

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Retrenchment.

THE Bombay Legislative Council has by a large majority rejected the Court Fees Bill proceeds of which, expected to amount to Rs. 15 lakhs, would have gone towards reduction of the budget deficit. This vote is apparently intended to register the Council's protest against the failure of the Government to carry out all possible economies in public expenditure. It is true a retrenchment committee did go into the question of economising public expenditure about seven years ago; but it is not equally true that its recommendations have been given effect to. This time also there was a persistent demand for a similar committee being brought into being; but it is no use having committees if there is no certainty that their recommendations would be treated with the attention they deserve. The idea of effecting a cut in the salaries of Government servants is also in the air and the Finance Member assured the Council that the Government were trying to find out what were the intentions of other provincial Governments in the matter. A reduction in the salary of Government servants drawing, say, Rs. 500 or more every month would be no great hardship; but we would strongly deprecate any such action in the case of the lower-paid servants. If the recent debate in the Burma Legislative Council affords any indication, opinion there seems to favour action on these lines. A suggestion was also pressed on the Government that they should meet non-official wishes by agreeing to make a lump cut on the expenditure side. This was done once before and there does not appear to be any reason why the Government should have refused to follow the same course on this occasion. Far from doing that, the Home Member, Sir Ernest Hotson, threatened the Council that if they insisted upon a big cut, it would only mean so

much less money for the nation-building departments, the reserved budget admitting of no economies. This threat came with ill grace from one who defended the Government's annual move to the hills. This used to cost Rs. 67,000; but by limiting the stay at Mahabaleshwar to one month and by other means the expenditure will be brought down to Rs. 25,000. The real point here is however not whether Government should spend Rs. 67,000 or Rs. 25,000, but whether any expenditure from public funds for such a purpose, especially when the presidency is badly in need of every rupee it can get, is at all justified. The Finance Member said: "At present we are not only living from hand to mouth but we are not even getting a full meal." If a half-starved person decided to spend a portion of his meagre resources on such luxuries as going to Mahabaleshwar, he would be considered to be a fit case for treatment in a mental hospital. And yet Government do not see the impropriety involved in their asking for additional funds while not putting a stop to all needless expenditure! So long as they are able to find funds for this purpose, the taxpayer, as pointed out even by the *Times of India*, "will not accept assurances that every possible retrenchment has been made". It was claimed in the course of the debate that the Government's economy campaign had not left even the Governor's personal establishment untouched. We wish we had been told what exactly was done. Is it decided to disband his band establishment, which even an ex-Commander-in-Chief regarded as perfectly superfluous? Then, what about the body-guard? It is never used except on ceremonial occasions and cannot be said to be a necessity. Did it attract the Finance Member's attention? So long as these luxuries are allowed to continue, the public cannot feel sure that everything possible was done to cut down public expenditure to the minimum.

Reorientation.

COMMENTING on Mr. C. F. Andrews's very interesting article on "India's Coming Independence" and its probable effects on South Africa, the *Cape Times* wisely advises the Union Government to drop altogether the anti-Indian legislation now on the legislative anvil. The *Cape Times* realises that India is soon to have Dominion autonomy and would have South Africa realise all that that change implies in the status and dignity of India. "We in South Africa should not be in a hurry to exhibit ourselves as the one remaining focus of Indian discontent, just at the moment when the long-chafed soreness between Great Britain and India is being magically soothed away." At the present moment, "a flare-up in South Africa of anti-Indian feeling would be most unpleasantly conspicuous and would put South Africa in a very equivocal position before the eyes of a watching world." If statesmanship calls for the abandoning of the anti-Indian policy, self-interest reinforces it. The *Cape Times* continues:

A self-governing India will be mistress of her own trade policy. The possibilities of commercial development as between South Africa and India are so large that few have even contemplated them as yet. If South Africa chooses this moment for aggressive legislation against local Indian community she can say farewell to all hope of reaping benefit for herself from this great change in India. This is hardly the time to throw away any source of new prosperity, unless a clear national necessity makes its rejection imperative. We do not think that the friction between European and Indian traders in the Transvaal creates a national necessity of that importance.

There can be no doubt that there are large commercial possibilities between India and South Africa. The Japanese Government have been more alert in this matter: they have recently concluded a special commercial treaty with South Africa. India has more reason to anticipate Japan in this respect. We hope that a move will soon be made to negotiate a commercial treaty between India and South Africa.

Though the Cape Town Agreement falls due for revision next year, it would on the whole be preferable that the revision was postponed till the new constitution is set up in India. A lasting settlement of the Indian question in South Africa is best negotiated by the Dominion Government of India to be.

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Indian Military Problem.

RESPONSIBILITY is said to widen one's vision; but it does not seem to have had that effect on Sir Claud Jacob who for a time occupied the high office of Commander-in-Chief in India. In his article in the latest number of the *Empire Review* he deals with the problem of the Indian army in a manner which shows him to be completely out of touch with the requirements of the present situation. As a result of the Round Table Conference, as the Commander-in-Chief explained the other day in the Council of State, the principle of a more rapid Indianisation of the army and the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst had been accepted both by the Government of India and himself as head of the Indian army; but Sir Claud Jacob still clings pathetically to the old world notion that "Indianisation and efficiency cannot go together." He is afraid that Indianisation will mean more corruption. It would have been well if he had explained how, in its absence, we are left wondering what he has in mind. Does he think that Indianised regiments can be bought out of action so that in emergencies they will refuse to act? Left to himself, he would go on with the scheme of Indianising eight units which was rightly condemned by the Skeen Committee. He would watch the results of that experiment very carefully before he decided upon the next step. He would not like army officers to be recruited from the non-martial races; but he cannot reconcile himself to a liberal use being made of the martial ones in this connection because they are illiterate, so that if he had the ordering of things, it would be centuries before Indianisation can make any advance. But his greatest objection to Indianisation is that it would destroy mess life which promotes discipline, camaraderie and *esprit de corps*. He attaches such—exaggerated, shall we say;—importance to the regimental mess that to him military efficiency is inconceivable without it. Indians marry young and would, according to him, naturally prefer to stay with their families. Thus if Sir Claud Jacob is to be fair to himself there can really be no Indianisation at any time because it is certain to lead to the much reduced use of the mess. But goodness be thanked that the matter no longer rests in

hands such as his. According to the Commander-in-Chief's latest statement in the Council of State, the recommendations made by the Defence sub-committee of the Round Table Conference have commended themselves to the Government of India and they are taking action with a view to implementing them. That is a welcome change in the attitude of the Government of India who not long ago turned down the Skeen Committee's proposal in favour of the establishment of a military college in India. Upon their changed outlook toward this problem they deserve to be congratulated. We do hope we shall soon hear about the personnel of the Committee they intend to set up for working out the details of the establishment of such a college. It is true the Defence sub-committee has expressed a desire that the proposed committee on Indian Sandhurst should consist of "experts." We hope the word will not be so interpreted as to include in the Committee only military officers to the exclusion of non-officials who have been close students of the problem of army Indianisation.

* * *

An oasis in a desert.

Writing on the question of separate vs. joint electorates in a recent issue, the *Mussalman* of Calcutta, edited by Mr. Majibur Rahaman, gives expression to sentiments which deserve to be widely known. Mr. Rahaman was at one time a strong advocate of separate electorates for his own community; but having seen the mischief which they have worked, specially in Bengal, he feels they do no good to his community. According to him, it is only those self-seekers who have no chance in joint electorates that stand up for separate ones. In Bengal they had Mahomedan ministers elected by separate communal electorates who have done precious little for the well-being of the general mass of Mahomedans. On the other hand, he says, the system has prevented the community from being self-reliant by giving it this "artificial prop." It is a satisfaction to learn from him that there is now a wider recognition in his community of the fact that "the condition of the masses will never improve so long as the existing system of separate electorates remains and so long as the seekers of careers take advantage of it for the attainment of their own end." The great drawback of the system, in his opinion, which we doubt not is shared by all nationally-minded Mahomedans, is that by putting Hindus and Mahomedans in two watertight compartments as it were, it does not enable them to come together for the purpose of "ameliorating their condition." It is from this point of view as well as from that of making his community more self-respecting that he wishes to see these separate electorates removed from the Indian polity. Apart from this wider question, in Bengal at any rate he thinks they place his community at a disadvantage by restricting it only to 39 per cent. of the seats in the legislature; while if there were joint electorates he expects the Mahomedans would form a majority. Failing other arguments, this last one should convince every normally-minded Mahomedan in Bengal about the undesirability of separate electorates. At a time when Muslim leaders who ought to know better are also joining in the general chorus in favour of the retention of separate electorates as a condition precedent to any political advance and as one essential for the progress of the Mahomedan community, Mr. Rahaman's views are indeed like an oasis in a desert. If more of his co-religionists who feel with him showed his moral courage and came forward to repudiate separate electorates, they would be doing an invaluable service to the country.

* * *

Articles.

REJOICINGS.

AS we go to press comes the joyous news that at long last a settlement has been arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin and that it has received the endorsement of their respective Cabinets. The news will be hailed all over the country with relief and rejoicings. The terms of the agreement have not yet been made public, but they are of secondary importance compared with the fact that peace and reconciliation are assured to a sore-stricken land. To Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi are due in a pre-eminent degree the thanks and the gratitude of India for overcoming what seemed almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of peace, not the least of which were considerations of prestige, and for giving peace to the country. Thanks and gratitude of the country are no less due to the three great peace-makers, Messrs. Sastri, Sapru and Jayakar, for the truly heroic and persistent efforts they made for bringing about the wished-for consummation. The success of their efforts is perhaps their greatest reward.

The significance of the settlement cannot be over-estimated. For over a decade the inexhaustible energies and phenomenal influence of the Mahatma have been engaged in "war", in raising forces which, but for his personal hold over them, were not proof against mischief, in propagating ideas subversive of ordered progress, whatever be the justification for such a course of action. Hereafter the mighty influence of the Mahatma will be harnessed for a different and more useful and constructive work, so badly needed in the country. There can be no doubt that the Mahatma will be the strongest single force, outdistancing every other, in stilling the storm he has raised, in resolving the bitterness and hatred that were the inevitable bye-products of his erstwhile activities, and in bringing England and India together in bonds of friendship. Mighty as has been his influence in the field of non-co-operation, we cherish the hope that his influence in the field of co-operation will be greater, and certainly more beneficial.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER introduced the budget for the year 1931-32 in the Assembly in an eminently lucid and business-like speech. He covered a wide ground, beginning with a general review of the present economic and political situation and ending with a defence of the currency policy of the Government. For, all these factors have had a great deal to do with the financial situation in which the Indian Government finds itself placed to-day. And this situation is, indeed, critical. The current year, for which the budget presented last year showed a surplus of Rs. 86 lakhs, is estimated now to end with a deficit of Rs. 12.68 crores. For this the Civil Disobedience movement and the general trade depression seem to be equally responsible. The deterioration

in the position is chiefly due to a fall in revenue under the heads of customs (9.5 crores), Income-tax (2.2 crores) and currency and mint (1.85 crores). Under customs the fall of nearly Rs. 3½ crores is due to diminished expectation in the revised estimates of the yield of the duty on cotton piece-goods as compared with the budget figures. It is difficult, of course, to apportion the share of the political or the economic factors individually for the result; for, the one has an inevitable reaction on the other also. Anyway, the year has been a very bad one, to be compared only with the years of severe post-war depression, such as 1921-22 and 1922-23 and has resulted in adding more than Rs. 12¼ crores to the burden of the Indian unproductive debt. The fixed arrangement regarding the railway budget has prevented the deficit on the working of Railways from affecting the general revenue position immediately. But, as we remarked last time, if the trade conditions do not improve during the next year this additional factor will also have to be taken into account.

The budget figures for the next year do not anticipate any considerable improvement in the general situation. The customs revenue—at the present rates—is expected to yield only a slightly larger revenue; the income tax—also at the existing rates,—is estimated to show a fall as next year's yield will reflect this year's income-level and the Government obviously anticipate the necessity of further contracting the currency in the near future. There would, therefore, be an expectation, on the basis of present figures, of a total deficit of Rs. 17.24 crores for 1931-32. It is a matter for speculation as to what loss the revenues will in future sustain as a result of the latest agreement between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi with regard to the free manufacture of salt. The fall in revenues on account of civil disobedience does not seem to have been considerable under this head. The Finance Member in the face of this enormous deficit has taken the wise resolution of overcoming "present difficulties with present measures," and presented important proposals for the decrease of the burden of taxation. There have been, no doubt, some attempts at retrenchment. Thus a reduction of Rs. 1.75 crores has been achieved in the military expenditure by spreading over the re-equipment programme over an additional year and by making due allowance for the present fall in the prices of provisions, etc. Civil expenditure has been cut down to a small extent by reducing the provision for contingencies and certain allowances; new civil works have been postponed and the proceeds of the sale of the Indo-European Telegraph undertaking are to be credited to current revenues. The cuts, however, do not amount to much and making allowance for them, there is still left a gap of nearly Rs. 14½ crores to be made up by new taxation. Sir George promises, in the meanwhile, a retrenchment committee. He has also inserted in his speech a long disquisition on the pay and conditions of service. We do not agree with a number of his arguments and the larger part of his conclusions; we do not further share his premonition that a revision of scales of pay

will affect the financial credit of India. We, however, entirely agree with him that this is a part of the larger question of "permanently reducing the general standard of Government expenditure" and should, therefore, be tackled with great deliberation as a consistent whole. It is, perhaps, as well that no hasty steps be taken in this direction immediately and that the entire problem be left to be suitably dealt with by those who will control the new constitutional machinery.

The new taxation proposals are simple enough. The present political conditions have put entirely out of court the possibility of an increase in the salt duty—a measure often resorted to in the last decade. The only two revenue heads left in which increases are possible, are Customs and Income-Tax. Percentage additions have been made to all the existing *ad valorem* duties. They are being called "surcharges" but the word seems to make no difference to their nature. In short, the tariff wall is being piled up. The 10 p. c. duties are increased to 12½ p. c.; the 15 p. c. schedule becomes a 20 p. c. schedule and the present 30 p. c. duties are to be henceforth levied at the rate of 40 p. c. This, indeed, is a drastic change and revenue necessity seems to be slowly driving us to adopt high tariffs. However temporary these increases are meant to be, it is well-known that once an increase is put on it tends to stick. There is obviously little to dispute in the raising of such duties as on foreign liquor, and we may have to tolerate the increase in the general schedule rate for luxury or semi-luxury goods. It is, however, necessary to inquire more closely into their incidence on the poor consumer before such duties as on Kerosene or (apart from the question affording protection) on cotton piece-goods and sugar are raised substantially. Kerosene is an article of almost as general consumption as salt and the annual expenditure of a poor family on it would be generally much greater than in the case of the latter article. It is noteworthy that the Finance Member's proposals regarding sugar are accidentally supported by the Tariff Board's recommendations. But their points of view are not identical. The Finance Member expects an increase in revenue as a result, while the Tariff Board look forward to a considerable fall in imports. If the Tariff Board's calculations prove correct, it is more likely that the yield of the sugar duty will follow the course of the old duty on matches than that it will bring about an increase in receipts. The Finance Member also proposes to increase the import duty on silver from 4 as. per ounce to 6 as. He can hardly be said to have justified this increase successfully. He is evidently not hopeful that international cooperation will soon be forthcoming to stabilise the price of silver. He further thinks that the fall in its price is not too large as compared with the fall in the prices of other metals. It is thus clear that the increase in duty is not intended to counteract temporarily what may be considered as an unnatural decline. The Finance Member merely says that "it is a clearly justifiable form of raising revenue as part of the general plan." But if it is that and nothing

else, the obvious query as to why silver consumers should be made to pay a duty amounting to almost 50 p. c. while other metals bear only 20 p. c. duty remains entirely unanswered.

The new surcharges on customs are expected to bring in over Rs. 9 crores; the increase in the rates of income tax will, it is estimated, bring in another Rs. 4½ crores. This decision to increase substantially the level of income taxation is a bold and a wise one. It represents a move entirely in the right direction. There are also two features of the new proposals which we wholeheartedly welcome. They are the reduction of the super-tax limit to Rs. 30,000 in the case of individuals and the proposal to bring within the scope of taxation the income from foreign investments. But we as emphatically disapprove of the new gradation of income taxes and of their being made permanent. As compared with the Income Tax of most other countries the Income Tax of India is marked by the peculiarity that the gradation of scales of duties here is not at all steep enough. Most economists are agreed that a very steep gradient is in theory fully justifiable, and it is only practical considerations that prevent the Income Tax from rising at very high levels of income to rates that would amount to confiscation. Even Sir Walter Layton has said that there is scope for a considerable steepening of scales in India between the limits of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1 lakh. And yet what we find in Sir George's proposals is that the gradient is actually made less steep than before. The following table will make the retrograde nature of these proposals very clear:

Income in Rs.	Present rate (piesper Re).	Increase proposed
2,000—4,999	5	4
5,000—9,999	6	5
10,000—14,999	9	5
15,000—19,999	10	6
20,000—29,999	13	6

(The super-tax makes it difficult to compile a simple table for incomes above 30,000).

It is thus proposed that while the man with an income of less than Rs. 5,000 will have the burden of his income tax increased by as much as 80 p. c., the man with an income between Rs. 20 and 30 thousand will have it increased by much less than 50%! It is to be hoped that the Assembly will strenuously oppose and radically alter the nature of these proposals.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN VIEWS OF R. T. C.

THE English Reviews for February devote considerable attention to the work of the Round Table Conference. True to its traditions, the *National Review* does not see anything in it worthy of praise. The Conference ended as it began "in a spate of oratory." "If the opening chorus revealed a luscious dish of enthusiastic ideas, the finale of all its verbosity showed that the oven was useless for baking and has only produced a last minute *souffle* which is as light as it is tasteless." If it is so light, why should the *Review* consider it necessary to waste so much of its valuable space upon it? It then takes to task the Conservative representatives who "confined themselves to half-expressed doubts, which really seemed

like timid acceptances" with the result that "all parties, British and Indian, are now committed to a course of Indian ruin and Imperial disintegration." It sings in the same tune when it says that the Conference "has established that the British people, who first conquered and then united India, no longer have the right to rule the country to which they gave peace and justice for the first time in history." While the whole world is impressed, if not by the achievement of the Conference, at least by the atmosphere of sweet reasonableness and good will that pervaded the Conference, the *Review* speaks of the Indian delegates as holding the pistol to the heads of the British people!

But the irony and the tragedy does not end there. For the demands put forward in London are not really the delegates' own, but are Congress and water, for Congress at present really holds the gun.

It falls foul of Lord Reading who very wisely and prudently supported the demand for responsibility at the Centre. Indeed much of the credit for the success of the Conference must go to him. The *Review* however thinks otherwise.

From the moment that he took this line a complete rot set in among the other British Delegates. The speeches by Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Peel, two of the Conservative Representatives, revealed that the Conservative Party fears both the fact and result of the Indian demands. They fear the result of handing over India to the Indians, but they fear even more to say "No" out loud.

The British Delegation is then blamed for its failure "to so much as suggest any form of compromise between Hindus and Moslems", which is not the impression at any rate of those who were directly connected with the Conference. But this is not all.

Had we told them all that we should settle the matter in our own way, this would have been understood by them; but instead of being good Englishmen our politicians have been trying to be Asiatics. They have played the Oriental game of standing aside while other parties exterminate each other, but they utterly lack the Oriental determination to win, somehow, anyhow, which is a feature of Eastern politics. Let us be under no illusions. The Indian will beat us at his own game before we start. We won India by being good white men, and we are losing it by being indifferent brown ones.

While the Safeguards are proving a great stumbling block in India to the winning of Congress cooperation in the further stages of the work of constitution-making, they strike the *Review* as merely intended "to save our face to our own people." How Indian opinion wishes it were so! Then is tackled the question: What impression will the Indian delegates carry with them to India?

The only thing the Indian Delegates will bring back is what they have both heard and seen in the London at first hand. They have learned that however long you talk the English will never say "Shut up." They will report to Congress that there is no Raj, that England is in a distressful state, that she has lost the art of governing and even of managing her own affairs.

The Viceroy is strongly criticised for his inability to believe, as evidenced by his speech of December last to the Calcutta Europeans, that repression and repression alone would work miracles in India. Indeed, it goes so far as to attribute, indirectly of course, that the recent revolutionary outrages to "the unfortunate words of a man who was originally sent out to rule India," and asks: "If Lord Irwin is as beloved as some henchmen of his tell us, why are the Indian police worn out in their efforts to guard him?" In the same strain is the following:

Lord Irwin leaves India in April, and his friends will be thankful when he is safely out of the country. He leaves a dreadful heritage to his successor. Taking over, as he did, at a time of great unrest and difficulty, he has proved quite unequal to the great burdens of his office. He has shown neither knowledge of the Indian character nor foresight as to the course of events. His has been a pathetic figure, helpless in the storms he has assisted to raise and the passions he has so greatly inflamed by a policy of perpetual surrender.

The results of the Conference have apparently left a different impression upon the *Fortnightly Review*, to which such success as attended the Conference is surprising. It has a good word for the "ability" and "moral courage" of the British Indian delegates in coming to the Conference in the face of much obloquy and vituperation from their own countrymen and thinks, what is indeed generally accepted, that such progress as is made towards Dominion Status has been made possible by the far-seeing attitude of the Princes. "There is now no possibility of denying to India a degree of self-governing freedom which makes the reorganisation of the Imperial Commonwealth an urgent task of the near future." That is the situation to which Englishmen must reconcile themselves, if they want a contented India.

Has the Conference failed or succeeded? On that point the *Empire Review* thinks that "its principal value has been an educational one." It is not too enthusiastic over its positive achievements. It characterises "the much boasted agreements" reached at the Conference as "nebulous" and hopes that "the frail gossamer thread of an agreement may survive, despite the flashing knives of those who, from various points of view, are anxious to cut it." There is also no doubt that the longer the agreement, such as it is, lasts, the greater the importance it would acquire. The creation of friendly atmosphere between Great Britain and India rendered possible by the Conference is "no small gain", but the real test is yet to come.

Will those who have represented the views of India, often with such conspicuous statesmanship and moderation at the Round Table Conference find themselves ostracised, boycotted, it may be endangered, when they reach their own shores? That they have advanced in very large measure the political progress of their country cannot be denied, but will this be regarded by the Congress as sufficient excuse for violating the Congress ban upon the Round Table Conference?

Those who have been following these columns with any care will have no difficulty in remembering that the *Manchester Guardian* regarded the Conference as marking the funeral of British Imperialism. The *Foreign Affairs* edited by Sir Norman Angell also takes the same view when it says that "the conclusion of the Indian Round Table Conference marks the end of the Imperial era in India." It reads into the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders "an appeal (by the Viceroy) for conciliation which would have been unimaginable after a period of intense lawlessness in any previous generation of Indian rulers." It is important to remember what the *Manchester Guardian* writes. It assumes that young India and the Hindu Mahasabha will disapprove the proposals framed by the Conference. Who will then support them?

(1) The Princes? Yes, but they are not in a position to influence British India, unless, indeed, they will agree to a declaration of fundamental rights for State subjects. That would produce a real swing of opinion in their favour and, consequently, in favour of this settlement in which they have played the leading part.

(2) The Moslems? Yes, if sufficient consideration is shown for their position in the Prime Minister's proposals for settling the Hindu-Muslim controversy.

(3) The Sikhs? This small but very important community may easily be alienated by any concessions made to the Moslems in the Punjab.

(4) The depressed classes? No, they are not sufficiently educated or organised to be a trustworthy political force. They can easily be misled by any agitator.

(5) Mr. Gandhi? You can never tell, but it is not safe to gamble on miracles or mahatmas.

(6) The professional and the property-owning classes? Perhaps. But the Indian industrialists of Bombay have been incredibly embittered by the rupee ratio controversy, and it is doubtful whether the transfer of finance subject to the reservations proposed, will avail to win their support or even to restrain them from financing the wreckers.

That is, more or less, the situation. With such a formidable array of forces against the scheme or rather its outline hammered out in London, the task of popularising it in this country, by whomsoever it may have to be shouldered, is bound to be a very uphill one.

Writing about the Indian Debate in the House of Commons towards the end of January, the *Manchester Guardian* repeats what indeed came out very prominently in the Debate that the alternative to the grant of a constitution would be "Repression, and not, as Mr. MacDonald pointed out, repression of this or that section of the population, of this or that political organisation, but of the whole Indian people, including women and children." Referring to the "kind of beastliness" which has been going on in this country under the guise of maintenance of law and order and to which Mr. H. N. Brailsford with his firsthand knowledge is doing his best to awaken British opinion for which valuable service India must remain in heavy debt to him, it says:-

Whenever a Government exists remote from the will of most of the people governed, however illiterate or religiously divided they may be, fanaticism will at least give them a peculiar strength, and the servants of the Government will tend to meet that fanaticism with mere force that easily degenerates into mere brutality.

Mr. Churchill speaking in the Indian Debate foreshadowed that the contemplated reforms would result in the early severance of the British connection with India. That was, of course, taking too gloomy a view of the situation. But even were it so, according to the *Guardian*, "most people in this country would far rather proceed towards such a goal, reach it even, than feel in any way responsible for the kind of thing that Mr. Brailsford describes."

Let us now see what Mr. Brailsford has to say about the constitution itself in his article in the *New Leader*. It is to him "a conservative constitution," a view held by many people in India. He thinks that the London Conference was "a negotiation with the leaders of the day before yesterday." While, according to him, the draft constitution "gives much, it withholds something," and in the present suspicious atmosphere in this country the natural tendency would of course be to concentrate attention on what has been withheld rather than upon what is given. He thinks that if along with this constitution all the political prisoners had been released without any kind of bargaining, India might have looked upon it as a sign of change of heart and there would be a truce by now. The constitution, modelled as it is on the United States model, is "an elaborate mechanism of checks and balances, carefully devised with the object of making any quick movement or any considerable change difficult, if not impossible." "These are the checks" he proceeds "which have all but broken the spirit of every progressive movement in American politics." The Princess' nominees who will be nearly one-third

of the total membership of the Federal Legislature will be, he fears, as many in this country do, in the nature of "an immovable Conservative block."

It will not change as Indian public opinion veers. Always it will be ranged in support of the moneyed and landed classes to which these princes belong. Always it will be the solid bulwark of every Conservative interest in India, and will combine with the landlords, the manufacturers and merchants against the few representatives of the tenants and the workers who may find their way into the closely guarded chambers of this Parliament.

It is up to the Princes to do everything to belie Mr. Brailsford's prophesy. We are sure no one will be better pleased than himself to see this come about. His further reason for disapproving of the constitution as undemocratic is the absence of due provision for the protection of the interests of "the millions of tenants, landless labourers and artisans." As pointed out by him, communal electorates put "a premium on intolerance" and deserve to go. But we do not think, as he seems to do, that the presence of the Congress leaders at the Conference, however welcome and desirable it might have been, would have resulted in any improvement, so far as this question is concerned. If Mr. Brailsford will look back upon the history of India of the last few years, he will find that every single attempt made by the Congress towards this end came to nought, as we need hardly say it did not deserve to do. Apart from this, there is no doubt that if circumstances had made it possible for Congress leaders to attend the Conference, its decisions would have immensely gained in weight. In his article in the *New Republic* of February 4, he returns to the question of communal electorates and says with truth that "Parliamentary institutions cannot function on the basis of separate communal electorates." Should the Moslems and Hindus fail to come to a settlement among themselves, he even goes so far as to suggest that the British Government should dictate, and thinks, on the strength of the confession of "their ablest leader" at Delhi, that "That way out of the impasse even the Moslems in their hearts might welcome." It is a truism that only with the substitution of common for communal electorates, "the possibility of genuine democratic Governments would begin for India." Another thing he would like done is the introduction, as in Ceylon, of universal, or at least manhood, suffrage. There was much talk at the Round Table about protection to minorities and too little about that of the majority, by which Mr. Brailsford of course means the tenants, landless labourers and artisans. "Is it not time" he asks, "that we should provide also for the representation of the majority?" "At present the tenant masses of the villages have rarely a vote and never a representative." In this connection he sounds a note of warning from which all concerned may profit: "If we draft the constitution on the assumption that these peasants are still passive and negligible, we shall perpetuate injustice today and lay the train for such an uprising of the villages as overtook Russia."

American opinion does not apparently think that the proffered reforms transfer real power to Indian hands. That they fall short of complete Dominion Status is obvious. But what American opinion as represented by the *World Tomorrow* says is: "England still holds the keys to real power by retaining control of finance, defense and foreign relations." The absence of any promise on England's part "about the future" and of any definition of the period of transition for which these reservations are to hold good might, it is afraid, make the constitution unacceptable to "advanced Indian opinion." "On the other hand, it is possible that the Indian Congress

will decide that it is wiser to start with the new constitution than to disregard it." Let us hope this possibility will become a reality.

D. V. A.

A REMARKABLE REPORT.

THE Director of the International Labour Office, in the report which he submitted to the Governing Body at its last session, has included an account from the Deputy-Director, Mr. H. B. Butler, of his visit to Canada and the United States of America last autumn. Mr. Butler states in his remarkable report, which has attracted a great deal of attention in the European press, that the principal object of his visit was to preserve contact with one of the most important members of the International Labour Organization and to study at first hand the economic developments on the American continent. His visit, coinciding, as it did, with the more acute manifestations of the present industrial depression in the United States, is of additional interest and it is also noteworthy that repeatedly in the course of his report Mr. Butler has tended to look upon the problems of the North American continent as forming a whole notwithstanding the political barriers. Mr. Butler gives a good deal of space to the unemployment problem and in his analysis of it he makes it his chief concern to bring out the interdependence of Europe and America. The exposition of his conclusions, based on impressions gathered through personal contact with numerous labour leaders, captains of commerce and industry and government officials, constitutes a powerful argument for international cooperation as the effective, and indeed the only, means of the resumption of normal conditions in a world so much upset by the war and all that has followed after. It may almost be said that the Deputy Director of the International Labour Office, realizing that the current of events will soon compel Americans to abandon their isolation and realizing also the immense significance of a whole-hearted and interested participation of America in world affairs, is anxious at once that public opinion at large should take heed of the coming change and that the League organization should fully utilize it so that its effectiveness may no longer be hampered by its present limitations.

There is much in this report which would repay study in India. Mr. Butler once alludes to the realization by American business men of the disturbing effects of political troubles in Eastern markets. But the part dealing with Canada should certainly interest Indian opinion at the present time. Owing to the federal constitution of Canada, the ratification of international connections by that country has not been an easy matter. Mr. Butler's report shows of what concern this position has been to the Office. The ratification of conventions must be in the last resort, as the Director of the I. L. O., Monsieur Albert Thomas, said in the last session of the International Labour Conference, the measure of success for the International Labour Organization. The anxiety on the part of the Office to bring about an improvement in the position is understandable. But there is a suggestion in Mr. Butler's report that the subject is

of at least equal interest to Canada itself. "I had opportunities of discussing the whole question of ratification with the Ministers of Public Works, the Attorney-General and the Secretary of Labour of Manitoba, and with the Prime Ministers, Labour Ministers and Attorneys-General of Alberta and Saskatchewan. I found that they were all anxious to promote any scheme for enabling the *de facto* position of Canada in reference to the conventions to be better understood, and were ready to welcome any move for inter-provincial cooperation that might be initiated by the Dominion Government," says Mr. Butler. And it would appear that Canada's anxiety to put this matter of ratifications right is not due to her desire to figure better in the international chart alone. "Indeed, some of them felt," he adds, "that there was need for a more uniform standard of labour legislation throughout the Dominion and held the view that the Western Provinces were somewhat handicapped in competition with the Eastern provinces, where labour conditions were not so strictly regulated nor social insurance generally so advanced." He concludes, "Ways and means may even be worked out of enabling the Federal Government to deposit a formal ratification of any convention which is being observed in practice throughout the Dominion, but there are legal difficulties in the way which still have to be overcome before this desirable end can be reached."

If such are the national and international difficulties which a federal constitution gives rise to in Canada, it needs no very great penetration to realize that we will have to face much greater difficulties of the same sort in India when the new constitution comes into effect unless adequate safeguards are provided for in this regard. The beneficial effects of international labour conventions on labour legislation in India are generally admitted. It will be recalled that, when at the last and previous International Labour Conferences both the employers' and labour representatives from India, from different points of view, complained of the difficulties arising from the Indian States keeping out of the International Labour Organization, the Government of India's representative expressed the hope that the matter would be considered at the time of the framing of the new constitution. The omission of labour from the list of federal subjects in the constitution envisaged at the Conference in London unaccompanied by any definite measures calculated to leave the present position with regard to the ratification of international conventions unchanged is a strange culmination to the expectations thus raised. It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that this omission will be repaired in time and the Indian labour leaders, the International Labour Office, the present British Government and last but not least, the Government of India, will all alike strive to rid the new constitution of India of defects similar to those which weigh heavily on Canada with its much simpler conditions. It is fortunate that the new Viceroy who will probably be called upon to give most thought to this subject has his Canadian experience to draw upon.

R. R.

THE PARTY SYSTEM.

SIR John Simon has been inveighing against the party system as being opposed to the real interests of the country. Though Sir John has been making his criticisms to apply mainly to the Liberal Party, they have at the same time a general application to the working of the party system. This and similar attacks to which that system is subjected ought therefore to make the lovers of parliamentary government pause and consider what really is wrong with it.

The party system is, it will be acknowledged, the one great instrument that has been discovered for the effective expression of the political opinions of the people at large in the matter of administering a country. It is in fact the most careful method by which Democracy is made workable over large areas.

England which is the nursing ground of constitutional government has given very important lessons to other countries in the methods of expressing divergences in political opinion and of adjusting political differences also. The historic division of English politicians into two parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, has not only been fruitful of much good but has also pointed the way for the success of party government in the real sense of the term. It has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, and at the same time the more vividly by virtue of its contrast from the continental multiple party system, how responsible government of the parliamentary type can best be carried on with the least amount of friction and instability by the existence of two parties, one of which will be in power and the other in opposition, the latter acting as a corrective of the former and so on.

That the two-party system has had very smooth sailing in England up till now is a tribute not only to its efficiency but also to the English character and the English love of tradition. But the development of a third party in British politics has brought about complications, the effects of which are being slowly felt. Parliamentary government is rendered less stable in England today by this growth of a third party and the swings of the parliamentary pendulum will, it may be imagined, be more violent than ever before. A system in which there are more than two parties at once results in the elevation of one or more minority parties to the position of balancers and arbiters of the parliamentary destinies of the major parties, rendering their existence irksome and uncongenial. Each of the latter look to the former for support and strength and there will result a system of political bargaining and manoeuvring which is not conducive either to the interests of the parties concerned or to the maintenance of a healthy political and constitutional life in the country. Party groupings and regroupings, such as those frequently noticeable on the European continent, will be constantly formed and re-formed and settled or stable government becomes an impossibility. The bad consequences of a multiple-party system are manifold

and do not need repetition, as they have been exposed times without number.

But it is no use simply pointing out the defects of the party system: they have got to be faced and solved or remedied if possible. In England especially, the existence of a minority party in the Liberal Party gives fruitful scope for party manoeuvring, which, in Sir John Simon's words, has led to "a pale cast of thought", a "calculating what will happen if you do this or that" and "creeping out of the House, because it will be awkward to vote". The remedy is not to do away with the party system for good and all; for it is to be remembered that if the party system is done away with, parliamentary government will become not only impossible but also unreal, which means that there will be an end of the democratic regime and the establishment of either a dictatorship or a mobocracy.

There is only one remedy for the situation. An attempt should be made to reduce party divergences as far as possible and to evolve and stress common viewpoints. Party prestige and party honour carefully nursed and zealously guarded for a long time are no doubt insuperable obstacles in the way of weaning away people from old party labels and principles. But the stress of circumstances and the necessity for restoring the constitutional balance are points which ought to weigh with all lovers of stable and strong party government. The old party lines are getting more and more blurred and levelled down and party principles which actuated and divided politicians in the old times are going out of vogue. The present is therefore the most propitious time for a reconstruction of parties according to the new needs and thus to eliminate unnecessary complications. The Liberal party is fast getting defunct and its existence is notified to us from time to time only by the loud-speaking attempts of Mr. Lloyd George and the emphasising egotism of Sir John Simon. Most of the few members that it could count upon in Parliament have leanings either in favour of Toryism or Labour. In the future therefore there is room only for these two parties which are founded on distinct principles and subsist on real differences of political opinion and it may be considered fairly certain that the political balance will again be shortly restored. Anyway, England will not at any time provide a fruitful soil for the implanting of the continental system of multiple parties.

Undoubtedly, the party system is open to objection from certain points of view, the most important of them being that it lays too much premium upon the development of a group mentality and stifles individual opinion, that it reduces opinions to a cast-iron mould and inhibits freedom of thought, speech and action. But its very weaknesses are also its strong points and it must be stated that it is the one great device that the ingenuity of man has devised to make democratic government a success in the world. No other plan or scheme will be half so successful or half so feasible as this to make public opinion felt in the affairs of government and to enable government to be carried on according to the wishes of the vast

majority of the people. Wisdom consists therefore in reforming and reshaping it rather than in abandoning it and casting it off.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

Review.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SERVICES.

THE CIVIL SERVICE OF CANADA. By ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 23 cm. 266 p.

AMERICAN CIVIC ANNUAL. A RECORD OF RECENT CIVIC ADVANCE. Ed. By HARLEAN JAMES. (American Civic Association, Washington.) 1929. 20 cm. 288 p.

INDIA'S preoccupation at the present moment is with constitutional questions. But the time will soon come when the country will have to take up in earnest the question of the organization of the services. Constitutional reform is all very well and self-government is a good thing. But if these are to conduce to the welfare of the people and the progress of the country they must be backed and forwarded by administrative efficiency. The civil services will play as ever a predominant part in the government of a free self-governing India. The modern history of England, France and Germany shows that popular governments have to depend on an efficient civil service as their monarchical predecessors. The more advanced democracies of North America have also felt the need for their purposes of a well organized and properly recruited civil service. Here are two books from two different parts of North America, written for different purposes, and employing different methods, but proving a common idea—the importance of a well-organized and well-recruited service in the modern state. Canada is in the forefront of Indian political discussion on account of its offering a model of a federal state which India may be well advised to follow. But in regard to the equally important question of the manning of the civil services, Canadian experience may also be just as profitable or even more. Mr. Dawson in his book traces the history of the organization as well as of the recruitment of the civil services of Canada. Like its neighbour Canada had suffered from the spoils system and one of the first proposals for reform which celebrated the Federation of Canada in 1867 was to remedy the evils of political patronage out of existence. The cause of reform was not won easily or quickly. It was not till 1880–1882 that “the first gesture towards reform,” as Mr. Dawson calls it, was made in the shape of a Civil Service Act which created a Board of Examiners who were to hold examinations for recruitment to the services. But the two reforms urged by the Royal Commission which preceded this Act, i. e., open competitive examination and promotion by merit, were not yet accepted. “Political patronage was as powerful as ever except that the illiterate and hopelessly incompetent were excluded.” A long period of stagnation followed (1882–1908). Another Royal Commission reported in 1907 and the outcome was the Civil Service Amendment Act of 1908 in accordance with which a permanent Civil Service Commission was established and all appointments to the Inside Service (Departmental and Clerical) were to be made by open competitive examinations. The year 1917 marks another important stage in the history of the Civil Service of Canada. Thanks to

the advent of a Union and Coalition Government, measures to abolish patronage altogether and reform the civil service were put into the programme of governmental measures. A new Civil Service Act was passed in 1918 which brought the Outside service also under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission. This Act, says Mr. Dawson, virtually eliminated political patronage by substituting the Civil Service Commission for the Cabinet Ministers and the Members of Parliament, although later events were to prove that party influence in the services was not quite dead. So difficult it is for popular Parliaments and Ministries to give up political patronage. Indian experience also goes to prove this. Although it is more than two years since the Secretary of State passed orders allowing provincial governments to set up provincial public service commissions no provincial government has taken advantage of this except that of Madras. But the cause of reform has been won in Canada and the second part of Mr. Dawson's book deals with the principles of civil service organization. The chapters of Part II discuss the place of the civil service in parliamentary and responsible government; the best methods of selection and recruitment to the services, the principles that ought to govern the gradation of the services, promotion in the services, retirement of civil servants. These chapters are recommended to the attention and study of all those interested in civil service reform in India. One chapter deals with the plan of an institution that is bound to become very important in our country occupied with communal claims and appeals, i. e., the Public Services Commission. The interesting question of the influence of the activities of a Civil Service Commission on the theory and practice of parliamentary and ministerial responsibility is dealt with. The question is whether permanent and independent civil service commissions do not detract from that responsibility of ministers and parliaments for one part of administration, i. e., the recruitment of the services. Mr. Dawson's answer is, and every one will agree with him, that it does, but that it is necessary in the interests of a pure and efficient civil service, and that it is no more a reflection or a detraction from responsible government than is the administration of the laws of a country by a permanent, independent and impartial judiciary. The final subject of Mr. Dawson's book is the large scale activities of the modern civil service. These large scale activities are inevitable once you call upon the state to do the things which modern political theory and modern democracies ask it to do.

The other book under review, although it does not deal with the civil service directly, refers to its work in connection with the cultivation of “higher ideals of civic beauty” in America, the promotion of city, town, and neighbourhood improvement and city and countryside-planning generally. This Annual, and the Association of which it is the annual, brings together the work of private citizens and public officials in this matter of planning of town and country. The beautifying of town and countryside in India has not yet become one of the objects of governmental or popular concern. But the work done in America as evidenced by this American Civic Annual ought to open the eyes of the Government and people in this country to the great political need of making India a thing of beauty and therefore to be loved all the more by its citizens.

M. RUTHNASWAMY,

POST-WAR DEMOCRACY.

THE PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By ALFRED ZIMMERN.
(Chatto & Windus.) 1929. 23cm. 375 p. 12/6.

THIS volume contains sixteen essays contributed to various magazines and journals between November 1918, and June 1928, and forms a sequel to the volume entitled *Nationality and Government* published in 1918. It falls roughly into two parts, the first consisting of essays dealing with individual countries and with educational and other general topics, and the second dealing mainly with the development of the League of Nations.

Of the first type of essays, two are of special interest. One of these entitled "England after the War" seeks to lay bare the chief problem of Britain to-day. This, according to the author, is to give up her egotiveness and insularity, look into herself, and instead of hiding her conflicts from herself, face them squarely and adjust herself to new world conditions. This readjustment is to be twofold involving the inner and the outer world—inner in that the British nature and qualities have to be adapted to the new situation that has arisen in the rest of the world, and outer in that British institutions and policies have to be transformed to meet new conditions. Stated epigrammatically, Englishmen must transform themselves from islanders into men of the awakened self-conscious twentieth century world, and transform the English Empire into a multi-national commonwealth.

The other essay to which we have referred entitled "Things of Martha and Mary," makes a sharp distinction between two departments of national life—the outer comprising the social and physical environment and the inner pertaining to the human soul. The former is the realm of politics or common affairs, involving public spirit and efficiency, cold matter-of-fact reason, large scale organisation and standardisation, and becoming increasingly international. It deals with matters which concern all mankind, such as control of the world's mineral resources, public health, commercial policy and such like. But when this outer basis of society has been attended to, only the foundation of a civilised world society has been laid. Civilisation and culture are things of the spirit and belong to the realm of Mary and the chief characteristic of this realm is that it pertains to the individual human soul—a world personal and intimate, intense in its feelings and attachments, unreasoning perhaps, but filled with a heavenly passion. The realm of Martha is the realm of what is common to all, hence more and more passing into the domain of international politics, and demanding practical judgment: the realm of Mary is the realm of individuality, evoking passionate enthusiasm. Most of the problems which confront nations today are, according to our author, due to not keeping these two realms distinct. Some, for instance, harness emotion which rightly belongs to the realm of Mary, to the world of politics where emotion is a positive danger, and matter-of-fact judgment is the prime requisite; and others introduce standardisation and large scale organisation which rightly belong to the realm of Martha, to the things of the spirit, and thus kill individuality without which culture can make no headway. Both departments of life are fundamental, but they should be clearly distinguished, and when this is done much confusion and waste of national energy will be avoided, and side by side with a great international organisation of the outer environment would flourish a truly personal and national culture. For masterly analysis, lucidity of thought, and a delightfully pungent style, these essays are remarkable.

Of the second type of essays, the one entitled "Some Principles and Problems of the Peace Conference" is of special interest. It is a project of the League of Nations, written in November 1918 at the time when the author was engaged on League of Nations work at the Foreign Office in London. Although events since 1918 have belied some of its judgments, it is remarkably shrewd in anticipating much of the organisation and functions of the League. It forms a useful starting point for grasping the general trend, which the reader will be able to trace for himself, of the author's treatment of the League in subsequent essays, and is of historical value in connection with the framing of the Covenant. It is not possible to survey the many aspects of the League dealt with in the essays which follow. The titles of some of them will indicate the topics discussed—The League and the Old Diplomacy, International Organisation—its prospects and limitations, Fiscal Policy and International Relations, Europe and the Geneva Protocol. The essay entitled "Great Britain, the Dominions and the League of Nations" is of special interest as indicating in what the unity of the British Empire lies, consisting as it does of diverse peoples claiming to determine their own future, what lessons the League may learn from the British Empire in regard to securing and maintaining international harmony, and how far the British Empire will survive as a unit in spite of the ever-widening reach of the League. All the essays dealing with the League as well as the last one on "The Prospects of Democracy" will repay careful study. The author is undoubtedly one who has devoted much time and thought to the League and to the problems connected with international affairs.

The book suffers from the general defect of all books which purport to be a collection of essays written at various times and under different circumstances. But our author has overcome this defect to some extent by arranging the essays bearing on the League in topical order.

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA.

A BOOK FOR ALL TIME.

TALES FROM THE PANCHATANTRA. TRS. from the Sanskrit BY ALFRED WILLIAMS.
(Basil Blackwell, Oxford.) 1930. 23. cm. 207 p. 7/6.

JOHN RUSKIN divides all books into two classes:—books of the hour and books of all time. *Panchatantra* admittedly falls under the second category. For more than fifteen hundred years it has been a source of delight to young and old, rich and poor, educated and uneducated not only in its native land—India—but in all civilized parts of the globe, having undergone translations and retranslations from Sanskrit into the various languages of the world. What is the secret of its popularity? Obviously it is the universal appeal it makes to people of all climes as a work of highly didactic value, comprising almost all the topics under the sun from high statesmanship to the common worldly wisdom in one concatenation of fables, sustaining throughout the interest of the youthful reader whom it seeks to train, for the battle of life practically in all its stages. Herein lies the superiority of this Eastern story-book to *Æsop's Fables* which are loose and disconnected.

The book under review gives for English readers selected tales from each of the five *Tantras*. The author has translated them from the original Sanskrit works omitting most of the verses because he thinks that they are calculated to distract the interest of the reader from the main narrative. For the same reason he gives only detached stories having no evolutionary order among

them as in the original, and hence resembling more or less the Western Æsop's Fables. The author defends this by saying that the scheme of 'Inserted Tales' is quite foreign to a Western reader. For the matter of that, it would be unpardonable to snap the links and mar the natural elegance and charm of the whole chain.

Selection is purely a matter of taste or opinion; but as the book is meant for young readers the author could have avoided the tales of (1) The old man, young wife and thief. (2) The Farmer and his wife. (3) The Brahmin who went blind and similar stories about unchaste women which make bad reading. He had wide field from which to choose and hence he could have obtained better substitutes for such stories.

The pen and ink sketches in black and white are far from being attractive to the juvenile reader. The nude sketches on pp. 86, 97, 120, for example, are positively in bad taste; and one wonders what led the author particularly to introduce such in a didactic work.

As a translator Mr. Williams fatuously and slavishly clings to the words of the original, e. g., "Give him the half moon" (p. 116) for दीयतामस्मै चंद्राधे: which should have been translated by "Take him by the neck and turn him out". The translation must mirror the meaning and the spirit of the original.

With all these faults the book, which is beautifully got up, produces on the whole a favourable impression and the English reader is sure to derive much pleasure from the tales which are pregnant with wit and wisdom.

N. S. NAVARE.

PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES.

H. H. OR THE PATHOLOGY OF PRINCES.

By KANHAYALAL GAUBA. (Times Publishing Co., Lahore.) 1930. 25 cm. 306 p. Rs. 7/8.

MR. K. Gauba's brilliantly satirical study, sheds the uncompromising light of day upon those "Arabian Nights" in the Courts of India's Princes which have hitherto been illumined only by the fairy-lamps of romance and the picturesque. He puts forward a strong plea for the underdog, those unfortunate 70 millions of people, distributed amongst the 562 Indian States, whose unhappy plight indeed needs amelioration.

In strong contrast to the exotic splendour of the palaces is the picture of the miserable squalor of the people, ground down by unjust taxation, without rights or freedom, with no court of appeal from the whim and caprice of the ruler. "An Indian Prince rules without the sanction of his people, passes whatever laws he fancies, helps himself to the State revenues, and is immune from the consequences of autocracy—his status and the loot guaranteed." His status is guaranteed by the Government of India, which only interferes in the grossest cases of injustice or cruelty and is too often satisfied with mere promises of improvement.

Whilst in the States taxation is said to be 50 to 100 % higher than in British India, the amount spent on education, health and sanitation is far lower. For example, whereas 9d. per head for education and 5d. per head for sanitation and public health are the comparatively small amounts expended in British India, they compare favourably with Bikaner where they are 5d. and 4d. respectively and Alwar, where they are 3d. and 1d. In one State the royal stables cost twice as much as Public Health, and in another State in 1923-4, out of a revenue of roughly 97 lakhs of rupees, the apportionment was as follows: educa-

tion Rs. 284,000, medical services, Rs. 196,000 and Motor garages Rs. 300,000!

Except in Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, there is said to be no State in which the people have any effective voice in legislation: the State Executive Council where it exists is not responsible to or elected by the people, but is appointed by the Maharajah alone, whilst the majority of the members of the Legislature are nominated and not elected.

The author states that the unfortunate cultivator contributes seldom less than half his earnings to the State, whilst forced labour, which is virtual slavery, prevails in most of the States, thousands die for lack of medical aid, and in the villages of the Rajputana States in particular, there are no roads, no sanitary arrangements, no hospitals or dispensaries.

Surely when the people of British India are claiming their freedom, the people of the Indian States are entitled to theirs also. Mr. Gauba quotes the demand of the States people made to the Butler Commission, viz., that until responsible government is established in the States, they should be administered under the Mandate system. Mediaevalism belongs to a past age, and cannot survive much longer. It must be swept away by the oncoming tide of national consciousness which is slowly but surely coming all over India.

(MISS) TODHUNTER.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO OF KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELES. Ed. and annotated by D. RYAZANOFF. (Martin Lawrence.) 1930. 23cm. 365p. 6/—

THE IMPERIALIST WAR, VOL. XVIII. By V. T. LENIN. (Martin Lawrence.) 1930. 22cm. 496 p 12/6.

THESE two books by two of the greatest exponents of Communist thought will well repay the student who wishes to understand modern social and political conditions. The Manifesto, though issued in the middle of the nineteenth century, still remains the brilliant and forceful analysis of war of the classes which has reached its worst period in the relentless exploitation of the financier and industrialist, but has been present in other forms since the dawn of civilised life. The notes of M. Ryazanoff are as lucid as they are illuminating, and ought to prove of great use to the student who is fresh to Marx.

Lenin's book tears away the mask from the chauvinist Socialists of Europe who, in the name of patriotism, stood side by side with the capitalists of their country during the last European war, and deluded the proletariat of the world into offering themselves as cannon-fodder in the tussle for supremacy between rival capitalist groups that had fallen foul of each other in their lust for world domination. A legitimate criticism, however, of the book would be that the publishers have included too much matter which overlaps. The reader is wearied by much that is too much like a repetition of what, in effect, is one and the same exposition of the nature of the conflict waged in Europe from 1914 to 1918.

J. J. VAKIL.

A YEAR IN ENGLAND FOR INDIAN STUDENTS. By WILFRID THORLEY. (Allen and Unwin.) 1930. 18 cm. 108 p. 2/6.

THIS book, as the author says in the preface, is written for use in schools where English is taught by the Direct Method, particularly for oral composition.

It is suggested that the teacher should first give a talk on the subject of each lesson which can be amply supplemented by him, and then the pupils should attempt to say something orally before they write any formal composition.

In the Direct Method of teaching a foreign language much stress is laid on the creation of the right kind of "atmosphere" which should portray as correctly as possible the environment of the country where the language is used as the mother-tongue, and this book can be said to be a successful attempt in achieving this difficult task. It contains 23 lessons describing the English "atmosphere" and interprets what the pupil would see of the new world opened to him by the English language. Four pictures that are given in the book will help the pupil to picture for himself what is described in so many words.

In the first two lessons a little historical information is given about the early growth of the English language, stating particularly the origin of many surnames and names of towns, etc. Various subjects over a wide range such as the hobbies of the English boy and Christmas in England are treated and indeed a vast field is covered in this little book. Lessons on English games and sport, it is surprising how the sport of kings and the king of sports is left out, the two great Universities, country life, English flowers, some London galleries, are sure to give as vivid a picture of English life as can be given by words. The language is simple and the way of using it is varied so as not to make the lessons monotonous.

The exercises given at the end of each lesson will not only test the information retained by the pupil but also supply him with salient points on which the composition can be written. The book will be a good help to the high school teacher.

B. D. KARVE.

LIQUOR, LOOT AND LADIES. By CHESTER T. CROWELL. (Knopf, London.) 1930. 21. cm. 405 p. 10/6.

WE used to hear of ancient civilizations described on their lighter side as people enjoying themselves with "Woman, Wine and Song." But modern civilization apparently takes more delight in Liquor, Loot and Ladies. Liquor—the most poisonous and stupid form of what the ancients liked: "wine that maketh glad the heart of man"; Ladies—the dehumanized form of women, the most unnatural superfluous and destructive agents of our modern times; and Loot has come to take the place of the pleasurable song. These have combined to make the land "Where civilization has run mad", a place ruled by political bosses and Pork Trusts. Mr. Crowell writes for the citizens of America in no timid way. It is a stark recital of what actually goes on in the dim half world from which the wheels of government are really controlled.

FATHER YESUDAS.

WISDOM OF THE PROPHETS. By KHAJA KHAN. (Hogarth Press, Madras) 1929. 22 cm. 202 p. Rs. 2.

THE author's able rendering into English of the Shayk Muhiyuddin Ibn-i-Ali ul Arabi's accepted and authoritative work on Tasawwuf has placed in the hands of the public a handy treatise written in an easy and popular style which otherwise would be accessible only to the very few scholars in Arabic interested in philosophical subjects. The clear

and lucid explanations of the original Arabic and the fascinating treatment of the subject in every chapter go a long way to excite special interest even in non-Muslims for the deeper study of a religion, the beauties of which are hardly known even to a large percentage of the followers of that religion of Universal Brotherhood on account of a lack of knowledge of the original language of the Koran and its commentaries.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN THE SOVIET UNION. BY G. RATNER. (Routledge, London.) 1929. 22cm. 90p.

The development of Agricultural Co-operation in Russia since the days of the Revolution is said to be paradoxical; but it would seem natural that non-profit-making organizations, controlled by the popular vote should find favourable conditions of growth in the Soviet Republics. In any case, the growth of these societies has been phenomenal, the Government having consistently permitted and encouraged the operation of voluntary and autonomous federations of societies.

The movement in Russia falls under five heads: (1) Sale of agricultural produce. (2) Supply of peasant requirements, (3) Co-operative credit, (4) Improvement of the technical side of peasant economy and (5) Development of forms of collective agriculture. Co operative efforts take on a multiplicity of forms varying with the varying needs of different regions and agricultural processes.

The organisation of the various co-operative units from the peasant upwards to the Central Society is described in detail, and the study gives us valuable information about the relationships between the various organizations. Agencies have been opened in various countries to represent these organizations and a link is formed through the International Co-operative Alliance, with the co-operatives of Western Europe. Specially interesting is the success attending the attempt to establish co-operatives for communal working of land and the establishment of Agricultural Communes. On the whole the book is a valuable contribution giving us a glimpse into the agricultural life of Russia.

GUNDAPPA S. KURUPAD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- CIVILIZATION AND THE GOSPEL.** By GABRIEL GILBERT (S. P. G. F. P. London.) 1930. 18 cm. 24 p. 3d.
- SENATOR VEST. CHAMPION OF THE DOG.** By EDWIN M. C. FRENCH. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1930. 21 cm. 64 p. \$ 1. 50.
- NANTUCKET, MAUSHOPE AND OTHER NEW ENGLAND POEMS.** By DON HALDEMAN-JEFFERIES. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1930. 22 cm. 122 p. \$ 1. 50.
- PRESS AND PRESS LAWS IN INDIA.** By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE. (D. K. Mitra, Calcutta.) 1930. 21 cm. 102p. Re. 1.
- THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. INDIA'S DEMAND FOR DOMINION STATUS. SPEECHES.** (G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras.) 1930. 18 cm. 342 p. Rs. 2.
- REGULATION OF BANKS IN INDIA.** By M. L. TANNAN. (Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1931. 24cm. 28 p. Re. 1.