

# The Servant of India

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Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XIX, NO. 9. } POONA—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1936. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

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## Topics of the Week.

### Gokhale Day.

THE anniversary of the death of Mr. Gokhale was as usual celebrated at Poona, Madras, Allahabad and many other places on the 19th inst., when glowing tributes were paid to his memory. One of the most notable of these tributes came from Dr. G. S. Arundale. Speaking at the Madras meeting, he said:

The most interesting feature about his (Gokhale's) life was that he took every situation as it was and tried to improve it. He was a practical idealist and not the impatient idealist that so many of them had become—perhaps been constrained to become—since Mr. Gokhale's time. Mr. Gokhale's self-control, and one-pointedness were worthy of being remembered even by those who were impatient idealists; for he brought to his idealism certain qualities urgently needed at present. The speaker would look upon Mr. Gokhale as a King Arthur of Indian political life, endowed with all the "chivalry, fineness, graciousness and fragrance of King Arthur." Gokhale never descended to hate; he always controlled his language; he was an extraordinary student, who impressed all by his accuracy, his perfect grasp of the subjects he dealt with, his chivalry in controversy and the clarity of his presentation.

### The Bombay Budget.

THE speech delivered by the Bombay Finance Member in presenting the budget for the year 1936-37 to the Legislative Council was extraordinarily short, uninformative and complacent in tone. As this is supposed to be the last occasion for the Finance Member to present a budget under the Montford constitution, an attempt was made in the speech to take stock of the financial position during the last fifteen years. The stock-taking amounted,

however, to nothing more than the usual grumble against the Meston Award. No attempt was made, (largely, one supposes, because it would have been inconvenient to do so) to trace the increase in the variety and intensity of taxation, nor was any examination made of the varying proportions of increases in expenditure in various departments during this period. That the Meston Award has throughout handicapped Finance Members in this Presidency is very generally admitted; but a recapitulation of the iniquitous nature of the Award could not absolve the Finance Member from the responsibility of analysing how, competently or otherwise, within the field set he and his predecessors had accomplished their task. If even the most elementary analysis had been essayed we feel sure that the Finance Member could not so complacently have claimed for Government "advance in all directions" during the last fifteen years.

IN one respect the Finance Member finds himself in a distinctly happier position than his immediate predecessors. For, though the current year is now expected to end with a nominal deficit of Rs. 27 lakhs and a true deficit of Rs. 52 lakhs, the prospects for the ensuing year are very much brighter. This is due to no special effort on the part of Government, but is merely the result of the impending separation of Sind. This means to Bombay finances an improvement in the neighbourhood of nearly Rs. one crore. Allowing out of this for the present deficit, the Finance Member estimates for the ensuing year a net surplus on the existing basis of Rs. 45 lakhs. This surplus is, however, not kept in hand but is entirely disposed of in various ways. The most important items in this additional expenditure are (Rs. lakhs) 9 abolition of tolls on bullock carts, 6¼ rebates in the first year of the motor vehicle taxes, 6½ primary and secondary education, 5 civil works, 6 pension charges, 5 1/2 reforms expenditure. We are also glad to note among these additional items a grant of Rs. 50000 to the Indian Women's University. It is surprising that the Finance Member vouchsafed almost no explanation of the character of the additional expenditure and gave no reason as to why, they were given precedence over other possible items of expenditure. In the same way he did not explain why instead of balancing the budget with a precarious surplus of Rs. 41,000 he did not postpone some of the expenditure items. It is to be hoped that the ensuing budget discussion will throw the light, that one expects usually from the Finance Member's opening speech, on a number of these and allied questions.

### Railway Economies.

THE general discussion on the Railway Budget in the Central Legislature was marked by suggestions from non-official benches for bridging the gap bet-

between its revenue and expenditure sides. The suggestion that found general favour was that if the strategic railways were taken over by the Military Department, the deficit in the railway budget would be reduced by two crores. The rate of interest on capital locked in Indian railways was universally described as unduly high. If this could be made to approximate to the present market rate, Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmed estimated that a saving of five crores could be effected. Administrative reorganisation of the different railway lines, if resorted to on a systematic plan, would also, he thought, result in a saving of three crores in overhead charges. We hope these suggestions would be carefully looked into by the Government and such of them as are found practicable speedily given effect to.

INSTEAD of concentrating on such large-scale economies for the purpose of balancing the budget, it is proposed to increase third class fares, which will add to the difficulties of people of moderate means. It was therefore in the fitness of things that a strong protest was entered against the step by popular representatives in both Houses. It is also well that the evil of ticketless travellers is soon going to be tackled by an amendment of the Railway Act. It has been estimated that about three millions of people annually use or misuse the different railway lines without payment of the prescribed fare. The problem is thus of a serious nature and can no longer be connived at. But if the underlying motive of the proposed amendment of the Act is to secure a considerable improvement in railway earnings, it is more than doubtful if the expectation will be fulfilled. For most of the ticketless travellers are mendicants and poor pilgrims who more often than not lack the means to pay for their journey. Even if the corresponding financial gain be inconsiderable, there can be no doubt that the undesirable practice deserves to be put down as much as possible. At the same time, care must be taken to safeguard bona-fide losers of tickets from unwelcome police attentions.

#### Sections 30 & 34, Cr. P. C.

SARDAR SANT SINGH'S Bill, the Assembly decided, should be circulated for the expression of public opinion thereon. This Bill seeks to delete sections 30 and 34 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the former of which empowers Local Governments in certain provinces to entrust the trial of serious cases triable elsewhere by Sessions Courts to Magistrates. The only limitation on their powers imposed by Section 34 is that they cannot pass a sentence of death or of transportation or imprisonment for more than seven years. This procedure, as can be easily seen, places the accused at a serious disadvantage by depriving him of the privilege of being tried with the help of a jury or assessors. If, as desired by the mover, these two sections are removed from the statute book, the trial of serious cases by any but Sessions Judges will become a thing of the past. The Bill thus deserves and will, we hope, receive cordial welcome by the public.

THE official plea for the retention of these sections rested largely on grounds of administrative convenience. It was pointed out that Magistrates appointed under section 30 took on an average one-third the time taken by Sessions Judges for the disposal of cases coming before them. It may be granted at once that the procedure leads to a speedy disposal of cases, which is however not the same thing as ensuring justice. Magistrates, being responsible for the maintenance of peace, start with a natural bias

in favour of the police with the result that justice oftentimes fails to be done. As a matter of fact, Magistrates under section 30, depending as they do for their promotion upon the favourable opinion of District Magistrates, were described in the course of the debate as convicting Magistrates. Even after allowing for exaggeration and barring exceptions, there can be little doubt that their inclination towards conviction is notorious.

THE Bill was officially opposed also on financial grounds. It was said that if the Local Governments were deprived of these powers, the employment of an additional number of Sessions Judges would be necessary. This would result in an addition to administrative costs which would be beyond the resources of the provincial Governments concerned. This argument seems to be in the nature of an afterthought and cannot be taken seriously. If the principle underlying the measure had been accepted by the Government, the question of finding ways and means for its translation into effect would have been a matter of secondary importance and would not have proved such a stumbling block as it was made out to be. However their intentions may be camouflaged, the plain unvarnished fact is that the very idea of having to do without the powers under section 30 is thoroughly disliked by the Government, the financial argument being brought up only to justify their opposition.

IT may not be out of place to point out that the public demand for the removal of these sections is an old one. It derived added strength from its endorsement by what is known as the Racial Distinctions Committee so far back as 1922. The majority of the Committee asked for the repeal of these two sections "on the ground that a sentence of more than two years' imprisonment should not be passed without the assistance of a jury or assessors." On this recommendation being pressed on the attention of Government the then Home Member, Sir Malcolm Hailey, though carefully refraining from promising to repeal the two sections, offered to take the matter up with provincial Governments. The attitude of Government, which was then one of sympathetic consideration of the proposal, has since changed to one of opposition, for the present Home Member, while he did not oppose the motion for circulation, expressly reserved to himself the right to oppose it in its later stages. Will it be too much to hope that public opinion will express itself so decisively on the subject as to compel Government to bow before it?

#### Indian Difficulties in Iraq.

EITHER the Government of India are gullible or they do not care to follow closely the fortunes of Indians in Iraq. Early this month they made a reassuring statement in the Assembly about the grievances of Indians in Iraq, which gave the impression as if all their difficulties were about to be satisfactorily met, if they were not met already. But the latest information from Iraq tells a different tale. In the first place, it is not a fact, as the Government seems to suppose, that the new labour law deals only with unskilled labour. It comprises "all labour and artisan classes," which will still further reduce the number of openings at present available to Indian nationals.

BUT because the Government of India are slow to move, that is no reason to suppose that the Iraq Government will be equally slothful. The process of ejecting Indians from jobs already held by them is

stated to be rapidly at work in Iraq. And even the small number of Indians who have been in the service of the Port Directorate in the capacity of experts in their trade is marked out for discharge, which will be effective at an early date. As a matter of fact, applications were invited last month by means of an advertisement in newspapers from Iraqis competent to take the places of Indians in the Port. If the Indians in the employment of the Port authority have not already been replaced by Iraqis, there is little doubt they soon will be. For aught we know, such action might be in pursuance of the statutory prohibition against the employment of foreigners in the service of the Iraq Government unless competent Iraqis are not available. Anyway the Government of India ought to take steps to place the Indian public in possession of facts bearing on the situation.

MUCH is made of the fact that the labour law does not discriminate specially against Indians but is applicable to all foreigners alike, whatever their nationality. According to Dr. Tagore's informant from Iraq, this is so only in theory. It is no doubt true that the law does not particularly single out Indians for adverse treatment, but the nationals of countries which have entered into treaty relations with the Iraq Government receive special protection by reason of those treaties. Most of the neighbouring countries have already entered into such treaties with Iraq or are negotiating them. Thus the ban in practice holds good only in the case of Indians, who number 4500. The Government of India will do well to take due note of this unpleasant fact and devise ways of safeguarding the interests of Indian nationals in Iraq even as other foreign Governments have done, viz. by negotiating a treaty, if need be.

#### Foundation of Sand.

CONTRARY to the general belief, the enactment of the anti-Indian clove legislation of 1934 by the Zanzibar Government was preceded by an inquiry into the agricultural position. Only the investigation was secretly conducted and its results had little relation to facts. These points were brought out in a recent press interview by Mr. Tyab Ali, who has come to India in order to enlighten public opinion here on the situation in Zanzibar. The secret inquiry was carried out by Mr. Bartlett who now dominates the Clove-Growers' Association and Mr. Last, a district official. The cat came out of the bag in the course of the discussions on the decrees in the legislature when in response to repeated inquiries by Indians, Government was constrained to produce a confidential blue book embodying the results of the inquiry.

THERE would be little to quarrel with in a confidential inquiry if the information gleaned by it could be reliable. In the present case extraordinary care should have been taken to ensure accuracy, seeing that the results of the inquiry were to form the basis of legislation destined to affect the economic interests of 14,000 Indians so vitally. But this was not done. That the conclusions of the inquiry were vitiated by misleading information is easy of proof. The Bartlett-Last report comes to the conclusion that half the total agricultural land in Zanzibar had passed into the hands of Indian money-lenders—a version which was proved to be far from the truth by the subsequent work of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission, of which Mr. Tyab Ali himself was a member, and which included an Arab in its personnel. It was found by this Commis-

sion that the land in the ownership of Indians was not 50 per cent., as stated by the Bartlett-Last Report, but only 12½ per cent. And nearly half of this would go back to its original Arab and native owners on their redemption of the mortgage. Thus the sole official justification for the anti-Indian legislation, viz., that Arab and native land was passing into Indian hands at a fearfully rapid rate, is actually found to be a foundation of sand.

MR. TYAB ALI referred to an alternative suggestion for the solution of the problem of agricultural indebtedness in Zanzibar. This consisted in the Government themselves making advances to agricultural debtors for the purpose of clearing off their dues to their creditors. This plan, he pointed out, could not be vetoed on financial grounds in view of the fact that the Zanzibar Government is "most solvent" that the British Government owes it a sum of £2,000,000 and that there are other assets as well. But the plan, though endorsed by the Bartlett-Last Committee, failed to commend itself to the Zanzibar Government for reasons best known to it.

#### Racial Segregation in Fiji ?

THE poison of racial segregation which was so long non-existent in Fiji threatens to make its appearance there. It is observed from the *Fiji Samachar* that a Committee consisting only of Europeans was appointed in November last to consider, amongst other things, the question of the establishment of a Government controlled township at Tavua. It finished its task with such exemplary despatch that its report was made available to the Fiji Legislative Council when it met on December 17 last. In paragraph 20 of its report the Committee recommends the reservation of a portion of the highland which is not suitable for business purposes for European residential sites. It is not known whether the report was approved by the Legislative Council, and if so, whether action to implement its recommendation has already been taken by the Fiji Government. Be that as it may, the Government of India should lose no time in lodging a protest against the introduction of the segregation poison in Fiji.

#### Segregation of Indians in Johannesburg ?

SEGREGATION of Indians is likely to raise its head in a new form in South Africa. They will not be asked as heretofore to confine their residence to particular areas, but new residential areas will be developed where none but Indians and other coloured people would be allowed to reside. Such a scheme of Indian segregation is actually under consideration by the Johannesburg Municipality. The idea is to set aside for residential occupation by Indians a special area. This would be furnished with all necessary amenities like water, sanitary services, light, roads and transport. The area would, if need be, be purchased by the Municipality and then sold out to Indians with freehold title. Should this scheme be acceptable to Indians, the occupation or ownership of any land in this area by the whites would be absolutely prohibited so that the township would be exclusively Indian. When the scheme was explained to the Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, he made it clear that Indians would not even look at any proposal involving segregation in any form. There can be no doubt that the Agent has faithfully represented Indian feeling on the subject. But will his representations lead to an abandonment of the hated scheme by the Municipality? Let us wait and see.

## THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT.

### VI.\*

WE have, it will be seen, made no attempt to balance directly the gains that may be available to India under the Ottawa Agreement against the losses and sacrifices entailed by it. We feel that it is impossible to estimate, quantitatively either of these sides even in an approximate way. It is necessary thus to emphasise these difficulties as there have been current in this discussion some entirely misleading calculations of this character. There are the crude calculations of advantage on landed costs which have been used in a peculiar way by Sir T. Ainscough and which have been used by publicists in U. K. to support the statement that India has gained more than U. K. by the Ottawa Agreement. But there is even such a statement as the following by Dr. Meek which requires careful examination: "The situation may be summarised in the statement that although after the Ottawa Trade Agreement the United Kingdom has improved her position in the Indian Market, there is still a good deal of leeway for her to make up. On the other hand, she has proved an increasingly important market for Indian goods." Here, prefacing the sentence with the words "after the Ottawa trade agreement" seems to imply a causal relation of the later trends in trade with the agreement for which there is not the slightest justification. Our detailed examination of the Indian export trade has clearly shown that the development of recovery in U. K. has affected in varying proportions the different trades and that very little of this development can be attributed to Ottawa as such. On the other hand, the statement that the U. K. has a good deal of leeway to make up is based on the assumption of a normal level. The normal level that Dr. Meek assumes is that of the pre-1929 trade of U. K. with India. But this level can no longer be considered normal. It is true that since 1929 the favourable merchandise trade balance that U. K. had with us has considerably diminished; but this is due to certain fundamental factors that are unlikely to be affected by preferential arrangements.

It is necessary in this connection to emphasize a very important change in the direction of world trade that is progressively affecting international trade since 1929. This change, which has been very generally recognised by economists in recent years, has been termed the "trend to bilateralism." With an increasing height of tariff and other barriers to trade and increasing attempts at national self-sufficiency nations are regulating the measure of their trades directly one with the other. The multilateral system of trade in which surpluses of trade balances with one country were balanced by deficits in that with another has almost broken down. This has led to a great many adjustments in trade relations and we maintain that the recent changes in the trade balances between

U. K. and India are for the most part results of this movement. We are not concerned with the merits of bilateralism, neither is it necessary for us to consider the economics of it. We merely note that Ottawa itself was a very important step in the progress towards bilateralism. The abandonment of free trade on the part of U. K. and the attempt at the organisation of trade on Imperial lines within the British Empire were very important stages in this movement. No doubt they were in part themselves caused by other earlier movements in this direction. But it is equally true to say that they helped considerably to intensify the situation. The protestations at Ottawa that Imperial preference will in course of time lead to freer trade all over the world did not even then find much credence; today they are thoroughly discredited. This trend towards bilateralism is so important a change, the probability that the changes brought about by it are durable is so high and the way in which it affects our trade with U. K. so intimate that we shall deal with it and its results at some length. We may begin this by describing the nature of the old trade relations with an extract from a publication of a Scandinavian Bank.

The excess of imports of the United Kingdom, which during the years immediately preceding the depression was fairly constant, amounted in 1929 to £382 millions, a sum which may be taken as representing the yield of the overseas investments of the country, the income of the merchant marine in foreign traffic and net profits on account of various other business activities, after deduction of the amount by which capital exports exceeded capital imports in the form of amortizations, etc. The most important item of income was, of course, the yield of long-term investments abroad, which according to the estimates of the Board of Trade amounted to £250 millions.

According to statistics available for 1930, only 2½% of British long-term capital abroad is invested in the United States and 7½% in Europe. It may thus be estimated that about nine-tenths of the income from foreign investments are derived from other countries. Probably the other payments by means of which England met her excess of imports were also due mainly from these countries.

Some 80% of excess of imports arose, however, in trade with Europe and the United States and only 20% in trade with other countries. In fact, several of the countries indebted to the United Kingdom, for example India, Brazil and Australia imported more from that country than they sold there; but the balance of their total trade was active on account of their large exports to the United States and Continental Europe.

The transfer of the large amounts which the raw material producing countries had to pay in England was therefore performed in the following manner. These countries sold their products to all industrial countries of the world and employed their exports surplus with the United States and the industrial countries of Continental Europe for payments to England. England in her turn employed the currencies she thus obtained for purchases of various products, particularly industrial goods, in the last mentioned countries. These latter were to a considerable extent dependent upon their export surplus with England for their supply of foreign raw materials and foodstuffs. (Folke Hilgerdt: *The Approach to Bilateralism*: Index, Stockholm, Aug. 1935.)

This extract brings out very well the importance to India of its export surplus in the trade with

\* The first five articles appeared in our issues of January 16, 23 and 30, and February 6 and 13.

U. S. A. and the countries of the European continent. It was only this export surplus that enabled us to buy the manufactures of U. K. in such great excess of the value of our exports to that country and in addition to pay the various burdensome but invisible obligations that we owe to it. Bilateralism has meant inevitably the steady diminution of our export surpluses with other countries. The specially strong position that some of our products hold has no doubt steadied the rate at which our export surpluses have declined but no exports are entirely substitute-proof and when nations are bent on obtaining self-sufficiency or a closed economy within a group there are, it seems, no lengths to which they will not go. Hence though gradual, the tendency towards diminution of our export surplus has been continuous.

The following table shows the values of the export and import trade of India with the more important countries. It exhibits clearly the change in the character of the pre-1929 trade relations and demonstrates how with the vanishing of our export surplus with other countries our imports from U. K. have diminished. It has further to be remembered that even so the balancing of our obligations in recent years has been made possible only by a draining of our capital or reserve resources by means of exports of gold.

VALUE OF INDIAN TRADE [ Rs. lakhs ]

| COUNTRY. | Exports to                 |            |            | Imports from               |            |            |
|----------|----------------------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|------------|
|          | Average 1926-27 to 1928-29 | 1933-1934. | 1934-1935. | Average 1926-27 to 1928-29 | 1933-1934. | 1934-1935. |
| U. K.    | 70.10                      | 47.21      | 47.93      | 114.33                     | 47.59      | 5 73       |
| Japan    | 34.82                      | 16.36      | 20.80      | 17.34                      | 12.61      | 24.14      |
| Germany  | 28.65                      | 9.84       | 7.16       | 16.03                      | 8.99       | 10.11      |
| U. S. A. | 36.26                      | 14.07      | 12.90      | 18.68                      | 7.18       | 8.41       |
| Belgaum  | 11.03                      | 4.48       | 4.38       | 7.16                       | 2.66       | 2.16       |
| France   | 15.85                      | 7.37       | 5.29       | 4.21                       | 1.51       | 1.53       |

If we lose our export surplus we lose both the capacity to buy from U. K. and to pay for its invisible obligations. And the only way in which U. K. can extract these payments from us is by creating a direct surplus of merchandise trade in our favour. The whole lesson of the post-war reparations and debt tangle has been this; that a creditor country which wants to recover its interest and other charges must buy freely the products of its debtors. U. K. in many of its recent trade agreements has shown due appreciation of the importance of this by providing more for debt and interest recovery than expansion of its export trade. It is this consideration that lies at the bottom of its solicitude for the imports of Argentine and other South American countries. In this also lies the great strength of our position vis-a-vis U. K. We are both the biggest market for U. K. producers and U. K.'s biggest debtor and the biggest source of the invisible imports of U. K. Mr. Hilgerdt, in the article from which we have quoted, points out how during

the years 1929 to 1934 the flow of trade along multilateral channels has enormously shrunk. The greater proportionate diminution of the imports of U. K. into India is the result entirely of this change. Even so U. K. was the only important country with which India had an import surplus during both the years 1933-1934 and 1934-35. If the whole world-trade becomes entirely bilateral—and there is nothing in the world situation to-day that prevents us from making this assumption—then U. K. must buy from us to the total extent of the value of what she sells to us and the value of our invisible obligations.

D. R. GADGIL.

### MADRAS INAMS BILL.

THERE has been raging a bitter controversy in Madras Presidency since, on a private member's motion on a bill affecting the zemindars, the position of the holders of whole inam villages was sought to be assimilated to that of the zemindars who are mere assignees of land revenue. The amendment that was proposed by the private member was later sponsored by the Government itself in a separate Bill, which was passed in October, 1934, and which also received the Governor's assent immediately afterwards. But the inamdars waited in deputation on the Governor-General praying that he withhold his assent to the Bill on the ground that the Bill, inasmuch as it would deprive the inamdars who had also acquired proprietary rights in the soil, would have the effect of expropriating these their lawful rights and that without due compensation such rights should not be taken away from them. The Governor-General has conceded the force of the inamdars' contention and withheld his assent. He has added, however, that if the Madras Government thought, as a matter of public policy, that, in cases in which inamdars not only had received a grant of revenue but were owners of land, such ownership should be vested in the tenants, it should provide for compensation. Accepting this decision, as it was bound to do, the Madras Government has announced that it would in the next session of the Council re-introduce the same Bill with compensation clauses added.

On account of recent judicial decisions it has urgently become necessary to do something in the matter, apart from the fact that champions of tenants like the late Mr. Muniswami Naidu desire to confer occupancy rights on the tenants of inamdars. To the holders of inams as such is granted the right to the Government share of the revenue derivable from the land given to them (*melvaram*). In these cases the proprietary or occupancy right (*kudivaram*) belongs to the ryot. But it is possible that when the right to revenue was given to them they had already a proprietary right in the land or that they acquired this right subsequently. In this way, some inamdars might be the owners of both the rights. What is the proportion of those who own only the *melvaram* and those who own both the *varams* is difficult to discover. In view of the fact that this Bill is concerned with whole inam villages, it may be presumed that the inamdars who are also proprietors of land are not many. Indeed, in 1908 the then Revenue Member, Sir George Forbes, went the length of saying, "If he is an inamdar of a whole village it is almost certain that the grant made to him was the grant of revenue pure and simple. It was not likely that a whole village was lying waste, while in the case of an inamdar of a portion of a



village the grant may have been of a piece of actual village waste land as well as revenue derived from it in which he is both ryot and landholder." This, however, is clearly an exaggeration. For Sir Archibald Campbell, the present Revenue Member, evidently thinks that the number of holders of whole inam villages who own both the *varams* is not so small. But he too does not place the number of inamdars of whole villages, who will even claim the *kudivaram* right in them, at not more than 1,000 out of 5,000.

Anyway there must be some inam holders (whatever their actual number) to whom is granted not only the *melvaram*, but who also have acquired the *kudivaram*. For a long time the approved method of determining who owned only the former and who owned both was this. It was presumed that the *kudivaram* or proprietary right belonged to the tenants, and the onus of proof to the contrary was placed on the shoulders of the inamdars. But a ruling of the Privy Council given on 1st July, 1918, altered this judicial practice. The Privy Council said that the presumption lay neither in favour of the tenant nor in favour of the inamdar and that every case should be judged on its merits. But, in practice, the Privy Council has thrown the burden of proof on the tenants. How this comes about was described by Sir Archibald Campbell, in moving the Bill on 2nd August, 1934 :

If he (the inamdar) has got the *kudivaram* right he has to sue for his rent in the civil court; if he has not got the *kudivaram* right he has to sue for his rent in the revenue court. . . . The Privy Council has said that, if an inamdar sues for his rent in the civil court and the tenant says that he has the occupancy right and therefore the suit does not lie in the jurisdiction of the civil court but in the revenue court, the onus of proving that the jurisdiction of the civil court was ousted by Act I (the Estates Land Act) of 1908 lies with the tenant. That is the present position. All that the inamdar has to do is to file a suit for rent in the civil court and the tenants would then have to prove that they have the *kudivaram* right and that the inamdar has not got the *kudivaram* right. That is a most important change, and we are afraid it may have the effect of a considerable amount of litigation and the deprivation of the occupancy ryots of the inam villages of their occupancy rights. We feel we cannot allow this position to continue. After full consideration, we have decided that the best thing to do is to put the inamdars in the position in which the zemindars were placed in 1908.

He said further :

The last ruling of the Privy Council in January 1934 seemed to show that it was merely a matter of time for the operation of the law as it stands at present and as interpreted by the highest courts to lead to the deprivation of the ryots of their *kudivaram* right in all cases, although, I believe, in thousands of villages inamdars hitherto have never claimed this right and have admitted that the ryots have got it.

Accordingly, the Bill contained a provision

restoring the original practice of the law courts. It was as follows :

Where in any suit or proceeding it becomes necessary to determine whether an inam village or a separated part of an inam village was or was not an estate within the meaning of this Act as it stood before the commencement of the Madras Estates Land (Second Amendment) Act, 1934, it shall be presumed, until the contrary is shown, that such village or part was an estate.

To this clause of the Bill not much objection was raised by the inamdars; indeed it may be said that they agreed to it. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, in his speech on the third reading of the Bill, admitted as much. He said :

No doubt the costly and protracted litigation which has been fought out in the courts in individual cases up to the Privy Council was a feature that deserved to be provided against. It was also a matter mentioned with an amount of justifiable sense of grievance on behalf of the tenants of inam villages that by a strict application of the law as to onus of proof it was not always possible for tenants in inam villages to get their rights vindicated even in proper cases. The representatives and friends of inamdars were therefore willing to agree to a legislative expedient of getting rid, if possible, of interminable civil litigation of a costly type by substituting for it litigation of a more summary and cheaper character. The representatives of inamdars were also willing in regard to the other grievance to agree to a reversal of the law as to onus of proof by letting the onus rest upon the inamdars to start with.

It is charged that the Bill deprives the inamdars wholesale of their occupancy right even where they can prove that it exists. This is much too wide a statement and cannot be sustained. Those lands of the inamdar which he can prove were cultivated either by himself or his servants or hired labour continuously for twelve years before 1908 or 1933 or in which he can prove that he purchased the *kudivaram* and has retained it and not converted the land into ryoti land will be treated under the Bill as private lands. In these cases the occupancy right will be maintained intact for all time, and there will be no expropriation. In other cases there will be an abridgment of their existing rights. For, as the Inamdars' Memorandum to the Governor-General puts it, the existing rights of landholders who own both *melvaram* and *kudivaram* are very comprehensive: "In the first place, the holders of inams who have both *varams* have now the right to cultivate their own lands; they can let the lands to any tenant on any terms as to rent and duration of lease, etc.; they can take back the land at the termination of the lease. They can do what they please with their lands. The tenants of these lands, where there are tenants let in, have no greater rights than what the lease-deed confers on them." The Bill undoubtedly seeks to restrict these rights, but the restrictions proposed are not of the sweeping character that is often alleged. And now that compensation is to be paid for the extinction of any rights which can be proved to vest in the inamdars, the opposition to the Bill on the part of the inamdars will, we expect, largely disappear.

## THE NINETIETH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

### II.

#### RUSSO-URUGUAYAN RELATIONS.

**A**LL good drama demands comic relief; and so, after an account of the dramatic events at the 90th Council Meeting, let me come to the farce, staged by Mr. Litvinoff.

It appears that on December 27, 1935, the Uruguyan Government decided to suspend its diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., handing the latter's Minister in Montevideo his passports. Within three days the Foreign Secretary of the U.S.S.R. had lodged a complaint about it at Geneva and had asked

for the incident to be put on the agenda of the next Council Meeting of the League. Delay, as will be seen, can be avoided in Geneva.

The motive for Uruguayan action was officially given as that government's conviction that "the Soviet Legation at Montevideo is a centre of Communist activity which has just been responsible for a revolutionary rising in a friendly neighbouring country, to wit, Brazil." This Mr. Litvinoff emphatically denied and on the contrary ascribed the rupture to the umbrage the Uruguayan President had taken at a lack of complaisance on the part of Mr. Minkin, the Soviet Envoy, who had held his post since May 1934. First of all one Radovitsky, born in Russia, but not a Soviet citizen, was to have been deported to Russia, but Mr. Minkin had refused to have him admitted to the U.S.S.R. The President had then suggested the purchase of 200 tons of Uruguayan cheese as a suitable means of keeping the flame of Russo-Uruguayan friendship burning, but once more Mr. Minkin proved unsympathetic. One week later diplomatic rupture was decreed.

You will admit that all this has the making of a roaring farce. Mr. Litvinoff made the most of it. He also asked wonderingly, whether the history of Uruguay or of Brazil was such that no revolution had ever previously taken place in either: and then ticked off the almost annually recurring revolutions in these countries, both before and after the advent of a Soviet government in Moscow. Was it then necessary to infer Soviet influences, to explain Brazil's latest revolution? At all events he demanded proofs of the Uruguayan allegations—"an accusation of having transmitted unknown sums at an unknown date to unknown persons for the financing of revolts in Brazil!"

Mr. Guani of Uruguay made a public reply—which came to this, that the proofs existed, but were secret and could not be published: and that, besides, the honour of national sovereignty forbade international examination of the matter. This gave another fine opening to Mr. Litvinoff, who declared that "the only State which is absolutely sovereign and free to do whatever it likes is the State which has no international obligations, for as soon as a State assumes such obligations, it sacrifices some of its sovereignty, because they limit its freedom of action."

Now it is clear *a priori* that the U.S.S.R. must have felt pretty sure of its ground—or it would not have chosen the Geneva megaphone to give world-wide publicity to the case. The refusal of Uruguay to produce proofs only proved that their accusation was unprovable. Mr. Litvinoff's move was transparent: having an opportunity to disprove an allegation of Soviet interference in the domestic affairs of another State, he made the most of it, in order to have a precedent for eventual future allegations of the same nature.

As regards the actual case, the League disposed of it by a report, submitted on the last day by Mr. Titulescu (the Rumanian veteran statesman), who created much hilarity by saying that he and his

Spanish and Danish colleagues had sat up all night to draft it. The report itself, having stated that Uruguay refused to give the proofs demanded and that the U.S.S.R. was prepared to leave the question to the judgment of international public opinion, expressed the hope that diplomatic relations between the two countries would soon be renewed!

A farce, from start to finish.

#### OTHER BUSINESS.

In order rightly to assess the nature and scope of the League's activities, it will be necessary for me to say a word or two about the other business, transacted by the Council at this session.

Some of it was sheer humbug: I am sorry for the necessity of so strong an expression, but I really do not see what other word to use. There was M. Laval for instance reporting favourably on a proposal to "revise history text-books by giving prominence in the teaching of world-history to the interdependence of nations." Excellent as the sentiment is, what country will effectively carry it out, as long as their very existence is based on the pretence of complete national "independence"? Again, what is the point of convening a Conference "on the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace", another proposal, sponsored by M. Laval? One thinks of Italy, of Germany—but why discriminate? Broadcasting in the cause of peace, forsooth!

Another category of questions reveals that League action, though well started, has been reduced to futility. In this I would include the traffic in opium etc. Yet another Conference on this subject is to be held on June 8th, to consider a Draft Convention, which has been elaborated for years and passed on from one Committee to another; but already one is bound to ask, what practical good will come of it, as long as the League has not the means of applying sanctions to non-observing governments? And what country to-day would agree to an international police force to suppress this nefarious traffic, without raising at once the bogey of "national sovereignty"?

Then there was a reference to Transit Conventions (for goods and passengers, and for the regulation of frontier traffic), which had been adopted three years ago, but remain unratified still: once more the Council is asking the States (i.e. themselves and company!) not to delay ratification further. Undeterred by such frustration, the Transit Committee has elaborated a plan for greater safety of roads at railway level crossings (which plan is now going its weary round of committees): and only a couple of months ago it initiated a new proposal, viz. for customs exemption of liquid fuel in air traffic. All these matters are all the more exasperating, as they concern measures which are obviously commonsense and highly desirable in the interests of world government, but which break down in the end and lead to nothing, just because they are measures of world government and not merely items in international politics.

It is these latter which always have the better of the former. A glaring example is the question of refugees. Now-a-days refugees may be said to be

confined to persons exiled from two countries only : Russia and Germany. More than a lakh of Russians of the old regime are still floating about the world : and the U.S.S.R. strongly objects to their being in any way helped, or they see in them centres of "counter-revolutionary" activity. In consequence of this objection, the so-called "Nansen Office" of the League is to be liquidated. As regards the victims of Nazi persecution, Germany equally strongly objects to any outsider trying to interfere with Germany's sovereign right to torture its Jews as it jolly well pleases. The League High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany was so disgusted by the impotence to which he was condemned in face of heart-rending misery that he resigned a month ago. In consequence the League is now under the necessity of (1) doing nothing, in order to satisfy the principle of national "sovereignty"; (2) of doing something, in order to comply with the dictates of humanity. This—in Geneva—quite usual contradiction will no doubt find its ultimate solution in one of their famous "formulas": in the meantime the Council, having been handed this Refugee baby by the Assembly, has now solemnly passed it back, for the Assembly to hold it again for a while. And in the meantime hundreds and thousands of fellow-creatures are physically and mentally crushed and flung on humanity's refuse heaps.

After the Refugees, Disarmament. The death of Arthur Henderson on October 20 last has rendered vacant the presidency of the "Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments," which *de jure* still is in existence, though most of us had quite forgotten that fact. The Argentine *rapporteur's* accomplished "formula" for adjourning this lamentable Conference *ad kalendas graecas* took the form of a suggestion to the Council, "not to take any steps to choose a successor to Mr. Henderson, until the resumption of the work of the Conference becomes possible." After the Next War, presumably.

The Protection of Minorities is another subject, where one's great expectations of the League's beneficent role has been succeeded by an equally great despair at its proved futility. The ghost of this protection still haunts occasionally the Council Chamber : on this occasion an Upper Silesian petitioned the Council in the matter of an alleged breach of contract at common law, which therefore did not come at all under the League's jurisdiction. Albania had once been admonished to give greater facilities to linguistic and religious minorities' schools : now the Council, led by Baron Aloisi, praised its ready compliance with the wishes then expressed. In all this one felt how unreal had become the League's function. If there are minorities' grievances in Upper Silesia, it is the Polono-German entente, and if in Albania, it is Italy, that nowadays attends to them, and not the League.

As regards the supervision of Mandated Territories, the League still fulfils a useful function, by giving publicity to irregularities and thus providing some check, however slight, to unbridled imperialism. Yet this check of course only holds good as

long as the Mandatory Powers are susceptible to being shamed in public. Japan for instance has got far beyond that and fortifies and exploits its South Sea Islands in brazen security, under cover of obviously coloured reports, the accuracy of which it defies the League to investigate by a League Commission, since it refuses to allow any foreigner to visit these allegedly still "mandated" territories. More than that : Japan actually has the assurance to claim "economic equality" in other mandated territories! This point came up at this Council Meeting, but was safely circumnavigated by the skilful *rapporteur* suggesting that "the Council might, for the time being, simply take note of it, reserving the right to have the question studied later."

The Permanent Court of International Justice occupied likewise this 90th Session of the Council. Apart from routine questions arising out of the procedure for filling some vacancies that had occurred there was brought up once more a point, agitated since 1928 (!), to wit, whether and under what conditions the Council can ask the Court for advisory opinions. The outsider fails to see at first what objection there could possibly be to such requests : but then the outsider usually looks upon all these matters from the point of view of world-government. In reality, everything about the League is turned into counters for playing the game of international politics ; and from this point of view it is clear that imperialistic (*alias* "hungry") States strongly object to an impartial World Court giving an opinion on the legality of this or that act of theirs. Significantly enough, Baron Aloisi was the *rapporteur* in this case and advised the Council to instruct the Secretary-General "to prepare a memorandum on the subject."

The same *rapporteur* brought an allied question before the Council, viz. a Draft Convention of a Committee, set up after the murder of the Yugoslav King in Marseilles, for the "International Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism," as well as their proposal for the creation of an International Criminal Court. The latter is an admirable idea of course and one thinks at once of the Illicit Traffic in Opium and in Armaments, which should fall under the jurisdiction of such a Court, of the White Slave-Traffic, the exploits of international forgers and false coiners, and many other such crimes, which are not confined within the frontiers of a single State, but have the whole world for their field of operation. But just because so reasonable, is it likely that such a Court will be set up? And in the last resort one must put to oneself once again that other question : even if set up, will such Court be of much use, unless it disposes of sanctions, giving force to its findings?

Finally, a word about a third category of questions, in regard to which the League acts either as Archive or as Register and Coordinating Office : points on "Biological Standardisation"; reports of its Health Committee ; the working of Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian finances; Peace-Protocol in the "dispute" between Bolivia and Paraguay over the



Chaco—such were the subjects of this description which were formally referred to at this Session. As a universal registry and central telephone-office the League's utility is undisputed. But is that all that the League of Nations is fit for, to act as a Registrar of Births and Deaths, which have been caused, far from Geneva, in the power centres of international life?

#### CONCLUSIONS.

It has seemed to me worth while to study at close quarters the actual working of the League, so as to be able to assess, at the hand of a concrete session, what use it fulfils or fails to fulfil.

As I have already suggested, a distinction has to be made between world government and international politics. The League is an instrument, a highly efficient instrument, but only an instrument: like a knife, it may be used for cutting bread or throats. When it was created, it was undoubtedly with the idea of forming the beginning of a world government based on justice and peace. It is well to recognize that as such the League has failed utterly and was bound to fail, inasmuch as it is not a federation, but merely a conference of States which tenaciously

hold on to their pretence of being and remaining each, "independent" and "sovereign".

On the other hand the League has become a vital ganglion in the net-work of international politics, in the play of national egoisms, where the utmost possible is to balance delicately one against the other. In that play of opposing forces the League forms an extremely useful instrument in the hands of a master who has got a definite and equitable plan, and who possesses the necessary skill and power to back it. This is the optimum result that one can still hope for from the League: it is not a small result nor one that I for one would care to belittle.

As realists, let us then recognize gratefully the possibilities of the League in international politics: let us however at the same time recognize its inherent limitations as an instrument for the better government of the world. The latter is yet to be created: and as realists we maintain that it must be created, even at the price of surrendering the phantom of national "independence." Not as visionaries, but as realists: not as visionaries, but as men of vision and of commonsense.

Geneva,  
January 30.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## DINSHAW EDULJEE WACHA.

**I**F transparent sincerity, spotless purity of character; courage of conviction, and unbending principle joined to hard strenuous work and a deep knowledge of public questions, are to be regarded as qualities of leadership, then the late Sir Dinshaw Wacha may be truly regarded as a leader of men. In him India has lost a fearless champion of Indian rights, and a man who did not forget, at the same time, that rights as such flowed from the performance of duties at any cost. That was his method of agitation and work in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, in connection with the Indian National Congress, and in the fields of industry and commerce wherein he put great pioneer work and accomplished no inconsiderable success.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha was a publicist whose pen never rested till almost the last year of his mundane life. He was an indefatigable correspondent on all public subjects, who never dictated or had recourse either to a secretary or a typist to do his work for him. He wrote for the press, and to his friends in India and England in his own peculiar and characteristic hand. He was a loyal friend and helper of the young as well as the old. The really needy never went to him to return disappointed. Close-fisted and firm in the disbursement of public funds, he paid generously from his own purse for all causes that he really found deserving of his help. He was a journalist long before journalism had come into its own. He wrote for the *Kaisar-i-Hind* in its early days. And his contributions were marked by a fervour, fearlessness and strength that even the most extremist young man of to-day may well envy. His knowledge of history, finance, banking and currency was up to date. In his own day he was considered as an authority

on railway and military finance. And the knowledge, deep and wide, was not only bookish but garnered from blue-books and similar first-hand sources as the fruit of long patient study and meditation. Disraeli said that a politician must, first and last, be a thorough student of economics and blue books—a master of facts and figures. Sir Dinshaw Wacha was like very few others of his generation—Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, Ranade and G. V. Joshi, who had statistics at their finger tips. Whatever they wrote and spoke upon, they illumined it by facts and figures drawn by delving into the mine of blue-books and Government documents and papers. And what is more important to note about them is, that they never juggled with figures and facts or twisted them to suit their own case. As a consequence, the case that they made out had a chance always of shaping the policies of Government in the long run.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha was the earliest among Indian publicists to advocate commercial and technical education. A paper read by him before an Association, now defunct, on commercial education may be justly considered as a finger-post in that direction. He was also an advocate, long, long ago, of agricultural banks and their establishment in India on the Egyptian model, on the lines laid down for them by the late Lord Cromer. In fact, Lord Cromer—the then Sir Evelyn Baring—who had come to India with Lord Ripon, was the constructive statesman by whom as the economic regenerator of Egypt Sir Dinshaw Wacha swore. He was by principle a free-trader with protection for infant and nascent industries. Cotton industry, in all its ramifications, was his first love. In fact it was he who, as a secretary, had built up and consolidated the fortunes of the Morarji Gokuldas Mills in Bombay and Sholapur.

As one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and its General Secretary for many years, he had helped to rear that institution and guide its policy from behind the scenes. And he was rewarded for his labours by being elected its president in 1901. The man who had spent himself so much in building up that institution felt deeply pained when in 1921, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and on the eve of the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Congress declared the boycott of councils, and was driven into the barren field of non-cooperation. Nothing in this rash, reckless and reactionary policy angered him so much as the boycott announced by that body on the visit of the Prince of Wales—now Edward VIII—to India. And though, at the time, he had passed well on in his 77th year, he readily consented to be the chairman of a committee constituted in Bombay to fight the movement of non-cooperation by counter-propaganda in favour of council-entry and constructive work in the Assembly and in the Provincial Councils. Those who will refer to the files of newspapers in 1921-23 will not fail to note in them how splendidly the task of guiding public opinion on right lines was done then, by leaflets, pamphlets and contributions on all aspects of the non-cooperation programme of the time, and its detrimental effect on the political life of the country. Wisdom is justified of her sons today. But Sir Dinshaw Wacha, with his fellow-workers from the much abused Indian Liberal party at the time, had to bear the brunt of displeasure, odium and misrepresentation from the most vociferous section of the extremist group in the Congress, which did not hesitate to brand him and the rest as men of yesterday, as men moving "crooked forward", as toadies, place-hunters and traitors to their country.

It was in this work that the writer of this humble tribute to his memory first came to be introduced to him, and was thrown into intimate, personal contact with him from day to day, in connection with the propaganda launched against non-cooperation under his leadership and guidance. The difference of years between the young writer and the veteran leader—ripe in wisdom, insight and the practical grasp of the question—made no difference in appreciation. The writer is proud to confess that long after the particular task that had brought the two together had ended, the elder statesman did not forget the younger man whom he had trained to some purpose, and was always ready to help and guide, when help and guidance were sought from him. Sir Dinshaw Wacha was straight, frank and plain-spoken. When it came to work he never minced his words either in private conversation or in public utterance. He was the most exacting of task-masters. He was not one thing within and another thing without. He was not like the knight immortalised by Addison who answered every difficulty with the words, "Much can be said on both the sides." No trimmer he and no waverer. And he never liked to bestow flattery or to have it offered to him. But, withal, he forgave and forgot readily and had a heart of gold. He was a hard worker himself. And he exacted hard

work and meticulous care from every worker who had to deal with him. The writer has letters from him which he will ever cherish as kindly advice that did the younger partner much good.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha was a student all his life, who never read anything without a blue pencil and without making copious abstracts from what he read. To the last, he was keen and alert, and read the latest books in economics, constitutional history, politics and biography—his favourite studies. He told the present writer that he never let pass a year without reading Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, from cover to cover. His library at home is a rich treasure of books, blue-books, journals and note-books, galore. From the walls in his study hang portraits and photographs of his dear, departed friends and co-workers, and of those whom he regarded as his intellectual masters. As one recalls the small, kindly figure, active, alert and optimistic, in spite of the weight of years and the burden of bereavement which he never forgot, seated at his writing table and surrounded with piles of books on shelves and small tables on all sides of him, in his house in Ravelin Street, working there—reading, writing and answering correspondents or in conversation with persons young and old, whom he always liked to come to him oftener than they did, one cannot but feel that with his departure from the scene of his earthly labours, has passed away an influence and a light, a scholar, publicist and saint, the loss of whom the country will always feel and mourn. Sir Dinshaw Wacha was a saint of rational and clean living, of noble instincts, of large heart, and of a resolute will for righteousness. In these days of more noise and less work, of more smoke and less light, of more enthusiasm and less caution, foresight and wisdom, of pyrotechnic rather than the normal light and warmth of the sun, he was the one man from whose life and life-work one can learn much and profit by. And that is, that it is not mere tub-thumping that makes a patriot any more than tinsel can ring true like gold, whatever the glitter and polish you cover it with.

V. N. NAIK.

## Reviews.

### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By MANUBHAI C. PANDYA. (Taraporevala.) 1935. 25cm. 468p. Rs. 10.

IT is a happy sign that Indian philosophy is providing an increasingly fertile field for authorship. The name "Intelligent Man's Guide to Indian Philosophy" is apparently reminiscent of Bernard Shaw's "Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism" and such other "Guides". The object of the book is not merely to "restate the tenets of each system" but to "give a more comprehensive account of the philosophical and religious activities of the Indian nation" and to show that "religion is connected with the social and national structure of Hindu society". The present volume deals, in successive

chapters, with the philosophical, religious and ethical teachings of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the two great epics, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, and the Bhagavad Gita. The method of presentation shows close study of the literature concerned, clarity of view, and a certain "matter-of-fact-ness" in the manner of handling different topics. We are told that the present work is only a portion of an ambitious project in which the subsequent books are designed to deal with Darshanas proper, several schools, sects and cults in Indian thought.

The special feature of this book which at once distinguishes it from other works on Indian philosophy is its detailed treatment of the ethico-religious and the socio-philosophical teaching of the Dharma Shastras. Consideration of such topics as marriage and divorce, the characteristics and duties of the four Varnas and Ashramas has led the author to a critique in the socio-political philosophy of modern communism in the light of the social philosophy of the Indian Smritis. That social equality is a fiction of philosophers and as such has never been inculcated by the Hindu Dharma Shastra is a view, which in spite of the author's spirited advocacy, is not likely to be acceptable to many. The book under review cannot certainly be ranked with such authoritative works on Indian philosophy as that of Radhakrishnan or Das-Gupta; yet even a casual reader will have no hesitation in saying that the present book eminently fulfils its object, and will be found to serve as a very useful introduction and "Guide" to all students of Indian philosophy, especially by its contribution to the philosophy of Hindu Law.

D. G. LONDHE.

### FREEDOM.

**FREEDOM.** By J. C. SMUTS. (Alexander Macle-hose.) 1934. 20cm. 36p. 2/-

AN important speech by General Smuts has for the general public an attraction all its own. With the depth and detachment of the philosopher's insight, he combines the broad outlook and the large-heartedness of a statesman, and these are blended to unusual degree with the quick grasp and the firm grip of the essentials of a situation that characterise the great soldier.

His audience at the St. Andrews' University, he approached as the representative of one small nation to another, of a nation that hopes to be another, of a nation that hopes to be great to one that has already achieved it to a remarkable extent. The theme that he selected for his discourse in the present condition of Europe, which is causing so much anxiety to those who love safety for their own countries, was freedom for its own sake.

He naturally dwells upon the failure of international trade, science and democracy to prevent the cataclysm of the Great War and upon the nation's failure to achieve a stable peace during the post-war period. He then proceeds to analyse the situation with a view to find out if the prospect is as bleak as it appears to most of us.

He is not daunted by the scaremongers who predict another great war, nor even by the very real failure to secure disarmament. He is concerned more with the decay of first principles, the growth of a new hero-worship and the strutting about of men in shirts and uniforms of various hues, and the consequent danger to all kinds of freedom,—of conscience, of speech, of the press and of association,—of the very infectious character of this new dictatorship, which is not a new experiment but the old Greek Tyranny writ large.

He wants the young generation to join in the age-long battle for freedom—freedom of soul, social freedom and equality before law, international freedom in the rule of peace and justice—in short Creative Freedom which should be the watchword of the new age. He is full of hope because he finds more real good-will in the world than ever before. He sees signs of new life, of new forces on the move, and no spirit of defeatism in the way in which, "in spite of the loss of the millions of his best man faced the situation with spirit uncrushed, with head unbowed, with a courage that makes man of our period a sublime figure of all time."

He concludes with that fundamental equation of all politics and all human government which Pericles has given in his Funeral Oration:

'Happiness is Freedom, and Freedom is Courage.'

R. H. KELKAR.

### SHORT NOTICE.

**POVERTY AND KINDRED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIA.** (3rd Edn.) By G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS. (Manager of Publications, Delhi.) 1935. 22cm. 59p. As. 14.

THE central thesis of this book is that poverty is not a modern phenomenon in India, but it has its origin in the successive periods of misgovernment and political unrest through which the country has passed before the beginning of British rule and the numerous anti-economic customs and habits to which its people are addicted on account of their social and religious predilections.

The average student of Indian economics has been brought up to believe that the root cause of our poverty is our excessive dependence on agriculture which has ceased to pay and the dearth of the necessary capital and organising enterprise to speed the pace of industrialisation which alone can stop the tremendous waste of man-power and of natural resources which we see on all hands and which is all the more regrettable in a country overflowing with both. The author claims to have made an honest attempt to get at the truth of the matter "through the eminently non-political method of statistics", but it is unfortunate that about this fundamental cause of Indian poverty the book contains no statistics whatsoever.

In his description of the economic conditions in pre-British India, the author seems to place an implicit reliance on the memoirs of foreign travellers. Of course, no one can deny that the great insecurity of life which was characteristic of those days must have destroyed all stimulus to save and is, to some extent at least, responsible for the present scarcity of capital. The section on national income contains a useful discussion of the changes in income and the standard of living at different periods of history, while the well-known theory of "economic drain" which has now been recognised to be more a political dogma than a serious economic doctrine has been disposed of by means of a few critical and convincing comments.

On the whole it may be said that although the book has its faults and reads at places very much like a discursive lecture rather than a piece of scientific reasoning, still the information collected by the author is likely to be of use to all who are interested in the vital problem of poverty and waste.

CAJAN.

## Correspondence.

### SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR'S VOTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,— Was it one and the same editor who penned the note on the "Samiti Law" in your last issue and did not so much as mention that one of those who voted with Government and against the popular cause was Sir Cowasjee Jehangir—more or less a Liberal—who then went on to wax sarcastic about the lukewarm attitude of the Congressmen regarding the cause of the workers?

Sir Cowasjee's vote might have meant success to the cause of liberty instead of defeat! I expected strong criticism of his behaviour from your usually impartial pen!—Yours, etc.

D. D. KARVE.

Poona, 24th February.

[ We wish to assure our valued friend, Dr. Karve, that we have no desire to spare Sir Cowasjee Jehangir from criticism because he is a Liberal. As a matter of fact we had intended to point out, from the many deviations from party discipline that took place about the same time, how weak the organisation of parties in our country is. Two Congress members remained neutral on Sir Homi Mody's amendment on the Payment of Wages Bill, a Nationalist member and an Independent member remained neutral on the Bill to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and, as if to cap all this, a Liberal member voted against this last Bill. Sir Cowasjee, in voting as he did, went clean against the Liberal Federation's resolution adopted in December last, and his action deserves severer condemnation than that of the Congress, Independent and Nationalist members referred to above. We could not get in last week the rather elongated comment on the weakness of our general party organisation that we had desired to make, but we had hoped that our own attitude on the particular question raised could not be mistaken.

While on this point we wish to say that it is wrong to blame the defeat of Mr. B. Das's Bill on the President, Sir Abdur Rahim, who was bound to cast his vote in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo*. Those who were really responsible for the defeat were the two members who abstained from voting and still more the Liberal member who voted against the Bill.—Ed., S. O. I.]

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1934. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 24cm. 743p. 28/-.
- HEALTH AND HUMAN PROGRESS. By RENE SAND. (Kegan Paul.) 1935. 22cm. 278p. 10/6.
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