

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Mere Provincial Autonomy No Remedy.

THE Bombay Legislative Council last week passed a resolution placing on record its view that the contemplated immediate grant of provincial autonomy without the simultaneous establishment of responsibility at the centre, far from allaying public discontent, would only aggravate it. This expression of opinion by the Bombay Legislature is significant as showing that whatever other matters may divide its members, they are united as one man in thinking that mere provincial autonomy is no remedy for India's political ills. This view is so often and so repeatedly expressed in the Indian press and from the public platform that it is likely to be thought that the Council was needlessly wasting its time and energy in labouring what was only too obvious. But it is showing an imperfect knowledge of Indian politics to take that view of the Council's action. It is true that as a result of all the agitation in the country in favour of the simultaneous or almost simultaneous establishment of responsible government both in the provinces and at the centre, it has been decided to have one comprehensive measure instead of two, as originally contemplated by Government—one dealing with provincial and the other with federal responsibility. This is not to say that they have made up their mind to grant autonomy to the provinces and the centre at the same time. Whatever the view of the British Labour and Liberal parties on this point, the great majority of Conservatives at any rate seem to be as opposed to the idea as ever. The latest indication of how their minds are working on this point is afforded by the Marquis of Salisbury's letter to the British press—and the Marquis must be said to represent a very large section of Conservative opinion. He does

not object to the provincial governments being made autonomous but looks upon the establishment of a central responsible government as unthinkable. His view is that whatever risks the British may afford to take in the provinces, no such thing can be thought of in connection with the central government. Besides, he argues, if things go wrong in the provinces, the British must be in a position to set matters right, which they can do only if Delhi continues to be responsible to London as at present. We are not concerned here to examine his arguments but merely to point out, on the strength of his views, that those who think that the battle of central responsibility is won by the Government promising to bring forward one comprehensive Reform Bill are labouring under a delusion. The view that mere provincial autonomy will in no way ease the situation in India cannot be too often repeated and the expression of this opinion by such a statutory body as the Bombay Council ought to bring home to the Conservative party the serious risks it would run if it was not prepared to reconcile itself to the introduction of responsibility at the centre. We do not think the Council laid it on too thick in saying that want of responsibility at the centre would, instead of relieving, worsen the difficulties of the Indian situation.

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### Madras Women in Conference.

IN anticipation of the session of the All-India Women's Educational Conference to be held during X'mas next, constituent women's conferences are at present taking place in different parts of the country. The one held at Madras last week was presided over by Lady Mirza M. Ismail, wife of the Dewan of Mysore. The women of Madras deserve hearty congratulations on their choice for the presidentship, because Lady Mirza hails from a State which is showing greater zeal than British India itself in the direction of raising woman's social status by giving her rights over property and removing her disabilities in regard to inheritance. In her presidential address Lady Mirza laid great emphasis on the urgent need of the spread of female education which is admittedly at the root of all progress. In this connection she made the somewhat novel suggestion that just as in municipal areas there are health visitors whose duty it is to study health conditions from house to house and help the people in their homes, so in regard to the education of women there should also be organised a band of trained workers who would concentrate attention on compact areas and devote itself to improving them. Her view, which we doubt not is very widely shared is that the need of the hour is universal education for both sexes and she rightly believes that till education is universalised, the problem is really not so much of quality as of quantity. That is not to say that quality should altogether be sacrificed to quantity. All that is meant is that it should not be made

too much of, but that attention should be concentrated mainly upon expansion. On the subject of women's representation in legislatures and public bodies, Lady Mirza's remarks are noteworthy for more reasons than one. She strongly repudiated the idea that women desire any special privileges such as reservation of seats and proclaimed to the world that Indian women are prepared to enjoy all their rights under a system of absolute equality and adult suffrage. Needless to add, she earnestly pleaded for the removal of such social cankers as untouchability that are eating into the vitals of the body politic.

Among the resolutions passed by the Conference, great importance will naturally be attached to the one disapproving of communal electorates for women. It should be noted that the resolution was proposed and supported by a Muslim and a Christian lady respectively and passed by a Conference over which a Muslim lady presided. The speeches in support of this resolution clearly brought out the fact that Indian women stood unflinchingly for joint electorates. The resolution on anti-untouchability made an appeal to all temple-trustees to open all Hindu temples to the untouchables. In cases of bodies like the legislative councils, local bodies, etc., entry into which can be secured by election, the Conference very properly appealed to women to face open elections rather than seek to enter them by the back door of nomination. Where, however, as in the case of the Public Services Commission or the Indian delegation to the League of Nations, the selection rests with the Government, it did not hesitate to press on the authorities concerned the desirability of giving due consideration to the claims of women.

In this connection, it is highly significant that during the last weekend, at the very time the Muslims were meeting in Lucknow to discuss separate vs. common electorates, a meeting of women was held in Lucknow, attended by Hindu and Muslim women, presided over by Mrs. Zahir, a Muslim lady, which unanimously adopted a resolution opposing separate electorates for women which had been given to women in the Communal Award and demanding joint electorates.

#### India's Stores Purchase Policy.

THE Indian Stores Retrenchment Committee express themselves as being uncompromisingly opposed to the abolition of the Stores Department. As may be remembered, the Department was created in order to remove the public complaint that in purchasing Government requirements adequate encouragement was not being given to Indian industries. But in spite of its over ten years' existence, it cannot be said that the ground for the above complaint had been completely removed. The object of encouraging Indian industries by giving preference, wherever possible, to Indian goods would have been easily attained if all Government requirements were purchased through the Stores Department; but unfortunately there is a tendency on the part of some purchasing authorities to look upon the department as an interloper which must as far as possible be ignored. This has led, as may be easily imagined, to the services of the Department not being fully utilised with the necessary corollary of Indian industries not coming into their own in the matter of the supply of goods required for Government Departments. The feeling of dissatisfaction occasioned by this state of things in some non-official circles was so deep-seated that when the retrenchment committee came to be appointed it found expression in the seemingly unreasonable demand that if full use of the Department was not going to be made it had better be closed down. But we do not suppose its abolition was seriously

suggested in any quarter. However it is just as well that the Committee placed on record its view as to its indispensability from the point of view of the promotion of Indian industries. The Committee has also done well in impressing on Government the necessity of ordering through this department "all stores other than stores of a specially technical nature." We do not think that in asking that full use be made of the Department, the Committee is asking for too much. The fact that it should have found it necessary to make such an obvious suggestion shows that during the twelve years or so during which the Department has been in existence the Government has merely been doing lip service to its policy of helping indigenous industries by preferring Indian-made goods. The Committee's suggestion for the establishment of a committee to advise Government "on all important matters affecting stores purchase and to review from time to time how far the policy of Government in regard to stores purchase and the recommendations of the various committees appointed by them are given effect to" is also a step in the right direction and ought, if acted upon, go some way in ensuring the policy of preferring Swadeshi goods being worked in the proper spirit. Only in regard to the constitution of the proposed committee, the Retrenchment Committee appears to us to have been needlessly cautious. Its recommendation places the non-official element in a hopeless minority in the committee which is regrettable. Seeing that the committee's status was to be no more than advisory, no inconvenience would have been caused to anybody by providing for a non-official majority on it. The Committee's emphasis on the need for Indianisation in the Stores Department is by no means uncalled for. In this connection it suggests that should it be found necessary to recruit Europeans, their engagement should be for "a strictly limited period". The Committee has also suggested the establishment of an exhibition of Indian manufactures to be organised by the Stores Department. Whatever the advantages of such an exhibition, one wonders if it has any direct bearing on the main activities of the Stores Department.

#### Municipalities in Bombay & C. P.

THE resolutions of the Bombay and C.P. Governments reviewing the reports on the working of municipalities for 1930-31, published during the last few days, make interesting reading. It will be remembered that the civil disobedience movement which began with Mahatma Gandhi's historic march to Dandi and culminated in the memorable Gandhi-Irwin agreement was active almost throughout the year. The result was that municipal administration in both these provinces could not remain wholly immune from its repercussions. Municipal business was frequently interrupted owing to repeated adjournment of municipal meetings in sympathy with some arrested or imprisoned Congress leader and in some cases the hoisting of the Congress flag over the municipal office and other municipal buildings was the outward manifestation of sympathy with the Congress. A few municipalities in Gujerat went even a little further. They refused to co-operate with the Government in taking the census. The Bombay report mentions the case of the Ahmedabad and Broach municipalities which mismanaged their primary education by making both the teachers and the taught to take part in political demonstrations organised under Congress auspices. This was too much for the Government which replied by withdrawing financial assistance from the offending bodies. We do not suppose the friction between Government and municipalities in C. P. was attended by such serious consequences to the latter. It would have been nothing short of a miracle if such a nation-wide movement had left the

municipalities altogether unaffected. The wonder really is that it did not affect them to a much greater extent.

The record of municipalities in both the provinces in the matter of recovery of dues during the year appears to have been far from satisfactory. In Bombay the amount of arrears went up by Rs. 5½ lakhs to Rs. 27½ lakhs, while in C. P. only one municipality could be classified "good" i. e. was able to collect 95 per cent. of its dues and the number of those in which the collections exceeded 90 per cent. decreased from three during the previous year to two during the year under report. The progressive deterioration in this respect is apparently due to the unwillingness of these bodies to use all the powers given to them for effecting recoveries. Both the reports record cases of some municipal councillors themselves being the worst defaulters. The remedy appears to be the disqualification of such persons as members, which now seems to find general favour. The C. P. report states that an amendment of the Municipalities Act to this end is under consideration. It may be hoped that the amendment of the Bombay City Municipal Act with a view to disqualifying the defaulting members which was carried in the current session of the Bombay Legislative Council will soon be followed by a suitable amendment of the municipal law applicable outside Bombay. In the meantime the practice of publishing the names of the offending members in the Government resolution, as is done in Bombay, appears to be wholesome and might be followed in other provinces as well. The average incidence of taxation per head of the population in Bombay decreased from Rs. 6-1-2 to Rs. 5-4-4 whereas in C. P. it stood at Rs. 3-5-8, the number of municipalities in Bombay and C. P. being 155 and 71 respectively.

## Articles.

### THE LUCKNOW CONFERENCE.

THE public at large in India cannot exactly be said to be ever-optimistic about the final outcome of the efforts that are now being made under influential auspices to reach an understanding between various communities on the basis of joint electorates. When it was first announced that Maulana Shaukat Ali, who latterly had made himself one of the strongest champions of the communalist claims of Mahomedans, had now taken the lead in initiating negotiations and that Pandit Malaviya, who it was believed had formerly felt very uneasy at the Nationalist Mahomedans supporting all these claims except the single one of communal electorates, had now encouraged the Maulana to go forward, there was a great wave of enthusiasm everywhere. It was felt that unity was almost within sight, and that any day the news might be flashed across the wires not only that a general communal agreement had been reached, but that the British Government had undertaken to substitute it for its own award. This enthusiasm was, however, short-lived and warnings began to be issued that if the communal award was unjust to the Hindus and Sikhs it need not be made more so by these communities being called upon to make further sacrifices as a price for the abandonment by the Muslim community of the communal electorates granted to them by the British Government. The Poona Pact

in respect of the depressed classes had prepared the people to expect that if communal electorates came to be abolished in name, they would still be retained in fact, although perhaps in a somewhat less obnoxious form. Was it worth while, it was asked, to purchase what might after all prove to be a dubious advantage at the cost of very real sacrifices exacted from communities already hard hit by the award? This question a very large number of people answered to themselves emphatically in the negative, and although, in the majority of cases, the answer was not formulated in words and conveyed to the promoters of the Lucknow Conference, some associations, greatly daring, did so. It was also discovered that the bulk of that section of the Muslim community, in deference to whose wishes the British Government had decided to retain communal electorates, did not look with favour upon this Conference and would stay away. They seemed to have made up their minds to stand pat on communal electorates.

The Lucknow Conference thus did not meet in too happy circumstances. It was frowned upon by communalists and looked at askance by nationalists. Yet it went its own way. Its achievements may be described as follows: It has brought about complete unanimity among all sections of Moslems on all their demands save on the question of electorates, and provided that other communities concede all these demands without reservation, Nationalist Muslims and a few leaders of the other section have declared themselves ready to discuss the possibility of replacing communal electorates by a modified form of joint electorates. The questions upon determination of which the value of this decision will rest are: (1) what, if any, further sacrifices are required of non-Muslim communities in full satisfaction of the thirteen demands of the Moslems, which is made a condition precedent of the waving of the fourteenth? and (2) to what extent will the principle of joint electorates be compromised by the Mahomed Ali plan or any other plan that may be finally decided upon in place of frankly communal electorates? With regard to the first point raised here, it must be mentioned that statutory Moslem majorities in the Councils of Bengal and the Punjab is one of the most important demands made jointly by Nationalist and Communalist Mahomedans, which is not fully acceded to in the communal award. This demand can be variously interpreted, but the interpretation that is usually put upon it is that Mahomedans must have reserved to them in general territorial constituencies a number of seats that will ensure to them a majority in the whole House, including seats allotted to special constituencies. Even if no seat falls to their share in these special constituencies, still the Mahomedans must be in an absolute majority in the Council. If special constituencies yield any seats to them, it will be an additional advantage over and above what is to be guaranteed to them. On this interpretation more seats have to be assigned to the Mahomedan community than is provided for in the communal award in Bengal and the Punjab, and these seats will

in all likelihood be taken from the Hindu quota, and perhaps to a small extent from the Sikh quota in the Punjab. To the Mahomedans must also be guaranteed a fair proportion of representation in the Cabinets, Universities and on all other statutory bodies, and this clause is capable of being given effect to in a way which will prejudice the best interests of the country. This is the price that has to be paid. And what is the return for it? Joint electorates of a sort. It is unnecessary to develop here all the objections that may reasonably be urged against the scheme proposed by the late Maulana Mahomed Ali both on the ground of principle and workability. Will joint electorates of this character be so decidedly superior to communal electorates as to justify not only the surrender of more seats on the part of Hindus and Sikhs but a departure from right principle in the matter of communal representation in Cabinets, etc.?

He will be a bold man who will unhesitatingly return an affirmative answer to this question. We at any rate cannot pretend to be without misgivings.

It is perfectly true that these matters are still open to negotiation, and it may be said that the Mahomedans can yet be persuaded not to be too sticky about the thirteen points and even to take a broader view about the fourteenth than at present, that they will give more and take less. Of course it is possible that Sir Mahomed Iqbal and others who are not now prepared even to open negotiations on this subject, and whose adhesion to any new pact that may be arrived at is necessary will revise their views radically. But we are afraid it does look a little improbable. We for our part cannot blame the average politician for refusing to be too sanguine for a satisfactory settlement on the issue, though there is none in the country but desires it.

## IS DEPRESSION LIFTING ?

SINCE July last a decided improvement is discernible in the world's commodity markets and stock markets, and the question is being asked everywhere: Does this betoken the beginnings of a recovery from business depression? Or, if it is too early yet to predict a steady, even if a slow, progress towards recovery do the advances in security and commodity prices at any rate warrant the inference that the depression has reached bottom, and that even if business remains sluggish for some time to come the downward tendency in world trade and industry has been definitely brought to a halt?

The present depression may be said to have commenced with the stock market crash in the United States three years ago, and very likely the first signs of an upturn in business activity will be visible there. It would be well therefore to note the marks of revival that that country has to show. There is no doubt that the U. S. has for the most part recovered from the state of panic which prevailed in the business world more than a year ago, and that pessimism is now giving place to optimism and even confidence. Withdrawals of gold by foreign countries have ceased (they amounted to \$1,167,000,000 between September 21, 1931, when Great Britain left the gold basis for her currency, and June 15, 1932); domestic hoarding of currency also has come to an end (the amount of money in circulation having decreased from July 18, 1932, by \$51,000,000); the inflow of gold has started (the net gain since June being \$157,000,000); the danger to the integrity of the dollar has disappeared; the deficit in the budget has been filled; banking failures, which were so alarmingly numerous have stopped. All these circumstances have led to a phenomenal improvement in the speculative market.

The average prices of common stocks advanced by 100 per cent. between June 27 and September 7 and those of railroad issues by 200 per cent.; e. g. International Nickel Co. 220 per cent.

United States Steel Corporation 133 per cent., N. Y. Central Railroad Co. 216 per cent., Aitchison Typecase and Sante Fé Ry. 210 per cent., Pennsylvania Railroad Co. 210 per cent. The benefit of this upswing on the Stock Exchange now reaches a far larger number of people than before; for it is calculated that the number of shareholders in the larger corporations has risen by 40 per cent. in the past two years. Similarly, brisker conditions were established in the bond market too. The average of high grade corporate bonds moved up by 30 per cent., while some speculative bonds advanced many times over. The enhancement of bond prices is one of the most encouraging features in the present situation since, as the September Letter of the National City Bank of New York says, it is "the best index of capital seeking employment." A rally in the stock market is evidence of a recovery from financial panic. This latter is generally a forerunner of a recovery from business depression, but is not synonymous with it. The Cleveland Trust Company has assembled figures for thirteen major depressions since 1837 and has calculated that on an average stock prices and bond prices rise two months before the low point in business activity. It must of course be remembered that this average of two months' delay between the upward trend of security prices and business activity gives no clue as to when in the present instance revival of the normal business conditions may be expected, particularly because the depression we are now faced with is "a far longer and more serious one than the average of the past 13."

The other factor associated with the approach, however slow, of a general economic recovery is a rise in commodity prices; and this rise also is pronounced at the present time. It is most marked in the case of foodstuffs and raw materials; however, it is not confined to them, but extends, though to a smaller degree, to other commodities as well. The prices of live stock, and particularly hog

the first to turp up; since then all farm products have appreciated. Cotton has appreciated the most, viz. by 4 cents, which has resulted in the addition of about \$500,000,000 to the market value of the new crop and the old carry-over (which, it is estimated, would be approximately 13,250,000 running bales). Wool, butter and eggs have also had an important price recovery. It is exceedingly satisfactory that the gains have occurred "precisely where they will do the greatest good to the greatest number." For the most distressing factor in the present depression is the downward sweep of prices of farm products which drastically reduced the purchasing power of millions of farmers. Now, on account of higher price levels, they will enjoy a larger purchasing power which will through trade circulate among the wage-earners of manufacturing industry also. The Fisher index of prices shows that 30 agricultural products stood at 50 (1926=100) at the beginning of the year, then fell to 42.5 by the second week in July and advanced to 46.9 by the first week in September, i. e., increased by about 10 per cent. in a month and half. The same price index shows a rise of 1.5 per cent. in the same period for 90 non-agricultural products. In general the commodity prices advanced from July to September by 2 per cent.

It is not only in the United States that the prices of commodities have stiffened; they have done so almost everywhere. The Westminster Bank Review for last month has given a very useful table showing the course of prices of nine representative commodities in 1928, 1929, 1931, 1932 (June) and 1932 (end of August), and its conclusion is: "In the majority of cases, the slump in values attained its greatest momentum between 1929 and 1931, but the rate of decline remained considerable for the first six months of this year, particularly as regards tea, copper and rubber. During the two succeeding months, however, the downward tendency was not only checked, but reversed. The improvement was marked among non-ferrous metals, copper recovering, in a couple of months, nearly all the ground lost during the preceding half year, while tin reached a price level well above the average for 1931. Rubber rose nearly to the 1931 level, while crude petroleum, in America, held a rise achieved earlier in the year. Raw cotton enjoyed a spectacular revival... The rises in wheat and wool prices were less considerable, while sugar, alone among the commodities shown in the table, suffered a slight recession."

Industrial activity has not, however, kept pace in the United States with improved security and commodity markets. Only in textiles, shoe manufacturing and coal production was there a marked recovery. In other industries there was a decline, though the rate of decline has lessened. "Activity in the basic iron and steel industry declined by about 5 per cent. (in July). Production of electric power fell nearly 3 per cent. Automobile output dropped nearly 40 per cent. Railroad freight remained almost unchanged at about 50 per cent. of the normal." Industrial production in general, which was 29.2 per cent. below the normal in July last

year, dropped to 50.2 per cent. twelve months later, but the rate is decreasing. In May the percentage of the decline was, when compared with the figures of the previous month, 7.7; in June 1.8; and in July .05. The experience in England too is similar.

It need not occasion surprise if an improvement in the speculative and commodity markets takes time to reflect itself in an improvement in business activity. But the question is whether in the present instance we may expect the former to lead in course of time to the latter, as is usually but not necessarily the case. This question the *Economist* of September 17 answers confidently in the affirmative. "If economic considerations alone are to be taken into account," it says, "there would, in our opinion, be sufficient grounds for thinking that we had definitely entered upon an upward phase of business conditions." It continues, "The most substantial evidence of this is that in a number of directions production has adjusted itself to the present level of consumption; stocks are not rising and are in some cases tending to fall, and may be expected to drop further if the conviction persists that the bottom of the price curve is passed." The Westminster Bank Review for September has quoted figures for the visible world stocks of various commodities in July of four years, 1928, 1929, 1931 and 1932, which substantiate the assertion on which the *Economist's* comforting conclusion is based. The Review thus interprets the figures it gives: "Before the middle of 1929, production was clearly running ahead of consumption and stocks began to increase ominously (in wheat, sugar, tea, petroleum, tin and rubber). During the next two years, there was no check to this dangerous movement except in the cases of tea and petroleum. It has been left to the last twelve months to apply the brake to a movement which had proceeded uninterruptedly for three years, and appeared to have no necessary limit. In July last visible stocks of sugar, tea and petroleum were appreciably lower than they had been twelve months earlier, while the figures for wheat and tin were more or less at the July 1931 levels... The inference is that, for some little time, world production and consumption of many important primary commodities have been largely in balance." From this we may gather that the present price recovery will be maintained for a considerable length of time. No recovery from world depression can be conceived unless equilibrium is established between supply and demand. That such a balance has been achieved goes to show, as maintained by the *Economist*, that business revival will follow.

#### THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT.

**W**HETHER the trade agreement reached at Ottawa will help India to increase her trade and prosperity is the question we have to consider. Let us discuss it from a purely economic standpoint without being affected by any racial or parochial considerations. We may ask ourselves what additional benefit the Ottawa agreement will bring to the Indian producer and consumer; or we may, as the Indian Delegation in its report emphasises, consider

what losses we have averted thereby. The Indian Delegation has confessed that India does not gain much by the agreement; it merely pleads that we would lose a great deal by not ratifying it.

The average value of Indian exports to the United Kingdom on which either preference has been given or to which free entry has been guaranteed was in normal times about Rs. 55 crores. Among these there are certain goods which can be omitted from any calculation—articles like jute and its manufactures, teak, etc. These are more or less a monopoly of India with practically no competitor either in the Empire or outside. Further wheat, barley, pulses, tobacco, cotton seed, &c. are consumed in such larger quantities in India that any concession regarding their export will not make much difference to the producer. Among other important products the United Kingdom does not count as a market in rice, cotton manufactures, ground nut, manures, etc. So if we deduct all these articles we will find that very few are left which actually benefit by preference or stand to lose by its withdrawal. The Indian Delegation has made much of the 168 articles on which we secure preference, but most of them are minor ones the value of the exports of each of which does not amount even to a lakh of rupees annually. The only items on which we may expect to suffer substantial loss in the absence of preference and because of competition from other Empire countries are tea, tanned hides and skins, pig iron, pepper, raw hemp, and pig lead. But the total value of the exports of these has only been Rs. 33 crores in recent years, out of which tea itself accounts for Rs. 24 crores.

Then let us take imports. The approximate value of total imports into India of all the articles subject to preferential treatment is on an average for the normal years Rs. 132 crores, out of which Rs. 75 crores are the share of the United Kingdom. According to the agreement non-British imports will be of the value of Rs. 57 crores, on which an import duty will be levied. In other words to secure preference on nearly Rs. 33 crores worth of exports to U. K. we are giving preference to British imports to the extent of Rs. 75 crores. The burden of the additional duty on the enormous imports will affect seriously the poorest classes of the consumer of imported commodities. A poor country like India will find such an enormous loss very hard to bear.

The staple exports of India on which the prosperity of the large mass of our population depends are cotton, rice, jute, groundnut, raw hides and skins and raw wool, the value of which formed in recent years more than two-thirds of the value of our total exports. We shall not lose anything on these in the absence of the Ottawa agreement.

While the burden of additional taxation is to be widespread the gain, if any, is largely confined to the highly localised industry of tea. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Ottawa Agreement is unfavourable to the general interests of India. The Indian Delegation obviously did not make the best use of the bargaining position of India. There was no need for hurry in the matter. After due consideration preferential treatment could have been granted

to only a few selected British commodities in return for a few Indian goods in the United Kingdom.

## THE PROBLEM OF CRIMINAL TRIBES.

### II\*

**N**EXT there are those tribes and castes who have settled abodes and generally some ostensible means of subsistence and occupation, but who periodically proceed on raids often at a great distance from their homes and live solely on their ill-gotten gains. In this connection we may instance the Doms of the U. P., who are employed as scavengers in big cities and do the work of sweeping the streets, cleaning drains, destroying stray dogs, etc. They have a population of 424,950. In the villages the Dom is a worker on bamboo and makes fans, baskets and winnowing implements out of it. But the Dom is a thief by training and tradition and he commits thefts at the time of pilgrimages. The Doms eat the flesh of dead animals and have a great relish for horse flesh. The criminal Dom is an expert poisoner and knows several drugs to poison horses.

The Pasis who have a population of 1,488,582 are also found in the U. P. They were in the lawless days preceding British rule employed by the local chieftains as bowmen. They are notorious for their thievish propensities and are also prone to illicit distillation of liquor. They keep a large number of pigs and on this account are confined to the outer limits of villages or made to live in huts.

The Bhars, another criminal tribe of the U. P., are addicted to drink and large numbers of them migrate to Bengal temporarily and are responsible for much of the crime committed both in the U. P. and on the waterways of Bengal. They have a total population of 419,796.

The Berads who are to be found in some parts of the Bombay Presidency were formerly a warlike and dangerous class notorious as thieves and highway robbers. Their total population is 177,082. Even now some of them are clever thieves skilful in hiding stolen property and are much feared by travellers. They steal cattle with such cleverness and send the stolen animals over such long distances that the greatest energy and caution often fail to find any trace of them. The Ghantichors, who number 2,886 only, are chiefly found in Khandesh, Belgaum, Bijapur and some parts of the Kolhapur State. They adopt many disguises at the time of committing thefts and are expert pickpockets.

The Donga Dasaris is a notorious criminal tribe of the Madras Presidency with a population of 82,412. They are notorious for committing petty thefts at the time of festivals and other large gatherings. They pass among the crowd and cut the necklaces from the persons of women and children and pick pockets or annex any small articles which may have been left unwatched for a moment. They pass their spoils quickly to a confederate and thus frequently continue to escape detection, even if the property is missed immediately. They are a somewhat curious community. Dasan means a servant of God. Dasari means a religious mendicant of the Vaishnavite sect who has formally devoted himself to an existence as such and been formally included in the mendicant brotherhood by being branded on the shoulders. The name Donga Dasari was perhaps first given to these petty thieves, because they went about their occupation in the guise of such religious beggars. Their community is now recruited from many of the lower Shudra castes and its miscellaneous origin and the fact that it is not, strictly speaking, a true caste at all

\* The first article appeared in our issue of October 6.

is indicated by the absence amongst its members of any ordinary signs of caste organization. For instance, they have no caste Panchayets or restrictions as to the limits within the community within or without which its members may marry.

The Kallars are a prominent caste of the Madura District and number 535,518. They have a reputation for independence and truculence. They are addicted to dacoity and thefts. Kallar in Tamil means a thief. A very large number of thefts committed in the District are attributable to them. Dacoity of travellers at night used to be their favourite pastime. The various high roads were their favourite haunts. The method adopted consisted in threatening the driver of the cart and then turning the vehicle into the ditch so that it upset. The unfortunate travellers were then forced by some of the gang to sit at the side of the road with their backs to the cart and their faces to the ground while their baggage was searched for valuables. The gangs which frequented these roads have now broken up and the caste has practically quitted road dacoity. Cattle-theft is now the most popular calling amongst them. The stolen animals are driven great distances on the night of the theft and hidden either in a friend's house or among hills or jungles during day-time. They return the stolen animal to the owner if he offers a reward which is generally half the price of the animal. The Kallar is also an expert at the more ordinary form of house-breaking. In pursuit of this calling he travels great distances. He is usually accompanied by a goldsmith to melt down and sell the loot. Another important source of income to the Kallar is the fee which he levies on other castes. In almost every village the Kallars have appointed Kavalgars or watchmen who are remunerated by the villagers in some way or other. In return for these emoluments the Kallars undertake to protect the village from theft by his fellow-castemen and to get back any property which may be stolen. The fees thus demanded are undisguised blackmail. If any one hesitates or refuses to pay them he is warned by the Kallar that he must take the consequences and in due course finds his standing crops out from his fields, his straw stack or his house on fire and his best pair of bullocks missing. This state of things has attracted the attention of the authorities, and many and various methods of suppressing it have been suggested. It is proposed that Government should provide the Kallars with an honest livelihood by presenting them with land, or should enlist them in Kallars' regiments.

The Mallahs are chiefly to be found along the low lands along the Jumna and Chambal in the U. P. and generally live by themselves in small and inaccessible hamlets. Their population is 704,853. They indulge to a small extent in cattle thefts but prefer burglary and larceny. They are experts at picking pockets and possessing themselves of other people's property at fairs and big gatherings by the simple expedient of walking off with the article when the owner is not looking around. Many of them migrate annually to Calcutta and the Ganges delta where they are said to reap a rich harvest.

K. G. SHARANGPANI

## Our Geneva Letter.

### THE PENALTY FOR ISOLATION.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, OCT. 8.

**M**R. MACDONALD'S abortive attempt to hold a Four Power Conference in London, to find a way out of the impasse with which the Disarmament Conference is faced at present, has been the

most notable development of the week in connection with international politics. Great Britain's place as peace-maker in the affairs of Europe is historic and Mr. MacDonald's confidence after his success at Lausanne is understandable. The proposal was, however, distasteful to both France and Germany, and Italy was the only power enthusiastic about it. In France, the view prevailed that it was dangerous to rush into a conference in which the French thesis had little chance of finding acceptance and in Germany in view of the British note in reply to the German claim for equality of armaments, a repetition of the Geneva meetings was considered to be futile, unless both Great Britain and France had changed their attitude. The United States' representatives were frankly puzzled at the optimism entertained about the proposed conference, apparently for no other reason than the change of place from Geneva to London and a change of president from Sir John Simon to Mr. MacDonald.

The fact is that, as it has too frequently happened lately largely on account of the Foreign Office possessing a jurist as its head, in London the view was taken that all that was necessary to reconcile France and Germany was the discovery of a suitable formula. The German claim goes farther and it has been apparent for some time that a change of words cannot bring about a change for the better. Appropriate wording forms a considerable part of the work of diplomacy, but it is not its essential part. Political bargaining is the art of give and take and in this art the principal equipment of the consummate practitioner is the capacity to give. Great Britain's diplomatic influence throughout the last century and right until the present time has consisted in her ability to undertake obligations in return for which the lesser powers were prepared to deprive themselves of political initiative, thus augmenting her initiative. Even at the time of the framing of the League Covenant, the exercise of the sanctions was considered to be the particular prerogative of the British Navy. The refusal of the United States to enter the League had the effect of depriving it of these sanctions on account of Great Britain's unwillingness to put herself in a position which would create differences with America. Since then British policy has been to refuse to be committed to any major international undertakings and the treatment accorded to the Geneva Protocol was a clear indication of its trend. Locarno, it was said, was the limit of British concession in this respect and since then Great Britain has been moving towards restricting her international commitments, rather than otherwise. Ottawa is an unmistakable sign to an expectant world that the door had been closed for as long as one can foresee in this respect.

An immediate result of such isolation is incapacity to prevail over Germany and France with regard to the disarmament issue and bring the present crisis to an end, in spite of the earnest desire in England to push forward with the work at Geneva and the improbability of making Britain's influence felt over the Far East in case the British Government should choose to stand by the Lytton Commission's recommendations. Another Power, the United States, is also paying the penalty at the present time for practising a policy of isolation. It is now common knowledge in Geneva that the first impulse of the League Council with regard to the Manchurian question was to act on the precedents already established by the League. It was to ask Japan to withdraw her troops and re-establish the status quo and to accept an impartial enquiry on the spot as a preliminary to discussing the merits of the issue. This was what the Chinese demanded, and the Council found the Japanese fearing, under the

impression that the demand will be endorsed not only by the League Council but by the United States. To the surprise and disappointment of the Council, Mr. Stimson declared that he preferred to trust Baron Shidehara, who, if not pressed and made to lose face, would control his own militarists, but who might fall a victim to nationalist resentment if the League tried to impose a committee of enquiry on Japan. The Council immediately fell in with this view; and this made what has since been finally recognised both by the State Department and in Geneva to be a big mistake, depriving the Japanese moderates of their last argument against the militarists and giving the latter a sense of unbounded power and unique opportunity. No power is more anxious to-day to see the Lytton Commission's verdict implemented and the status quo of Manchuria restored as well as to bring the Disarmament Conference to a triumphant conclusion than the United States of America and yet, in the final reckoning, no Power has done as much to weaken the League's influence or to make parts of its machinery unworkable.

The work of the Assembly has been for the most part confined this week to discussions in the various Committees. Next week they will present their reports in plenary session and an interesting debate, specially on the League's finances, is anticipated. One notable act of the Assembly early in the week has been the admission of Iraq in the League Organisation. It was a solemn occasion and was suitably celebrated by appropriate speeches from the President of the Assembly, Sir John Simon, the Iraqi Prime Minister and several others. For the historically-minded, the entry of one of the most ancient countries into the modern comity of nations gave ample scope for reflection. The land of the Old Testament has a peculiar fascination for the European mind. It has hardly less fascination for the people of the Near East and the representatives of Persia and Turkey no doubt watched the performance of Noury Pasha, acknowledging the welcome of the Assembly to his country, with peculiar pleasure not altogether confined perhaps to the glories of the past. The common association of Turkey, Persia and Iraq within the sphere of the League's influence (with the prospective addition of Egypt to this group) marks an eventful transition in the history of Europe and the relations between East and West, as it may well be considered one day to be an absorption of the Islamic countries of the Near East into the European polity, and despite crises and despite pessimism, he would indeed be devoid of all imagination who could not see in the entry of Iraq into the League and the publication of the Lytton Report in one week, the workings, however dim, of a new order of hope, however far, of reason extending its dominion over a sphere of human activity which has been disfigured by the predominance of passion.

## Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, 7th October.

### INDIAN STUDENTS ABROAD.

I have just seen the useful and interesting publication by Mr. Paul Runganadhan, Secretary of the International Student Service for Indian Students Abroad, entitled "Handbook of Study and Travel for Indian Students Going Abroad." The book is prefaced with an introductory note by Professor Harold J. Laski. From long personal experience I

can associate myself very heartily with almost everything that both of these experts say. It was my privilege, a few days ago, to be present at a private gathering of selected Indian students, several of them at first strongly inclined to be critical, addressed by the High Commissioner for India, under cross-examination, in which he expounded in greater detail the well-known views expressed by him in his last report on Indian students in this country. The fact is that in the case of most of the students there is no real occasion for them to have left their country beyond their own personal desires, or the misapplied ambitions of their parents. At the end of their period of study abroad they carry back with them to India little or nothing that is of importance, valuable, or new to the Motherland, which has, on the contrary, probably lost a great deal in them of indigenous worth, besides a heavy expenditure wrung out of its own impoverishment, with no commensurate results. The exceptions, who are, of course, fairly numerous, and who come here at an age when they have already had some experience of Indian conditions, can make a useful comparison between the qualities of the East and the West, and are able to enrich their capacity by a new and varied experience, the making of worth-while friendships and the acquirement of special knowledge, for which no adequate facilities are provided at home, are indeed a valuable asset to the country upon their return to India. There ought, in the view of many well-informed people here, to be one or more clearing houses in India, whose duty it would be primarily to advise parents against wasting money and effort by sending their ill-qualified children abroad, and alternatively showing how those who are well-fitted to benefit by the experience can take the utmost advantage of the privilege and the opportunity whilst economising the national treasure. I am glad to learn that Mr. Runganadhan is leaving this week for Bombay, in order to organise one such clearing house there, and many thoughtful people hope that his efforts will achieve success and India be the better served thereby.

### CLOSING DOWN THE TALKS.

If the Government's action in abruptly terminating the conversations on the general question of the constitutional reforms and the situation in India between Mahatmaji, Mr. Jayakar, and Mr. Kunzru, carried on at the request of Mahatmaji himself, after earlier conversations, during the negotiations, for the depressed classes agreement is incomprehensible in India, it is no more understandable here. I quote for the benefit of your readers the substance of a paragraph in to-day's "Spectator", whose new Editor is Mr. Wilson Harris:—

"The withdrawal of the permission for Mr. Gandhi to continue his conversations with Hindu leaders like Mr. Jayakar (practically all of them, of necessity, Liberals, since the chief Congress figures are like the Mahatma himself, in prison) is incomprehensible. The acceptance by the British Government of the Poona agreement on the representation of the untouchables made an admirable impression in India. Mr. Gandhi himself was appreciative and spoke of his desire to end civil disobedience if an honourable way out could be found. Mr. Jayakar, known as well in this country as in India as a man who has striven ceaselessly for agreement and friendship between the British and Indian peoples, had opened constructive conversations with Mr. Gandhi during the period of his fast when restrictions were relaxed. Now, for no other reason apparently than that regulations are regulations (this was, in effect, the explanation given by the Home Member of the Bombay Legislative Council on Monday), the restrictions are to be reimposed and Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Malaviya may see the Mahatma



only by special arrangement, if at all. Once again insistence on seeing the little thing larger than the big things bangs the door on a hopeful outlook. But we are entitled to know whether it is the Bombay Government or the Viceroy that is guilty of this almost criminal ineptitude."

I do not know whether Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has expressed his views on the situation, but he has addressed the following telegram to a well-known friend of India in London. It has already been duplicated to certain members of the Cabinet and has been circulated to the Press for immediate publication, as was doubtless Sir Tej Bahadur's purpose:—

"Please convey to the Indian Conciliation Group and other friends that, while endorsing their appreciation of the prompt response by the Prime Minister and the Government to the Poona Pact, I share their regret and sense of disappointment at the stoppage of the interviews with Mahatma Gandhi. We talked to him briefly on the general situation and we believe that further exchange of ideas would have led to the restoration of conditions conducive to joint work. After my return Jayakar and Kunzru saw him again and I understand that they made a distinct advance. It is therefore regrettable that further opportunities should have been abruptly denied to men of their standing and record, when they were anxious to promote the cause of general co-operation and that they should have been so summarily treated. Considering Gandhi's condition of health, weakened by the rigour of his fast, the public would have welcomed his release, which would have stimulated the movement against untouchability and possibly facilitated a settlement among the various communities, and the consideration of the larger constitutional issues in a calm atmosphere. Those of us who feel that civil disobedience has done us no good but has done us harm and must be abandoned also feel that the present policy of the Government has produced only superficial results, and that there is emergent need for the removal of the deepening bitterness among large sections of people, which can only be done by a change aiming at the harnessing of all co-operative forces for the achievement of a new constitution and its successful working. I earnestly appeal to friends there not to miss the opportunity created by the new sentiment against untouchability for inaugurating a new general era of peace and goodwill."

No more important or significant message from India has reached here for some time, and it is to be hoped that it will have its full effect in the proper quarters.

#### FATHER VERRIER ELWIN.

Since his arrival in this country Father Verrier Elwin has been rendering very valuable service to the cause of India. His is a most delightful and disarming personality. He is frankness and straightforwardness personified. He has made some very powerful and useful friends here. The full story of the cancellation and the reissue of his passport may not yet be told. One of these days doubtless the facts will be available for publication, and they will prove very enlightening. In the meanwhile, Father Elwin is making preparations to leave England tomorrow upon his return to the Ashram among the Gonds in the jungle of Kanjaria in the Central Provinces, where he expects to arrive about the middle of next month.

He was entertained this afternoon by a number of friends, to whom he related the circumstances in which this Franciscan endeavour originated, and the nature of the work among the Gonds, to which he and his colleagues have set their hands. If, therefore, reason is asked why, Father Verrier Elwin should have disappeared from the haunts of men and

absorbed himself in his mission to the exclusion of all other activities, a primary reason will be found in the fact that he places before himself this duty first, and this reason must, for the time being, suffice. It was but natural that the good wishes of the gathering should be expressed in characteristic language by C. F. Andrews, who looks upon Verrier Elwin with all the affection and solicitude of an elder brother.

#### ANDREWS.

"C. F. A.", as he is known to his intimates and large numbers of others who love his personality from a distance, is the subject of a loving tribute by Miss Agatha Harrison in the "Christian Century", published in New York, and dated the 28th September. Miss Harrison herself is at the present moment a pivotal figure in all activities relating to the welfare of India, and for Indians she is best known as one of those mainly concerned in the proceedings of the World Commission on Indian Labour and in her capacity as one of Mahatma Gandhi's secretaries at No. 88, Knightsbridge. One of these days we may hope to get from her the story of that historic epoch. In the meanwhile it suffices that in this article she has drawn a loving and sympathetic picture of C. F. A., whose secretary she has constituted herself ever since she came under the auspices of Mrs. Alexander Whyte, the mother of Sir Frederick Whyte.

C. F. A.'s latest activity, upon the invitation of the Chairman of the Congregational Union, one of the most important Nonconformist Christian bodies in this country, has been to attend the Annual Conference, at Wolverhampton, and to address there a gathering representative of nearly one-thousand Churches scattered over the whole country. His subject was the necessity of urgent endeavours by the conciliatory means to restore friendly relations between this country and India, and the most sincere and sympathetic exploration of the possibilities not only of giving effect to the Poona Pact, but of developing and capitalising the spirit of goodwill engendered by the Government acceptance of the Pact, and Mahatma Gandhi's expressed desire to reconsider his position. C. F. A. pointedly urged that it did not lie in the mouths of British Christians to condemn too emphatically the caste Hindu attitude towards their own untouchables so long as in British lands racial untouchability remained the slur upon the Christian profession of faith that he had found it to be in many of those lands. Who shall say after this that C. F. A. is lacking in a sense of mordant humour?

#### INTERNATIONAL VIEWS ON INDIA.

Whilst the India League is making preparations for the return of its delegation from India and the holding of a Conference and a public meeting in London on the 25th November, at the Kingsway Hall, under the chairmanship of Lord (Mr. Bertrand) Russell, I am in receipt of an announcement of the public meeting held on the 6th instant in the Salle Centrale, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mrs. E. Pethick-Lawrence on "India and Peace", where one of the speakers announced is Munshi Iswar Saran, who is also one of the members of the Executive Committee of the International Committee for India. A very interesting letter addressed to the delegates of the Thirteenth Assembly of the League of Nations, and dated October 2, has been addressed by a number of members of the International Committee, in which attention is drawn to the need to promote a better relationship between the peoples of India and Great Britain in the interests of world peace and world unity. The writers conclude: "We are convinced that peace can only be truly secured when India is in control of her own destiny".

## Reviews.

### ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY.

**THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE ECONOMIC WORLD TO-DAY.** By L. W. WHITE & E. W. SHANAHAN. (Longmans, London.) 1932. 21cm. 378 p. 6/-

It is not an exaggeration to affirm that even to many of the finished products of our universities the essential features and problems of post-war economic life and the complex working of the modern economic system furnish perplexing phenomena which they are unable to correlate satisfactorily with other characteristic features of the structure of modern society. The educational system in vogue, which encourages the study of history from one of two extreme view-points, namely, either a too purely doctrinaire insistence on theory or a too distinctly historical bias is, no doubt, responsible for these glaring and inexcusable gaps in knowledge. A deplorable result of such pedantic and lop-sided teaching of history is that, while tremendous trifles like the chronological sequence of unrelated events or the genealogical trees of royal lines are crammed down the overloaded memories of our student population, the true economic significance of events that form veritable landmarks of history is sadly neglected in the ordinary history text-books and, as a result, is missed entirely by the student. The book under review is the result of the determination on the part of the joint authors to correct this distorted mode of presentation so far as English history is concerned and to view the facts of English history along a true perspective and, in such a manner as to enable high school students, for whom the book is mainly written, to obtain a clear grasp of the antecedents and the underlying economic principles of social and political phenomena of the present day.

In this attempt to lay correct stress on the economic aspect of history and to follow the industrial evolution of England through the methods of applied economics the authors of the book have attained a commendable degree of success. The book is divided into two parts: the first deals with the history of economic and social changes effected in England from Tudor times down to the present day, and the second supplements the valuable conclusions arrived at in the first, by successfully correlating them to the present-day economic system and the numerous problems that it has given birth to. Mr. White, who is the author of the first part, unfolds the panorama of England's economic development with great understanding and consummate mastery. The establishment and decline of the mercantile system, the agrarian revolution and after, the significant developments which followed the industrial revolution, the establishment of free trade, the colourful history of the trade union movement from its hesitant and apologetic beginnings to its triumphant emergence as one of the dominating factors of British politics—in fact, the whole series of transformations in the economic life of England from the fifteenth century to the present day, are presented in the first part in a series of vivid tableau scenes which, because of their clear-cut outlines, are sure to find a secure lodging place in the memory of even the most casual student. Instructive though the first part is, the book finds fruition in its second part, in which Dr. Shanahan takes the student through the perplexing maze of the modern economic system and explains its anatomical structure with admirable lucidity in language adapted to the intellectual level of the average high school student.

Though written as a text-book for high school study, the book, however, furnishes sufficient pabulum for even advanced students of the college classes. The chapters on the structure of modern capitalistic industry, the mysteries of high finance, the violent oscillations of trade figures, international trade and unemployment are particularly valuable in so far as they take the inquiring student behind the scenes and explain, with commendable attention to detail, the currents and cross-currents which are ceaselessly at work in shaping economic evolution. The book closes with a careful study of the more important current economic and social questions, and here, an analysis of the present-day conflict between labour and capital, rightly monopolises the stage. The subject is handled with scrupulous impartiality and the reactions of labour and capital to the movement for the ensurance of greater distributive justice and social equality are analysed with a meticulous restraint which frees the book from the charge of showing bias on what is admittedly a difficult problem to handle. In this context, the book deals briefly with the international labour movement and gives a clear analysis of the constitution, functions and record of achievement of the International Labour Organisation, Geneva. The book would prove a useful addition to all school and college libraries and deserves a place on the shelves of all students of modern economic and labour problems.

K. E. MATTHEW.

### THE INDIAN CRISIS.

**TRUTH ABOUT INDIA: CAN WE GET IT?**

By VERRIER ELWIN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1932. 105p. 1/-

THIS is an attempt to enlighten the British public on the situation in India by one than whom Mahatma Gandhi can boast of few more devoted admirers. To his devotion Father Elwin has also added a firsthand knowledge of Indian conditions acquired as a result of prolonged stay in the country and of personal study. We do not know that he has yet formally joined the Congress; but it is doubtful if the presentation of its case by an avowed Congressman himself would have very much differed from Father Elwin's. While this would for obvious reasons lessen the value of the pamphlet in the eyes of those for whom it is mainly intended it is far from saying that the view of the Indian situation during the last nine months or so which is presented in the book by him is untruthful or deliberately misleading. It may perhaps strike some as a bit one-sided; but how could the author help it with all his partiality for the Congress and the Mahatma?

Who forced the present conflict? The author's answer is, of course, the Government. He seems to concede that the period of truce last year was utilised by both the Government and the Congress for consolidating their respective forces; but in common with advanced political opinion he questions the need of the U. P., Bengal and N.-W. F. P. Ordinances promulgated towards the end of last year and opines that the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the deportation of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave clear proofs of the warlike mentality of the Government towards the national organisation. The point whether when the Mahatma left London last he did so with official assurances that he would have opportunities of discussing the Ordinances with the authorities in India has been shrouded in some mystery. But so far as the Bengal Ordinance at any rate is concerned, Father Elwin categorically states that it was none other than the Premier himself who had asked him (the Mahatma) to place his point of view

before the Viceroy and to use his influence to turn the Bengal terrorists from the path of violence. The unfortunate refusal of Lord Willingdon to see him and discuss the Ordinance with him was thus the immediate cause of the present Indian crisis. Mr. Brailsford was quite right when he wrote, as he did at the time, that "it is fantastic to summon Mr. Gandhi to London to discuss the rights which Indians shall enjoy tomorrow and at the same time to refuse to listen when he would defend such rights as they ought to enjoy today."

But we have gone into Father Elwin's narration of past events at greater length than we had intended. The real question is: what of the future? The way out of the present impasse is, he suggests, "to grant India her claim," which probably means the Congress demand. His solution is doubtless simple; but the trouble is that Great Britain does not consist only of Elwins. She has her Churchills and Hoares as much as Elwins and unfortunately for this country it is the former that predominate. And to them Father Elwin's remedy is sure to be unacceptable. However that be, there can be no doubt that Father Elwin has rendered a valuable service as much to India as to his own countrymen by telling them something, by means of his pamphlet, about the difficulties of the Indian situation.

In conclusion, the author's attention may be drawn to a slight inaccuracy occurring in his second footnote on p. 35. There he describes Sir Abdur Rahim as a member of the Round Table Conference. It is well known that Sir Abdur Rahim has not served on either of the two conferences so far held.

D. V. A.

#### RUSSIAN SOLUTION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

**EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN PRE-WAR AND SOVIET RUSSIA.** By SUSAN M. KINGSBURY & MILDRED FAIRCHILD.  
**SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING IN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.** By V. V. BOLENSKY-OSSINSKY & others. (International Industrial Relations Association, The Hague, Holland.) 1931 22cm. 132, 168 p.

THESE two reports submitted to the World Social and Economic Congress held at Amsterdam last year deal with the phenomenal changes that have taken place in Russia during the last several years since the five-year-plan was put under way in 1928.

The first report is a document of great interest to all those who are faced in this country with the problem of unemployment. Statistical tables and graphs bring vividly before our mind's eye the manner and method by which the problem of unemployment is being solved in Russia. Increased production and the starting of new industries have played no small part in bringing about the result. The fact that the number of the unemployed was brought down from 1,772,500 in April 1929, to 633,400 in July 1930, shows how active and enthusiastic the Russian Government is in solving the problem of unemployment. This they have been able to achieve "with a better development of the activities of the Commissariat of Labour and of the Trade Unions in retraining and transferring workers to districts where labour shortage occurs." It is gratifying to note that all skilled workmen are now employed and that the unemployed are those who are new and unskilled.

With the reduction in the number of the unemployed the growth of industrial output has been remarkable as will be found from a study of the tables in the report for the period under report.

The Russian Government also claim to have increased the productive capacity of the labourer. They say that the value of output by a single worker has risen in 1928-29 by 138% since 1913. There has been a rise also in the wages in 1928-29 by 40% above the 1913 level. These are no mean achievements by any means. In a country like India where hundreds of thousands of young men swell the ranks of the unemployed, efforts may be made by the powers that be to organise big national enterprises to utilize the country's resources and to develop the existing industries that are now in a state of inertia, and thus solve the problem of unemployment.

The second report is a supplement to the first. How by social and economic planning like the Soviet five-year-plan unemployment has been reduced to an appreciable extent is the theme of this paper. It attempts to prove that by collectivization of national industries values of individual initiative and self-expression could be preserved. The report further says that since the experiment has proved to be a phenomenal success in Russia, the principles underlying the Soviet five-year-plan are worthy of adoption by the whole world. The first chapter in the book deals with the plan and the principles underlying it. The other chapters deal with the "planned economy in operation."

These two reports are obviously propagandist ones urging on the countries of the world the adoption of the Russian methods, as the only remedy for the preservation of peace and the welfare of humanity.

S. R. V.

#### PROBLEM OF TRADE DEPRESSION.

**THE DEPRESSION AND THE WAY OUT.** By R. G. HAWTREY. (Longmans, London.) 1931. 21cm. 83p. 2/6.

MR. HAWTREY is well-known to the students of Currency. In his opinion, the monetary theory of trade depression, though too simple for a situation complicated by many and various economic evils, still offers an explanation of one important class of economic disorders and indicates the remedy for them. "It does not pretend" to state it in his own words, "that a community perfectly free from monetary fluctuations would have no economic disorders at all." This is his apology for his treatment of the present subject from an isolated point of view. This reminds one of the fads that are characteristic of modern specialists. All maladies are traced by the dentist to something wrong with the teeth, by the optician to something wrong with the eye and so on. And economic disorders have not escaped the fads of economic experts. That explains Mr. Hawtreys position. He is a very zealous advocate of the monetary theory of trade depression and invariably traces all economic evils to monetary disorders. He recognizes other causes but subordinates them to the monetary cause. No wonder then that his diagnosis is not perfect and his remedy not infallible. Maldistribution of gold, anarchy in the control of world's credit and all monetary troubles are symptoms of a far deep-rooted cause—viz. maldistribution of income among individuals, and classes and nations. This fact is not fully appreciated by the author.

However, the book, so far as it goes, makes delightful reading and contains a searching enquiry into how the trouble began and how anarchy in the world's credit control since the war led to the present depression. The principles are elucidated clearly. But we are naturally more interested to know how best we can get out of the present muddle than how we have got into it and so the chapter "On the Way Out" will

be read with great interest. "It is quite clear," says the writer "that the only satisfactory way of escape from the trade depression is by the restoring of the normal process by which the banks lend and generate incomes and demand." This remedy is far too simple for the situation. Mr. Hawtrey attempts to meet the objections that are raised against the solution but with little success. He treats the central banks as dole distributing centres and sometimes as the institutions which can endlessly create wealth. The creation of new money by purchase of securities, as desired by Mr. Hawtrey, is not equal to the creation of wealth and will not necessarily lead to the creation of wealth and stimulate demand. He recognizes this and prefaces his prescription with a big 'if.' "If the measures," says he, "for expanding credit are effective that by itself will create demand, raise prices and improve the position of all debtors." The position of the debtors may improve but that of the creditors will decline. This will only make the remedy worse than the disease.

Then he examines the obstacles to measures of credit expansion. "Any one country which starts expanding credit, if it succeeds in inducing a revival in its own business conditions, finds itself *losing gold*. If all countries are equally afraid of losing gold all will be afraid to begin." He blames America for losing the first opportunity in 1928-29 and England for not playing a decisive part in averting the depression and for shirking the responsibility as the centre of world's credit. One asks: is it *the fear of losing gold or the fear of losing employment i. e.,* creating more unemployment that offers a serious obstacle to credit expansion by individual States in the absence of international understanding? Nations of the world have been acting since the war as if they are still in the mediæval mercantile stage of economic evolution. They have failed to recognize that gold is not wealth, that creation of credit is not production, that the economic order to-day presents a greater solidarity of interest and calls forth far higher co-operation and interdependence of individuals, classes and nations than ever before and that one cannot continue to be prosperous while another is sinking into misery and poverty. The economic war which nations of to-day are unconsciously engaged in and consciously preparing for in the name of safeguarding their own interests undermines the economic order based on universal solidarity and brings about economic and political deadlocks. What is wanted is not merely concerted action by central banks to expand credit which the author prescribes but much more. What is needed is the concerted action of all nations of the world and of all classes in the nation realizing that the security of one lies in the equal prosperity of others.

K. S. VENKATRAMAN.

### HINDUS IN GUJARAT.

**HINDU FAMILIES IN GUJARAT. BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR DOMESTIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.** BY GOVINDBHAI H. DESAI. (The Baroda State Press, Baroda.) 1932. 20cm. 472p. Re. 1/13.

AS mentioned in the preface, the book is on western models. This sociological study has its own significance and use. The author, though a native of the province, has done his work in an impartial way and is outright in his criticism of superstitious beliefs and ignorant and uneconomic habits of his own people. But this is no mere biting sarcasm but sympathetic and constructive survey. Gujarati society is

changing fast, and many old-worn traditions are giving place to rational and scientific notions of life. The education of women, the raising of the age of marriage, the attempts at economies in expenditure on social functions and others, are approvingly noted by the author. The swadeshi, the anti-untouchability and prohibition movements have brought on the province a new outlook and enthusiasm. The religious creeds and their philosophies and observances are detailed, but as elsewhere, it is the external formalities of religion that count with the vast masses in Gujarat. Baroda, a progressive State, is in Gujarat and it is far ahead of British India in many respects. In the last chapter on some economic problems, the author emphasises the need for vigorous and sincere rural reconstruction work of the type undertaken by Messrs. Amritlal Thakkar and Motibhai Amin to better the lot of the rural population, who are in a majority in that province. Ignorance, illiteracy, uneconomic social customs, inefficient cattle, lack of subsidiary industries, lack of sufficient short and long term credits and want of marketing facilities, fragmentation of holdings and old methods of cultivation are some of the problems which need solution for the betterment of rural Gujarat and its population.

Hindu life in Gujarat is not very different from that in other provinces. The Jain element is no doubt preponderatingly large in Gujarat and has served to make the Hindu population more humanitarian and vegetarian than elsewhere. But as elsewhere superstitious tradition is the source of authority for the majority of people.

N. S. S.

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