

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

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Topics of the Week.

The Punjab Situation.

THE gravity of the communal situation in the Punjab has been causing great concern. The imminence of the communal award and rumours of its character have roused public suspicions and apprehensions. The three communities in the Punjab, the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs, are being excited to fever pitch and public peace is in danger. The gravity of the situation can be realised by the perusal of the appeal issued by the Unity League, Lahore, of which Mr. Hardatta Sharma, of the Servants of India Society, Lahore, is the Secretary. The appeal has been signed by some of the most influential leaders in the Punjab, both Hindu and Muslim. The appeal ominously states that "religious feelings are being exploited for earthly gains. And we believe we are not alone in thinking that the situation is developing into a serious menace to peaceful living in the province." The signatories have gone so far as to ask the Government to prohibit public meetings called to consider the communal question and all communal demonstrations. The Government should not allow, they urge, their avowed policy of religious neutrality to deter them from ensuring that places of religious worship and religious ceremonies were no longer used for political purposes. We hope the confabulations that are now proceeding in Simla between the Government of India and the Governor of the Punjab include the devising of steps to be taken to ensure a dispassionate consideration of the communal award, when it is announced.

One of the most painful features of the political situation in India today is the habit of hurling challenges and threatening uncompromising resistance to the bitter end by communities who cannot

have it all their own way. Every section which thinks it has a grievance straightaway proceeds to give an ultimatum. The threat of "Civil War" is freely indulged in. There is not much evidence of the will to persuade others of a different thought and to reconcile the divergent demands. There is no realisation that a section can obtain its wish only with the consent of the other sections; that it is not enough to formulate demands and believe in their justice, but it is necessary to convince others of that justice and to see that the claims are mutually compatible.

This unhealthy habit is due to the fact that decisions in India do not today depend on public opinion. The people of India do not decide political issues and are not obliged to find solutions to the problems that they raise. The decisions rest with a foreign Government not responsible to the people of India. If they rested with the people, it is quite on the carpet that sectionalists would not have been so obstinate and petulant, nor so irreconcilable as they are today.

Deportations and Emigration.

THE return to India, on account of unemployment and poverty, of thousands of Indians from Malaya and some from South Africa will add to the magnitude and difficulty of the unemployment problem in India itself. It is a melancholy consolation that the assisted emigrants from South Africa get a bonus of £20 per adult and £10 per minor child from the South African Government. Those returning from Malaya get no such bonus which might enable them, however inadequately, to establish themselves in India. Of course, the assisted emigration from South Africa and the repatriation from Malaya, are not on all fours. But the main underlying cause is very much the same in both cases: poverty and unemployment.

The unemployment of Indians in Malaya is not tainted with or aggravated by racial prejudice. In South Africa it is. But, according to the *Canadian Forum* of July last, this type of discrimination against foreigners is prevalent in Canada also and Britishers are not exempt from it! It appears that in the decades before the War Canada encouraged immigration from all countries of Europe. The native-born Canadian preferred to belong to the "white collar" class and rough and unskilled work he relegated to the foreigner. Those were expansive days when there was plenty of work: skilled work for the Canadian and unskilled for the foreigner. But hard times have set in since, and the Canadian had to come down to unskilled work and thereupon began to resent the presence of the foreigner as an unfair competitor. The latter was thrown out of work and finally, deported! It appears that between 1903 and 1928 as many as 27,660 were deported from Canada, of whom 9,078 or more than a third, were deported because, on account of poverty and unemployment, they became

a public charge. Among the deportees, as many as 14,700 were British. The *Canadian Forum* says that "it is clear that more stress is placed upon economic considerations than upon ethnic origins, as the majority of our discards have been of British stock. It is equally plain that the most serious crime that an immigrant can commit is the negative one of failing to "make good", as nearly two-fifths of the cases were those of people who had become a public charge."

To deport immigrants because of unemployment and poverty is indeed very unfair, particularly so in Canada which admits immigrants only from certain favoured classes and after careful examination. The *Canadian Forum* is perfectly right in maintaining that "after examining, questioning, and finally admitting a foreigner, on the assumption that he meets all our requirements, there is certainly an obligation on our part to accept him as a potential citizen, and he should not be subject to discrimination on account of foreign birth." If this should be so with the immigrants in Canada, the right of Indians in South Africa to be treated as South African nationals and to share the economic opportunities and services equally with the other communities, including the whites, is infinitely stronger. The deportation or assisted emigration of the poor and unemployed, particularly after exploiting their services to the full, is, to say the least, inhuman.

Foreign Contacts.

FROM a brief summary of the recommendations of the General Purposes Sub-Committee which has appeared in the press—we must await the full text of the Report for fuller consideration—it appears that the Committee was of opinion that, as the foreign policy of the Government of India was controlled by the British Foreign Office and that in the Near East the Imperial interests of Great Britain were far larger and more valuable than either the political or trade interests of India, and inasmuch as the Dominions did not contribute towards the maintenance of the British diplomatic and consular services, there was a clear case for relieving India of the charges that she to-day bore in that respect. There can be no doubt that in the past there was hardly any justification for debiting to India the diplomatic and consular charges with respect to Persia, Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The Government of India themselves had serious doubts in the matter. These doubts were shared by the Incheape Committee on Retrenchment in 1923. The Retrenchment Committee appointed in 1931 by the Secretary of State and presided over by Sir Henry Wheeler, saw no justification for the annual contribution of £12,000 from Indian revenues towards the cost of British diplomatic and consular establishments in China.

All this refers to the past. But what of the future? In a sense, the present financial position leaves no room for choice, except to retrench these liabilities. Nevertheless, it is worth while to pause and consider whether India should continue to bear these charges and only insist that the control over these diplomatic and consular services should be transferred to India, and the personnel of the services should at once be Indianised. We do not overlook the prospect that even under the contemplated reforms it is very likely that for some years to come the Foreign Department will be under the control of the Viceroy, as distinct from the Government of India, and that to that extent the control will continue to vest in the British Foreign Office. But that is admittedly a transitional measure. Ultimately, perhaps sooner than later, the control is bound to be transferred to the Government of India. In the mean-

while, if the personnel is Indianised at once, India shall have by the time she gets full control over foreign policy a band of administrators with experience of foreign countries and traditions of diplomatic service.

Of course, it is open to India now to shake off the financial burden and later, when she attains Swaraj, to establish political and consular relations with foreign countries and constitute an Indian diplomatic and consular service. But it is easier to take over an existing organisation than to create a new one later. Secondly, even from now India shall be developing a wider outlook and interest, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. In England, for instance, there is hardly a question concerning any country in the world but there are people who have had personal and administrative experience of that country and that question, and who are in a position to guide public opinion. But India is woefully poor in this respect. It would, on the whole, be the wiser policy to retain whatever contacts India has already made, Indianise the personnel and extend the field of such contacts as opportunities arise. Only, India must decline to pay the piper if England is to call the tune.

Madras Convocations.

THE Madras University held two Convocations on consecutive days last week. The first was a special one at which Honorary Doctorate degrees were conferred on twelve distinguished personages, and among them the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, both eminent leaders of the Liberal school of political thought in India. In honouring them with the degree of Doctor of Laws, the University has honoured itself.

The second Convocation was the usual annual function at which degrees were conferred on the graduates of the year. The Convocation Address was delivered appropriately by the Minister of Education, the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Kumaraswami Reddiar. In the course of it, he put in a strong plea for the vernacularisation of teaching in all its stages, including the University stage. He defended the plea, not so much on the ground of linguistic patriotism, but on grounds of educational economy, and a fuller and clearer comprehension of the subjects taught. He, at the same time, laid special emphasis on the value of English and desired that it should be compulsorily taught from a certain stage onwards.

There is much to be said for this plea in the abstract. From the practical point of view the fact seems to be that, while many will prescribe vernacular education for others, few will have it for themselves. The Andhra University Act, the Dewan Bahadur quoted with approval, made statutory provision for the use of the Telugu language as the medium of instruction, but the use was to be an *ultimate* object, though the University has a single linguistic area. Similarly, the Mysore University may be said to command a single linguistic area, but it has yet to make Kannada the medium of instruction in all stages. However seemingly unpatriotic the policies of these Universities, there is sound instinct in them. It is yet too soon to abandon English as the medium of instruction. The Dewan Bahadur was right in his estimate of the English language when he said:—

"It has at the same time to be remembered that English is the established *lingua franca* of the civilised world. It is the language of Government in our country, and of Indian and Imperial politics. It has, again, to be gratefully remembered that modern Indian Nationalism is the outcome of the study of the English language and literature, and that the English tongue is the key with which

we have unlocked the treasure-house of modern science and European thought. "It is unthinkable, therefore, that we could, for a long time yet, give up the study of the English language and literature and face the impoverishment which would result from the folly of such rejection."

For a long time yet English has to play an important part in the renaissance of India, and the effort to elbow it out of its first place and relegate it to a secondary one, is a disservice to India.

Bengal for Joint Electorates.

THE Bengal Legislative Council set up a record when it passed by 47 votes to 32 a resolution in favour of joint electorates. The proposition was moved by a Muslim member, Mr. Abdus Samad, and it was seconded by another Muslim. Another Muslim moved an amendment that joint electorate should be accompanied by universal suffrage and that no special constituencies, like those for landlords, labour, etc., should be retained. The amendment was, however, lost. The proposition as it was finally passed ran as follows: "The Government be pleased to inform the authorities concerned that, in the opinion of the Council, in the future constitution of the country separate electorates should be replaced by a system of joint electorates." The Muslim mover of the proposition argued at length that under a system of separate electorates the Muslims in Bengal had suffered rather than gained and that it did not afford them the protection that it was expected to give. He further contended, and rightly, that separate electorates were anti-national and incompatible with responsible government and challenged the Muslim separatists to declare openly that they did not care for responsible government.

The attitude of non-official Europeans and the Government was, as was only to be expected, very disappointing. Speaking on behalf of the Government, Mr. R. N. Reid, the Home Member, defended separate electorates for practical reasons. The Government members however did not vote. The European members put up a strong plea for separate electorates. Without them, minorities had no chance of representation. The Hindus, though a minority, were prepared to go without representation rather than make sure of it by separate electorates. Speaking for the small minority of Indian Christians, Rev. B. A. Nag would have none of separate electorates even if it meant their political extinction.

The Muslims were divided over it. Of the twenty-eight members, eight voted for the proposition and twenty against. It cannot be claimed, therefore, that the bulk of Muslim opinion in the Council had veered round. It must, however, be remembered that the Muslim members had themselves been elected on a separate register and are the creatures of separate electorates. And if the prognostications of the Premier's communal award are right, separate electorates will continue. It required more than average courage and strong conviction on the part of the eight Muslims, elected on a communal electorate and having to submit to it again, to plump for joint electorates.

New Provinces.

THE craze to carve out just at this time new provinces on a linguistic or a communal basis is wholly deplorable. The political problem is sufficiently complicated without it. They are not making the problem easier who insist on new provinces being formed just now. The Bengal Legislative Council debated last week a resolution which had for its object the readjustment of provincial boundaries in order to

bring under one and the same provincial administration all the Bengalee-speaking people. The resolution was lost by 60 to 41 votes. The only result of the debate was the intensification of the communal suspicions: the Moslems and the Europeans were accused of having combined to defeat a Hindu manoeuvre to reduce the Moslem majority in the Bengal of to-day.

About the same time the Madras Legislative Council debated, at the instance, in this case, of the Government, the Orissa Report. The Government Member justified the debate on the ground that the formation of the Orissa Province would affect the strength and distribution of the seats in the Madras Legislative Council, and these matters must be decided before the new provincial constitution could be defined. He recalled to the Council that, according to the recommendations of the Orissa Committee, Madras would have to contribute half the area and a quarter of the population of the new Province, which, on the most economic basis, would still be faced with a deficit, in time, of Rs. 41 lakhs, to be made good not by additional taxation but by subventions from the Central Government. An amendment moved by the Raja of Bobbili to the effect that not all the area recommended by the Orissa Committee should be transferred to the new province and that no subvention should be given to it when formed, was carried. The net result again is the intensification of the bitterness that Oriyas feel against the Andhras.

Speaking in the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. N. K. Basu defended the redistribution of provinces at this juncture on the ground that, once the provinces became autonomous units of a federation, it would be impossible to raise the question of their delimitation. This difficulty can be exaggerated. It is generally agreed that the present delimitation of provinces was a result of haphazard growth, and that some day it should be looked into. A provision may be inserted in the Constitution empowering the Central Government before the transitional period is over to appoint a Delimitation Commission to review the question. When once the big constitutional problem of the transfer of power from London to Delhi is achieved, all other questions have a chance of being considered more on their merits and in a comparatively more peaceful and amicable atmosphere than to-day. It is unwise to change horses in mid-stream.

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India's Share in Cancellation of War Debt.

IN continuation of the paragraph on this subject contributed to our last week's issue, the writer says: This week's mail has brought to us Hansard which contains references to the participation by all members of the British Empire in the general cancellation of war debts when it is secured as a result of the ratification of the Act of Lausanne by the European Powers and of the remission by the U. S. of the debt owing to it by these Powers. Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking on the Appropriation Bill on 11th July, asked: "What is the position of the War Debts, nearly £114,000,000, owed to us by the Dominions?" "Surely, you are not going," he said, "to wipe the slate of friends and allies and foes alike completely, and at the same time exact payment from your valient and beloved children? It is impossible, absolutely impossible. I had always contemplated that some day that would be dealt with." The specific question asked by Mr. Churchill was not answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but there is no doubt whatever that when time comes for taking action on the proposal for the cancelling of debts all the Dominions and India will be allowed to share in it.

The following day another member, Mr. Grenfell, drew attention to the larger question of the crushing burden of the national debt which the Dominions and India owed to Great Britain. If it was England's duty to afford relief to Germany, it was still more her duty to give relief to her own Colonies. Such was Mr. Grenfell's argument. He showed that Australia, with a population of only 6 million, had a national debt of £1,100,000,000. He said: "To meet the interest on that debt Australia has to find year by year a total of £57,500,000, of which £32,000,000 come to this country. . . . Australia has to find £32 million a year interest to this country under exceptional difficulties, because Australia produces primary products which have one by one fallen to less than half the value at which they stood only two years ago. Australia has to pay for interest and repayment of the debt to this country twice as much in wheat, in oats, in sugar, and in all the commodities that she produces compared with what she formerly paid. When we come to Canada, South Africa and India we find the same state of things—an enormous fall in the value of primary products and huge burdens of debt which are maintained not at their past level, but are increasing day by day in their incidence. . . ."

This, of course, is a more difficult question, on which the Government view was not expressed. But it seems clear that whatever relief may be forthcoming for the British Dominions as a whole on account of the exceptional circumstances through which they are passing will be participated in by India as well.

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Indian Finance Year-Book, 1932.

THE country is indebted to the enterprise of the Editor and Manager of *Indian Finance* of Calcutta for the issue of this highly interesting and useful publication. This is the first annual of its kind giving a synopsis of available statistics, based on official information, relating to all the various aspects of the economic position of the country: central and provincial budgets, railway budget, currency and trade, banking and insurance, agriculture and transport, and all the important industries. Special articles have been contributed by several competent writers like Mr. Taylor, the Controller of the Currency, Mr. P. R. Rau, the Financial Commissioner of Railways, Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, the Vice-President of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, and several others, all of which, as need hardly be said, are of very great interest and value. But the publication will be prized by the reader, above all, for the statistical tables it contains and the other information it gives, which otherwise for most readers is buried in volumes which are neither too readily accessible nor too inviting for them. To all students of economics and finance this Year-Book is invaluable. The printing and the general get-up of the publication cannot be easily improved upon. Its price is Rs 5 and can be had at 25 D, Swallow Lane, Calcutta.

Articles.

THE AWARD AND THE PROCEDURE.

IT has been announced that the long-expected Communal Award will be issued on the 17th inst. A forecast of it has been issued, surprisingly enough, by the Reforms Department of the United Provinces Government from Allahabad. It appears that the Award not only sanctions communal electo-

ates but justifies them. India, it tells us, is a vast country and her inhabitants differ greatly in race, religion, caste, creed and culture, and, therefore, for the protection of the minorities under a system of responsible and democratic government, communal electorates are absolutely essential. If this be the thesis, it is an untenable and mischievous plea. Responsible and democratic government and separate electorates are mutually contradictory; the latter cannot possibly be essential for the former. Even the most fanatic defender of separate electorates has not postulated it but freely recognised that such a system took away from and vitiated democracy. The utmost that he claimed, was that in the present circumstances of India it was a necessary evil, to be got rid of as soon as possible. Moreover, separate electorates have not been demanded by Hindus where they are in a minority, by the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, who are everywhere a minority. The women of India have resented it. The Depressed Classes were till a year ago in favour of common electorates and even now they are divided over it, and there is reason to believe that the bulk of the better informed opinion among them favours common electorates. Even the Muslims are not united over their demand for communal electorates. The Nationalist Muslims oppose it, and recently the Bengal Legislative Council, on the initiative of a Muslim member, turned down separate electorates and plumped for common rolls. The only community which can be said to be solidly in favour of separatism is the European and with it, the Anglo-Indian, community. It is an irony of fate that Britishers, whose proud boast was that separate electorates went against the grain of their political inheritance and faith, should be its most unashamed defenders and propagators in India. Moreover, the very fact that the peoples of India are divided by race, religion, etc, is the best argument in favour of common electorates as the most powerful instrument of political unity. All things considered, the case for separate electorates is not so imperative and irresistible as it is sometimes made out.

We can understand the Government, in order to escape an embarrassing situation which is mostly of their own creation, falling back on the *status quo ante*, and regretfully tolerating an admitted evil, hoping that it will be only temporary. If separate electorates are to be retained, we hope that the statute will not compel a voter to go on a communal roll because of his religion. Every voter should be left free to choose between the common and the communal roll, so that in course of time the common roll will swell and the communal dwindle in numbers. It will be a wicked policy to compel a nationalist Muslim, for instance, to go on a communal roll against his wish. The better course is to put everybody on the common roll unless he chooses to the contrary.

The forecast does not tell if the Award proposes statutory communal majorities in the Punjab and Bengal for Muslims. We hope it does not. England could do no greater harm and damage to India than to foist them on her. We appeal to the best

and highest political instincts and traditions of England to save us from that unredeemable calamity.

We desire to draw special attention to the Manifesto, published elsewhere, signed by some of the most eminent and influential publicists in India, some of whom were members of the Round Table Conference. It brings out in a terse and succinct manner the two principal objections to the Hoare plan, the removal of which is a condition precedent to the restoration of co-operation by those who have now withdrawn it. We appreciate and reciprocate to the full the anxious desire for *rapprochement* expressed by the eminent British friends of India who have recently addressed letters to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Messrs. Jayakar and Joshi. It is hardly necessary for our British friends to persuade the Indian co-operators to restore their co-operation. They attended the first Round Table Conference in spite of the Congress and notwithstanding the absence of Mahatma Gandhi. They have not gone back on their offer of co-operation. It was Sir Samuel Hoare who spurned it and rejected it and made it impossible. The British friends referred to above contend that Sir Samuel Hoare was misunderstood and plead that the decision was not that of Sir Samuel Hoare alone but of the Government as a whole and that Lord Irwin had endorsed the *bona fides* of the Government. They themselves do not believe that the Hoare plan meant a change of policy on the part of His Majesty's Government. We had charitably assumed that the decision was Sir Samuel Hoare's, and that the Premier was too preoccupied with Lausanne and Mr. Baldwin with Ottawa to realise the full significance of what Sir Samuel Hoare was doing and that the latter had in the meanwhile run away with it, as it were. If the decision was shared by the Government as a whole, it is so much the worse.

With all respect to Lord Irwin and the British friends, we are unable to accept the view that the Hoare plan meant no change of policy. Even if there were no such intention, the manner in which the decision was made and the credentials of the person who made it were certainly not reassuring. But the intention is not above doubt. The latest inspired message in the London "Times" still speaks of "consultation" with Indians and not of agreements to be reached at a Conference.

Several Britishers and, among them, the Governor of Madras, have made out that the sole objective of the Government in adopting the Hoare plan was speed and, in their desire for the restoration of co-operation, wish to find a means which would reconcile the Government desire for speed with the Indian desire for "consultation", as if there was an antithesis between the two positions. It is absolutely incorrect and unfair to say that Indians are not as keen as the Government for speed: as a matter of fact, they are more keen than the Government on speed. Only, in their opinion, the Conference plan is not inconsistent with speed.

However, it is not our desire to nurse a grievance. It is enough that the British friends and the British Cabinet have realised that the Hoare plan is unacceptable to the Indian co-operators and that there are signs that efforts are being made to restore the Conference method. The Indian co-operators have been invited again to suggest a method acceptable to them. As the "Times of India" said a couple of days ago, the demand of the co-operators is well-known to the Government and the public. It is clearly stated in the Manifesto. We simply ask for the restoration of the Conference method of Equality and Agreement.

FIRST STEP IN DISARMAMENT.

THE resolution adopted by the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference before it adjourned for the summer recess marks the end of the first stage of this Conference. The results of even "the first phase" are none too impressive. The reason for this meagre achievement is no doubt to be sought in the fact that all agreements must be unanimous or practically unanimous. The pace of the Conference is therefore determined not by the most but the least progressive nations. As the U. S. delegate, Mr. Hugh Gibson, said, "All recognised that the principle of unanimity in international gatherings was the bulwark of national independence, and therefore when an agreement was reached it represented not the point to which daring leaders had attained, nor even the position occupied by perhaps a great majority of States, but rather that point which the last straggler seeking the same goal had passed. Therefore the resolution meant that the opinion of the nations was much farther towards the goal than was thought, and as the bulk of public opinion was in favour of going farther the Commission would be assured that the moderate accomplishment now recorded would serve merely as a base for further forward movement." Mr. Gibson further said: "The U. S. delegation might, in view of the support which had been given to the President's plan, have summoned the Conference to accept or reject it in its entirety. This would undoubtedly show an impressive body of opinion in favour of acceptance, but it must be remembered that no State was bound by a majority vote and therefore such procedure would bring the world no nearer to the realisation of the U. S. plan." As it is, the resolution passed by the Conference's General Commission does no more than declare a "first principle", the principle of qualitative disarmament. As M. Benes said in moving the resolution, "For the moment the resolution dealt with air armaments, heavy naval and land artillery and tanks. It also proposed to banish certain barbarous forms of warfare such as aerial bombardment and chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons. Its first object was to protect the civilian population and the treasures of civilization, its next to show that the community of nations condemned barbarous means of warfare unworthy of civilised beings, its final to lay down an important principle for the future. This principle was that the progress of science and technical knowledge in fields where these might be abused with the object of committing acts of aggression should not be lost sight of." This describes in very simple language the modest aims of the resolution that has been passed. The quantitative limitation and reduction of arms has been postponed for a future occasion.

What part did England play in this Conference? Did she urge the Conference on, or was she one of the stragglers referred to by Mr. Gibson? Her own

proposals clearly fell short of the Hoover proposals. Take the case of air bombardment. Mr. Hoover proposed the abolition of all bombing planes and the total prohibition of all bombardment from the air. England, however, while agreeing to prohibit aerial bombing within certain limits, insisted that outside those limits she must have the right to carry out bombardments. Naturally therefore she could not agree to the Hoover proposal for the total abolition of all bombing planes; she must retain some. The reason for this reservation was: "Her colonial possessions are widely scattered and, since the war, her responsibilities have been increased by her various mandates from the League of Nations. More than any other Power, she relies upon aircraft to discharge mandatory duties and to police and control undeveloped regions." Similarly "the abolition of all tanks" which was proposed by Mr. Hoover was not agreed to by her without a very serious qualification. She agreed to abolish tanks above 20 tons in weight. Her apology was: "Tanks of the lighter type cannot be regarded as specifically offensive weapons. Their comparatively light armour and their reduced capacity for crossing trenches render them unsuitable for the assault of highly organised defences." This was said in the teeth of the opinion expressed by the Conference's Committee of Experts to the following effect:—"Even light tanks can generally cross trenches and make breaches in the usual wire entanglements of the battlefield. It is asserted that very light tanks (7 tons) have been capable of effective action against strongly organised battlefields." Lord Stanhope, the British delegate on the Land Commission, said at a meeting of this Commission on 1st June, "The British delegation, contrary to the opinion of the Experts, considered that only heavy tanks could cross intact trenches without artillery preparation in such a way as to deliver an unforeseen blow at the enemy. His delegation further was of opinion that no type of tanks constituted, properly speaking, a menace to the civil population. He was of opinion that armies should be authorised to keep tanks of less than 25 tons to enable them to effect economies in men and money in policing their territories, particularly in the colonies." This view has been faithfully represented in the statement of His Majesty's Government, which said: "Moreover, in a small voluntarily enlisted army like our own, they (light tanks) constitute an essential compensation for lack of numbers which it would be impossible to surrender. As far as this country is concerned, in view of its world-wide responsibilities, any general prohibition would require an increase in our present land forces in terms of man-power, and thus, as a measure of disarmament, would tend to defeat its own ends." All this is special pleading. To paraphrase it in plain English, it means, in the words of the *Economist*, "We want bombing planes to terrorise the Pathans on the N. W. frontier of India, the Kurds on the N. W. frontier of Iraq, and light tanks to overawe certain large populations under the British Raj or British ascendancy—perhaps in India, perhaps in Egypt, or perhaps in Cyprus or in Palestine—who might be inclined to kick against the pricks of British bayonets but who are expected to think twice about it if they are confronted with a nineteen and three-quarter ton tank."

In the realm of naval disarmament the British Government's reasoning was particularly disingenuous. Mr. Hoover proposed, in the matter of capital ships, that the number and tonnage allowed under the London Treaty of 1930 be immediately reduced by one-third. Great Britain was unwilling to reduce the number of these ships; she would rather reduce their size—when time comes for their replacement, i. e.,

after 1937, and if, as is proposed, the age limit of capital ships is lengthened from 20 to 26 years, the time for laying down new battleships and therefore for constructing smaller ships will not arise till after 1943. The British Government maintains that at that time a reduction of 195,000 tons would result if its proposals are accepted instead of the reduction of 175,000 tons that will eventuate from the Hoover proposal. This looks very plausible, but who will not prefer immediate scrapping of a little less tonnage to a slightly larger reduction five or eleven years hence? If the British Government were so anxious to outbid Mr. Hoover, why did it not propose reduction of the size of battleships as an additional measure instead of as an alternative one? In the matter of cruisers, too, the British Government could not see its way to reduce their number but only their size. And this proposal about the reduction of the size of cruisers was made with the full knowledge that the circumstances of the U. S. A. required it to employ big cruisers with a large cruising radius, just as Great Britain's maritime geography required a large number of small escort cruisers, "since such vessels are best fitted for the needs of a scattered empire, with numerous naval bases dotted all over the seven seas." Some special concession may perhaps have to be made for the special needs of the British Empire, but for the British Government to show its devotion to the cause of disarmament by a proposal for the reduction of the size of cruisers is not to help but hamper the success of the Conference. The British Government was quite willing, however, to restrict, and even to abolish, the use of submarines (which it does not want) and therefore, of destroyers. It is very radical where its own interests are not involved, and extremely conservative where they are. And, what is most exasperating, this conservatism is being palmed off as radicalism. The *Economist*, which is not given to unbalanced criticism, says in its latest issue,—and every unbiased observer will endorse the criticism—"These are not so much proposals for disarmament as ingenious devices for enabling the British Navy and Army and Air Force to retain the arms by which they set the greatest store and to keep a free hand for employing these arms for the professional purposes which they consider most important. ... In short, we have regretfully to conclude that British counter-proposals on disarmament, instead of helping or improving the Hoover Plan, go far to wreck it." That this estimate is none too harsh will be seen from a comparison of the results of adopting the two proposals. Even if all the submarines are abolished and capital ships are replaced at the end of 1936 instead of 1942, the total saving on naval construction on the British plan would be £20,000,000, whereas on the Hoover plan it would be £42,000,000. Set 42 against 20 and then judge of the comparative merits of the two plans!

TRADE UNION UNITY.

TRADE Unionists all over India will have cause for self-gratulation at the results of the Trade Union Unity Conference and of the session of the Indian Trades Union Federation. At both the Conferences attempts at *rapprochement* between the several parties holding opposing views were made with satisfactory results, with a view to ensure the unity and solidarity of the rank and file of the working classes in this country. To enable the reader to realize the full significance of this event, it may be desirable to set forth the circumstances that led to disunity among the leaders of Indian Labour at the Nagpur session of the Indian Trades Union Congress of 1929 and outline the essentials on the basis of

which unity is sought to be achieved among the trade union organisations in the country.

Till the year 1929, for over ten years since its inception, the Indian Trade Union movement did not show any signs of internal dissension. At the Nagpur session of the Trade Union Congress for the first time differences of opinion of a fundamental character manifested themselves.

The Communists who owed allegiance to Moscow were in a majority at the Congress. They supported the boycott of the Whitley Commission, the affiliation of the Congress to the League against Imperialism, and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the rejection of the proposal to hold the Asiatic Labour Congress, the refusal to participate in the deliberations of the I.L. Conference at Geneva, the boycott of the R. T. C., etc. The saner section among the Labour leaders who were in the movement from almost its inception, was convinced that the adoption of these resolutions would be to the detriment and not in the best interests of the working classes. They had thus no other alternative but to secede from the T. U. Congress and form the Indian Trades Union Federation to carry on their legitimate and normal trade union activities.

The split at Nagpur was fraught with disastrous consequences to the working classes. The illiterate labourers played into the hands of the extremists. Labour became disorganised. Employers were not slow to take full advantage of the split in labour ranks and resorted to cuts in wages and retrenchment which worked great hardship to the working classes. Labour leaders, several of them, were more after accentuating the differences that existed among themselves rather than organising labour and safeguarding its interests. Anyhow it did not take long for them to realise that in the interest of labour unity among the leaders was essential. Efforts were therefore made in 1930 to bring together the several groups. A sub-committee was appointed to formulate their recommendations on the question of Trade Union Unity in consultation with other trade unions. The Sub-Committee met and submitted their recommendations which are contained in what is now popularly known as the Platform of Unity. Labour leaders—extremists, moderates and independents—met at Madras in July last to consider the Unity proposals.

The Trade Union Unity Conference may be said to have been a success in the sense that all those that attended the Conference realised the need for closing up their ranks immediately and that with a view to achieve this happy result each one showed a wonderful spirit of compromise.

A great step forward in the stage of Trade Union Unity was the attitude taken up by the Conference as a whole against Communism. It has unequivocally declared itself that it would have nothing to do with Communists. Another plank in the Platform of Unity is that "the method of achieving the objective of the labour movement shall be peaceful, legitimate and democratic", which excludes the Communists from participating in the Trade Union movement. As regards the definition of Trade Union movement as an organ of class struggle which the Conference ultimately adopted opinion is sharply divided. But it is earnestly hoped that the Committee which the Conference has appointed to draft a constitution on the basis of the Platform of Unity will go into this matter again and modify the definition of Trade Union movement as an organ for protecting the rights and safeguarding the interests of the working classes.

If one may venture a criticism about the Conference as a whole, the proceedings were a bit unreal in the sense that several of the speakers spoke of theory and ideals of Trade Unionism rather than of

the practical problems that faced the country. The speeches made by some of the leaders gave one the impression that the so-called leaders of labour never made any attempt to discuss the matters with their own workers to ascertain their views on several matters that were discussed at the Conference. During the two days the Conference lasted not a single speaker was heard saying, "These are the views of my workers on this matter." In this connection it is interesting to know the views of some of the workers themselves who spoke at the Conference in Tamil. Their views represent the real situation in the Trade Union movement today. One labourer observed, "I appeal to leaders not to talk much about the Communists to the labourers. The average labourer cannot understand the real implications of Communism and will be led away by the superficial aspects of the same and this half knowledge will be very dangerous."

Another labourer remarked, "Only after the intellectuals entered the movement we hear of splits and differences. It is impossible to attain unity by holding conferences. I appeal to every genuine leader of the labourers to do his utmost to strengthen then Unions for in their strength alone lies the strength of the movement in the country."

In spite of the many shortcomings the results of the Conference have been happy. Excellent spirit of give and take prevailed among the delegates. All were thirsting for Unity and made an honest attempt, each according to his own light to achieve unity with honour and self-respect.

The Trade Union Federation which met at Madras after the Trade Union Unity Conference has also expressed itself in favour of unity among labour leaders and the workers. The Federationists foresaw that greater difficulties were in store for the labourers and that it was extremely desirable to adopt, with certain modifications, the Platform of Unity adopted by the Unity Conference. Mr. N. M. Joshi, speaking on the Unity programme, observed that they should proceed with caution if Unity was to be abiding. The Federation, while welcoming the efforts made by the Trade Union Unity Conference to establish Unity in the ranks of labour, felt that there were certain important issues which required further consideration and authorised its Working Committee to go into the matter carefully, and negotiate with other organisations for reconciling different points of view. Another important resolution which was passed at the Trade Union Federation is the one that relates to the organisation of Trade Unions on communal lines and the allotment of seats in the legislatures on communal basis. The speakers on this resolution were both of them Muslims. They condemned the organisation of Trade Unions and the allotment of seats in the Legislatures on communal lines as it would create cleavages in labour ranks.

What is the net result of these two conferences? One thing is certain. The gulf that existed between the various labour organisations has been narrowed a great deal. All these organisations are now nearer to each other in their ideals and methods than they were ever before. It only remains for them now to discuss their small differences across the table and come to a unanimous agreement so far as essentials are concerned. In doing so it will be well for the parties concerned not to be carried away either by sentiment or theory, but to consider every matter from the point of view of the difficulties and hardships that face the Trade Union movement today in India and ultimately arrive at what is best calculated to promote the best interests of the Trade Union movement.

S. R. VENKATARAMAN,

Our Geneva Letter.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

GENEVA, 30th July.

WHEN SEPTEMBER COMES.

WHEN the present holiday season is over and September comes, Geneva is likely to be faced with some formidable problems, issues as great as any that this generation has yet confronted. In the first place, there is the second phase of the Disarmament Conference which will begin in the second week of September. So far, after six months of effort, the Powers have been able only to agree upon measures relating to air bombardment, limitation of the size of tanks, the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological war and the setting up of a permanent Disarmament Commission. For the rest, there are only assurances of future action. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Conference, has summed up the pledges made at the Disarmament Conference in the *Daily Herald*. The Conference declared itself "profoundly convinced that the time has come when all nations of the world must adopt substantial and comprehensive measures of disarmament in order to consolidate the peace of the world, to hasten the resumption of economic activity, and to lighten the financial burdens which now weigh upon the peoples of the world." It expressed itself "firmly determined to achieve a first decisive step involving a substantial reduction of armaments." It "welcomed heartily the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America" and decided "forthwith and unanimously to be guided by the general principles underlying President Hoover's declaration: 1. that a substantial reduction of world armaments shall be effected, to be applied by a general convention alike to land, naval, and air armaments; and 2. that a primary object shall be to reduce the means of attack." In the next stage of the Conference, which will be crucial, these solemn declarations by Governments will have to be translated into action. Furthermore, the situation in Germany makes it increasingly urgent that the Disarmament Conference should turn its attention to Germany's claim for equality of treatment with regard to armaments, an issue which, as *The Times* has recognised, the Conference has so far failed to deal with in a satisfactory manner.

Of equal urgency and equal importance is the Manchurian question. The report of the facts-finding Commission of the League on this subject will be submitted to the forthcoming Assembly, which will then be faced with a most delicate situation. For this is a matter on which passions run high not only in Japan and China and among Manchurians—although the interests of these last would seem, curiously enough, to be of least account, but also in places far away from the scene of the strife. The United States and France and Russia are almost equally interested and the same importance must be attached in this connection to the political passions of those all over the world, to whom principles are unalterable realities for which no cost is too high, and of those to whom principles, like everything else in this imperfect world, must be conditioned by their material context.

And between now and September much may and indeed will happen which unfortunately can only be expected to complicate the existing situation in regard to both these issues. In the first place, General von Schleicher has made a particularly unhelpful speech,

which has already vitiated the relations between France and Germany. That effect will no doubt be accentuated after the elections in Germany. Secondly, signs are not lacking to show that much of the good work done at Lausanne will be rendered less fruitful than at first expected by the attitude of the United States with regard to the war debts question: Senator Borah, who has an uncanny gift for divining and giving unerring expression to the attitude of the people of the United States with regard to any outstanding political question, has made an unequivocal declaration that European Powers need expect no settlement of the war debts question until they are willing to have it linked up with the disarmament issue. And how, with the traditional military caste ascendant in Germany and the Anglo-French Lausanne Pact reduced to little more than a general convention on account of the adherence of many European Powers to it, France will agree to further reduction in armaments remains a puzzle. And finally, while there is much interest in Geneva with regard to Ottawa and confidence in the assurances made on behalf of the British Government that the object of the Conference is to augment the volume of world's trade, it is sometimes wondered whether exclusive arrangements with the Dominions may not have the effect of inflicting an injury on the trade of Scandinavian and other countries and thus increase the uneasiness in Europe.

Our London Letter.

(From our Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

LONDON, 30th July.

FINANCE AND THE STATES.

THE most portentous event of the week has been the publication of the Davidson Committee Report. It is another of those bulky and indigestible feeds of which Mr. Churchill spoke in a recent debate on India. It looks a little unreal just now, as the "Manchester Guardian" rightly says. Perhaps the following passage from the "Guardian" is worth quoting in extenso:—

"The prospects for All-India Federation are not, in any case, particularly bright. There is the Hindu-Muslim question still unsettled and the Government award that may or may not prove workable; there is the refusal of the Moderates to co-operate any further in completing the work of the Round Table Conference because of the change of procedure; there are the Ordinances still in force in India, the jails still full of political prisoners; everywhere bitterness and distrust of this country's intentions. It is difficult, in such circumstances, not to find the Reports of these 'fact finding' Committees rather academic, remote from the realities of the situation. All the data for drawing up an All-India Federal Constitution has now been collected, but who is to work it when it has been passed into law by the British Parliament? The leaders of the most important political organisation in India are all in prison, its rank and file more embittered, its Press more venomous, than at any time during the last ten years; the Moderates—Sapru, Jayakar, Sastri—after much patient work, have given up in disgust; the Princes are tepid about the whole federal scheme; only Sir Samuel Hoare is as jauntily hopeful as ever. Making a constitution in these conditions is like preparing plans for a

magnificent city in the middle of the Sahara; the plans may be finely conceived, but, unfortunately, they can never be executed in a desert. No constitution, however generous in character, will be of use to India unless there are sufficient politically conscious Indians believing in it for it to be workable. Otherwise federation will prove as futile as diarchy. These 'fact finding' Committees... that have gone here and there looking into figures and franchise qualifications will have quite wasted their time if, when it comes to instituting an All-India Federation, Great Britain has no more friends in India".

It would be difficult to improve upon the common sense of the above passage.

A RETURN TO SANITY?

There have been telegrams in the "Times" this week from Calcutta and Simla that seem to indicate that second thoughts are best, and that, unlike Sir Samuel Hoare, the Government of India and their advisors, official or non-official, are not quite so jaunty and cocksure about the wisdom of alienating the Moderates. On the contrary, the telegrams seem to show that it has become so difficult to replace them on the Consultative Committee, notwithstanding the large number of distinguished people that had assured Sir Samuel that he was undoubtedly right in what he had done, that there is already talk of abolishing that very Consultative Committee that was the sole remnant surviving from the wreck of the Round Table Conference and upon which so much was to depend, in favour of the more formal method of deliberation in London to which Sir Samuel referred in his notorious speech of the 27th June. If, as I understand to be the fact, the bridge building is taking place on the part of some friends here who very deeply regret the turn of events in India that have deprived the Government of Moderate support, and who are sincerely anxious for its restoration, it would seem clear that bridge building from the other end need not be put altogether outside of consideration. That the desire for bridge building on the Government side may be due to need and to expediency rather than to strict conviction is beside the point. The "Times" telegram to-day from Simla urges that an endeavour may be made to secure anew the co-operation of the Moderates before the communal award (which it is urged should be expedited) is delivered, lest the Government be deprived even of the friends that it may still believe itself to possess among the communalists and the sycophants. It almost looks as though the Government expected a pretty bad storm to burst in the not very distant future. In that event one cannot have too many friends.

SOME MORE VISITORS.

The India League has for some time been contemplating the sending out to India of a group of people more or less of a Labour complexion, who will, as objectively as circumstances will permit, study the political, economic, industrial and social conditions of the country during a short tour with the background of information that they have derived from an intensive course of reading during the last few months here, and who on their return to this country will report to the public the results of their observations. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Honorary Secretary of the India League, has failed in securing the service of any members of Parliament, but has been able to gather a small group to whom he will be acting as Secretary during its tour, consisting of Mr. John Matters, well known in journalistic circles here, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, formerly M. P., and Miss Monica Whately, very well known in British social and political circles. The group is under strict

instructions not to grant interviews to the Press and not to communicate individually to newspaper and public organisations in this country. They are to be there to study but not to talk. The women members in particular are anxious to know what they can learn about village conditions and the position and problem of Indian women. The more British people go out to India in an attitude of sympathy and for the purpose of study, the more helpful are they likely to be upon their return to this country in the elucidation of British opinion regarding Indian conditions. It is of the highest importance that the group should not confine itself to particular circles and sources of information. It is to be hoped, therefore, that people of all parties, groups and affiliations will unite to enable it to achieve its purpose effectively.

INDIAN SINGER.

There will shortly be returning to India a daughter of Bengal who has had a unique career since her arrival in Europe four years ago. Miss Dina Abby, who was already well known in Calcutta before she left, studied in Rome, Paris and London under some of the best teachers of singing, and as a result she has acquired a wide knowledge of the Western technique of voice production. She has done a great deal in a somewhat new direction to extend among Western peoples, in large and often distinguished audiences before whom she has performed as a professional singer, an appreciation of Indian artistry and culture. She has not only sung English, French, German and Italian music, but she has helped to popularise Indian folk songs and Tagore's songs, too. She has broadcasted these Indian songs, both in Berlin and in London, and they have been much appreciated.

Miss Abby expects to return to India before the end of the year in order to continue her career as a singer as well as to teach voice production and correct breathing. She tells me that this is taught with great care in some of the schools in Europe, but is now overlooked in India. She is of opinion that good health depends a great deal upon correct breathing, and the strengthening of the abdominal muscles which singing helps to develop. It is therefore especially necessary as a normal exercise for young people on physical as well as on aesthetic grounds. Miss Abby, who has been very well received in this country and in Europe generally by people of all classes, including members of the British Royal family, thinks that her combination of Western and Indian techniques may help in a small way to restore harmony between the two peoples since music is the universal language in which heart speaks to heart.

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE.

So far nothing particularly good has come out of the Ottawa Conference. Whilst it is perhaps too early in the day to talk of its failure, it nevertheless may not succeed in producing those results that some of those who have worked most strenuously and ardently for its success had hoped. The Dominions wish to impose a meat tax in this country in order to bolster up their meat traffic, having already failed to impose what would virtually have been a bread tax. They had been unwilling, and in particular Mr. Bennett of Canada has been unable, to get their manufacturers to make such concessions as would enable British manufactured goods in larger quantities effectively to enter the Dominions markets. Whilst Mr. Bennett and the other Dominions, Ministers may have to fight their manufacturers pretty strenuously in order to be able to secure adequate compensation for Canadian raw produce in the British markets, Mr. Baldwin, who has

so far not succumbed to Dominions' pressure, may find it difficult, if not impossible, to agree to food taxes that would deprive the Government of its Liberal and Labour members and its claim to be a National Administration. Already, as the "Manchester Guardian" points out, in the by-elections the constituencies have now for some time ceased to vote "national" and have reverted to the normal party voting, Tories standing aloof in Liberal constituencies, Liberals standing aloof in Tory ones, Labour voting according to type. In these circumstances it will be very difficult indeed for Mr. Baldwin to obey Lord Beaverbrook's brutal demand to agree to whatever Mr. Bennett may demand on pain of being hounded out of British public life by Lord Beaverbrook and his organisations upon Mr. Baldwin's return home. Having already dubbed him a potential traitor, Lord Beaverbrook has hailed Lord Hailsham as the saviour of his country, its rightful Prime Minister and second only in eminence to Mr. Bennett himself, who is uniquely installed upon the highest pedestal in Lord Beaverbrook's pantheon. It is a little bit embarrassing for Lord Hailsham (who has declared that if the Ottawa Conference fails he expects to see the dissolution of the British Commonwealth during his lifetime) in view of the relations existing not long ago between him at the head of the Conservative Party organisation and Lord Beaverbrook who was then running independent Conservatives against the official Party candidates. When the Tory candidate in East Islington was recently defeated by one of Lord Beaverbrook's Crusaders, Lord Hailsham said with regard to Lord Beaverbrook that there was only one thing to do with a mad dog and that was to shoot it. Perhaps as a "Guardian" writer remarks, that very comment may have convinced Lord Beaverbrook that Lord Hailsham was a strong man. At any rate the Chief Crusader in favour of food taxes has evidently learnt to kiss the rod.

Reviews.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

THE I. L. O. YEAR BOOK, 1931. (The International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1932. pp. 547.

Rs. 7. Obtainable in India from the Indian Branch of the International Labour Office, New Delhi.

STUDENTS of labour problems the world over have by now come to look upon the International Labour Office, Geneva, as the repository of the latest and most complete information on all labour matters. Nor need this occasion any surprise, as one of the main duties with which the I.L.O. is charged by the Treaty of Versailles is the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour. Even during the first decade of its existence, the I.L.O. has amply justified the reputation that it has come to possess for the up-to-date and comprehensive nature of its information by a steady output of well-documented publications dealing with various aspects of labour problems. Pride of place among such publications must go to the present volume which, previous to 1931, formed part of the Annual Report, but which, in view of the encyclopædic nature of the material provided, is now being issued as an Year Book.

The volume falls into two main parts: the first deals with the salient features of the general activity of the I. L. Organisation, and, the second gives a comprehensive resumé of the social progress regist-

ered in various countries during 1931 under the following main headings:— the economic situation; conditions of work; social insurance; wages; unemployment, placing and migration; special categories of workers' living conditions; and, general rights of workers. It will thus be seen that the Year Book is designed to serve as a work of reference on the International Labour Organisation and the wide range of movements and problems with which the Organisation is in contact. This purpose the publication serves admirably, for it presents in a compendious and comparable form a record of the principal events and developments in 1931 in the economic and social realms, summarises the outstanding national and international legislative measures of the year and brings out in prominent relief the trend of social policy in all countries.

The main theme of the publication is the economic situation and its social repercussions, and, as is only natural, the major part of the book is devoted to a searching analysis of the causes of the present economic blizzard and the remedial measures that can be profitably employed for combating the ill-effects of the depression. Despite the dismal and gloomy background thus created, the conclusions arrived at sound a distinct and welcome note of optimism. The carefully compiled and authoritative data furnished in the book lead one to the irresistible conclusion that, in spite of the duration, magnitude and persistence of adverse environmental conditions, the depression, while occasioning a general tightening in all directions and preventing notable expansions, has not caused any retrogression in social policy; that, in spite of unprecedented difficulties, labour legislation has remained almost unshaken in all countries; and that the principles of legal protection of labour and social insurance have been reaffirmed. To have been able to maintain the *status quo* is itself a matter for congratulation in these hard times and much of the credit for this has to be assigned to the International Labour Organisation which, through its annual conference and the sedulous cultivation of direct contacts with Governments and representative organisations of employers and workers, has succeeded to a remarkable extent in the none too easy task of keeping up, in spite of the embarrassments and difficulties of the immediate present, enthusiasm for ameliorative social legislation and the labour cause generally.

It is satisfactory to learn from the Year Book that restraint and economy characterised the financial administration of the I.L.O., the Office having expended only 96.8 per cent of its budget for 1931 (8,878,966 Swiss Francs out of 9,157,715 Swiss Francs; 1 Swiss Franc = Annas 8). Another matter of gratification to Member States is that, despite the insistence of the economy campaign, the I. L. O. has not only maintained intact in 1931 the eight National Offices functioning at Berlin, Delhi, London, Nankin, Paris, Rome, Tokio and Washington and the eight National Correspondents at Brussels, Bucarest, Budapest, Madrid, Prague, Rio de Janeiro, Vienna, and Warsaw, but has during the year appointed two new National Correspondents at Belgrade and Buenos Aires.

It is not possible within the compass of a brief review to deal fully with the encyclopædic information on labour conditions in the fifty-five Member States of the I. L. O. furnished in the Year Book. It is more profitable to concentrate attention on the principal features of Indian labour conditions and the country's relations with the I. L. O. as set out in the publication. The following facts culled from the Year Book testify to the fact that during 1931 India's co-operation with the I. L. O. was maintained

and that, as a result, several measures of social reform were carried through the Indian Parliament to implement India's undertakings at Geneva. Though the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly recommended that the Conventions concerning forced labour and hours of work in offices should not be ratified, other notable advances were recorded in the year by the ratification of the Convention concerning the marking of weight on heavy packages transported by vessels and the adoption of an amendment to the Merchant Shipping Act by both houses of the Indian Legislature which, *inter alia*, gave effect to Article 14 of the Convention concerning Seamen's Articles of Agreement. In the inner counsels and direction of the L.L.O. also, India was given a proper place, for during 1931 India was represented on the Governing Body of the L. L. O. by a Government member, an employers' deputy member and a workers' deputy member, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, the Government Member, was elected a vice-chairman of the Governing Body.

On the whole, social reformers and workers' and employers' organisation will find it difficult to carry on their work successfully without this Year Book, while no library should be considered adequate or up-to-date which does not keep a copy on its reference shelves.

M.

FARADAY.

FARADAY. (The British Electrical & Allied Manufacturer, London.) 1931. 22cm. 133p. 7/6.

IN 1831 M. Faraday discovered the phenomenon and the principle of Electro-magnetic Induction in the course of a long and painstaking research carried on in the Royal Institution, London. This discovery has proved to be the mainspring of industrial electricity which has profoundly affected all modern industrial developments. In commemoration of this great discovery were held the well-known Faraday Centenary celebrations of last year, and the volume under review was published on the same occasion. Several faithful accounts of Faraday—the father of Electrical Engineering—have appeared since his death in 1867. Tyndall's 'Faraday a Discoverer' and Dr. Bense Jones' 'Life of Faraday' are books excellent in their own way. Their view of Faraday, however, was taken from a shorter distance of time than to-day, when we who make use of Faraday's discoveries far more than preceding generations have done. The volume in hand may be said to have appeared just in time to give us a perspective of Faraday's life in which the minor notes are shaded off and the prominent virtues alone are brought into relief.

The book reads like a drama inasmuch as it presents the subject matter in twenty little sections, each section dealing with some one important event and depicting a particular aspect of Faraday's life in a vivid word picture. The book leans more towards the popular than the technical side and the general reader therefore goes quite smoothly through the whole of it with a very lively interest. We heartily commend the book to our readers.

M. V. APTE.

SHORT NOTICES.

ANCIENT LAW. By HENRY SUMNER MAINE. (Oxford Univ. Press.) 1931. 15cm. 344p. 2/-.

THE Oxford University Press have recently published in the World's Classics Series a reprint of Sir Henry Maine's famous work on Ancient Law. The reprint is attractive and handy while its price is sufficiently low to make the book easily accessible to

every one. It contains a short introduction by Mr. C. K. Allen which stresses the principal features of the book and its importance in the field of jurisprudence.

The book itself is too well known to require any commendation to the reader. As we are told in the introduction, "so far as England is concerned, it is not too much to say that with the appearance of this book modern historical jurisprudence was born", and it is difficult to exaggerate its influence on contemporary and later thought. If to-day the philosophy of law no longer deals in speculations based on *a priori* reasoning and regards law as a human institution evolved by the needs of the human society, we have to thank Maine.

Those portions of the work which deal with the early forms of law and the growth of legal fictions and other various devices by which it was being continually changed so as to suit the growing needs of the community are of particular interest.

The book is one which is of interest not merely to students of law and political science but also to the general reader, and the Oxford University Press have done a service to the reading public in issuing a reprint of it in cheap and attractive form.

M. P. S. R.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND INDUSTRIALISM. (The National Christian Council of India, Nagpur.) 1931. 22cm. 19p. As. 4.

THIS booklet gives some facts about the conditions in which the industrial classes live and work, and suggests ways of serving them. The facts are gleaned from the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. The part of the booklet dealing with the duty of the Christian Church deserves to be carefully read by not only Christians but by all religious people. It emphasises the lesson that the spiritual life of the individual is inseparably bound up with that of the community. The N. C. Council wants to steer clear of the Scylls of capitalism on the one side and the Charibdis of communism on the other and suggests the lines of service which Christian agencies may undertake. This service consists of industrial welfare activities. No doubt these activities are very useful in their own way. They are, however, palliatives. To expect them to eradicate the evils inherent in the capitalist system is to invite disillusion sooner or later.

P. G. K.

Miscellaneous.

THE CO-OPERATORS' MANIFESTO.

WE consider that the new procedure announced by the Secretary of State for India on the 27th June is so grave a departure from the Round Table Conference method as to be unacceptable. It does away with the ideas of *equality* during discussion between British and Indian delegates and *agreement* between them as the basis of the proposals to be laid before Parliament. The Round Table Conference method devised with the especial object of securing these two ideas and its procedure could easily be adapted to ensure expedition. We cannot conceive how the R. T. C. method can be described as abrogating or bringing into question the ultimate supremacy of Parliament. In the circumstances we are clearly of opinion that the best interests of the country require that those of our countrymen who may be invited to assist in the further stages of

constitution-making should withhold co-operation unless and until the former method is restored."

* * *

The following leaders of public opinion in India have so far signed above the Manifesto. More will follow. Those who are willing to subscribe to the Manifesto are requested to send their names and designations to the Secretary, Servants of India Society, Poona 4, as soon as possible.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND AUDEH, 1930-31. (Official, Lucknow.) 1932. 25cm. 76p. Rs. 2.
- BIHAR AND ORISSA IN 1930-31. By P. T. MANSFIELD. (Off. Patna.) 1932. 25cm. 113p. Re.1.
- INTERNATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT. A study of Fluctuations in Employment in Several Countries 1910-1930. Ed. by M. L. FLEDDERUS. (I. I. Relations Institute, The Hague, Holland.) 1932. 25cm. 496p.
- COMPTE RENDU DE LA XXVII^e CONFERENCE TENUE A BUCARELT DU 1^{er} AU 7 OCTOBRE. (Librairie, Payot & Co., Lausanne.) 1932. 25cm. 678p.
- COOLIE: THE STORY OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL IN INDIA. By D. CHAMAN LALL Vols. 1 & 2. (Oriental Publishing House, Lahore.) 1932. 25cm. 121, 135p.
- SOME PHASES OF FAIR VALUE AND INTEREST RATE RATES. By JAMES BARCLAY SMITH. (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.) 1931. 24cm. 101p. About \$3.00.
- THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS. An Account of American Foreign Relations, 1931. By WALTER LIPMAN & WILLIAM O. SCROGGS. (Harper, New York.) 1932. 24cm. 375p.

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