

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Berar Debate in C. P. Council.

IN regard to the proposal for the retrocession of Berar to the Nizam reported to be under Government's consideration, the people of Berar have more than once expressed themselves in a manner which should make their strong disapproval of it patent to all concerned. But whatever doubt might have still lingered in any quarter ought to be dispelled by the result of the recent Berar debate in the C. P. legislature. It will be remembered that the consideration of Berar's constitutional future by the last R. T. C. was disallowed by the British Government. Much less could the question be directly raised in the C. P. legislative council, governed as it is by rules which bar the discussion of any matters relating to an Indian State. In the circumstances the Council had no alternative but to give indirect expression to public opinion in Berar on the subject. But though indirect, it provides unmistakable guidance to Berar's reaction to the proposal.

The resolution as finally passed by the Council demands the creation of Berar as a separate province with full financial and legislative autonomy so that it could in due course enter the Indian federation as an independent unit. The resolution encountered slight opposition in some quarters, not because they favoured the transfer of the destinies of the people of Berar to the Nizam, but were apprehensive that by favouring at the present juncture any change whatever in the status quo they would perhaps be playing into the Nizam's hands and unconsciously facilitating the perpetration of the very evil which they wanted to avoid—so fearful are they of the risks they would run by the contemplated change in

their overlordship. If hereafter anybody represents Berar as welcoming its transfer to the Nizam, he must indeed be said to be purposely blind to contemporary happenings.

In wishing to join the federation, Berar also wants to improve the anomalous position in which she finds itself. Being a territory theoretically owned by the Nizam but leased in perpetuity to the British Government, it is not governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act. The result, as everybody knows, is that it is not allowed to send its representatives direct either to the provincial or central legislatures, the persons elected by it as such not being entitled to a seat therein unless nominated thereto by the Governor or Governor-General as the case may be. This is naturally regarded by the people as galling to their provincial self-respect. Berar's separation from C. P. may incidentally be expected to put a stop to the feeling of unfairness fairly general among Beraris that the whole of the revenue derived in Berar is not spent upon its own well-being.

Temple Entry for Untouchables.

THOUGH the Viceroy has tabooed provincial legislation designed to secure for the untouchables the right of entry into temples the discussion on the subject in provincial legislatures is valuable as showing how far local opinion favours such action. The question was recently raised in the C. P. legislature by a non-official member who wanted the local Government to undertake legislation with a view to throwing open to the depressed class Hindu temples built with or maintained out of funds subscribed by the public. In face of the Viceroy's decision in regard to Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill the local Government could of course not be expected to support the resolution. But curiously enough, they went the length of opposing it with a view, as explained by the Home Member, "to maintain an attitude of neutrality in matters of religion." How the two are to be reconciled, we leave the Home Member to decide. The debate however showed that the demand made in the resolution had a large volume of opinion behind it. Its non-official opponents included a non-Hindu whose fitness to gauge Hindu opinion on the point is at least open to question. In spite of the Government's opposition the resolution was carried by 37 votes to 15.

The proceedings of the Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha which met last week-end in Allahabad under the presidency of the veteran Pandit Malaviya have also a close bearing on the problem of the untouchables' admission to temples. The President regretted the fact that in Prayag, the oldest religious place in the country, where thousands of Rishis used to assemble, the Conference had attracted only about 100 Pandits. This he attributed to the decay of Hinduism. But what would seem to many to complete

this process of decay is the fact, which is regrettable not less to us than to Pandit Malaviya, that "the Sanatanists' contribution to the revenue derived from duty on liquor was very large." But our immediate concern is with the contribution made by the Conference to the solution of the problem of untouchability. While the Conference would allow the depressed classes "full freedom to use public wells, tanks, reservoirs, parks, roads, serais and burning grounds and of entry into public schools and public meetings" it is not yet prepared to extend to them the unfettered right of worship in the temples. The sum and substance of the resolution passed by it on the subject seems to be that the Sanatanis represented by those assembled at Allahabad would have no objection to the presence of the untouchables in any part of a temple but "the innermost sanctuary" where the image is seated. This no doubt marks an advance on present conditions but cannot be said to confer on untouchables an equal right with other sections of Hindu society to worship in temples and to make them feel that they are as good members of the Hindu community as e. g. the Brahmins. By another resolution the Conference deprecated Government interference in religious and socio-religious matters though it would be prepared to tolerate it if necessary for the purpose of amending any existing laws "which resulted from such interference in the past." The attitude of the Conference on this point is, to say the least, half-hearted and self-contradictory.

Sir M. Ramji on Safeguards.

AT the annual meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber held on Friday last in Bombay, its new President, Sir Manmohandas Ramji, subjected the financial and commercial safeguards proposed to be incorporated in the Indian constitution to searching scrutiny. His study of the proceedings of the three Round Table Conferences leads him to the conclusion that far from there being any progress in the direction of loosening British control over Indian finance and commerce, each succeeding Conference has only marked a definite retrogression in this respect. If the powers of the Finance Minister in the federal Government are to be hedged round with the restrictions and safeguards proposed in these Conferences, Sir Manmohandas feels that the field left open for the exercise of his financial responsibility by the Minister would be extremely limited.

The proposed arrangements in regard to finance do not strike the President of the Chamber as "dualism" or "diarchy" frequently described as such in Government circles, but as "an undiluted form of autocracy;" and he holds that the proffered constitution, unless substantially altered, transfers very little real financial power to the people. Finance and commerce being interlinked, Sir Manmohandas is naturally unable to contemplate any system of government as really responsible in which the Finance Minister's power to order the finances of his country in any manner he thought best was restricted, as is sought to be done by the British Government. The special responsibility of the Governor-General for "the financial stability and credit of the Federation" is, in his opinion, too vague and indefinite to be acceptable while the idea to associate a Financial Adviser with him as not being particularly progressive. The proposed commercial safeguards too find in Sir Manmohandas a relentless opponent.

But it is needless to follow him in all he says. In short, his contention is that the Governor-General under the federal constitution should have no powers not enjoyed by his counterpart in the self-governing Dominions. It is to

be hoped that Sir Manmohandas does not labour under the delusion that what India will get as the next instalment of reforms will confer Dominion Status upon her at one bound. He cannot surely be unaware that even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru makes no such claim for the new constitution. At the same time the fact cannot be gainsaid that the need for safeguards to be operative only during the transitional period has been generally recognised, even the Congress not being opposed to them. Sir Manmohandas is on firm ground in wishing for no wider powers to the Governor-General in the Indian Dominion than are conceded to similar functionaries in other Dominions. But till India attains to Dominionhood he has to reconcile himself to safeguards in some spheres of Government activity. All that can be done is to see that the safeguards are not unduly comprehensive, and to strictly limit their life. We do not suppose Sir Manmohandas aims higher in the present circumstances.

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"Hard Doctrine".

The Economist of London thus criticises the conditions laid down by Sir Samuel Hoare for the establishment of the Reserve Bank which, besides the entry therein of half the Indian States, is made a condition precedent to the creation of the proposed Indian federation:

"As to the setting up of a Reserve Bank to deal with the management of currency and exchange the Secretary of State has undertaken to see that a Bill is introduced into the Indian Legislature for the purpose as soon as possible. Warning has, however, been given that its successful establishment requires that the Indian budgetary position shall be assured; that the short-term debt both in London and in India shall be reduced; that reserves shall be accumulated, and India's normal export surplus restored. Hard doctrine this, when it is remembered that New Zealand is setting up a Central Bank in the midst of a great depression, that the National Banks of the United States were set up in the midst of civil war and that the present Central Bank of Austria was created with foreign assistance at a time when the country was in virtual bankruptcy.

Clearly no one can foresee when these conditions will be fulfilled, and one of the chief difficulties of the Conference has been that if—as the British Government now maintain—Federation cannot be introduced until the Bank is established, these conditions may mean an indefinite postponement. The suggestion has been considered that, if in other respects the arrangements for Federation have been satisfactorily completed, some interim arrangement for the control of currency might be designed, but the British Government take the view that the difficulties and complications of such a plan would be very great. They have therefore in a sense shelved the question by insisting on the establishment of a Reserve Bank as a "condition precedent" of Federation, but have given an undertaking to India that if a situation arises when Federation is ready to be launched, but it is still not possible for the Bank to be set up, they will consult afresh with India's representatives as to the steps that should then be taken. In such circumstances the conditions previously mentioned may clearly have to be reconsidered, for it would be a great mistake to give India the impression that her constitutional progress may be held up indefinitely while we wait for the economic horizon to clear."

Relief to the Taxpayer or the Services ?

THE press reports about the Government of India's intention to restore the cut in the salaries of the services rather than afford any relief to the taxpayer as a result of their improved financial position have drawn from the *Statesman* of Calcutta, not an unfriendly critic of the Government by any means, the following comments:

"In these circumstances and with rumours of a small surplus it is little wonder that the Services are hopeful, more particularly as they are under the impression that the Finance Member has pledged himself to give priority to their claim. We would ask them not to put their hopes too high. Clearly restoration must, like the original cut, be an all-round restoration. The lowest paid are the worst off (we have little patience with arguments to the contrary) and it is impossible to discriminate between covenanted and uncovenanted. If we leave out the complication introduced by the contract with the Secretary of State and ask ourselves whether India or any country in the world is in the existing depression justified in restoring a cut in the pay of its servants while taxation is at the present level, there can only be one answer... What seems practical politics is to insist that there shall be no restoration of the cut till there can be at the same time some relief from the burden of taxation."

* * *

Education in Bihar & Orissa.

WHILE the present financial position of provincial Governments in India rules out any hope of the expansion of their nation-building activities, it may legitimately be expected that they would at least be

allowed to suffer no contraction. The latest quinquennial review of education in Bihar and Orissa however falsifies this expectation. There not only have the last five years witnessed no increase in the number of educational institutions and the scholars attending them, but have actually seen a definite setback. The total number of educational institutions went down by 2,000 from 33,242 in 1927 to 31,213 at the end of the official year 1931-32. The number of scholars too decreased by nearly 14,000, being in excess of 11 lakhs in 1927 as against 10,94,000 in 1932. The reduced number of students has, as a corollary, prejudicially affected the general level of the provincial literacy. This is all the more deplorable in view of the fact that Bihar and Orissa was educationally never too advanced. The percentage of literacy which was no more than 3.26 in 1927 was brought down to 2.9 last year. But the literacy position would be better appreciated if the proportions for boys and girls are stated separately. The proportion of male literacy was 5.9 per cent. in 1927, whereas it stood at 5.15 per cent. at the end of March last. As regards the extent of education in the female part of the population, it has gone down from .69 to .67 per cent. so that only about one girl in 150 is literate. It is not intended to suggest that the position in regard to female education has deteriorated hopelessly during the last quinquennium. What has happened is that never tolerable, it has been made less so now. An attempt to account for the reduction in the number of children in receipt of instruction on the usual official lines is noticeable in the different sections of the report; but frankly it fails to carry conviction. It is to be hoped that the next five-yearly report on the educational progress of the province will make more cheering reading than the one under notice does.

WHERE THE EMPHASIS BELONGS.

DIFFERENCES of opinion are gradually disclosing themselves on the reform scheme outlined by the Round Table Conferences. In one respect these are differences of emphasis rather than of opinion. For there is none amongst Indian politicians who would accept the scheme *in toto* without making an effort to have it altered and expanded in certain particulars, and the amendments that these politicians propose to the British Government are in essentials the same. But one is able to detect, behind this seeming unanimity, a wide range of divergence of outlook on the whole question. There are some who would do their utmost to secure an enlargement of the scheme in every possible direction, but would still recommend the country to accept it as it is if they should fail in their efforts. For, short as it may fall of our aspirations, nevertheless (they would plead) it makes such a sweeping advance on the present position that it would be a criminal folly on our part to reject it. The time for making a definitive choice has not yet arrived, and therefore no one has been so indiscreet as to say just now: "More will be welcome, but this much will be sufficient." But, reading between the lines, that seems to be the sentiment at the back of the minds of some of our publicists. And we are not sure that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar do not fall into this category.

But there are others whose criticisms of the reforms scheme are uttered in such strident voice that it would appear that at least some of the improvements that they urge are necessary to win their acceptance of the scheme. Opinion will crystallise as days go by as to which of the improvements that are suggested are essential and which merely desirable. At present they are of an omnibus character, everything that has a progressive look about it being indiscriminately and sometimes even irrelevantly lugged in, but time is not distant when they will have to be sorted out. Not all will be agreed in requiring the same alterations to be made; some will insist upon one as essential and others upon another. But all of these will be agreed in declaring their inability to accept the scheme unless it undergoes substantial modifications. We cannot help thinking that some of those at any rate who have affixed their signatures to the Statement recently issued from Bombay belong to this class. Those who can give only a conditional approval to the scheme and those who are inwardly prepared to accept the scheme in its present form can well cooperate in making a united effort in getting the scheme enlarged and improved. They need not come into conflict while the scheme is still in its formative stages, though occasionally the vigour with which the former will press their amendments will be somewhat embarrassing to the latter.

However, some amendments which the critics of the scheme will urge will appear to its friends as decidedly hostile. Speaking broadly, those which seek to extort more power from the British Government will be welcomed by all alike, but those which seek to obtain concessions from the Princes will, we fear, be resented by leaders who hold that the States must somehow be brought in in order that British India may be endowed with an effective measure of central responsibility. There are not many who will stake their name and personal prestige on getting such amendments made, but, few as they are, they are not all to be neglected. Mr. Chintamani, for instance, is a politician in the first flight, and yet, strange as it may seem, he refuses to confine his attention discreetly to the baiting of the British lion. In the speech that he delivered recently at Vizagapatam he was as uncompromising in his denunciation of the defects of the scheme which proceed from the Princes as from the British Government. We make no doubt that such criticisms of the Princes will be looked upon in quarters anxious to pull the scheme through as utterly destructive. In the speech referred to above Mr. Chintamani points out as serious defects which must be removed before the scheme becomes acceptable the following features of it:—

- (i) freedom to be given to the Princes to appoint their nominees in the federal legislature;
- (ii) denial of the rights of federal citizenship in the States;
- (iii) refusal by the Princes to let a Declaration of Rights applicable to the States' people be inserted in the federal constitution;
- (iv) unwillingness of the Princes to include important subjects of national concern like civil and criminal law in the federal list.

It is necessary at this time of the day to go into the merits of these points raised by Mr. Chintamani. The only question that is relevant to our present purpose is to consider whether the extraordinarily forceful advocacy, such as we associate with Mr. Chintamani's personality, of even one of these points, will not be regarded by the friends of the Round Table as undoing all the good work done by them. We cannot but believe that it will.

As we see the situation, there is an unbridgeable gulf between them. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, to name the two most prominent spokesmen of a large group, believe that without federation the reforms are bound to be of the thinnest. They do not base this opinion of theirs merely on a survey of all the political factors at work, which may possibly change. But they base it upon a legal theory, which must needs be unalterable and immutable. And federation depends upon the willing consent of the Princes, who are fully conscious of their power of putting a block upon British Indian reform and thus making British Indians feel utterly helpless. In such a situation it is obvious that there is not much scope for bargaining with the Princes. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar therefore advise the people to concentrate their attack upon the British Government, from which alone there is a possibility of ex-

tracting more power. Therefore they say in effect: "Bear with the defects in the constitution which result from the entry of the States, however grave they may appear. Just put off the thinking cap in respect of them." Mr. Chintamani controverts this reasoning at every single point. Federation to him is not indispensable, though desirable. He will therefore be quite willing to pay a reasonable price for it to the Princes, but not too big a price and he is of the opinion that the Princes are asking for much too big a price. He does not believe that either constitutional theory or political circumstances necessitate a federation at all costs. He would therefore press for British Indian reform, which he thinks can be as large with the Princes as without, unless the federation to be brought about is real. Federal citizenship, declaration of rights enforceable equally in all units, election of the representatives in the federal legislature throughout the federal area, and federalisation of all subjects of common interest—these he regards as essential features of federation. The federation proposed for India in the Round Table scheme is, in his view, a fake, for which he will not be prepared to sacrifice the substance of self-government and democracy.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have already started explaining away these defects as of little practical moment. Nomination? What harm? Elected representatives will vote differently from nominated only where repressive measures are under consideration. On these measures States' representatives will not vote. On the questions on which they will vote it is immaterial whether they are nominated or elected. They will not vote *en bloc* either. Nor would they be under the influence of the Britishers. Therefore no possible injury will result from the nomination of the States' representatives even if continued indefinitely. In fact election loses all its significance in respect of federal matters. Mr. Chintamani hotly denies the truth of everyone of these statements. He does not agree that nomination is as good as election or nearly as good. He quotes H. H. the Aga Khan, who is by no means a radical, as saying that "from the days of ancient Greece down to the present day, there has been no Parliament whose members of the Lower House were nominated by the ruling authority" and Mr. Chintamani is unable to tolerate what he will not call a mere anomaly but a monstrosity in the present constitution. Mr. Chintamani further observes: "The Indian States will still be in the grip of the Political Department of the Government of India. As the control of the Political Department over the States will still be an active factor, we need not be surprised if the manner in which the rights of the States' representatives in the Legislature will be exercised will be indirectly influenced by this extraneous, albeit very powerful force, which will not at any rate tend to the independence of the States' representatives in the Legislature." Thus Mr. Chintamani goes on contradicting, from point to point, the statements made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar in extenuation of the

Princes' part in the Round Table Conferences. And, finally, he sums up his conclusion thus: Federation may not materialise at all—and it appears that he will not eat his heart out if it does not—; but “there is more than a fear that if it does materialise, it will have in it features which no Liberal politician who is anxious for the transfer of real power to the representatives of the people can contemplate with equanimity or satisfaction.” The entry of the States into the federation on the terms that they insist upon at present will, in his opinion, make not only popular government but self-government impossible, and to the extent that he can speak for it, the Liberal party will do its best to defeat the scheme.

We are not concerned at the present moment in examining the positions of these stalwarts and pronouncing upon them. Our purpose is only to point out how diametrically opposed to each other these positions are and to express our deep concern at that fact. It is not enough therefore merely to show our dissatisfaction in either mild or sharp terms with the present scheme of reforms in the hope that this will lead to an amplification and amendment of it in the right direction, but it is necessary that we should so far as possible come to an agreement as to which of the two positions, in themselves irreconcilable, is to be taken up by the country as a whole. Where is the emphasis to be primarily laid—on self-government or popular government? That will be the key to the whole position.

BOMBAY INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT.

THE disastrous effects of the transference of nation-building departments to Provincial Governments without providing adequate finance for their continuance and growth are nowhere better exemplified than in the history of the Department of Industries in the Bombay Presidency. In pre-war India *laissez faire* died very hard indeed and it is well-known how Lord Morley, when Secretary of State for India, vetoed the creation of the first department of industries in India by the Madras Government. The war brought about a considerable change in the outlook of Government and the review of the whole industrial problem by the Industrial Commission facilitated the adoption of an immediate policy by the authorities concerned. Under the Montford reforms scheme, however, the main burden of carrying out the recommendations of the Industrial Commission devolved on Provincial Governments and many of these started their career with grave financial difficulties. We thus find that during the last decade the activities of the Industries Departments have differed very widely in their range and intensity from province to province. In Madras which was treated perhaps the most liberally under the Montford settlement, the Department has from the beginning been vigorous. Even in the pre-war period a good deal had been done in that Presidency under administrators like Sir Frederick Nicholson and Sir Alfred Chatterton; and with the definite setting up of an Industries Department the work was pushed on with great vigour and fairly large amounts were

made available by Government to this Department. That this activity has not been in vain and that further efforts along lines already chalked out are promising of much success is made clear by the latest report (1931-32) of the Madras Department of Industries. The most important activities of the Madras Department are the special Institutes for research and experiment in various industries that it maintains, the efforts made for improvement in methods and their spread in the textile cottage industries and in agriculture and the comparatively large number of industrial schools conducted by Government itself. The Madras Government was also one of the first Provincial Governments to have a State Aid to Industries Act. But the experience of this Government with regard to their loans has not been happier than that of other provinces. There have been a number of defaults in the case of the larger loans and there have been of late years very few applications and the large majority of even these few have had to be turned down. The Institutes have had, on the other hand, striking success. The Kerala Soap Institute's commercial side runs now at a profit even though Government has decided not to manufacture washing soap so as not to compete with private producers. The Leather Trades Institute has been doing a good deal of research work in the tanning industry which holds such an important place in the Southern Presidency. The Government Industrial Institute, Madras, has, however, been recently closed as a measure of retrenchment. The Soap Institute has also an instructional side and is perhaps the only place in India where regular instruction is offered in the manufacture of soaps. The research side of this Institute is being now widened and its scope considerably increased. With regard to cottage industries the work of the Department has by all accounts been really useful. The hand-weaving industry is more vigorous in Madras than in any other part of India and it has always been the most progressive also. It is significant that the department could recommend to Government the abolition of the weaving and dyeing demonstration parties as the adoption of improved manipulative processes and appliances had proceeded far enough and no further propaganda work was required. Another extremely valuable activity has been that of the silk worm rearing party. This has been testing the seed cocoons and arrangements have been made for the supply of disease-free layings from Government farms though the experiment of aided grainages has not been very successful. Sericulture seems to be suited to large areas in the Madras Presidency and hopes are being entertained of it being very widely spread in the near future.

The Madras Government conducts seven industrial schools. Three—a school of technology, a school of arts and crafts and a textile institute at Madras—and four industrial schools teaching carpentry, smithy and engineering work at four different centres in the Presidency—Bellary, Madura, Calicut and Mangalore. It is notable that the Madras Retrenchment Committee did not recom-

mend the abolition of the Madura Industrial School in spite of its comparatively high cost on the ground that there was no other provision for industrial training in that tract. It is unnecessary to go into further details of the work of the Industries Department in Madras. The department is fairly well financed, the expenditure in 1931-32 having exceeded Rs. 11 lakhs and the policy laid down by the Industrial Commission has now been consistently followed in most directions for over a decade. It cannot be claimed that success has followed these efforts in every direction or that all moves have always been well-advised. Even so the record of this Department remains one of the best in the post-war decade and points to directions in which further State efforts must be made in all parts of India.

The Bombay Industries Department has, in comparison, had a most dismal history. It was started in a half-hearted manner without any well-defined policy over ten years ago, the grant allotted to the Department having always been niggardly. Later retrenchment necessitated the combination of the office of Director of Industries with that of the Director of Information and ultimately there came the entire abolition of the Department. It was, however, revived a few years ago. But even on its revival it was not treated financially any better than previously. Three important officers have been appointed—the director, the industrial chemist and the industrial engineer—but enough funds have not been placed at their disposal to enable them to do really useful work. In spite of difficulties the work under the present Director has yielded important results in certain directions. The help rendered to the Surat gold and silver thread industry has been notable and the preparations of estimates for small industries, the technical advice given to industrialists and other work on similar lines must in the long run prove very useful. The field to be traversed is, however, immense. Let us compare, for example, the condition of the Bombay hand-loom weaving centres with those of Madras. Here the introduction of even the fly-shuttle loom is proceeding at an extremely slow pace and improvements in other directions are almost non-existent.

The Administrative Reorganisation Committee has analysed the expenditure of the Bombay Industries Department and has found that apart from two industrial schools and the weaving demonstration parties the only expenditure at present allowed for is the pay of three officers and their establishment. The Committee has, therefore, logically advocated the abolition of the Department while retaining the schools and the demonstration parties. This recommendation, though logical, is one with which we find it difficult to agree. This is because we look upon the present financial problem of Indian Governments as one of reducing expenditure by retrenchment and reorganisation so as to allow for an increase in the activities of the nation-building departments; and we feel that any measures which have a result other than this are futile or harmful. It may be permitted to the Reorganisation Committee to weigh all problems

by narrow financial considerations; with Government, however, it should be a question of broad policy. And from this point of view we would deprecate the closing down again of the Bombay Industries Department. The Department has been re-started only recently, has secured able officers and is already doing some useful work. The aim of Government ought to be to provide increasing allotment of funds to this Department so that real headway could be made in all directions. The extent to which Government is enabled to do this is the real measure of the value of all measures of reorganisation and retrenchment which it undertakes. And measures which in effect fall short of this result are really not radical enough for the grave situation that confronts us to-day.

GOVERNMENT & TEMPLE ENTRY.

I

I DO not regard the question of Temple-Entry as one of great importance to the Depressed Classes. However that may be, I cannot congratulate the Government of India on the ground they have chosen for refusing permission to Dr. Subbaroyan to introduce his Bill in the Madras Legislative Council.

It may be true that caste-Hindus from other parts of India have a right to worship in some of our South Indian temples. But that is not a right sufficiently substantial to be taken into account. A Full Bench of the Madras High Court had to consider this question in connection with a suit filed under Section 92 of the Civil Procedure Code (*Ramachandra vs. Parameswara*, 42 M. 360). This was a suit instituted by Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer and another against the trustees of a temple in Tellicherry for framing a scheme for the better management of the temple. Mr. Ramachandra Iyer is a lawyer practising in Madras who has a right to worship in the temple. He had worshipped in the temple once or twice and might do so again if business took him to Tellicherry. The Madras High Court held that the right to worship which one of the plaintiffs had was of too shadowy a nature to give him an "interest" in the trust as contemplated in Section 92 of the C. P. Code and dismissed the appeal. According to the Madras High Court, one must have a 'present' right to worship before he can take advantage of the section. In other words he must be worshipping in the temple habitually. Naturally, the persons who worship in a Temple habitually are those who live round about it, within easy distance of it. This view has been accepted by the Madras Legislature when it framed Chapter III of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act which provides for the constitution of Temple Committees. The Local Government is empowered by Sec. 23 to notify an electoral area and in all cases where such notification has taken place, it is a limited area within the radius of a few miles from the temple concerned. Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill adopts this principle in its entirety and vests in the local people the right to declare by a majority whether or not they desire to throw open their temple to the De-

pressed Classes. The Bill is practically an amendment to Sec. 79 of the Madras H. R. E. Act.

On the principle enunciated by the Government of India, the Madras Legislature ought not to have been allowed to pass the H. R. E. Act. It affects temples and Devasthanams which are resorted to by pilgrims from all over India. Why was it not considered necessary then to consult their wishes? Apparently, because they were not regarded as having an 'interest' in any of the temples which come under the Act. I do not deny that a comprehensive all-India measure will be a better instrument for reform than piecemeal local legislation. But the local legislatures are in a better position to deal with local needs and circumstances than the Central Government. Is Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill believed to be more acceptable to orthodox opinion? It is a revolutionary measure when compared to the very modest provisions of Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill. What is worse, it is a Bill of vague and uncertain implications. Under Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill we know where we stand; under Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill, it is difficult to make out what its outcome will be.

II.

THE GURUVAYUR SITUATION.

Guruvayur in South Malabar has become the centre and focus of India's attention. As temples go in India, it is a small temple with little or no architectural distinction about it. But it is undoubtedly the most popular temple in all Kerala. It enjoys a handsome revenue and attracts votive offerings of the value of several thousands of rupees every year. The Zamorin of Calicut runs the temple although there is another trustee who is a sleeping partner, draws remuneration and does nothing to earn it.

The temple is the meeting ground for lepers from all over Malabar. There is a tradition that a well-known poet who was afflicted with leprosy was cured of that malady by writing a poem in praise of the Diety. The presence of lepers in the temple is so common that no one takes any notice of them.

But the orthodox people object to the admission of the Depressed Classes, however clean and healthy they may be. It is truly a danger-spot in Malabar on account of there being lepers there in large numbers and I, for one, should feel happy if the agitation for Panchama-entry into this temple failed somehow. Why let these poor people run the risk of infection?

Readers of the SERVANT OF INDIA who have no knowledge of the local conditions may imagine that it is the people of Malabar that oppose temple-entry. No, that is not the truth. The opposition is largely a *videshi* enterprise. The class whose view is heard against Mr. Gandhi's Harijans is composed of Tamil Brahmins who form a large colony in Malabar. They are very influential in the Palghat taluk. Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer, the leader of the orthodox party, is a Brahmin of this description. Mr. M. K. Acharya and Mr. T. M. Krishnaswami Iyer are perhaps distant cousins of this class. The Sankaracharyas who flocked to Guruvayur the other day are Saivite Yatis who have little or no respect for Vaishnavite Agamas. Their lead is recognised

by the Tamil Brahmins in Malabar just as it is by their cousins beyond the Ghats. The people of Malabar do not know them.

The class that has a right to be heard on this question are the Nambudris, the Malayalee Brahmins. Notwithstanding a few orthodox people among them, the community as a whole is not opposed to Mr. Gandhi. In their annual gatherings they have again and again welcomed the idea of abolishing untouchability. They are definitely in favour of temple-entry. There was a number of Savarna conferences at Guruvayur. The organisers could not get one prominent Nambudri to take part in any of them. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, the Nambudri looks with undisguised suspicion on this *videshi* agitation, and he is too lordly a man to mix with the crowd from abroad. Secondly, he does not even recognise the right of these Sankaracharyas to assume the name and style of their illustrious countryman the original Sankara. The Nambudris have therefore refused to take part in this agitation. And this is a point for all concerned to remember.

What is the position of the non-Brahmin caste Hindus in this controversy? The class that counts most in Malabar is the Nayar community. With a few exceptions, they are on the whole solidly behind Mr. Gandhi. They dislike what they contemptuously call the Pattar agitation.

Seeing that orthodoxy is not supported either by the Nambudri or the Nayar, the Sankaracharyas have shifted their campaign to Palghat which may be truly described as a rabbit-warren of Tamil Brahmins. Prosperous piecegoods merchants, money-lenders and Abkari contractors who violate, every day of their life, the canons of Varnashrama Dharma, are now the mainstay of the opposition. They occasionally summon to their aid eloquent lawyers from Madras to keep the agitation going.

But I am surprised that opposition to temple-entry should come from the Tamil Brahmin. He is a shrewd fellow, who knows which side of the bread is buttered. He cannot be unaware that the temples and Devasthanams are so many cleverly designed institutions by means of which the Brahmin exploits his countrymen. To admit 60 million Panchamas into our temples means nothing less than a great increase in the area for exploitation. Imagine so large an addition to the empire of priesthood. If every Panchama contributed a pice every year to the coffers of our temples what an enormous increase in their income would be the result? All this increase would, as now, go to the benefit of the Brahmins. No one seems to have placed this aspect of the matter before them. Just suggest it, and the whole of that very intelligent and sharp-witted community will be on the side of the reformers. One wonders why so clever a man as Mr. Rajagopalachari has not tried this argument on his cousins on the West Coast.

I may say that these Sankaracharyas have made no impression here in Malabar. You cannot move about in gold-mounted palanquins, eat off gold plates, wear costly embroidered shawls and live in luxury

and comfort and yet hope to convince anyone that you are the heir in pupillary succession to the throne of our illustrious Sankara.

A. MALAYALEE.

Our London Letter.

(From Our Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

LONDON, January 20.

SETTING UP THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

HIS MAJESTY'S Ministers are now giving attention to many things, including the legislative arrangements for the coming Parliamentary session. It is understood that the Secretary of State for India is busily engaged with his officials in drafting the White Paper which is to contain the definite proposals of the Government for the new Indian Constitution, based more or less upon the general outline indicated at the last Round Table Conference. It may be assumed that the contents of the White Paper—which will naturally arouse wide public interest when it is issued—have been the subject of more than one consultation between Sir Samuel Hoare, the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, who are the Ministers most concerned with the matter in hand. Probably Lord Irwin is also called into counsel from time to time, but Sir John Simon whose membership of the Conference was a very shadowy affair is preoccupied with other urgent questions.

Some discussion is going on about the precise arrangements to be made for setting up the Joint Select Committee which is to examine the Government's proposals previous to the drafting of a Bill. Usually the members of a Joint Parliamentary Committee are nominated by the Selection Committees (appointed by both Houses at the beginning of the session) in consultation with the Government and the Party Whips. The Joint Committee which is to sit on the India Bill will be a very special affair, in the composition of which the Government (as well as other people) will be exceptionally concerned.

Presumably its Parliamentary personnel will consist of an equal number of Lords and Commoners—probably ten or a dozen of each—with the Lord Chancellor as Chairman. The proportions of the Committee must, of course, conform more or less to the political texture of the two Houses, and in this case consideration will have to be given to the claims of the diehard section of the Tory Party. Mr. Churchill and his friends have all along emphasised the importance which they attach to this body and the Government must see to it that it secures a working majority of its own. This majority, however, need not necessarily be of a party complexion, as it is obvious that on all vital issues it will be able to depend upon the support of the nominees of the Liberal Party.

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ.

Begum Shah Nawaz gave an "At Home" last Monday to a number of representative women. In a short address which she delivered to her assembled guests, she briefly ran over the field of women's political activity in India, and then dwelt on the problem of equal franchise qualifications for women as for men. If equality is claimed and granted she recognised that the number of women voters put on to the roll would be less than two millions, a number so low as to be almost negligible and which would in effect give to women rather the shadow than the substance of their requirements.

The question of differential qualifications for women, she said, has been referred back to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. This gives the women of India a chance to formulate new proposals. It is evidently essential that prominent and leading women workers in India should meet together as soon as possible to consider carefully the question and endeavour to find some means which would either ensure their full voting strength, or at least secure the number of women voters recommended by the Lothian Committee, that is, six millions six hundred thousand.

Miss Mary Pickford, who was present, spoke after the Begum, warmly supporting all that had been said, and stating that the Lothian Committee were not wedded to the proposals of enfranchising the wives and widows to secure a suitable number of women on the roll if a better way could be found. They had only fallen back on that after exploring other fields and finding them blank. The question of first importance at the moment, she considered, was to secure by some means the enfranchisement of a sufficient number of women so that their influence could be felt in the new Constitution.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone also spoke, expressing similar sentiments, and assuring the women of India of the support that their struggle for adequate representation will receive from the women here.

The importance of nominating women to the Joint Select Committee has not been overlooked by women's societies in Britain and representations have already gone forward, a few weeks ago, to the proper authorities urging that women shall be appointed so that the woman's point of view shall be properly put forward and her voice heard.

A SUMMING UP OF THE CONFERENCE.

The Lord Chancellor presided at a meeting of the East India Association on the 16th January, at which Mr. Hugh Molson, a clever young Conservative M. P., read a paper on "The Third Round Table Conference and After." The paper was little more than a bald summary of the main discussions at the Conference, described by one who is in full sympathy with the Government's policy. It was rather surprising to find that the only criticism that the optimistic lecturer encountered was that which came from such diehards as Sir Patrick Fagan and Mr. J. E. Woolcott. They and their friends appeared to be well represented, and they seemed not at all abashed by the exposure which *The Times* has been giving them this week of the peculiar propagandist methods of that discredited coterie (mainly engineered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock), the Indian Empire Society.

Sir Hubert Carr spoke more or less cautiously for the Federal Scheme and the reforms which must follow in its wake, but he rather gave the impression that the European community in India would only be accepting of necessity what it would no longer have the power to avoid.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S PREDICTION.

It fell to Lord Sankey, speaking from the chair at the end of the meeting, to repel the attack the diehards had made on the Round Table Conference. In his speeches on India the Lord Chancellor always gives the impression of being well ahead of his colleagues, but unfortunately we do not see enough fruit developing from his well-meaning advances. He was lavish in his praise of Sir Samuel Hoare and quite a number of others. If soft words could turn away wrath, then Lord Sankey would have satisfied India long ago, but words without actions produce little or no result, so the problems of India continue.

One great principle, said Lord Sankey, had been established beyond dispute, namely, that in any future constitution there must be responsibility at the Centre, and he gave his hearers to understand that so far as he was concerned he wanted this responsibility to be of a substantial and far-reaching character. He agreed with Sir Hubert Carr that it was not much use providing people with a constitution unless they were entrusted with the management and control of their financial affairs, but in that connection he trotted out the old saw that "it is unwise to swap horses when crossing a stream", the point being that there never was such an awkward time in the financial history of the world as we are now facing, consequently there must be adequate safeguards for the preservation of India's present high credit.

But the Lord Chancellor warned his hearers that the success of Federation might be considerably lessened by delay. He paid a sincere tribute to the patience which the Indian people had hitherto displayed. His one fear was, he said, that, unless they could get a move on and make up their minds rapidly but not too rapidly, India would have some reason for saying "We have been put off," and in that case their difficulties would become greater than they were to-day. He also urged the Princes to let the Government know very soon what they were going to do about coming into the Federation.

Having done his best to correct the croakings of the diehards, Lord Sankey rounded off his optimistic remarks by confidently prophesying that, although there might be great difficulties ahead, they would see, during the lifetime of the present Parliament, the passing of an Act whereby the ambitions of India would be very largely satisfied.

GANDHI'S RELEASE.

Despite the fact that a promise in effect seemed to be given at the close of the last Round Table Conference that the Joint Select Committee should be empowered to confer with representatives of Indian opinion, the leaders of the greatest party of Indian political opinion remain in jail. The extremely serious problem that such a position gives rise to cannot be too strongly expressed and unceasing efforts continue on this side for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and his fellow-workers.

A letter dealing with the urgency of the question appears in this week's *New Statesman* and the *Manchester Guardian* signed by a number of influential names. But if all we hear is true, it is not the British Government that needs convincing of the urgency of this matter but the Indian Government. The hope that is carried here is, that if sufficient pressure is put on from this side the Indian Government must give way. So agitation must be continued until the day is won.

Reviews.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEW OF GANDHI

GANDHI AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM. By E. G. HART. (Hutchinson.) 18cm. 155p. 2/-

THE author has taken special pains to master his subject and is evidently an admirer of Mr. Gandhi. He has narrated the main incidents of Mr. Gandhi's life with admirable skill and faithfulness. However his attempt to reconcile his respect for Mr. Gandhi with his imperialistic outlook has not been very successful. He regards that the whole key to Gandhi's character is that he is a saint with a second-rate intellect and that it is this second-rate intellect which is responsible for Mr. Gandhi's political ex-

tronicism. In his fondness for originality, the author regards Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards the Britisher as being strongly coloured by personal feelings. "I could not help thinking that a psycho-analyst would find that his rebuff at Rajkot in 1892, which he himself says changed the whole course of his life, perhaps added to a much slighter one of the then Political Agent at Rajkot having refused to grant him a scholarship for England, are at the root of the canker which has made him pull in the opposite direction to us these last twelve years" (p. 120). Incidentally we may remark that Prof. Hart has the unfortunate knack of finding wrong meaning in many of Mr. Gandhi's remarks. It is perfectly true, but not in the sense intended to be conveyed by Prof. Hart, that the rebuff of 1892 changed the whole course of Mr. Gandhi's life by conferring upon him the leadership of South African Indians. Towards the end of his book Prof. Hart says: "Mr. Gandhi does not believe himself to be clever and I think his present trouble is that he has lost confidence in himself. He has refused offers to go to America saying he has no confidence in having a message to deliver" (p. 154). What Mr. Gandhi said was this: "I must resist the temptation, for I can make no effective appeal to the people of that great continent unless I make my position good with the intellectuals of India. If I go to America or Europe I must go in my strength and not in my weakness, I mean the weakness of my country. For the whole scheme for the liberation of India is based upon the development of internal strength. Until I can give an ocular demonstration of the efficacy of my methods, I feel that I must continue to preach from the narrower Indian platform."

The author's elaborate attempt to show that India is not poor as she is made out to be and that Britain is not responsible for her poverty is ingenious, but nothing more. He is also uncharitable, to say the least, to the Indians when he says: "It is because we still see the spirit that animated the massacre of Cawnpore in 1857 abroad in the land in the murder of Englishmen and English women that we feel we cannot safely surrender control" (p. 152). This hostile attitude of the author has vitiated the whole of his handling of the Indian problem.

There are several important misstatements in the book. For instance, while writing about the Unity Conference of January 1922, the author writes: "Suddenly in the midst of a Conference, which might have useful results, he nullifies the whole by the despatch of an ultimatum which the Viceroy could hardly fail to connect with the other members of the Conference as well as himself. To me the action seems unpardonable" (p. 78). It may be pointed out that no such ultimatum was sent by Mr. Gandhi while the Conference work was going on. Again on the authority of Bryant, the author remarks that "Maulana Hazrat Mohani, at one time a fervent follower of Gandhi, quarrelled with him and the Hindus generally on learning by statistics that ninety-five out of every hundred who had gone to prison and that ninety-nine and a half per cent. of those who had resigned their Government posts had been Mahomedans" (p. 136).

In spite of all such blemishes, this book, "hurriedly written" as it is, is readable.

A.

REASON IN RELATION TO LIFE.

THE MODERN THEME. By JOSE ORTEGA Y GASSET. Trs. from the Spanish by JAMES CLEUGH. (C. W. Daniel, London.) 1931. 20cm. 152p. 6/-

THE course of human history is not (what historians usually tell us) either a collection of the biographies

of certain extraordinary individuals or a strictly predictable sequence of events governed solely by sociological laws. It is in reality a succession of 'generations', each one of which has a unique mission of its own. Generations like individuals often fail to understand and realise their proper mission. The present generation in Europe is one of such failures. Not understanding its own mind it is unable to work for and achieve what alone will satisfy its innermost promptings.

To understand an age or a generation we must refer to its characteristic products in art and science rather than its political beliefs and practice; for politics are but a bye-product of the scientific outlook of a people. So judged, we find that at present people in Europe have arrived at a stage when the values of rational culture, which exclusively occupied men's attention during the last two thousand years, do not convince or satisfy. The alternative occasionally attempted in history denying all objective value and truth seems equally unacceptable. We realise, though vaguely, that the proper way to account for all the facts of life is to give up the false notion of a culture which has existence or value independently of the vital forces of life. Nietzsche who heralded this great truth for the first time in Europe was not understood and like all pioneers spent his entire strength in the mere negative work of protest.

Culture is valuable—most objectively so; nevertheless it is essentially grounded in vital existence. Thought, emotion, desire have a very real basis in and purpose for our organic existence. They cannot survive in abstraction from life—nor deserve to.

The best of present-day science and art are inspired by and tend to the fuller establishment of such a view. The greatest of modern theoretical achievements—Prof. Einstein's Theory of Relativity—properly understood, has precisely this lesson to teach. It is (in spite of its name) a radical improvement on what we usually understand by relativism and in fact points out the way to the only sound absolutism or objectivity. It in effect substitutes as truly objective, the sum-total of innumerable concrete points of view of actual beings for the imaginary abstraction of a point of view apart and above us all which has so far been preached by science and philosophy. We must learn to study the character of the mission of our generation from the Theory of Relativity and such other spontaneous creations in present science and art. We shall find in it the solution to all our difficulties in theory or practice.

Such, in brief outline, is the message of this remarkable book. The author is an intellectual leader of modern Spain and also a statesman in direct touch with practical affairs. Throughout the book there are constant references to the disintegration in the social and political life of Spain and although the outlook is by no means provincial it is easy to see that the speculations are not the result of mere intellectual curiosity.

But there is little doubt that the mind working on the material is by inclination theoretical. Indeed it would be difficult to find a more confident advocacy of the power and importance of thought than we find in the introductory portions of this book. And even apart from such direct advocacy the entire treatment abounds in daring speculative adventures worthy of the Greek thinkers with whom the author so emphatically disagrees.

It is impossible in a short review like the present to discuss with any adequacy the numerous fruitful suggestions made during the course of the main

argument. There are in all three supplements to the book out of which two are of such importance that they deserve a separate review by themselves. The *Sunset of Revolution* is a novel study of first principles in politics, sociology and history. In this connexion the author enunciates the apparently paradoxical proposition that those nations are most traditional in their outlook who have little of actual tradition to fall back upon. The other supplement on the Theory of Relativity also contains some intriguing material for the lover of speculation. Mention may be made in this connection of what the author calls Uchronianism. (p. 146.)

The central thesis of the book concerns the relation of Reason to Life and the author's contention is that European thinkers following the lead of Socrates have been giving exclusive importance to the categories of Reason which in reality is only an abstraction. Ingenious and even earnest as the exposition on this point is, it does not carry conviction. One cannot help feeling that the sly Socrates (against whose discovery of the World of Reason the argument is directed) would not find much difficulty in asking embarrassing questions about the proposed substitute for Reason. For is not the so-called stream of life only a new category of Reason more inclusive perhaps than those that went before, but still a category? How else is it to be distinguished from life as a fact—life as unconsciously lived by us all—a distinction rightly emphasised by the author himself? It is assumed by the author that Reason is an abstraction, whereas the advocates of Reason have always emphasised that Reason is concrete and individual. It is admitted that the worship of Reason has resulted in all the brilliant discoveries which have made Europe what it is; it is not explained why such an essentially elastic and living principle must be given up just because we are in certain provinces of experience on the eve of another fresh discovery.

But the practical message of the book remains nevertheless a worthy and a most opportune one. It tells us that the ills of life like its goods ultimately come from men's ideas; that the best cure therefore for the present disintegration in all spheres of life is a reassessment of our ideals and values. The ideals of our forefathers cannot be useful to us any more than their garments.

This message has been expounded in the book with great earnestness and splendid intellectual ingenuity. We in India to whom the book is not directly addressed have not less to learn from it than the Europeans. We too feel that the entire fabric of our social and cultural environment is crying for fresh adjustment. Indeed our problems are even more complex than those of the Westerner; for besides the difficulties of transition we have also to face those arising out of a comingling of cultures. At such a juncture a fresh, vigorous and earnest survey of first principles such as is contained in this book is invaluable.

The style is characteristically continental and along with the content shows Nietzsche's influence.

P. R. DAMLE.

ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND (1760-1860). By ARTHUR REDFORD. (Longmans, London.) 1931. 20cm. 221p. 3/6.

THE book under review gives the details of the revolution in the economic structure of the country, brought about by England's industrial expansion and takes the year 1760 as the starting point. A study of the cotton industry alone explains fully the trend of the industrial changes. Manchester and

Liverpool became the centres of cotton manufacture, as later on Birmingham became the home of the iron industry. A number of mechanical inventions like Hargreave's Spinning Jenny, Arkwright's Water Frame, Crompton's Mule and the Power Loom of Edward Cartwright revolutionised the cotton industry. The increasing use of machinery naturally gave a stimulus to the mining industries. Even steam as a power was employed by the invention of Watts steam-engine in 1769. These mechanical devices alone could not have achieved much. The industries had to be organised on a capitalistic basis. In this connection we come across the names of Peel, Grant, Robert Owen, etc. They were what may be called the "Captains of Industry."

Similarly, a number of changes took place in the agricultural organisation. Through the process of "enclosures", small holdings almost disappeared giving place to large farms. The evicted tenants and labourers migrated to growing towns to swell the ranks of the industrial labourer.

As a result of these changes, England secured almost all the markets of the world for her manufactured goods. Wealth poured into the country as it had never done before. This enabled England to fight the Napoleonic wars successfully. But this revolution was not an unalloyed blessing. It brought forth certain problems which have not even yet been solved. It gave birth to a class of wage-earners who are totally dependent on their employers. This created a big gulf between the two classes, which has been widening ever since. This has led to the so-called "class war". To mitigate the evils of this class warfare a number of reforms were introduced between 1815-60. The author devotes the second part of the book to this subject. Such social legislation is a feature of our own times too.

This book is of special value to the Indian reader as this country is on the threshold of gigantic industrial changes. It is a comprehensive book for the students of economic history and ought to be prescribed for the B. A. (Economics Honours) course.

M. S. CHEEMA.

CEYLON & INDIAN FEDERATION.

INDIA AND CEYLON: A FEDERATION. A NEW EFFORT IN HISTORY. By KALMANE. (King.) 1932. 20cm. 128p. 4/-

THIS book is bound to interest the student of politics, as the author puts forward a vigorous plea for the unification of Ceylon with the Federal Government of India of the future. By a brilliant survey of the cultural, political and economic history of the island and the mainland, the author proves conclusively that all the necessary conditions of a federal union are present in the case of India and Ceylon. It was the fiat of imperial policy that made Ceylon a Crown Colony in 1798, but the fight for political freedom and constitutional advancement in Ceylon has run on lines parallel to those of the mother country. Economically, both India and Ceylon have been undergoing the effects of the industrial revolution. The author points out how both India and Ceylon stand to gain by federation, especially the latter on account of her association with the former whose economic conditions are more or less the same. If Ceylon is allowed to join with the Indian Federation she would occupy the same place as any other autonomous province like Bombay or Madras. On the other hand, if Ceylon were granted responsible government without being allowed to join the Indian Federation, how will she provide herself with her defence and counteract the temptation she holds out

to many an ambitious nation in the East and in the West?

With regard to the argument that India and Ceylon cannot federate without the consent of the British Parliament and that Britain would not give its assent because it would be against her interests, the author points out how the various provinces of the Australian Commonwealth before their Federation in 1900 were administered separately, and yet they were allowed to federate without prejudicing English interests. Besides, Saskatchewan and Manitoba were separate entities before they came into the Canadian Federation, and yet their union with Canada did not result in any loss to England. Hence the author concludes that a self-governing and united Indian Federation in which Ceylon is included, will be a great asset to Britain.

The book is well-written, though there are repetitions here and there.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

CHINA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

CHINA TO-DAY: ECONOMIC. By J. B. CONDLIFFE. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1932. 20cm. 214p. \$2.50.

THIS is the result of long, patient and sympathetic research of the economic conditions of China, by one who has contributed much to the preparation of the League of Nations World Economic Survey. The author has utilised all possible research materials collected by economists, Chinese and foreign. The area of China including Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, and Manchuria is $4\frac{1}{4}$ million square miles, or 25% greater than that of the United States. China proper alone covers an area of about 2 million square miles. The estimates of the present population of China according to different authorities vary from 450 to 480 millions. Thus China, occupying an extensive area and containing a substantial portion of human society, interests the world more and more; and the world's future prosperity cannot be planned without giving due consideration to China and her affairs. She is having economic, political and social upheavals; and so a study of her conditions is not easy. Moreover the student does not enjoy the facilities which he does in other countries; and China, yet in her wheel-barrow stage, presents him with varied difficulties.

The author says: "In considering the economic problems of China it would apparently not be safe to reckon upon a lower figure for the total population than 450 millions". The estimates of the annual increase of population vary from 6 to 10 per thousand. These figures may not be quite correct, but there is no denying the fact that China has a teeming population, which is fast multiplying, subject only to the positive checks of Malthus—war, disease, famine and misery. The density of population is too much in certain areas. Neither emigration nor industrialisation can be a remedy for this large increase in population.

China is an agricultural country, 75% of her population living on land. Resourceful and ingenious as the Chinese are, they have not neglected possibilities of bringing in new areas under cultivation. But less fertile areas are not being properly made use of as the Chinese are not accustomed to large-scale farming. Land-holdings are small and fields minute and scattered; the whole system of farming rests upon the exploitation of human labour, as the cheapest source of power; and the need of the peasant is so great that he is in an extremely weak bargaining position. The landlords, though the aggregation of their holdings is not conspicuously

large, are able to exact rentals much heavier than in other lands. It has been estimated that rentals are 20% greater than is warranted by the contribution of the landlord to the joint enterprise. Naturally the standard of living of the Chinese is very low. The intense cultivation on traditional lines can be improved in many ways. The lack of marketing facilities, the internal customs, varied currencies, and political confusion, all add to the difficulties of the agricultural producer. Again the primary producer is not able to command cheap short term credit, and the cooperative movement is only now beginning to take root. Private initiative being unable to solve these difficulties, Government is now trying to initiate the policy of agricultural reorganisation, best suited to her needs.

There are about 2000 towns in China, but the prosperous ones are the coastal ones like Shanghai. Rural unemployment, internal disorder, the presence of foreigners and their capital have all given an impetus to the growth of these coastal towns. The urban problems are not so much those created by the growth of factories and factory conditions as the more fundamental ones of finding employment, and providing decent environmental conditions for those who have crowded from an over-populated countryside. Large-scale industry has made only a recent beginning in China and that which is now styled as large-scale is in a traditional stage. The new Government is influenced by the rapid march of her neighbours, and wants to have a progressive industrial policy for China. The Postal and Railway system has already been now nationalised, and the tariff policy of the Government is such as to promote production while not totally unmindful of the interests of the consumers. China has enough coal, not to speak of her 'white coal'. Labour is cheap but inefficient and the cost per unit is greater. Labour conditions are not quite satisfactory, but there is a strong Trade Union movement, which is under the thumb of the Government.

The new Government is putting forth Herculean efforts to set right the country's finances, but has not yet succeeded in its task. China's revenues are mainly spent in unproductive ways as in defence, civil government, indemnities, and interest on foreign loans. The credit of the Government has been recently rehabilitated by the genius of Dr. Soong, the Finance Minister. China is deeply indebted, but her national debt is not frightening when compared to other countries. The Government is seeking the aid of foreign countries and very willingly accepts help rendered by the League of Nations and other organisations. The currency of China is most complicated and cumbersome. The copper and silver coins in circulation are not fiat currency but so much merchandise. The tael—the silver unit—is different in different places and historically it represents a weight. There are in circulation many foreign dollars and these add to the prevailing confusion. "In China the intricacies of domestic exchange make the ordinary foreign exchange complications seem like kindergarten problems." Banking on the Western scale is just beginning to take root and the two important banks are the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications. The Kemmerer Commission of 1929-30 has given the new Government a programme of Currency Reform and Banking development, but only with the consolidation of political power is such a programme workable.

The foreign trade of China is very little when considered per capita. She has not kept pace with

other nations, and has lost her tea export to her new rivals. But she has greater exports of soya beans and cake. Of late she imports more of raw materials and less of manufactured goods—a sign of increasing attention paid to industries.

India, too, has many of these problems to face and solve, and the most pressing one is, as in China, that of over-population, which needs to be very effectively checked. The solution seems to be greater agricultural and industrial production leading to a higher standard of living of the masses.

N. S. S.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE 9TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BHIL SEVA MANDAL, DOHAD, FOR 1930-1931.

THIS is a neatly got-up and well-illustrated report of the work done among the Bhils of Dohad and Jhalod, in the Panchmahals District in a modest and unassuming way, by the workers of the Bhil Seva Mandal which has opened eight ashrams and two schools, where 400 Bhil students receive a training specially suited for them. It is refreshing to learn that there is co-education here. Every branch of the Mandal has a dispensary attached to it and the Bhils are helped in maintaining their self-respect, against the encroachments of over-zealous Government officials on the same. The Mandal is self-sufficient in the matter of clothing and cloth requirements.

It remains to point out that the president of the Mandal is Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar, of whom Mahatma Gandhi says, in a short letter prefacing the report, that he is one of those who keep and give an account of every minute spent, reminding one of the Miltonic phrase 'as ever in my great Task-Master's eye.'

J. J. VAKIL.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE NABOBS. By T. G. P. SPEAR. (Oxford University Press.) 1932. 23cm. 215p. 10/6.
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