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Topics of the Week.

The late King.

THE death of King George V on Monday last will cause universal grief in all parts of the globe, not so much because of the loss of the head of the British Empire as of his personal popularity. He was proclaimed King on May 9, 1910, though it was not till June next year that the formal coronation ceremony took place. But his association with India dates back to the year 1905 when as Prince of Wales he paid an extended visit to it. The firsthand knowledge of this country and its people which he then acquired doubtless stood him in good stead in his later years. Of his sympathetic insight into problems concerning India unmistakable evidence was available in the Proclamation personally made by him at the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi in December 1911. A fresh bond was forged between him and this country by the memorable message breathing a spirit of sympathy and goodwill for the Indian people and mentioning Swaraj as the goal of their political ambitions, which was graciously sent by him through the Duke of Connaught who represented him at the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

OBSERVERS of contemporary events will have no difficulty in remembering that the late King's reign was signalised by several happenings of world-wide importance, not the least important of which was the great war. The example of devotion to duty and of the sacrifice of personal convenience and comfort for the common good which he then set was deserving of

very high praise. The Irish crisis, in whose solution King George V is universally acknowledged to have played from behind the scenes a very important part, also served to make his regime memorable. The establishment of the Union of South Africa took place in the early years of his reign. It is not intended to give a catalogue of such events here; even a brief mention of them is beyond the limits of space allowed to us. We cannot however help referring to the Statute of Westminster passed in December 1931, which defined the constitutional status of a Dominion. Its importance from the constitutional standpoint it is impossible to overrate. It is an irony of fate that within a year of the celebration of the silver jubilee of his reign, in which the whole Empire joyfully participated, it should be called upon to grieve over his death.

* * *

Late Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale.

RAO BAHADUR R. R. KALE, whose death at Poona on Friday last is deeply to be mourned, was a true blue-blooded Liberal. His Liberalism was not, as is sometimes the case, a matter of convenience or fashion, to be put away when not in fashion or public favour but to be publicly exhibited when paying. It was a matter of deep faith with him. Indeed his faith in it was so unshakeable that he did not shrink from risking his success at the election for its sake. Even when it was clear that his chances at the polls would have undergone a decided improvement by his wearing the Liberal label less markedly, he it said to his credit that he disdained the idea of lowering the flag. Many a less robust Liberal, similarly circumstanced, would have been an easy prey to the temptation without any qualms of conscience. Mr. Kale was however not cast in that mould and his steadfastness to Liberal principles was an article of abiding faith with him, which inspired all his political work. His regime first as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and later as the Leader of the Opposition was characterised by many stern fights in the cause of popular liberty.

* * *

RAO BAHADUR KALE was not only a politician. He also laboured assiduously in the social and religious fields on the lines laid down by his guru, Mahadeo Govind Ranade. His interest in questions relating to female education and to the uplift of woman generally was not theoretical but often assumed a practical shape. And the touching tributes paid to his memory at the cremation by representatives of the public of all shades of opinion bore eloquent testimony to the catholic nature of his work and charities. It may be recalled that it was only in July last that he handed over his splendid house in Satara to the Indian Women's University to serve as a habitation for its local high school.

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NOR was his work in the cause of local self-government less onerous or praiseworthy. For more years than one cares to remember, he was connected with the Satara Municipality and Local Board and in fact died as the head of the former. In everything that he undertook, Mr. Kale was most unsparing and his regime as President of the Satara Municipality will be long remembered with gratitude by the Satara public for the various reforms which characterised it.

TO the Servants of India Society in particular, his passing away is in the nature of a personal loss. An associate of the Society, he always took keen interest in its work. But the establishment of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, which was the result of his munificent donation of a lakh of rupees to the Society, brought him and the Society still closer together. The activities of the Institute are not intended to benefit any particular section of the Indian public or any one part of the country; it is an institution which by its labours will benefit the whole land. It is thus an all-India institution and the whole country has reason to feel grateful to Rao Bahadur Kale for his large-heartedness in endowing the Institute. It speaks volumes as much for his desire to remain in the background as for his devotion to the Gokhale school of thought that he chose to name the institution after the founder of the Servants of India Society. To his daughter and son-in-law Mr. D. R. Gadgil, the Director of the Institute we offer our most heart-felt condolence.

The late Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala.

THE death of Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala in London on Thursday last was as unexpected as it is lamentable. It is reported that he was quite hale and hearty till a few minutes before the heart attack which proved fatal. But the attack itself was of such exceptional virility that Mr. Saklatwala succumbed to it before medical help could be summoned. It may not be generally known that Mr. Saklatwala was a near relative of the late Mr. J. N. Tata, the industrial pioneer; and that he began life as an employee of the firm which bears that honoured name. Mr. Saklatwala, however, later began to develop communistic proclivities with the result that a clash between his revolutionary views and capitalism represented by his employers could not long be averted. It eventually came in 1925 when Mr. Saklatwala had to go under. That at such a crisis in his life he chose to stick to his principles rather than to his lucrative and comfortable job makes him out to be a man who placed his principles before everything else. His gifts as a speaker are universally described to be of a very high order. Indeed his success at the British Parliamentary elections is largely attributed to his oratorical skill. The cause of Indian freedom for which he laboured all his life is distinctly poorer by Mr. Saklatwala's death.

Statesmanship.

THE *Statesman* of Calcutta, which claims to represent European opinion sympathetic to Indian aspirations, has no doubt heard of objections which Indians urge against the new constitution, but the objections of which it is aware are only those which proceed from people who think that the constitution is far too advanced. Nor can it conceive of anyone who can stigmatise an Act "which establishes provincial autonomy and provides for a responsible federal government at the centre" as a reactionary piece of legislation. Well, if what Indians have so far said has not penetrated its mind nothing that we may

now say is likely to do, and we will not make the attempt.

THE proper rôle for Indians to play, according to our contemporary, when some proposals are put forward by the British Government, is to say, "How excellent! They cannot be improved upon." Indians, however, even of the Liberal Party, have a slightly different conception of their rôle. If the *Statesman* were capable of reflection, we might have invited it to ask itself why the very politicians who gave discriminating support to the Montagu constitution and undertook to work it in a friendly spirit now feel compelled to call for the withdrawal of the Hoare constitution and to declare that, if it be thrust upon India, they can only work it in a hostile spirit.

THE *Statesman* feels certain that the hostility not only of the Liberal Party, but of all the progressive parties in India is foredoomed to futility. It may be so, but their constant endeavour will be to reduce the imposed constitution to an utter futility. Time alone will show whether our contemporary's anticipations prove true. It bids Indians to take note of "what is happening; outside India in the exceedingly dangerous world we live in." We only wish British statesmen—and the *Statesman*—realised the danger of having to face a hostile India in a dangerous situation which at any moment may arise for Great Britain and the British Empire.

Tribute.

PRINCESS ALEXANDRINE GR. CANTACUZENE of Roumania, Vice-President of the International Council of Women, with other delegates of the Council, paid a visit to the headquarters of the Servants of India Society during the delegation's visit to Poona on Sunday last. Asked whether she had heard of the Society, the Princess said: "Most certainly, I know your work; because in Europe everybody knows that you are soldiers of peace, of liberty, equality and fraternity, and that you are working in India in a missionary spirit to help the poor and to raise the down-trodden. The great ideal of humanity which you are labouring with such devotion to translate into a reality in your sphere receives added significance and gives encouragement to all who stand for love and good-will between man and man all the world over. No one can help feeling the utmost respect for India which can produce such a beautiful example of catholicity and self-sacrificing service."

The Deccan College Case.

THIS case was an off-shoot of the action of the Bombay Government in closing the Deccan College on grounds of retrenchment. This gave rise to the problem of the disposal of the College buildings. In making his donation of about Rs. 1¼ lakhs for the establishment of the College, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy the Second Baronet, had insisted that the buildings, of the College must always be used exclusively for educational purposes. Could the buildings be sold to the organisers of the proposed Parsi Public School within the terms of his gift? The point being shrouded in some doubt, Government themselves came to the District Court at Poona for direction in the matter.

THE case was decided last week, the Judge Mr. Nanavati vetoing the proposed sale, though he is far from holding that the Government was bound to keep the Deccan College in existence. He says it is only

a moral, and not a legal, obligation on them. All the same, Government is strongly blamed in his judgment for shutting down the old institution with something of an indecent haste. Their invitation to public bodies to submit offers for running the College was a sort of make-believe, in that the time allowed for the purpose was inadequate and no indication of the financial assistance that such bodies might expect from Government in case they decided to shoulder the onerous responsibility of running the College was forthcoming. Eventually he comes to the conclusion that no "genuine and satisfactory effort had been made to continue the application of the trust property for the uses for which it was intended."

BUT what next? One of the conditions with which Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy the second Baronet's donation for the establishment of the Deccan College was coupled was that the land and buildings when erected were to be conveyed to trustees for exclusively educational uses for ever. This has not been done so far. Mr. Nanavati naturally insists upon the satisfaction of that condition by the donor by the Secretary of State conveying the property to a board of trustees on lines approved by the Court. To this end the Advocate General is called upon to frame a draft scheme giving the names of the proposed trustees and the draft constitution of the board with suitable provision for its expenses and for keeping the property in repairs. It is almost a foregone conclusion that the matter will not be allowed to rest here but will be taken to the High Court and if need be, even to a higher appellate court by Government.

Bombay Land Mortgage Bank.

THE inauguration by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay on the 15th inst. of the Provincial Land Mortgage Bank marks the completion of the organisation of the machinery for land mortgage credit. The agriculturist, as is well known, is deeply involved in debt. Short term credit of the kind provided by co-operative societies has been found to be of little use for the purpose of facilitating his redemption. His only hope of release from the clutches of the money-lender thus lies in the land mortgage banks which will supply him with long-term and cheap credit.

THE history of the movement for land mortgage credit dates back, as pointed out by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Chairman of the Bank, to the year 1920, when the problem of a separate organisation for land mortgage credit was first discussed among co-operators in this presidency. A practical step towards its solution was taken two years later when at the Gujerat Divisional Co-operative Conference a committee was appointed to go more fully into the question. The Committee in its report recommended the establishment of land mortgage banks on a co-operative basis with a central land mortgage bank at the head. A scheme of land mortgage banks which subsequently emanated from the co-operative department was considered at a conference called by the Minister in 1926, when the task of preparing a detailed scheme was remitted to a committee. The scheme which bore the imprimatur of this committee was approved by the Government more than nine years ago. But it was not till early in 1929, that three land mortgage banks, one each at Dharwar, Broach and Pachora, had come into being. An idea of their operations can be formed from the fact that the amount lent to them

during the last six years was nearly Rs. 5 lakhs and the number of persons financed 248. What is however more to the point is that their activities led to a reduction in the agriculturists' debt by 12 per cent. It may be stated that the number of primary banks has now gone up to 13 and that they had received 300 applications for loans aggregating to Rs. 3 lakhs.

THE birth of the central bank inaugurated last week is however to be directly traced to a co-operators' R. T. C. convened by Government in 1933. A committee of the Conference not only recommended the formation of additional primary banks but stressed the importance and necessity of the establishment of a central bank or a banks' bank. The paid-up share capital of the Bank is to be Rs. 5 lakhs and it would be empowered to issue debentures to the tune of a crore of rupees, provided the issue was sanctioned by Government. For the present, however, debentures to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs only are to be issued, though the Government had been authorised by the legislature to raise the limit to Rs. 50 lakhs.

IN impressing on the management the need of caution in advancing loans, the Governor said: "The great lesson to be derived from the working of these primary banks is that there must be no bad debts and no arrears, and that the success of the bank depends upon the extent to which this standard is attained. . . . Where the primary banks are cautious, the Provincial Bank must be doubly cautious, for it is the financial foundation of the whole organisation." For its part Government too have taken measures to secure the bank's credit. These include a guarantee by it as to capital and interest of the debentures to be raised and a promise to grant a subsidy to cover any deficit in working up to a maximum of Rs. 10,000 in the first year, falling to Rs. 5,000 in the third year. Let us hope that a bank, started under such favourable auspices, will before long make a solid contribution to the reduction of the chronic indebtedness of the agriculturist.

Italian Propaganda.

MAJOR NEIL HUNTER testifies in the *Spectator* to the earnest efforts made by Abyssinia to put a stop to slavery, although slavery exists in many African colonies of the European Powers. He says, "My investigations seem to indicate a real attack on the problem" by the Negus. Referring to the voluminous document submitted by Italy to the League of Nations, the writer says:

Not long ago the Negus, in a broadcast speech appealed to the League of Nations to send out an independent commission of inquiry to investigate how much truth there might be in the Italian allegation. In that connection an Ethiopian friend, who was at one time Consul in Eritrea, draws my attention to a photograph included in the Italian dossier, depicting a wretched creature stretched on the ground, bound hand and foot, receiving a brutal flogging. As it happened, my friend observed in the photograph a type of lamp-standard which exists nowhere in Ethiopia, but happens to be the kind which he himself saw in Asmara, the capital of the Italian colony of Eritrea. He was quick to admit that floggings do occasionally take place in this country for very serious offences, but certainly not on the wholesale scale on which they are almost daily administered in Eritrea for the most trifling misdemeanours. There is a certain audacity in the indictment by such a government of present Ethiopian administration.

Mass Conversion of Harijans.

THE *Pioneer* writes :

The circumstances in which mass conversion of Harijans to Christianity is reported to have taken place in the villages of Agra District are, to say the least, unfortunate, both from the point of view of the fold which has received them and from that of the Harijans themselves. It is stated that previous to the conversion, mass meetings of Harijans were held at which the Hindu religion, Mahatma Gandhi and the Hindu Mahasabha were consigned to the pit with appropriate epithets. There is nothing wrong in Harijans, who have been oppressed for centuries, letting off steam against those who have been responsible for their persecution. They are also free to think that the Hindu Mahasabha's protestations of sympathy originate from no further than the lip and that Mahatma Gandhi is not going all out in their cause as he has done in the political field. But that missionaries should be waiting outside to catch them on the rebound, as it were, is a phenomenon which must be seen to be believed. Religion is undoubtedly at a discount everywhere. But that does not take away from the fact that conversion from one faith to another should be preceded by discourses on the virtues of the faith to be embraced rather than vilification, even though it may be justified, of the one that is to be renounced. A distinguished Hindu once told an Englishman, "We Hindus marry first and fall in love afterwards." Christian missionaries and Harijans seem to have extended this principle to religion. But with what results time alone can show.

* * *

Net Result of Warfare.

WRITING on December 31, 1935, from London, the military correspondent of the *Statesman* thus describes the net result of three months' warfare in Abyssinia as follows:

Looking at the campaign with the dawn of 1936, an assessment of the first three months seems to incline the balance in favour of the Abyssinians. The policy of General de Bono was one of gradual occupation, and his armies were built up on this basis with territorial objectives for 1935 not much farther than those now obtained. There was, however, a tactical objective which did not materialise. The Abyssinians were expected to attack, and the defeat of their forces would have been the first shattering of the morale of the army; the dissipation of many elements by submissions; and the raising of Italian

prestige. Some surrenders have occurred, but in the main the north holds solid under Kassa and Seyum whose watching brief as cover of the main army farther away in the hills has been carried out with unexpected restraint, and whose raids have upset the Italians more than once. It is due to these leaders that no tactical success has been secured by the invader over the very considerable forward defending forces, and so the 1935 campaign ends with the defending army intact and unbeaten and the country unconquered except for practical areas not far from the Italian frontiers. The reply to evading and delaying tactics was to secure contact and force a fight. General de Bono's army was too heavy, and too road-tied for its maintenance to secure this, or more than occupational results; his exposed flanks forbade any quicker forward movement, and his roads gave out under the strain of thousands of vehicles for a too large army. In the south the defenders have not attacked but await the further lengthening of Graziani's 600 miles of lines of communication.

The situation did not please the authorities in Rome who requested Marshal Badoglio to submit a new plan, and then ordered him to carry it out. The defenders have therefore some claim to consider themselves successful in the 1935 operation in denying tactical success to the invaders and keeping their own main bodies intact during the process of re-arming; while at the same time covering all lines of advance with screens of mobile troops, none of which has been dispersed after three months in the field. The Abyssinians hope to keep the Italians from getting farther than Alija in the north and Sasa Banch in the south, up to the beginning of the rains. The central arc with its two supply routes from the sea would then be intact for use during the wet months when the armies would be finally prepared for decisive operations. The Abyssinians have the advantage of working on interior lines. Addis Ababa is the hub of a wheel on whose outer rim are the covering troops for the main bodies well back in the circle. This arc will contract as the Italians advance until it is round the hills in front of the capital in fortified positions. The supply lines would then change over to the west and run from the Sudan railway. This is the final position, assuming that the Italians are able to unite their forces across the railway during 1936. So far the outer rim of the wheel as it stood in October remains in its original circle, such actions as have taken place being forward skirmishes. The decisive campaign is estimated to run from October 1936 to March 1937.

THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT.

II*

WE shall now indicate briefly the conclusions regarding trade in some of the most important export commodities using the figures given in the two official reports and the latest statistics as given in the "Indian Trade Journal" of 5th December 1935. The figures in brackets represent the values of the exports to U. K. for the years 1933-34 and 1934-35.

Tea (Rs. lakhs 17,56; 18,15.):—This is by far the most important article of export from India to U. K. and it was generally agreed at the time of the inauguration of the Ottawa arrangements that it was likely to profit somewhat from the preference. Even so it was clear that Indian producers had to depend on such a wide area for their market that protection in a single important area which would

naturally result in intensified competition in other non-preferential markets was not in the long run of much real help. This was early realised by most producers of tea in India and Ceylon, and they had, therefore, directed their energies towards arriving at an arrangement with their most important competitor—Java. An international scheme for the regulation of world tea exports was arrived at in May 1933 and has been in operation since. Hence for almost the entire period of the currency of the Ottawa agreement exports of tea to various countries have been regulated by national agreement among the main producers. The course of tea trade may be said, therefore, to have been entirely unaffected by the preference and no useful purpose can be served by discussing the statistics thereof. The Tea Restriction Scheme is working successfully and there is every prospect of its continuing to operate at least till 1938. Under the

* The first article appeared in our issue of the 16th inst.

circumstances the grant of preference to tea becomes meaningless and may be considered as of no account.

Dressed and Tanned Hides and Skins (Rs. lakhs 5,30; 4,86):—In the class of undressed leather (other than sole) for which preference has been granted to Empire products India supplies to U. K. tanned and dressed hides, and tanned and dressed goatskins and sheepskins. In all these products U. K. is by far the most important market for India and India the most important supplier to U. K. In 1927-28, for example, India supplied more than 90 per cent. of the total imports of tanned and dressed hides and goatskins into U. K. During the years 1930-31 and 1931-32 the Indian exports to U. K. of hides fell remarkably and so did their share in total U. K. imports. Since 1933 they have attained to their former position and it is presumed that the preference was helpful in enabling them to do so. In the case of skins the loss of market to others during the worst years of the depression was not large and hence there has been no considerable advance in the percentage share since 1933. The goatskin market being almost entirely dominated by India, there is no scope for further advance. In sheepskins the fact that one of the competing sources of supply—Australia—is an Empire country limits the possibility of the remaining portion of the market being easily captured by India. This particular measure of preference, though it may have been helpful in enabling Indian exports in rising rapidly from the sharp fall in the depressed years, is not of a character likely to lead to a continuously expanding market. Seeing that these products have no important competitors in the U. K. market a free entry is all that is really needed by them.

Jute Manufactures (Rs. lakhs 1,56; 1,56.):—In the U. K. market the imports of jute manufactures from India have to meet practically no competition. This will be made clear from the figures of trade in jute bags and piece goods on the eve of the ratification of the Ottawa agreement, i. e. in 1932.

	Imports into U. K.	Imports from India.
Jute sacks and bags '000 cwts.	730.2	707.4
Jute piece goods '000 sq. yards	68.6	67.3

It will be seen that in both cases India held more than 96 per cent. of the total U. K. market. There was no possibility of the preference further widening the market and no important movement of trade has, therefore, been visible during the years since 1933. Here is another case where what is really required by the Indian producer is not so much preference as merely free entry.

Linseed (Rs. lakhs 2,01; 1,28.):—It was generally agreed in 1932 that linseed was a crop which was most likely to profit from a preferential treatment. The trade figures for 1933 and 1934 show a most revolutionary change in the imports of linseed into U. K. During these two years India supplied much larger quantities of linseed than Argentine, which has during the post-war period been the chief supplier to U. K. This change seems to have been chiefly due to a shortage of crops and an increase

in price of the Argentine linseed. On account of the shortage of crops in Argentine the demand for Indian linseed increased not only in U. K. but in the entire world market. It is the relation between the prices of Plate linseed and Indian linseed that determines the off-take in the U. K. market and throughout 1933 and 1934 this was greatly in favour of India. No doubt the 10 p. c. preference must have been of some help in bringing this about, but the main reason was undoubtedly the crop conditions. This is made clear by the fact that the moment the Argentine crop and prices reverted to their normal, the imports of Indian linseed into U. K. declined heavily. The following table shows the imports into U. K. of linseed during the first nine months of the years 1933, 34, 35.

	1933.	1934.	1935.
Total '000 tons	182.1	152.2	173.3
India "	68.0	109.6	36.1
Argentine "	109.9	42.2	136.4

Groundnuts (Rs. lakhs 67; 1,70):—There has been a substantial increase in the imports of groundnut from India into U. K. and this may be partly attributed to the preference given to Empire groundnuts. There are two points, however, to be noted regarding this trade. Firstly, India is not the sole Empire exporter of groundnut. British West Africa grows groundnuts on a considerable scale and its imports into U. K. have benefited very largely from the preference also. The possibilities of future expansion of the Indian market into U. K. are, therefore, limited by the strength of the competition of the W. African produce. The second point to be noted is the possibility of the substitution of groundnut by other oil-producing products. We had in our examination of the Ottawa agreement drawn attention to this feature of the oil seeds market and confirmation of it is available in the latest Government of India report on the agreement. It is here pointed out how the non-Empire imports of soya bean and cotton seed are increasing in spite of a duty and how this limits the market for groundnuts in U. K.

Castor Seed (Rs. lakhs 33; 31):—The U. K. market in castor seed was always held almost entirely by India and no difference has been made to the former position by the grant of preference.

Rice (Rs. lakhs 43; 50):—Preference may be said to have helped India to retain the U. K. market or slightly to increase it. The whole of the rice trade with U. K. is, however, unimportant and the position is best expressed by pointing out that while U. K. received in 1932-33 3.8 % of the total Indian exports of rice, in 1934-35 it received 4.8 % of these. The significance of the loss of rice markets of Germany and Poland is discussed elsewhere.

Teak and other Hardwoods (Rs. lakhs 49; 69):—Preference has been granted to teak and other hardwoods and as teak is by far the most important of the exports from India it amounts practically to a preference for teak alone. India had even before the agreement been supplying U. K. with more than 80% of her total imports of teak-wood

and this percentage has not increased during the last two years. The imports of teak have grown largely in recent years, but this has nothing to do with the grant of preference. Imports of all hardwoods into U. K. from all sources—Empire and non-Empire—have grown owing most probably to the boom in building and constructional industries and the Indian imports of teak-wood have merely shared in the general movement.

Tobacco (Rs. lakhs 47 ; 35):—We had pointed out in our review in 1932 that from the analysis made by the Imperial Economic Committee it followed that preference to tobacco could be of no use to India. We export a very small proportion of our total production and what tobacco we exported was not of the type wanted in U. K. Dr. Meek's report and the latest Government of India report follow the same lines of analysis. The figures for both the years 1933 and 1934 show that with a large increase in the total tobacco imports into U. K. the figure of Indian imports is stationary, which means a large proportionate decline in India's share.

Coffee (Rs. lakhs 30 ; 21):—Indian coffee has always had a small but select market in U. K. and it was not expected that a small measure

of preference could much help it, even though the main competitor in the U. K. market of Indian coffee was non-Empire coffee from Central America. The result of the trade during the last two years shows that the proportion of U. K.'s share in Indian exports and the absolute volume of these exports have both declined. There has been during these years a large and continuous decline in the total imports of coffee into U. K. The decline in Indian imports into U. K. was proportionate in 1933 but was less than proportionate in 1934. This, however, was entirely due to a short crop in British E. Africa, as is shown by the fact that the proportionate share of Costa Rica—India's chief competitor—also increased during this year. It would seem from the latest available figures that for the year 1935 even the 1932, 1933 position cannot be retained and that the share of Indian imports of coffee into U. K. will decline relatively both to British E. Africa and Costa Rica.

Imports into U. K. of Coffee for the first nine months.

	1933.	1934.	1935.
Total '000 cwts.	553.0	495.2	407.3
India	44.8	49.0	29.3
B. E. Africa	195.0	107.3	151.0
Costa Rica	231.4	225.4	177.4

D. R. GADGIL.

A NEW RACE IN SEA ARMAMENT ?

NO one who is at all familiar with the recent trend of events in Japan will be surprised at her withdrawal from the London Naval Conference. Japan having denounced the Washington Naval Treaty, the agreement will lapse at the end of this year. The London Naval Treaty will also expire at the same time, and thus unless some new agreement is reached we shall be back again at an international race in naval armaments, like the one that we saw prior to the Washington Conference.

This Conference could adopt the rough and ready method of stabilising the sea armaments of Great Britain, the United States and Japan in capital ships and aircraft carriers at their then existing strength, counting among these vessels those already built and building at the time. It was unnecessary to take into account the special needs and requirements of the different countries, but the ratios so arrived at, of 5 : 5 : 3 for Britain, U. S. and Japan (we leave France and Italy aside for the present), suited the countries admirably. These ratios established a nice "equilibrium of defence", giving each country the naval strength that is required by its defence needs but not giving it such overwhelming strength as to expose others to a risk of aggression. The Washington Treaty placed Japan no doubt in a position of inferiority so far as tonnage went, but it gave her equality of security. For the effect of the Treaty was to give each of the three major maritime Powers supremacy in its own waters: Japan in the north-west Pacific, U. S. in the north-east Pacific and to Britain in the south Pacific and the Indian Ocean. U. S. abandoned part of her programme of ship-building which, if it were proceeded with, would have threatened Japan's dominating position on the Asiatic

mainland. The Treaty also prohibited the three Powers from acquiring new naval bases or launching on further fortification of the existing bases, with the result that neither U. S. nor Great Britain could take the offensive against Japan in the region in which she was principally concerned. Thus, with a lower naval strength, Japan was assured of supremacy in the Far Eastern waters.

In return, however, Japan had to give a pledge to commit no aggression upon China. She signed, along with other Powers, a Nine-Power Treaty, by which she agreed to respect China's sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity, to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain an effective and stable government, and to use her influence for the purpose of effectively establishing and maintaining the principle of the Open Door throughout Chinese territory. The Washington Treaty limiting naval armaments was thus based on and was an integral part of the settlement of the political issues in the Far East embodied in the Nine-Power Treaty. Repudiation or violation of the latter could not but endanger the former, as the U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, declared early in 1934 :

No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding or equilibrium which was intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating these provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent.

By the conquest of Manchuria and Jehol and the invasion of Shanghai and North China, however, Japan has torn up the Nine-Power Treaty, and U. S.

can thus well claim, even if Japan wished to abide by the Washington Treaty which of course she does not, that the Washington ratios have no longer any validity. Thus everything is thrown once more into the melting pot.

But Japan has never been really reconciled to the Washington ratio. At the London Conference in 1930 she demanded the ratio in the naval strength of U. S. and Britain on the one hand and Japan on the other of 10:6 to be replaced by a ratio of 10:7 in cruisers and destroyers and equality in submarines. This demand was not fully acceded to, but had to be granted in large measure. In cruisers with 8-inch guns Japan accepted the lower ratio, but in 6-inch gun cruisers and destroyers she was allowed the 10:7 ratio, and in submarines she was permitted to have as much tonnage as U. S. and Britain. Her demand has now increased. She is determined to secure recognition of her right to parity with Great Britain and U. S. in naval strength. First, she thinks that national honour and prestige dictate that she should not be placed in a position of inferiority; secondly, she feels that her needs of naval defence have now grown because she is now responsible for the defence of the Manchukuo State and will have to play a large part in the defence of other blocks of territory in Northern China. This claim to equality must be granted to her, moreover, without a discussion of the political questions concerning her incursion into Manchuria, Inner Mongolia or North China. She stipulated, before the present Naval Conference assembled or even before the earlier bilateral discussions took place between her and Great Britain, that only technical questions in limitation or reduction of naval armament could be discussed, but no questions of a political character connected with them. Thus an impasse was reached. Japan would not allow her doings in the Far East to be questioned or taken into consideration in settling the naval question, and U. S. felt unable to come to a naval agreement with Japan except on the basis of a political agreement in the Far East.

Great Britain, in such a situation, suggested another method of reaching an agreement as to the limitation of naval armaments. She was willing, in deference to Japan's objection, to abandon the principle of ratio altogether. She proposed to ask the various naval Powers what would be the strength of the navy they proposed to have in 1942, hoping that the answers received might suggest some way of accommodating the differing view-points. But this procedure, as the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Bolton Eyres Monsell as he then was, recognised on March 14, 1935, is open to serious objections. "If countries are asked to put down in figures (what their ultimate naval requirements may be) no country is likely to err on the side of moderation, and they may put in figures what they have no earthly chance ever of attaining or which in many years they may not be able to attain owing to political or financial restrictions. But when a country has publicly stated what its ultimate requirements are, you may be quite sure that some section of the

public of that country will always be demanding of its Government to build up to that figure, and, as so often happens in these things, the maximum becomes the minimum."

Great Britain's chief hope, however, lay in a mutually agreed programme of qualitative limitation, i. e. of limitation of the size and types of different ships. The capital ships allowed under the Washington Treaty were of 35,000 tons displacement and with 16-inch guns. Great Britain now desired these ships to be reduced to 25,000 tons with 12-inch guns; cruisers limited to 7,000 tons with 6-inch guns; aircraft carriers to 22,000 tons with 6-inch guns; and submarines drastically reduced if their abolition was impossible. U. S. seems unwilling to agree to a reduction of the size of capital ships, cruisers and aircraft-carriers on the ground that the absence of naval bases in the Far East makes it necessary for her to employ, as she has always contended, ships with a long cruising range, but she is agreeable to abolish submarines. She, however, urged a general reduction of 20 per cent. in the tonnage allowed under the Washington and London Treaties in all categories of ships. England is not prepared for this. On the contrary she wants the number of cruisers allotted to her to be increased from 50 to 70. This figure is absolute and not competitive or relative to the number of cruisers other countries may have. "Our security will always demand," said Sir B. Eyres Monsell, "a certain strength independent of other ships and naval forces in the world. For instance, even if there were no other cruisers in the whole world this country must have a certain number of cruisers to protect our food supplies, for the late War showed us what infinite harm can be inflicted on our trade routes merely by merchant ships armed and turned into raiders." Great Britain therefore feels unable to reduce the numbers of ships, but she hopes to achieve, by a reduction of the size of battleships, to effect the same result as U. S. hopes to achieve by reducing the number. U. S. would reduce all categories of ships by 20 per cent.; Great Britain would reduce the size of battleships by 28 per cent. In 1930 the British Government was agreeable to the abolition of the battleship. In a Memorandum prepared for the London Conference for that year, it was stated:

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the battleship, in view of its tremendous size and cost, is of doubtful utility, and Government would wish to see an agreement by which the battleship would in due time disappear altogether from the fleets of the world.

Now the Government has completely veered round to the contrary view. In the White Paper issued in March last year it said:

In the Main Fleet the capital ship remains the essential element upon which the whole structure of our naval strategy depends.

But this is not a point of view that is generally accepted. Admiral Sir M. Sueter expressed the opinion last year in the House of Commons that a battleship is now proved to be "a lame duck"; that it is exceedingly vulnerable; that it is useful only for engaging other battleships but not useful for

covering the cruisers; that the £8,000,000 or so that it costs is really money wasted; and that it should be scrapped. This point of view, however, about the inutility of the battleship which is shared by many naval experts, the British Government has definitely given up.

Anyway Japan refused to mention her naval requirements. She claimed equality in naval forces with the other two major Powers, but she professed her willingness to keep down to however low an upper common limit these Powers would agree to. Within the limits of the aggregate strength that would be allowed she asked for freedom to distribute her tonnage over different categories of vessels. Vessels which are offensive in character she offered to abolish altogether; other powerful vessels she offered to reduce drastically and further she offered to put a large proportion of her tonnage into less powerful vessels needed for the purposes of defence and for patrol services. Japan regards the battleship and aircraft-carrier as offensive ships and the submarine as defensive, but U. S. and Great Britain regard the former as defensive and the latter as offensive. In fact Japan's chief complaint against the ratio system is that all categories of ships being subject to the system, she is required to construct ships which, though costly, are not so useful and has to refrain from constructing ships which, though less costly, afford greater protection. And she protests that in asking for an allowance of the same global tonnage as for U. S. and Britain, her desire only is to develop her navy along lines that are in conformity to her needs.

Thus the divergence between the standpoints of U. S. and Japan is complete in every respect. U. S. has declared that for every three ships that Japan would build beyond the Treaty strength she would build five, thus maintaining the Treaty ratio. Here are all the materials that are needed for a keen armaments race. The only counteracting forces that one can foresee are a section of public opinion in U. S., which would let Japan build to the top of her bent without worrying too much about it, and the financial straits of Japan. In the budget for 1936-37 the Fighting Services are demanding, it is said, 1,400 million yen out of a total expenditure of 2,000 million yen or 70 per cent. The revenue of course is much less, the deficit being met by borrowing. "The budget of the War and Navy Ministries for the period of 1932-35 makes up a total of 3.5 billion yen. The so-called 'extraordinary expenses', which have gone into armaments and technical equipment for the army, the Manchurian forces and into naval construction, make up another 1.6 billion yen. During 1933-35, 777 million yen from the War budget were paid out to civilian industries in a large number of war orders. The above figures include only visible military expenses, expenses which appear in the official military budget. To this we should add the considerable sums that figure in the budgets of other Ministries and in the special budgets of the South Manchuria Railway, the Nippon Steel Company at Yawata and others." Japan's aggrandisement may thus yet be arrested,

but the Naval Conference does not contribute in any way to the result if it comes about.

Reviews.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY'S POLICY.

LABOUR'S WAY WITH THE COMMON-WEALTH. By GEORGE LANSBURY.

LABOUR'S WAY TO PLAN PROSPERITY. By DAVID GRENFELL, (Labour Shows the Way Series.) (Methuen.) 1935. 20cm. 119 and 118p. 2/6 each.

THE two books under review, though of very unequal merit, have a common purpose, viz. educating the British voter in the views of the British Labour Party on several topics now claiming the attention of the British Government. Peace, socialism, banking and finance, prosperity, land, health and happiness, work and leisure are some of the topics discussed by representative labour leaders in the various volumes of this series, which is of great topical interest and which is issued under the general editorship of Major C. R. Attlee. To the general reader in India the book of Mr. Lansbury is obviously of more direct importance than any other in the same series. In his book Mr. Lansbury, the respected Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, at the time, has chalked out the essentials of the policy which Labour would try to follow with respect to the imperial responsibilities of the British nation if he and his associates were to come into power.

What Mr. Lansbury says on this subject does immense credit to his sense of justice and patriotism. He bases his advocacy of the Indian cause as much on the inherent claims of the Indian situation as on the needs and interests of Great Britain itself. Mr. Lansbury was the Leader of Opposition when the new Government of India Act was receiving consideration at the hands of Parliament. His judgment on the provisions of that Act should immensely interest readers of this journal, as a similar judgment consistently expressed in these columns has often been criticised as an exaggeration or a perversion. Mr. Lansbury feels that the safeguards under the new constitution have taken away the measure of financial freedom that the Government of India and the Indian legislature have enjoyed under the Montagu Act, that these safeguards and other restrictions prejudice India's advance towards full responsibility and that the new constitution contains no seeds of growth in itself. The extension of the powers of law-making without reference to the legislature conferred upon the Governor-General and the Governors by the new constitution has also been noticed by Mr. Lansbury. If the new constitution is described as retrograde, restrictive and unworkable we would be keeping within the scope of the findings of Mr. Lansbury.

The most interesting part of Mr. Lansbury's treatment of India's position is, however, to be discovered in his long-range view about the situation in the Far East and the Pacific. Mr. Lansbury realises that sooner or later the yellow races will combine or will be welded into common opposition to the claims of the white man, not only in Asia but also in Australia and America. Much as Mr. Lansbury would sympathise with the Japanese claim to equality with western powers, he discerns in the present Japanese challenge the incipient germs of as malignant an Imperialism as any other. In a likely struggle between Japan and the British Em-

pire India would turn the scales. Mere passive acquiescence on the part of India will not avail and hence Mr. Lansbury's insistence that the first tenet in the Imperial or, as is now the mode, Commonwealth policy should be to secure the friendship of India. There is much to be said in favour of this view, but the British politicians, particularly of the parties of the Right, do not care for the happenings the day after. Drift and grudging concession have ever characterised the colonial policy of England when it had to deal with non-British races. The hostility of Ireland and the indifference of South Africa are principally caused by this undesirable trait of British statesmanship. In the interests of both countries, as also of the Empire, one wishes that it were otherwise with India. For the present at any rate the counsels of reaction have prevailed. But it is not too late to follow Mr. Lansbury's advice to withdraw the measure which is 'thoroughly hated' and to throw the responsibility on Indians to frame their own proposals.

As the virtual independence of the major Dominions has been recognised by the several Imperial Conferences and by the Statute of Westminster, Mr. Lansbury has not much to say about them. He has, however, expressed his views in unmistakable terms about the white oligarchy in South Africa. If Labour were to come into power the dispensations in the Dominions, he promises, would be so altered as to place the interests of the natives in the forefront and to promote among them the cause of democracy and socialism. These are very pious intentions indeed, but between the extremely backward condition of the natives themselves and the growing political independence of the Dominion it is very doubtful how far these and similar intentions will ever fructify. In the meanwhile the just claims of the immigrant Indians are suffering a progressive attenuation, from which even the Agent-General to the Government of India is not altogether able to save the brown settlers.

Mr. Lansbury expresses the thorough dissociation of Labour from all policies of intensive exploitation of the backward colonies which are as yet under Crown government. Not only is he prepared to accept a common I. L. O. code of labour regulation for all tropical colonies, but if the other Imperialistic powers agree he would even welcome the application of the League's mandate to all colonial possessions. These sentiments do great credit to their author, but on his own premises it would be relevant to ask, why should the acquiescence of the other colonial powers be felt necessary by Great Britain to give the lead in such a good cause. Long has Great Britain led the world in the processes of Imperial expansion and consolidation. May it not now lead in reformation and appeasement without waiting too punctiliously for the other Imperial powers to fall in line? This book of Mr. Lansbury should be read by every publicist in India as it contains all that the better mind of England has to say about the complicated issues with which the British Commonwealth of Nations is faced.

From Lansbury to Grenfell is a very big stretch. The main theme of Mr. Grenfell's book may be summarised in the following words: "There is poverty in the midst of plenty. Plan to abolish poverty." In elucidation of the first part of this theme the author has trotted out the usual popular denunciations of capitalism. Private enterprise is condemned as the villain of the piece, and the establishment of social control over production is suggested as a suitable successor to occupy the rightful position. True to the reformist traditions of British Labour Mr. Grenfell does not insist on going the whole length of nationalisation of industries at one bound. He

would be satisfied if the major industries are immediately put under state regulation, through a National Planning Commission. Mr. Grenfell clearly supports the proposal for land settlement and development of agriculture, but his views on the extent and manner in which tariffs are to be used appear to be inconclusive. In fact the whole book suffers from an incomplete comprehension of the inner workings of the less obvious features of modern capitalism and of the implications of a planned economy. If this brochure was all that the Labour Party had to offer the British electorate by way of a reasoned analysis of the present economic position of the United Kingdom and the most likely way out of the admittedly bad pass, the relative ill-success of its candidates can well be understood. Before Labour hopes to secure the reasoned conversion of a large number of voters to its economic programme a much more satisfactory exposition of its case than what is contained in the present book will have to be offered. Mr. Grenfell's book, however, is not without its interest as an expression of the typical Labour leader's views on the so-called problem of poverty in the midst of plenty.

D. G. KARVE.

POST-WAR ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.

LECTURES ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF POST-WAR PRICE CHANGES. LECTURES DELIVERED AS SIR KIKABHAI PREMCHAND READER, 1934. By K. T. SHAH. [The Delhi University Publications, No. 6.] (University of Delhi.) 1935. 22cm. 251p.

IN these lectures which were delivered before the Delhi University in March 1934, Prof. K. T. Shah has chosen a much wider field of research than their title indicates. Instead of being content with the purely monetary causes of price movements, the author has attempted the much more difficult task of giving a kaleidoscopic survey of the various intricate political and economic forces which have made the post-war world what it is. Although it may outwardly appear that the world has more than made good the colossal loss of power and productive resources which resulted from the Great War, still the economic depression through which we are passing at present is indirectly traceable to the operation of some altogether new influences which the War brought into being. The creation of new political frontiers whereby old economic relations were snapped and manufacturing centres were deprived of their natural sources of raw materials and markets, the recrudescence of the evil philosophy of self-sufficiency, the division of the international banking business between London and New York which has increased the vagaries of capital movements, the great stimulus received by invention and rationalisation and, last but not least, the tangle of reparations and debts which have convulsed the domestic economy of both the creditor and debtor nations—all these factors have received an exhaustive treatment in this book.

One feels, nevertheless, that the author's analysis of the monetary aspect of price changes could have been more up-to-date. It is surprising that a lecture delivered in 1934 on the "Law of Price-Making" should contain so little besides an elementary discussion of the quantity theory of money, without any reference to the epoch-making work done by Keynes, Robertson and Hayek. The disparity between saving and investment caused by the hoarding of bank balances by businessmen and consumers, the repeated diversion of current income from the purchase of final goods or genuine productive purposes to mere trading on stock exchange (which, I believe, was the

essential cause of the Stock Exchange crisis of 1929), the vicious circle of retrenchment and fall in prices, one aggravating the other, a failure on the part of the monetary authorities to discover and execute an appropriate monetary policy in the face of a bewildering rise in industrial and agricultural productivity—these monetary factors, which are as important as the non-monetary ones and some of which are only occasionally touched upon by the author, deserve a more illuminating analysis in a book devoted to price changes.

The chapter on the "Russian Experiment" which is crowded with unnecessary details could have been made more interesting by the addition of at least a few critical comments on the success or failure of the Five Year Plan. The lecture on the "Period of Depression: 1929-34" which is the most important part of the subject, is perhaps the least satisfactory of the whole group. If the reader expects in this chapter a lucid explanation of the various factors which led to the breakdown of the gold standard, such as one finds in Part I of the Macmillan Report or Books VI and VII of Mr. Keynes's *Treatise on Money* which are the classics on the subject, he is sure to be disappointed. Half the chapter is occupied by a straightforward reproduction of the recommendations of the expert committee appointed by the World Economic Conference of 1932.

Yet, in spite of these faults, it must be admitted that the great mass of information with which the book is packed from cover to cover makes it a useful contribution to the historical literature on the subject. Besides, it possesses considerable literary merit, which is in evidence more in the political than in the purely economic sections.

B. N. ADARKAR.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE INDIAN PEASANT AND HIS ENVIRONMENT. By N. GANGULEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 21cm. 230p. Rs. 7.

THIS is a collection of stray letters and diary-entries of the author, written during a period of twenty years, from 1911 to 1931. This period includes the great European War with its economic dislocation and the Royal Commission on Agriculture. In this book, we get glimpses of the work of this Commission and also of the way in which the labours of the Commission have been utilised by the Government. The author quotes Sir Daniel Hamilton's complaint that in the Reforms the Indian ryot has been left out in the cold. Increasing pressure on the land, debt and illiteracy are held to be the main causes of the present condition of the peasant. Government action with respect to land reform, reorganisation of credit facilities, mass education, improved sanitation and effective local bodies, is urged as being necessary for any improvement in rural conditions.

The foreword by a liberal Englishman is revealing. He says: "It is characteristic of India that the small sum set aside to carry into effect some of the recommendations of the Commission, should be largely lost in the dry husk of administrative expenses". When we remember that the policy of the India Government is controlled by the British, we can appreciate fully this characteristic of India.

Throughout the letters, one finds many references to the experience of various workers viz. that caste or the social system is never a barrier to the earnest worker. This is perfectly understandable by those who have any close experience of village life. Human sympathy counts more than caste or social

system or even Government authority. And yet we find the author making such a fetish of what he calls the mediaeval socio-religious system of Indians. No hint or help is given for overcoming this supposedly deadly barrier to both rural and political progress.

Rural workers throughout India will find many encouraging statements in this book. Consolidation of holdings on a permanent basis; organisation of proper market facilities whereby at least part of the huge profits made by a host of middlemen may be diverted to the pockets of the ryots; and the absolute necessity of awakening the intelligence of the villagers and teaching the illiterate how to think and act for themselves are all touched upon. The establishment of colonies is mentioned but is not pursued to a satisfactory conclusion.

The author seems to think that the Queen's proclamation is in the way of necessary social legislation. This position seems untenable in the face of the quantity of social legislation passed by the Central and Provincial Legislatures during the last fifteen years, and the definite acceptance by the Government of birth as a qualification or disqualification for appointments in its service. Recent parliamentary debates also seem to indicate that only Acts of Parliament are obligatory, all the rest including proclamations, promises and pacts being merely so many pious expressions of opinion. This makes one believe that if our legislators only will, any kind of social legislation can be passed.

Criticism and even sneers at Congress and Gandhiji are fashionable and do no particular harm perhaps. The key of rural development is in the hands of the educated young men of the country. There is always the danger of some overzealous official impeding this work on political grounds. If this can be secured against and if some of our young men who do not know what to do with themselves turn their attention to whole-time rural work, they will be sure to find for themselves not only useful but absorbing work of a most healthy kind. For young men with such inclinations, the book gives many valuable hints. It would have been so much more useful if the author had written an epilogue giving us the outlines of a definite scheme of rural development.

G. S. KURPAD.

PROBLEM OF IRELAND.

FACING THE IRISH QUESTION. By W. S. ARMOUR. (Duckworth.) 1935. 20 cm. 270p. 5/-.

THIS book embodies an attempt at a detached consideration of the Irish question. The author's qualifications for dealing with the Irish problem are of the best. In an introductory chapter extending over 55 pages the author recounts his antecedents but we feel that his autobiographical account is rather too long. The author is half-Irishman and half-Canadian and has had a long career of Imperial service. He was in India for nearly ten years during which he held five important posts. After his return from India he became the Editor of the Belfast *Northern Whig*, but had to sever his connection with the paper as his frank expression of views on the burning questions of the day did not find favour with the "age-long deities of the place".

The main thesis of the author is that it is the spirit of ascendancy in Belfast that is the stumbling block to the successful solution of the Irish question. This spirit has made the Six Counties popularly known as Ulster "into a mass of granite, unswerving and unyielding, a kind of Gibraltar."

The late Lord Carson did not create this spirit, for it has been in existence ever since the days of the Penal Laws. The author points out how the resistance organised by Lord Carson to Mr. Asquith's Home Rule Bill was merely a manifestation of the Plantation spirit which had long been in existence. From the date of the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act "Belfast was a centre of defiance to every measure from every Government, Whig, Liberal or Conservative, which in any way conflicted or seemed to conflict with the interests of the presiding deities of the place." (p. 172).

The author condemns the partition of Ireland and rightly throws the blame on Ulster. He feels that if the union between the two Governments is effected, the desire for a republic would disappear. Northern Protestants need have no fear of the tyranny of a Catholic majority in a United Ireland, for in the Irish Free State the Protestant minority is treated well and the quarrels in that State have been political and not sectarian. The author wants both North and South to approach the problem of a United Ireland in a spirit of good will. He wants the Irish Free State to respect the Treaty of 1921, for otherwise she will be playing into the hands of the opponents of the Treaty who prophesied that the Irish could not be trusted. At the same time he condemns England's economic blockade of the Free State, for its only effect has been to attach the dissident elements in the Free State to de Valera. He pleads for harmony between England and the Free State and hopes that the statesmanship of England, which brought the French Catholic and English-Protestant Canadians into the Dominion of Canada and the Dutch settlers and English Colonists into the Union of South Africa, will succeed in setting up a United Irish Dominion within the Empire.

The book does not contain anything new. There is too much repetition in the book. Its only merit is that it is an impartial statement of the Irish problem.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

MODERN MARATHI LITERATURE.

AJAKĀLCHĀ MAHĀRĀSHTRA (Marathi). By PRABHAKAR PADHYE and S. R. TIKEKAR. (Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay.) 1935. 20cm. 366p. Rs. 3.

AJAKĀLCHĀ MAHĀRĀSHTRA written by Mr. Padhye and Mr. Tikekar offers a refreshing contrast to the heaps of books of poems and novels that pour from the press in a ceaseless stream. This thought-provoking book is an intelligent and interesting review of the progress of the thought of the Mahārāshtrians from the times of Shivaji to the present day in a brief and analytical manner. If some topics of the day are left untouched it is merely because of the limited canvass that is spread by the authors. Such a big subject as that cannot be dealt with exhaustively in a volume or two but needs a series. And yet it might fairly be said that the book is a good guide to get oneself acquainted with the thoughts of to-day and yesterday on a broad scale.

The book, being a short survey, is sure to leave enough room for differences of opinion, but it is on account of a particular standpoint of the authors of looking at things that such differences arise. For example, the great movement of the Mahārāshtrian saints cannot be viewed from the materialistic angle of vision. It would be unfair on our part to judge this movement by the standards that we set and the ideals that we cherish. For, as needs change from epoch and epoch, so too standards

and ideals. And when the authors denounce the saints in their ecstatic moments and the rendering of the Gita into Marāthi, calling it a thankless task, I say they have certainly lost ground and try to measure ethereal things "that never were on sea or land" by drab earthly standards. In fine, the collection of the Abhangas and books like Dnyāneshwari are the richest treasure and the highest water-mark of Marathi literature.

There are also topics on which many of us would agree only to differ from the writers. Being taken up by the western ideas, the writers want to pull down the whole of the old fabric of society and to build it anew on Marxist principles. That, in India, such a plan as this is not feasible and therefore is a utopia is obvious. For society is never built; it grows. The plan is just like a shimmering soap-bubble. No sooner our earthy hand touches its rainbow-coloured glory than it vanishes into nothingness. On general principles almost all of us may agree. It is only when we come to the details of Marxism that we see our differences from everybody else become sharp-lined and unbridgeable.

Leaving aside such differences of opinion (they are few but sharp), the writers, in a well-nigh impartial way, have traced the causes of the decline and fall of the Marāthā power to the indiscipline of the Sardars, the pennilessness of the merchants, the absence of centralised authority, the wretched condition of the farmers, and the deplorable and abominable state of the priesthood. The falling off from the high ideals of Shivaji also hastened the fall of the Peshvas. Then followed the miserable period of stagnation which is described in a telling style by the writers, and at last the "shades of the prison-house closed upon" this unfortunate country.

The authors, then, impartially and unhesitatingly, have dealt with the progressive development of the Mahārāshtrian mind from the times of Deshmukh onwards. Broadly speaking, the life of a nation is the lives of its great men and, therefore, the writers have closely analysed the progressive and regressive thoughts of the great men of Mahārāshtra like Deshmukh, Ranade, Bhandarkar, Chiplonkar, Agarkar, Tilak, Gokhale, etc. Of these, it must be specially mentioned, the writers have thrown a new searching light on the works of Deshmukh and Chiplonkar and have cleared our vision about Deshmukh. As a matter of fact, we know very little of Deshmukh and what glimpses we get of him we get through the perverse outlook of Chiplonkar who has levelled against him the most scathing and biting criticism to the effect that even the characteristically liberal thought of Deshmukh is almost wiped out from the mind of Mahārāshtra. Thus Deshmukh is restored to his due position; Chiplonkar portrayed in his true colours; and Agarkar, the neglected child of Mahārāshtra in his times, extolled to the skies.

Lastly, we find in Tilak—an Indian of exceptional parts—a unique harmonisation of divergent thoughts of the above-mentioned great men, and perceive an amazing unification of the special features of everyone of them. The authors have immensely succeeded in revealing Tilak's works in all their aspects. Tilak's life-long achievements bear ample testimony to his burning patriotism, incorrigible optimism, incessant work and many other qualities. This and the succeeding chapter on post-war Mahārāshtra are written in a very engaging style.

It is a pleasure to see the authors succeed in giving in a nutshell the analysis of the thought of the last three centuries of Mahārāshtra. A book like this was a great desideratum, and I congratulate

the writers on their having made a good addition to Marathi literature.

A. G. MANGRULKAR.

SHORT NOTICE.

A TEXT-BOOK OF CIVICS AND ADMINISTRATION. By A. BHAGAVAN DOSS. (Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore.) 1934. 20cm. 160p. Rs. 1.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN CIVICS. By K. KRISHNA IYENGAR. (Sathya-Sadhana Publishing House, Bangalore.) 1934. 20cm. 306p. Rs. 2.

WITH the spread of democratic ideas in this country and the moulding of the Indian constitution more and more in conformity with the principles of a parliamentary type of government, there has been a growing recognition of the study of civics in most of the Indian Universities. It is now commonly agreed that a true civic consciousness at least among the educated masses is a condition precedent to and quite essential for the success of a fully responsible government in India. We therefore heartily congratulate the Mysore University upon the introduction of civics at the S. L. C. Examination, though to some this may appear a little premature.

The two books under review are primarily written as text books to suit the curriculum of the High School classes. They both make a lucid and direct approach to various topics under their purview. There is a fine touch of national sentiment and glory of the past that tickles our feelings and makes the reading more spicy. We would however like to note one difference. Mr. A. Bhagavan Doss seems to have a closer eye on making his book a readable text for students from the examination point of view and as such his book in some places is too sketchy. Mr. K. Iyengar however is more intent upon stressing the Indian aspect of civic life and quotes Sanskrit

words and phrases for this purpose. This smacks a little pedantic. The study of civics as a science is more recent and too much influenced by Western thought.

We strongly recommend both books not only to examiners but also to the general reader as they bring in a small compass the essence of civic life to the fore.

S. G. PURANIK.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WAR CLOUDS IN THE SKIES OF THE FAR EAST.** By TOM IRELAND. (Putnams.) 1935. 21cm. 452p. \$2.75.
- MARKETING AGREEMENTS UNDER THE AAA.** By EDWIN G. NOURSE. (The Brookings Institution.) 1935. 21cm. 439p. \$2.50.
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