etc. It is not possible to refer to them all here, except to remark that Mr. Tyson found it possible to support, with much convincing argument, the representations made by the Indian organizations in the three colonies.

### II.

We may, however, refer to one question here. Mr. Tyson fully supports the view, repeatedly pressed in these columns, that the education system in Trinidad and Br. Guiana is unfair to non-Christians. In Br. Guiana, for instance, there are 236 schools, of which 4 or 5 are Government schools, the remaining being Christian denominational ones. The denominational schools are by no means cheaper to the Government, for as Mr. Tyson says, "it is beyond controversy that very nearly the whole expense of the primary education of the Colony is borne by general revenues." Education is compulsory, at any rate in theory. The following comments of Mr. Tyson on the situation will be fully endorsed by all those who do not wish to exploit the financial and political power of British imperialism to impose Christianity on non-Christian subject races in the Empire. Says Mr. Tyson:

While gratefully recognising the work which the Christian Missions have done for education in British Guiana, the Government of India cannot regard as satisfactory a system under which a population of nearly 100,000 Hindus and 20,000 Moslems are compelled to send their children to schools managed by Christian Missions but paid for almost entirely out of general revenues.

Referring to Indian education in Trinidad, Mr. Tyson uses even stronger language:

It is indefensible that, where education is to such a large extent financed from general revenues, Christian religious denominations should be given the monopoly of education in any area in which the population is predominantly non-Christian.

This recalls the indictment of education in Ceylon by the Hon. H. A. Wyndham. In his book, *Native Education*, being one of the series, "Problems of Imperial Trusteeship", issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Mr. Wyndham said:

There was, as the 1905 Commission pointed out, something anomalous in a system under which funds raised by taxation were used to support a movement to change the religion of the taxed. (p. 48.)

Mr. Tyson pleads that at any rate in areas predominantly populated by Hindus and Muslims the Government should run secular schools even if there are Christian Mission schools nearby. It is hoped that the Royal Commission will endorse this most reasonable and practical proposal of Mr. Tyson.

It is sometimes urged that non-Christian Indians do not object to Christian Mission schools. The statement receives no support from Mr. Tyson.

While grateful to the churches for what they have done for the education of the East Indians at a time when the Government of the Colony (Trinidad) had not realised its responsibilities, it is idle to pretend that non-Christian East Indians would not prefer Government schools to Mission schools, and the apprehensions expressed to the Marriot-Mayhew Committee by the Board of Management of one of the leading denominations in Trinidad that *non-Christian schools would take pupils from the schools of the Mission, afford an illustration and a recognition of the strength of Indian feeling on the subject.* (Italics ours.)

It is also commonly urged that the Government is benevolently neutral towards all religions, and if some religions, like Christianity, are able to avail themselves more freely of Government aid than others, it is not the fault of the Government. On this subject, let Mr. Tyson speak :

Where the necessity for a new school in a predominantly non-Christian area is established either a Government school should be established or Hindu and Moslem bodies that can satisfy the requirements of the Education Code should be granted aid in the same way as Christian denominations. This principle is recognised in the subsidiary report (Trinidad) of the Marriot-Mayhew Commission; but unfortunately, relying, it seems, upon the rather optimistic statement of an East Indian deputation which waited upon them, they proposed that, for the purpose of recognition and assistance by Government, a single Board of Management for all East Indians should be constituted. This in fact was done... In actual fact, the Indian Education Association, including, as it does, Christians, Hindus and Moslems, has been able to bring no school to the stage of obtaining recognition and it is fairly clear that a body having no funds of its own and deprived by its composition of the power to make any religious appeal is not likely to secure the support of any particular Indian religious persuasion. *It is not obvious why East Indians, who number in their ranks adherents of religions as diverse as Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, should be lumped together for this purpose when each individual Christian denomination is recognised as a separate unit for the same purpose.* (Italics ours.)

It is not unfair to conclude from this statement that the Government of Trinidad, while professing to be neutral towards all religions, is in fact extremely pro-Christian and anti-non-Christian.

Mr. Tyson refers to the subsidiary report (Trinidad) of the Marriot-Mayhew Commission. In it he will find (p. 7) even more direct evidence of the antipathy towards non-Christian religions. Messrs. Marriot and Mayhew would refuse to Hindu and Moslem priests the facilities that they

would offer to Christian priests, and suggest a kind of unilateral reciprocity, if one may say so, to the advantage of Christian and the disadvantage of non-Christian ministers of religion! And let it be remembered that Mr. Marriot was then the Director of Education in Trinidad and Mr. Mayhew is the Hon. Secretary to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies attached to the Colonial Office!

P. KODANDA RAO.

## CURRENT COMMENT.

### INSOLVENCY IN THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL.

**F**URTHER progress has been made in the Punjab by the passing of the Provincial Insolvency (Punjab Amendment) Act towards the giving of relief to agriculturist debtors. The Land Alienation Act prohibits permanent alienation or sale of land belonging to a member of a statutory agricultural tribe in execution of a decree for the payment of money, but permits of temporary alienation or mortgage. Under this Act no limit was originally set to the period of temporary alienation even if the alienation was made to persons who are not members of an agricultural tribe in satisfaction of a decree, though in other cases a limit of twenty years was set. The result was that the court sometimes ordered temporary alienation of the land of a judgment-debtor for as long as fifty years. This was remedied by the Amending Act of 1931, which provided that, even in execution of a decree, the period of temporary alienation of land shall not exceed twenty years.

The Debtors' Protection Act of 1936 repeated this provision and entrusted the work of effecting temporary alienation of land in execution of a decree to the Collector. It also made another important change in section 5, which runs as follows :

Such portion of the judgment-debtor's land shall be exempted from temporary alienation as in the opinion of the Collector, having regard to the judgment-debtor's income from all sources except such income as is dependent on the will of another person, is sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the judgment-debtor and the members of his family who are dependent on him.

Formerly the courts used sometimes to leave some portion of the judgment-debtor's land to him for his maintenance, but it was not a universal rule. This section made the rule obligatory and gave it legal effect. The Provincial Insolvency (Punjab Amendment) Act now makes corresponding amendments in the Provincial Insolvency Act, forbidding the receiver to make temporary alienation of land, but allowing the court, by the agency of the Collector, "to raise the amount required by means of a temporary alienation in such form and for such period as may be legally permissible and as he thinks fit," the

maximum period of temporary alienation being twenty years. The Act also exempts from temporary alienation that portion of the land which is required for the maintenance of the judgment-debtor and the members of his family, in the same words as are used in section 5 of the Debtors' Protection Act.

In Bengal also suitable provisions have been made for insolvents by the Agricultural Debtors' Act of 1935. When a Debt Settlement Board finds that a debtor's debt cannot be reduced to such a low amount as he will be able to repay within twenty years, it may declare the debtor to be an insolvent and then deal with him in one of two ways. It may reduce his debts to such amounts as it considers that he can pay within a period to be named which must not exceed twenty years, in which case it is provided that—

The sum to be paid in each year shall be fixed by the Board as an amount which, in its estimation, is likely, in a year of normal harvest to leave to the insolvent as provision towards his maintenance one-half of the surplus which remains from the value of the produce of his land after paying to the landlord the current rent due from such land.

Or the Board may direct the sale of the insolvent's property, in which case it is provided that—

It shall set aside, as provision towards his maintenance, not more than one-third of the land held by him in his direct possession exclusive of the land occupied by his dwelling house, provided that, even if he holds less than three acres of land in his direct possession, the Board shall thus set aside not less than one acre of the land so held exclusive of the land occupied by his dwelling house.

The dwelling house itself of an insolvent is exempt from sale.

#### THE BOMBAY TENANCY BILL

In the Bombay Tenancy Bill clause 5 provides that a protected tenant is capable of losing his status if, among other things, he "has done any act which is destructive or injurious to the land" or "has committed breach of any of the conditions of tenancy other than non-payment of rent, entitling the landlord to re-enter on the land on such breach." The two sub-clauses quoted here are drawn in too wide terms and must be redrafted if they are not to detract considerably from the rights proposed to be conferred upon the protected tenant.

The legal phraseology to be finally adopted must be carefully considered, but that used in the British Agricultural Holdings Act, 1923, affords a parallel to the first of these sub-clauses. This Act makes provision for compensation for disturbance to displaced tenants under section 12, which runs:

Where the tenancy of a holding terminates by reason of a notice to quit given by the landlord, and

in consequence of such notice the tenant quits the holding, then, unless the tenant was not at the date of the notice cultivating the holding according to the rules of good husbandry, ... compensation for disturbance shall be payable by the landlord to the tenant in accordance with the provisions of this section.

And the expression "rules of good husbandry" is defined in the Act as follows:

"Rules of good husbandry" means (due regard being had to the character of the holding) so far as is practicable having regard to its character and position—

(a) the maintenance of the land (whether arable, meadow, or pasture) clean and in a good state of cultivation and fertility, and in good condition; and

(b) the maintenance and clearing of drains, embankments, and ditches; and

(c) the maintenance and proper repair of fences, stone walls, gates, and hedges; and

(d) the execution of repairs to buildings, being repairs which are necessary for the proper cultivation and working of the land on which they are to be executed; and

(e) such rules of good husbandry as are generally recognised as applying to holdings of the same character and in the same neighbourhood as the holding in respect of which the expression is to be applied:

Provided that the foregoing definition shall not imply an obligation on the part of any person to maintain or clear drains, embankments, or ditches, if and so far as the execution of the works required is rendered impossible (except at prohibitive or unreasonable expense) by reason of subsidence of any of the blocking of outfalls which are not under the control of that person, or in its application to land in the occupation of a tenant imply an obligation on the part of the tenant—

(i) to maintain or clear drains, embankments, or ditches, or to maintain or properly repair fences, stone walls, gates, or hedges where such work is not required to be done by him under his contract of tenancy; or

(ii) to execute repairs to buildings which are not required to be executed by him under his contract of tenancy.

Section 25 of the C. P. Tenancy Act, 1920, which relates to the grounds of ejection of an occupancy tenant, suggests the necessary modifications in both the sub-clauses of the Bombay Tenancy Bill referred to above. This section reads as follows:

Notwithstanding any contract to the contrary, an occupancy tenant shall not be ejected from his holding by his landlord as such, except... in execution of a decree of a civil court passed on the ground of his having diverted the land to non-agricultural purposes or being chargeable with some other act or omission which, by custom not inconsistent with this Act or with any other enactment for the time being in force, renders him liable to be ejected.

As we have quoted above from the United Kingdom's Agricultural Holdings Act, it may be useful to state here that in the laws of England no formal provision is made for security of tenure; but the section in the Agricultural Holdings Act requiring payment of compensation for disturbance gives a great deal of practical security. Compensation for disturbance was provided for first by the Act of 1908 and by the amending Act of 1914; but the compensation was then small in amount and did not apply in very many cases. The purpose of the later Agriculture Act passed in 1920 was to widen the compensation both in its incidence and also in its amount. As the Minister in charge said at the time:

We propose that in every case where a tenant is given notice to quit for any reason, except that he is actually in default for not paying his rent, or farming badly, or something of that sort—and, of course, those questions will be decided by an impartial arbitrator—we propose that, in every single case except that, there shall be compensation for disturbance, and that that compensation for disturbance shall be very substantial in amount. It shall come to any loss or expense directly attributable to the quitting of the holding, with an addition of one year's rent. (And where) the disturbance is capricious, and where it is contrary to good estate management, where we should say it was thoroughly unjustifiable, in these cases the arbitrator may give, not only loss or expense directly attributable to the quitting, but as much as four years' rent in addition, which you may regard, if you like, as a penalty, but which, at all events, will make it a very expensive operation capriciously to evict a tenant. The security which the farmer has (in that case) is that, first of all, most people would hesitate before turning him out, and, in the second place, he would walk off with a considerable sum of money, and very likely get a better farm than he had before.

In the event of the rent of land being increased in under-rented areas, the tenant has no claim to compensation for disturbance if, being unwilling to pay increased rent, he quits the land. The Minister said:

It would be most undesirable that, if a landlord puts up a rent reasonably, and notice to quit is given, he should have to pay compensation. We propose, therefore, that he should not have to pay compensation, if, in the opinion of an arbitrator, rent is reasonably raised, and if he is prepared to go to arbitration on the question. The converse will also be true. If a tenant farmer claims a reduction of rent, and the landlord refuses, and refuses to go to arbitration, and the arbitrator holds that the claim was a reasonable one, and as a result the tenant gives notice, then, though the tenant gives notice, the landlord will have to pay compensation for disturbance because he refused a reasonable reduction of rent.

All these provisions that were proposed were adopted. They will give an idea of the kind of security that is provided for the farmer in Great Britain.

## Reviews.

### TURKISH REFORMATION.

**THE TURKEY OF ATATURK.** By DONALD EVERETT WEBSTER. (The American Academy of Political and Social Science.) 1939. 23cm. 337p. \$ 2.50.

THE transformation of priest-ridden, custom-bound Turkey into one of the first class progressive states in the world has been mainly the achievement of a single man, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, rightly called Ataturk. It was mainly owing to the marvellous reforms of Kemal Pasha that Turkey, derided as the "sick-man of Europe" before the Great War, now stands forth as one of the strongest powers in the Near-East. This remarkable rejuvenation process effected by Kemal is treated at great length in the book before us.

The learned author of the book has all the qualifications for writing on New Turkey. He was in New Turkey from 1931-1934 as Assistant Professor of Social Science at International College, Izmir and was therefore an eye-witness of the remarkable changes taking place in post-war Turkey. The author has not written the book in the way in which some globe-trotters set down their impressions of the countries they visit. He has written the book in the spirit of an historian. The book is a piece of research undertaken by the author under the terms of the James Rowe Fellowship of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. To make his book an authoritative treatise on New Turkey, the author revisited Turkey and gathered all the materials necessary for his theme. Just when the book was about to leave the press, occurred the death of Ataturk on November 10, 1938 and the book which deals with changes in Turkey effected by Ataturk, becomes therefore a *complete* history of the republic of Turkey under its founder and first President.

The learned author writes with sympathy, but we are afraid that his sympathy is overdone. His account of the Reformation in Turkey is certainly good, but when he says that the Ataturk intended to establish a democracy in Turkey, it takes our breath away. The author admits that many will disagree with his view, but he attempts to justify his point of view by saying that Kemal Pasha was not half so dictatorial as Mussolini or Hitler or the Shah of Iran, and that there is no terror in Turkey as in the Fascist or Nazi countries. The author also says that Kemal promoted co-operation among citizens and enlightenment and progress and thereby set up the conditions for the successful working of democracy. No doubt Kemal was not a dictator like Mussolini or Hitler; he was a dictator of a mild type; but anyone who has a grasp of the constitution of New Turkey will not be inclined to agree with the author. The so-called election of Ismet Inonu as the President cannot be compared to the election of a Roosevelt or a Chamberlain as the head of America or England. Turkey is a country where there is only one party, where the press is controlled and where everything is decided by the party caucus. We have therefore no hesitation in saying that Kemal was a dictator and he felt that dictatorship was a better form of govern-



ment than democracy to Turkey for at least another quarter of a century.

Except for this difference of opinion, we have great pleasure in saying that the author has utilised his exceptional knowledge and wide experience in writing a splendid book on New Turkey. The author has given in the book before us a very clear and comprehensive survey of Kemalist Turkey. In the earlier chapters of the book he clearly summarises the history of Turkey in pre-Ottoman, Ottoman, and 'young Turk' eras and gives an excellent account of the land and its people. With the help of statistics he proves that Turkey is inhabited by a fairly homogeneous people and that there is no serious religious minority problem to deal with. Only the Kurds who refuse to be linguistically and culturally assimilated present a serious problem.

After this introduction the author takes the reader through the intrigues of the Ottoman Sultan with the Entente Powers, the ignominious treaty of Sevres and the rise of Kemal Pasha. The story of the revolution effected by Kemal is narrated with accuracy and vividness.

The rest of the book deals with the Reformation effected by the dynamic personality of Kemal in the various aspects of Turkish life. The transfer of the capital to Ankara, the abandonment of Istanbul so as to be free from European intrigues to chalk out an independent policy, the abolition of the veil and the fez, the introduction of the Latin alphabet, the rapid spread of education, the removal of illiteracy, the fight against diseases and epidemics—all these achievements of Kemal are dealt with in an interesting manner.

The author gives a good account of the economic policy of New Turkey called Etatism. The meaning of Etatism is this: "To hold to the principle of the individual's private initiative, but to take into State hands the fatherland's economy keeping in mind all the needs and the unaccomplished tasks of the country." After describing the measures taken to improve the economic condition of Turkey, the author refers to the Labour Code passed by Kemal which declares strikes and lock-outs illegal. In regard to this Code the author says that it should not be regarded as an attempt to protect the State, as the chief employer of Labour, from Labour's attempts to better its own conditions. The author opines that in Turkey where there is no labour organisation, there is no fear of strikes, and that it is Labour that wants protection against lock-outs, and that therefore the Labour Code is more a boon to Labour than to Capital.

The book contains also interesting sketches of Ziya Gokalp, the ideological sire of the Turkish Reformation, Kemal Pasha, the great leader and Ismet Inonu, the present President of the Turkish Republic.

We are sure that the author's exceptional knowledge and skill in writing on a subject of prime importance will make him familiar in the republic of letters. We have no hesitation in saying that this is an excellent piece of work, closely documented, nicely illustrated, and laced with vivid and penetrating character studies.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

## RESEARCHES IN FARM ACCOUNTING.

**FARM ACCOUNTS IN THE PUNJAB, 1935-36.** By LABH SINGH AND AJAIB SINGH. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1938. 25cm. 294p. Re. 1-8-0.

THIS is an account of twenty-four individual holdings in ten districts of the Punjab. The holdings studied are of different types, irrigated by wells and canals, unirrigated; worked by owners themselves, worked by only tenant cultivators; partly owned and partly leased; and worked by the owner as a superior, hiring all necessary labour. The results are depicted in net money income per farm and per acre, both for the owner and the tenant and also for irrigated and unirrigated areas separately. Valuation of home-raised produce is made at harvest price.

The method of presentation of the data has been standardised and applied to all holdings uniformly during the year under review.

It is mentioned in the foreword that "the actual expenses are first taken and then these are amended to bring all the holdings on a comparable basis." By 'actual expenses' one is led to believe, at the outset, that the out-of-pocket expenses to the cultivators alone are taken into consideration in the cost of production. But such is not the case as in the actual expenses are included the cost of all the material whether home-raised or purchased and paid in kind. It excludes cost on only one home-raised item of expenditure viz., farm-yard-manure.

The wages of the farmers' family members working on the farm, and the rent of land, whether owned or rented, are not included in the expenditure.

It is laid down that "the main idea in these accounts is to study the financial position of a peasant proprietor". I shall try to point out here, to what extent the object is realised, by the studies under review.

The roughages are given to all farm cattle. Working bullocks are charged, on this item, in their proportion of the adult stock fed on the farm. The manure yielded by these working bullocks is not separated from the manure yielded by other farm animals. Thus all the manure obtained from the cattle goes to the farm, while no cost is calculated on the item of manure. Against the extra yield of crops due to the manure of other animals, no cost is accounted for on the expenditure side. Such a procedure may show an undue increase in the net income from crops. It is essential to study all the farm enterprises at a time. Then alone the studies will reveal the actual 'financial position of a peasant proprietor'.

If the manure from bullocks alone is taken into consideration, the net income from crops may not be vitiated, when manure is not accounted for, both on the income and expenditure sides of the crop accounts. But such a method shows some reduction in the financial requirements of the farmers as the total expenditure of the farm will fall short by that amount. Thus there is no uniformity in the method as far as the value of the home-raised seed, feeds and fodder and other produce is included under the head of expenditure except only the value of manure.

If arguments are based on the principle of excluding the value of manure both on the income and the expenditure side, they equally hold good in excluding from both the sides the value of home raised seed, feed and fodder, and payments made in kind. Such a method will show a great reduction in the total expenditure and thereby point out that the financial requirements of a peasant proprietor for crop production alone are small.

The accounts pertain to the agricultural business of peasant proprietors. But the method followed is one which is suitable only if farming is done on commercial lines, taking the farmer to be an *interpreneur*. But in that case we cannot exclude from the expenditure side the interest on the value of land. In the work under review interest on the value of land does not figure on the expenditure side and thus, the study does not represent production on commercial lines.

The incomes worked out in this study are the results of a heterogeneous process being neither purely commercial nor purely based on peasant proprietorship. Under these circumstances, I am afraid, the main object of studying the financial position of a peasant proprietor cannot be said to be truly achieved.

A careful perusal of the accounts reveals that no manure—farm, yard, concentrated or artificial—is purchased by any farmer. There is only one solitary example in which a farmer has spent one rupee on nitrate of soda.

Another point which strikes the reader is that, on the expenditure side, the total cost of bullocks is taken into consideration without making any deduction for the use of the same animals for other work than crop production.

The number of farm family members is not known and hence one cannot make out how many of the members available for work have worked on the farm. Also one cannot know how many are his dependents. To know his actual 'financial position,' a knowledge of his dependents is essential.

No attempt is made to draw any conclusions from the results arrived at. The value of the work would have been enhanced if such an attempt were made. To illustrate, I may state that if we look to the different items of expenditure, it is found that about half the total expenditure is incurred for the upkeep of bullocks alone; land revenue and water rates being the other single items of cost in order of importance.

If we take into consideration the only items for which the farmer is required to make payments in cash, leaving aside the value of home-raised products used for further production, the cash expenditure forms a very small portion of the total expenditure, the main items of cash cost being land revenue and water rates.

A minute study of the cost of fodder reveals that there is a great variation in the cost of feeding a draft animal per day. It varies from 0.71 annas i. e. less than nine pies, to 4.38 annas, a variation of about six times between the minimum and maximum cost of fodder, as will be seen from the table compiled below:—

Farm	No. of draught animals	Value of fodder in Rs.	Cost per animal per year in Rs.	Cost per animal per day in annas.
1	10.17	543.80	53.47	2.34
2	3.0	63.88	21.29	0.93
3	6.0	160.23	26.70	1.17
4	4.0	259.25	64.81	2.84
5	4.0	308.49	77.12	3.38
6	2.0	128.99	64.49	2.83
7	2.17	80.92	37.29	1.63
8	3.08	67.65	21.96	0.96
9	2.50	122.64	49.06	2.15
10	4.0	163.78	40.94	1.80
11	4.08	67.09	16.44	0.72
12	8.0	158.66	19.83	0.87
13	6.0	176.01	29.33	1.28
14	4.0	99.71	24.93	1.09
15	2.33	100.11	42.96	1.88
16	3.0	146.87	48.96	2.14
17	6.25	173.18	27.71	1.21
18	4.0	371.52	92.88	4.38
19	4.0	137.04	34.26	1.50
20	4.0	64.82	16.20	0.71
21	4.0	78.34	19.58	0.86
22	6.0	142.17	23.73	1.04
23	4.25	163.63	38.50	1.69

Government farm is excluded.

The causes of this variation will prove an interesting and useful study in reducing the cost of maintaining draft animals, which forms about half the total cost of production.

It is interesting to note that bullock labour is never hired for any farm operation, all the work being done by the home animals alone.

One should be very cautious in drawing any conclusions regarding the period of unemployment of the family workers, from number of days of work put in during the year. The employment on the farm is recorded in hours and the number of days are calculated at the rate of eight hours a day. Continuous unemployment may, therefore, be for a very small period.

As the expenditure of the whole farming business is given in lump, the cost of production of individual important crops cannot be known.

When cotton sticks are valued on the income side and no use is made of them in production but only in home consumption, it is only the study of family budgets in addition to farming costs which will reveal the actual 'financial position of a peasant proprietor.'

It will be useful to compare the size of the holdings studied with the average holdings in those parts of the Punjab, in order to show to what extent the farmers under study represent the tract.

Cost is incurred for feeding the remaining livestock, excluding the draft animals, and when on the expenditure side only the cost of draft animals appears, it gives the impression that the farmer has saved the balance. Therefore, cost and income of other animals on the farm should be taken into consideration to find the actual 'financial position of a peasant proprietor'; otherwise crop production may show undue profit and the other business undue loss and *vice versa*.

The actual 'financial position of a peasant proprietor' cannot be depicted by the study of crop production alone. To know the financial position, crop study should be supplemented by the study of indebtedness and family budgets.

In connection with the comparative cost of irrigation by different lifts, it is concluded that the total cost of irrigation per acre-inch excluding manual labour, is the lowest in the case of the bullock-driven persian wheel. But this conclusion does not seem to be correct in so far as the depth of water table is not taken into consideration. The depth of the bullock-driven persian wheel is lower by eleven feet than in other cases and the lower cost may mainly be due to the low lift. Converting the figures

in the last column on page 284, on a common basis of depth, it will be found that the cost of an acre-inch of water will be:—

1. Bullock driven persian wheel	...	Rs. 0.91
2. Electrically worked pump	...	" 1.00
3. Electrically worked persian wheel	...	" 0.68
4. Tube well worked by oil engine	...	" 0.86

This shows that the lowest cost is in the case of electrically-worked persian wheel, and not with the bullock-driven one. Another point to be noted is that no interest and depreciation on the cost of construction of the well are taken into consideration. If all these points are accounted for, I am afraid, the conclusions will be quite the reverse.

Lastly, though the average income from crops per acre is higher during the year under review, Rs. 29.15 as against Rs. 25.35 last year, the change in method is responsible, to some extent, for the higher income, as the rate of interest charged this year is lowered to 4 per cent. from 8 per cent. in the previous year.

K. M. SHAH.

## INTER-IMPERIAL POLICY.

### MR. KUNZRU'S SPEECH.

*At the first annual General Meeting of the Indian Institute of International Affairs held in Delhi on 18th March under the presidency of Lord Linlithgow, the Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation to the Second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, gave a brief account of the work of the Conference. He said on this occasion:*

**Y**OUR EXCELLENCY and gentlemen,—The report of the Indian delegation to the Second British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Sydney is already in your hands. I have, however, been asked to supplement the report with a few remarks bringing out the salient features of the work of that Conference. As soon as the Conference met, it was apparent that it was no ordinary Conference. The United Kingdom and the Dominion delegations possessed both knowledge of public questions and experience of public life in no ordinary measure. Besides, they were concerned not only with the needs of to-day but devoted a great deal of attention to the needs of the future. They thus combined idealism with the recognition of the practical necessities of the hour.

The main subject that was discussed at the Conference was that of external policy. This was discussed in its economic aspect and also in its political and strategic aspect. The Conference then passed on to a consideration of its central business, namely, the future of the Commonwealth as a co-operative organisation. It must be apparent to everybody who takes an interest in inter-imperial affairs that the hope of co-operation

can be based only on a frank recognition of the divergent interests of the countries composing the Commonwealth. Accordingly, discussion of these subjects was preceded by a discussion of the individual interests of the countries represented in the Conference.

There were two things that struck me as soon as the Conference started its work. One was the great difference between the points of view of the Dominions, and the other the difficulties created in some of the Dominions by racial and religious differences. As regards the first point, I think I should be right in saying that popularly Canada is regarded as the most British of all the Dominions; but so far as I could see no Dominion was more critical of British policies and actions than Canada. Ireland is popularly regarded as the Dominion least friendly to the Empire; yet there was no delegation whose point of view was closer to that of the United Kingdom delegation than that of Ireland. It is true that the Irish delegates belonged entirely to one party, namely, that of Mr. Cosgrave: nevertheless, the contrast between the attitude of the Irish and the Canadian delegations was too marked to pass unnoticed. As regards the second point, the Canadian and the South African delegations drew the attention of the Conference to the difficulties encountered in their countries by the existence of racial differences, differences which made the pursuit of any consistent inter-imperial policy or of a frank recognition of the desirability of co-operation with England extremely difficult.

When the concrete issues to which I have already referred were discussed, it was again found that there was so much difference of opinion between the various countries that it did not appear that agreement would be possible on any point. Take economic interests. One would have thought that the Ottawa Agreements, although they might fail to meet the needs of the existing situation, would be regarded as a good starting point, if not by the Indian delegates, at any rate by the Dominion delegates. Yet it was found that Ottawa was regarded as something that should soon be got rid of both by the United Kingdom and the Dominion delegates. The Dominion delegates whose countries need outside markets regarded it as an emergency and defensive measure which should no longer be continued. The United Kingdom delegation thought that among other things it stood in the way of providing economic facilities for some countries which but for these facilities might pass into the orbit of the political and economic influence of countries not quite friendly to the British Empire. Take again the question of free trade. There was no more agreement on that than there was about the Ottawa Pact. Generally speaking, all desired free trade, but the Dominions, which were deeply concerned with the need for maintaining their internal standards of living, could not go back to free trade.

The same divergence of opinion was noticeable in the case of defence problems. The Dominions first of all wanted that their autonomy should be fully recognised. In the second place, they were not prepared to promise unconditional co-operation and their position could be easily understood. Whatever arrangements might be made for previous consultation between England and the Dominions, it is clear that both on account of the disparity in size and power between Dominions and the United Kingdom and the nearness of the latter to Europe, decision on matters of foreign policy would virtually remain in the hands of England. Consultation with the Dominions would therefore lead not to Dominion control over foreign policy but practically to their acquiescence in British policies. In the second place, the Dominions are deeply concerned with questions of human and social values. They want therefore to know what is the object for which their co-operation is required. Is it merely to make England strong or is it for some larger purpose to which they could give their wholehearted assent? The position of India was similar. India asked what her co-operation would be used for. Would her national status be recognised? Would her nationals be recognised as citizens of the Empire, both in the Dominions and in the Colonies directly controlled by His Majesty's Government?

In the midst of these diversities we passed on to the question of co-operation. We tried to find out whether any unity was discoverable in this diversity. Two things seemed to unite all the members, one was the feeling that co-operation would be far more practicable than at present if, broadly speaking, the same social policies were pursued in the different countries, if we all attached equal value to democracy and regarded the development of human personality as of greater account than power or prestige and if the question of the status of dependent countries was satisfactorily solved. The second thing on which I think I may venture to say there was practical unanimity was that the British Empire required for its survival elements which it did not contain within itself. It could get them only from the concept of a world order. The objects for which it was striving were such as to require the co-operation of the whole world. It could not secure its life or full development by thinking only of its own interests.

These were the main conclusions at which the Conference arrived, and I venture to think that they may be regarded as a landmark in the discussion of inter-imperial questions. We can do no greater service to ourselves and to others than by popularising the views which found favour, so far as I could see, with all those delegates who attended the Conference. If Your Excellency will allow me to say so, it was a great pleasure and a great privilege to be associated with people who did not regard world questions from the narrow standpoint of their own countries and who tried to think of their solutions from the view-point of citizens of the world.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1927-38. (Official, Baroda.) 1938. 24cm. 322p. Rs. 2-9.  
 SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1937. Vol. I. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Assisted by V. M. Boulter. (Oxford University Press.) 1938. 24cm. 674p. 25/-  
 SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Vol. II-The International Repercussions of the War in Spain (1936-37) By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1938. 24cm. 434p. 18/-

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