

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XVI, No. 7. } POONA—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1933.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	73
ARTICLES :—	
Indian Auxiliary Committee—Appoint Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to it.	75
The Round Table Scheme.—II. By Prof. D. G. Karve, M.A.	77
Birth Control. By Bhisma	79
Anti-American Feeling in Japan. By Madame L. Morin.	80
OUR LONDON LETTER.	81
REVIEWS :—	
Hindu Philosophy. By Prof. S. V. Dandekar, M.A.	82
International Affairs in Colleges. By D. V. Kale, M.A.	83
The Imperial Drama in India. By K. Venugopal Rao.	83
SHORT NOTICES.	84
BOOKS RECEIVED.	84

Topics of the Week.

Mr. A. V. Patvardhan.

WE offer our hearty felicitations to Mr. A. V. Patvardhan, on the occasion of his sixty-first birthday, which came off on the 13th inst. Mr. Patvardhan is one of the foundation-members of the Servants of India Society and was its Secretary for nearly twenty-five years. His chief concern for the last many years has been the management of the Arya Bhushan Press, which is perhaps the largest printing and publishing house in Poona, and which finances to some extent the public activities of the Society. The development of the Society and the Press owe a great deal to the untiring devotion of Mr. Patvardhan. What time he saved by relinquishing his Secretaryship of the Society he has devoted to the question of the reform of the administration of the Indian States, particularly those in Maharashtra, and in that behalf has been conducting an Anglo-Marathi weekly, the "Sansthani Swarajya," for the last some years. We wish him long life and perfect health and many more years of strenuous service for the Motherland.

Release of Political Prisoners.

REPLYING to a question in Parliament Sir Samuel Hoare repeated what Sir Harry Haig had said the previous week in the Legislative Assembly that there could be no question of the release of Mahatma Gandhi and the other political prisoners until Government had convincing reasons that their release would not be followed by a revival of civil disobedience. There is ample evidence to convince

the Government, if they were in a mood to understand, that the prospect of the revival of civil disobedience is very meagre. Sir Harry Haig admitted in the Assembly that the majority of political prisoners released after serving their terms of imprisonment had not resumed civil disobedience. Fresh acts of civil disobedience have been few and far between. Except for an occasional exhibition undertaken as a matter of honour and prestige, the movement has no kick left in it. On the positive side, the Congress leaders have departed materially from their policy of non-co-operation inasmuch as they have sought the aid of the Government and the central legislature in furtherance of the anti-untouchability campaign. It is true that they have not in so many words admitted that they have given up civil disobedience or even that they are co-operating. But it must be clear to the meanest intellect that, notwithstanding all the quibbling of their subtle brains, it is nothing but co-operation with the Government that the Congress leaders have resorted to in promoting the Untouchability and Temple-Entry Bills in the Central legislature.

As regards the dropping of civil disobedience, Mahatma Gandhi holds so pre-eminent a position in Congress circles that few other leaders would venture to take a decision without the Mahatma's previous consent. Discussion for the purpose is impossible as long as the Mahatma is under restraint. In order that a formal change in the policy of the Congress should be possible, it is essential that Mahatma Gandhi and the other political prisoners should be released and given an opportunity to review the situation in mutual consultation.

But is it wise to insist on a formal abandonment of civil disobedience and a guarantee that it will not be revived? Performance is more eloquent than precept, and, as we have said, the performances of the Congress leaders, both negative and positive, are reassuring notwithstanding their precept. Government will be wise to be content with practical results and not seek to drive a hard bargain with the Congress and humiliate it and prepare an embittered background for the new reforms.

But granting that in releasing political prisoners there is the risk of a revival of civil disobedience, even so, it is worth while taking that risk. As probabilities go, there is good reason to believe that civil disobedience is played out, and that the Congress leaders will bend their energies to promoting constitutional reforms. But if, unhappily, they should revive civil disobedience, Government will have no difficulty in restraining them. On the whole, there is an overwhelming case for the release of political prisoners.

Bombay's Lead.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD and other Bombay leaders have followed up the valuable lead which

they gave on the question of the third R.T.C. in their manifesto, which has now been influentially signed in other provinces as well, by holding a big public meeting in the city of Bombay on Thursday week. The attitude which the country should take towards the reforms scheme evolved by the Conference has been well crystallised in the resolution passed at this meeting, which runs as follows:—

"This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses dissatisfaction at the Reform Proposals that have emerged from the deliberations of the Third Round Table Conference as they fall far short of the demands of the Indian people and is strongly of opinion that unless they are materially altered so as to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India, they will fail to secure harmonious, smooth and contented working of the new constitution, nor will they allay the discontent or disaffection so widely prevalent in the country. This meeting is of opinion that in order to secure a peaceful atmosphere for the consideration of the Reform Proposals on their merits, it is essential that all political prisoners should be immediately released."

The resolution expresses dissatisfaction with the scheme in its present form, but does not specify, as of course it could not do without becoming cumbersome, the amendments the country would require in the scheme. For these the public must turn to the manifesto itself.

* * *

"Plighted Word".

IN his little brochure, the "Plighted Word," Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has brought together all the important statements relevant to the Untouchability Abolition and Temple Entry Bills now before the Central Legislature. Mr. Rajagopalachari has himself made out a powerful case in support of the Bills and we hope that his arguments will appeal to the members of the Legislature. There is however one claim that he makes which seems to call for passing notice. He has repeatedly stated that those who in the past founded temples had *intended* that the rules and conventions regarding their use that then prevailed should not be rigidly observed for all time but that they were to be modified in accordance with changes in public opinion. It is "really a perversion of the original intent and purpose to invest them with immutable authority and continue to apply them to totally changed conditions." It seems to be an unwarranted over-statement to hold that the original donors themselves intended an evolutionary change in the objects of their foundations. Whether posterity should scrupulously respect in all its rigidity the original intentions of the founders is another matter. The Statutory Commission, whose observations Mr. Rajagopalachari quotes with approval, said that "it should be clearly laid down as a principle that the power to create permanent institutions can be recognised only on the condition, implied if not declared, that they be subject to such modifications as every succeeding generation shall find requisite"; it did not claim that such *was* the doctrine inherent in the past foundations. The case for modification is well brought out in Mr. Rajagopalachari's quotation from the "Harvard Law Review": "It frequently happens that although the provisions made by the founder are in accordance with the best standards of the time, in course of time standards change, and the strict observance of the provisions would destroy the institution or at least retard its development."

* * *

Promise of Election of States' Representatives.

AN Indian State has appeared on the scene which has definitely promised to adopt the process of popular election in the choice of its representative in the

lower chamber of the federal legislature. The State which has the honour of giving this very desirable lead in this matter is not Mysore, Travancore or Cochin, as one who knows their progressive character may imagine, but a tiny little State in the Deccan called Phaltan. The Dewan of this State, who attended the last two Round Table Conferences on behalf of the smaller States in Maharashtra, in giving an account of his doings in London and an impression of what took place at the Conferences, expressed himself and his chief as emphatically in favour of the States' representatives in the Legislative Assembly being returned by popular vote, and promised that, so far as it would be given to his State to play a part in the matter, it would follow the approved democratic practice.

No doubt, this announcement by itself cannot bring much tangible advantage as Phaltan will necessarily be one among several small States which together will be allowed to send one representative to the Assembly and will not thus get an opportunity of translating its democratic impulse into action. But still it will be of great moral advantage. If there are any Princes who think that, however favourably disposed they themselves may be to popular election and other democratic ways, they must still refrain from giving public expression to this sentiment for fear that it will increase the difficulties of their brother Princes, Phaltan has shown that no State need be deterred by a false sense of loyalty to the Princely order from proclaiming its faith. And we congratulate the ruler of Phaltan upon the high honour he has obtained for himself by being the first Prince to plump courageously for unadulterated election. For the election that the rulers of Bikaner and Bhopal promised at the second Round Table Conference is of a very dubious kind. They pledged themselves merely to give some sort of voice to the people of their States in the selection of some of their representatives (here their caution was superfluous, for neither of them will in any case be entitled to have more than one representative) in the Legislative Assembly.

* * *

Burma's Right to Secede.

COMMENT was made in our last issue on the statement issued from New Delhi by Sir Hari Singh Gour and a number of other M. L. A.s on the subject of Burma's separation from India. On the particular point of Burma reserving to herself the right to secede from the Indian federation at her will, the signatories assured the Burmans of the support of Indian opinion "in making such adjustments as are justified by the peculiar conditions in Burma", and also added: "We can only say that Indian opinion will raise no objection to its exercise on terms acceptable to Federation." This has led the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri to issue the following statement:—

We are uneasy about the action of certain members of the Assembly in pledging Indian opinion in favour of the right of secession being given to Burma on agreed terms. In our judgment it is dangerous to give the right to any unit of the Federation. Already, owing to the attitude of the Princes and a certain section of British Indians, the Federation, if it takes shape, is likely to be exceedingly weak. The right of secession, provided for in the constitution, granted to Burma as an inducement to join, will tend towards disruption and be a paralysing weakness in the country, where centrifugal forces have always been stronger than centripetal forces.

* * *

Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar.

LEST silence should be construed as consent, we feel constrained to observe that there is a not inconsiderable section of the citizens of Poona which, while not wishing to rake up the past but willing to let bygones be bygones, is not yet prepared to join the chorus of extravagant and obsequious praise of the ex-Maharaja of Indore which certain estimable citizens of Poona have chosen to indulge in. This section is not aware that anything has happened to obliterate the deplorable impression created by the lamentable series of events which culminated in the abdication by Sir Tukoji Rao of the Indore *Gadi* and to justify a public request that Sir Tukoji Rao should make Poona his abode for the future and to acclaim him as an exemplar to the citizens of Poona.

Gold Export.

THE general impression even in well-informed circles is that Sir Purshotamdas Thakoredas at the third Round Table Conference suggested the prohibition of the exportation of gold from this country as one of the three necessary conditions antecedent to the establishment of federation. Actually, however, he was far more cautious in handling this subject as the following extract from his speech, on the last day will show:—

"Very nearly rupees 100 crores worth of gold has left the shores of India. Reference has been made at the Conference to-day to the necessity of reserves being accumulated for a Reserve Bank. I will not be dogmatic. I do not propose to put my opinion before this Conference at all. I daresay there may be differences of opinion, but I do feel this as a matter of conviction, that the Government of India owes it to the people of India that the Finance Member at Delhi there shall forthwith consult representatives in India, both commercial men and politicians, with a view to examining the feasibility of retaining the gold of India for the purpose of India's reserves. It is conceivable that after going into the matter, such a committee may come to the conclusion that they need not interfere with the present position, or that they cannot interfere with it, for sound reasons in the interests of India. But there has been no pronouncement during the last fifteen months either by the Finance Member at Delhi or by anybody else, and I will tell you quite frankly, Mr. Secretary of State, that the public of India feel very strongly that the gold of India is being allowed to leave India avoidably and unnecessarily. I wish to very strongly impress upon you that it is necessary to have full consultation in India and either to assure the public of India that what they suggest is not feasible or to definitely take action in the direction required by the Indian public."

More Reserved Seats for Non-Brahmans?

IN the address recently presented to the Governor of Bombay at Nasik on behalf of the non-Brahmans there, their demand for an increase in the number of seats reserved for their community in the local legislature seems to have been repeated. The following remarks by the Governor in reference to it give an indication as to how the mind of the Bombay Government is working on the subject. Said Sir Frederick Sykes in his reply to the address:—

"But, if I may, I would suggest to you that, instead of pressing for further reservation of seats, it would be better to concentrate on improving your organisation. In many constituencies you form a very strong minority, even if not an actual majority, of the population, and it is somewhat questionable whether any reservation

of seats for you can be justified. The reservation which has been provided is coupled with freedom to contest other seats. In your own interests, therefore, it would appear to be desirable that you should realise the full measure of your voting strength, which it may be expected will be further increased by a reduced franchise with the introduction of the Reforms. The number of representatives you have been able to return to Local Bodies has shown a steady increase, and, if perfecting of organisation and maintaining of unity are concentrated upon there is every reason to hope that you will be able fully to maintain your position under the new constitution without the need of additional reservations."

"Harijan."

WITH a view to help materially the cause of the uplift of the Untouchables, to which Mahatma Gandhi has now chosen to give his undivided attention, he has decided to bring out a new weekly journal in English, the "Harijan," the first issue of which was issued from Poona last Saturday. Needless to say that it is no business venture. It is intended to place before the public the authoritative views of Mahatma Gandhi as well as well-authenticated news regarding the progress of the movement for the uplift of the Untouchables, supplied by the Secretary of the Servants of the Untouchables Society, Delhi. We wish the journal every success.

Depressed Classes' Access to Wells—

FRESH proof of the fact that the Bombay Government mean business in the matter of practical action designed to uplift the depressed classes is provided by their recently published resolution in regard to the use of public wells and tanks by these classes. Those who know anything of Indian life, especially in the villages, can easily realise the difficulties against which the untouchables have to contend in getting such a prime necessity of life as water. Where these difficulties arise from the absence of an adequate supply of water, they cannot obviously be helped. But in most villages it is the social prejudice against these unfortunate people that stands in the way of their unrestricted access to the public watering places. Indeed it is by no means an exaggeration to say that even the village cattle enjoy greater facilities for quenching their thirst than people belonging to classes known as depressed. Thus the orders of the Bombay Government contained in this resolution, if strictly enforced, are no more than an attempt to make the village people look upon the Harijans as human beings standing in need of the necessaries of life just like themselves.

Under these orders, grants for village water supply have been made liable to reduction if the local bodies concerned are unable to ensure equal treatment of the untouchables at public wells along with other sections of Hindu society. In order to enable them to feel that they are equally entitled with the rest of the population to the unfettered use of the tanks and wells controlled by local bodies, it has been ordered that notice boards should be put up in their vicinity, notifying the fact of the watering places being open to all sections of the public without distinction. It is the Government's desire that such notices should, to begin with, be displayed in connection with 20 per cent. of the wells in each district and the working of the experiment carefully watched before its scope is widened. Local bodies have also been warned in the clearest terms possible that their applications for land for tanks, wells, dharmashalas etc. would be granted only if these amenities were to

be made available equally to all sections of the population without discrimination of any kind. It is gratifying to note that the application of these orders to municipal towns is also contemplated.

* * *

—and to Hospitals and Dispensaries.

It is a matter of common experience that though hospitals and dispensaries are intended for the benefit of all classes, the depressed classes find themselves debarred, owing to their low status in society, from reaping the fullest benefit from the facilities afforded by these institutions. The Bombay Government are apparently determined to see that this disability to which the depressed classes are subject also becomes a thing of the past at no distant date. Their latest orders on the subject prohibit any distinction "in the treatment of patients belonging to the depressed classes on the ground of custom, religion or orthodoxy," cases of such differentiation being suitably dealt with and, if need be, reported to Government.

* * *

An Injudicious Prohibition.

AN all-party demonstration to honour the memory of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru was to take place at Allahabad on the 6th inst., the second anniversary of the patriot's death. Its organisers included men like Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit H. N. Kunzru whose opposition to the Congress policy of civil disobedience has, as is well known, cost them not a little of their popularity. The demonstration was to be presided over by no less a person than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who can by no stretch of

the imagination be suspected of helping anything in the least likely to result in a breach of the public peace. The district magistrate of Allahabad however knew better. He persuaded himself that the proposed demonstration was "likely to cause obstruction and annoyance to persons lawfully employed and the disturbance of public tranquillity" and lost no time in prohibiting it, under section 144, Cr. Pr. C. We do not wish to question here the legality of his prohibitory order, a point upon which the High Court is likely to be asked to pronounce its judgment, but cannot help saying that the magistrate was most ill-advised in the action he took in preventing the demonstration. It may be the inclusion of two Congressmen amongst the conveners of the memorial meeting misled him as to the purpose of the demonstration. But instead of acting on mere suspicion he would have done well to obtain first-hand information by personal inquiries with the organisers. It is true that the terms of his order left it open to them to arrange for the holding of the demonstration elsewhere than in the prohibited place. At the same time the conclusion is inescapable that the magistrate used his judgment injudiciously in thinking that the proceedings of the meeting would result in disturbing public peace and as such his action is unjustifiable. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru stated only the bald truth when in his statement on the situation created by the magistrate's action he said that it was actions of this nature which by causing avoidable annoyance to the public tended to aggravate the existing estrangement between the Government and the people.

INDIAN AUXILIARY COMMITTEE.

APPOINT MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI TO IT.

IT is now fairly certain that the Joint Select Committee which Parliament will soon set up to consider the proposals of the British Cabinet on Indian constitutional reform will include some representation of the anti-Indian diehard element in Britain. It is more than likely that either Mr. Winston Churchill or Lord Lloyd or both will find a place on the Committee. The British politicians who are pressing for their inclusion do not advocate the step because they themselves share diehard opinions. We are assured that Lord Peel and Earl Winterton, not to speak of Sir Samuel Hoare, have, as a result of their contact with and appreciation of progressive Indian opinion represented at the three sessions of the Round Table Conference, shed such opinions, if ever they held them. But they feel that the inclusion of the diehard element in the Parliamentary Committee is necessary to make it thoroughly representative. They also feel that it will ensure an easier passage of the Government of India Bill by disarming opposition in advance of those who are likely to give trouble.

If this thesis be valid it is but fair that these British politicians should strongly support the plea that the Indian Auxiliary Committee of the Joint Committee should also be representative of all important schools of thought in India. The Federationists will, of course, be there. It is to be hoped that the Indian National Congress will again be invited and that it will accept the invitation.

There is yet another section of opinion which, whether we agree with it or not, should, in view of its importance, be represented. This section, while earnestly desirous of promoting federation of British India and Indian India, is not prepared to do so on the conditions demanded by the representatives of the Indian States and acquiesced in, no doubt reluctantly, by the Federationists. For instance, it insists on the election of the representatives of the Indian States in the federal legislature by the people of the States, as opposed to nomination by the autocratic Princes; it insists on federal citizenship and on the extension of fundamental rights guaranteed in the federal constitution to the peoples of the States as well. It is not content with securing a maximum practicable amount of self-government for India, but wishes to ensure that it is democratic. If it came to a choice, it would rather forego federation but insist on central responsibility for British India. No unimportant differences these between it and the Federationists. Nor is it a negligible body, though perhaps it is not so organised as the Federationists. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has himself testified in the article reprinted in the last issue of the SERVANT OF INDIA that the Princes' terms "reduce the scope of federation until it is thin and anaemic and many Indian politicians think it is not worth while." Among such politicians may be mentioned Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, Sir Abdur Rahim, and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the last of whom is perhaps the most

vigorous and determined exponent of this school. Even if the British diehard element be not included in the Joint Parliamentary Committee as advocated by Lords Peel and Winterton, the Chintamani school in India should be represented on the Indian Auxiliary Committee, and its inclusion becomes even more imperative if the British diehard element is included.

The Indian National Congress, as can be seen from the utterances of its spokesman at the second Round Table Conference, did not represent the Chintamani school. Mahatma Gandhi pressed hard for the attenuation, if not the elimination, of the "safeguards" and for minimising the control of London over Delhi, but made common cause with the Federationists as regards the Princes' terms. It cannot, therefore, be

said that the Congress spokesman can represent the Chintamani school. And we have reason to believe that even among Congressmen there is a considerable section which is not satisfied with the attitude of the Congress representative at the second R.T.C. and shares the view of the Chintamani school. It is, therefore, very essential that this school should be represented and it is best represented by Mr. Chintamani himself, its best exponent. And we hope that in making the selection of the Indian personnel the authorities concerned will not overlook this aspect of the matter.

We also hope that all those who have influence with Government, whether they themselves agree with Mr. Chintamani's views or not, will urge on it the desirability of including him in the Committee.

THE ROUND TABLE SCHEME.

II.—FEDERAL FINANCE*.

THE whole structure of the administration in India is a great monument to the policy of tinkering and drift. This is especially true of the finances of the country. So long as an official government was in power both in the provinces and at the centre, the inherent weaknesses of the system were hidden from the public gaze. Since the inauguration of responsible government in the provinces the financial arrangements between them and the Government of India have met with universal disapproval. Even before the entry of the States in an all-India Federation was thought of as a practical step the need for a thorough reorganisation of finance was recognised. The Montford reforms had proved a very partial success on account of the unsatisfactory financial allocation that accompanied them. The fate of the coming reforms will also depend very vitally on their financial counterpart. The prospect of an immediate all-India federation has made finance a matter of the most urgent significance to the smooth working of the federation and the progressive administration of the constituent governments.

The Round Table Conference recorded its appreciation of three general principles which should guide financial adjustments in the new federation: (a) that the provinces must have adequate and elastic sources of revenue; (b) that the finances of the Federal Government must be solvent; and that (c) after an initial period federal revenues should be derived from British India and the States alike. That these aims are sound in themselves and in keeping with the most informed opinion on the subject must be admitted. But their acceptance by the Conference or by the British Government which holds the whip-hand in the matter is neither full nor logical. Was the adequacy of provincial revenues, enunciated as the first principle of financial organisation, taken into account when for purely political, or perhaps diplomatic, reasons it was decided to create the new smaller provinces? The utmost danger, financial

and political, might be expected in the future to emerge for the Federal Government out of this ill-designed arrangement. Then again, while insisting upon adequacy of provincial and solvency of Federal revenues, was due consideration given to the pressing need of the reduction of public salaries and establishments, and the curtailment of the military budget? Many members of the Committee, appointed by the Conference to deal with this subject, indeed expressed their desire that the possibility of reducing the present high level of military expenditure should be closely examined in determining the initial federal deficit. There is no agreement, however, recorded by the Conference as a whole, and the Secretary of State roundly repudiated the suggestion. Revision of civil salaries finds no place in the proceedings and the 'reservation' of this head under the constitution to the unfettered judgment of the Governor-General might remove the possibility of reform in this direction almost for ever. No reform in our finances is likely to be of any benefit to the tax-payer which does not start from a thorough overhauling of the scale and establishments of the civil and military departments of the Governments in India. The Round Table scheme does not itself achieve this end and in a way blocks the path of early reform in this direction.

The third principle laid down by the Conference is of particular importance. We are not convinced that an initial period of inequality or disparity between the provinces and the States in the matter of federal revenues is absolutely indispensable. Both the States and the Indian Government are taking a sufficiently long time in framing schemes and working out details. It is expedient and desirable that the equal responsibility of the States in this matter should be recognised from the start, both in principle and practice. The records of the Conference itself show that some at least of the States labour under a misapprehension of their liabilities in the matter. The Instruments of Accession which will be conclu-

* The first article appeared in our issue of February 9.

ded between the Crown and the particular States are likely to create financial complications which it would be well-nigh impossible to resolve in the near future. The danger is all the greater as there is no provision made for the instruments to be scrutinised and accepted by the British Indian representatives, whose vital interests are at stake in the matter. Mere balancing of the contributions paid at present by the States to the Government of India and the privileges and immunities granted by the latter to the rulers of States is not enough. These items indeed must go; but the States must understand beyond the possibility of a doubt that in accepting the membership of the Indian Federation they qualify for a share of federal powers and responsibilities in the same manner and in the same proportion as the provinces.

That there is considerable misunderstanding on this point prevalent among the States' representatives at the Conference is evidenced by their attitude on the subject of the Income-Tax. Those who recognise the difficulties of practical financial adjustment have always viewed this tax as a divided source of revenue. The Conference itself contemplated that the Federal Government should be entitled to the proceeds of the corporation tax, tax on federal officers, tax in federal areas, tax on Government of India securities and tax on persons resident outside India. It was estimated that on this basis the Federal Government would secure about $5\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees. The representatives of the States, however, insisted that they will be prepared to bear the corporation tax only on condition that the distribution of the income-tax between the federal government and the provinces was so arranged as to bring in a revenue to the former of $8\frac{1}{4}$ crores. This means that unless the provinces are prepared to part with a quarter of the yield of personal income-tax in favour of the federal government the States would not bear the burden of the corporation tax along with the British Indian units of the Federation.

This is most unreasonable. The liability of the States to bear the burden of federal revenues arises out of their position of equal privileges in the Federation. The States appear to have a convenient balance in the matter of privileges and burdens. What they desire by way of extra weightage in the matter of privileges they balance by insisting that the provinces will pay an extra contribution! Granting that the income-tax should bring to the Federal treasury Rs. $8\frac{1}{4}$ and not Rs. $5\frac{1}{4}$ crores the only right way is to spread the burden even over the units of the Federation, States and provinces alike. It is impossible to fathom the version of the States of their position in the future Federation of India when they further claim that all subventions paid to deficit provinces, with the exception of those paid to the N. W. F. P., should come from the yield of provincial heads of income-tax. Subventions in a federation are in the nature of a collective contribution for the minimum efficiency of units. Are the States members of the collective organisation or are they not? If they are not constituents of the all-India organisation they are not

in the Federation and cannot claim weightage and other privileges in the central organisation. If they are, they must bear their proportionate burden of all collective charges including the subventions. And what distinction, except a purely chronological one, can be traced between N. W. F. P. and the other deficit provinces? Since the inauguration of the new constitution in the Frontier Province its speciality as a strategic province vanishes. The creation of Sind and N. W. F. P., for instance, is guided by one and the same policy.

The Conference foresaw an immediate period of temporary deficit for the Federal Government on the basis of the above-noted distribution of the income-tax between provinces and the centre. They, therefore, proposed for a number of 'X' years that a certain block reduction should be made from the total yield of the provincial heads of income-tax and then the balance should be distributed among the provinces. As mentioned above, no serious attempt has been made to wipe out a federal deficit by reduction of expenditure. Secondly, there is no agreement as to the number of years for which such an arrangement is to continue, nor is there any plan for the gradual reduction of this imposition. Granting that for some years to come, and according to certain observers for many years to come, the Federal Government, on the basis of the present distribution, will not be in a position to pay its way only from the yield of federal taxes, it does not follow that reduction of a block amount from the provincial income-tax, or the addition to it of a permanent surcharge, is the best method of distributing the burden of the federal deficit. The inter-provincial wrangling during the last decade is principally due to the unjustifiable attitude that the financial advisers of Government have taken about the income-tax. Land revenue, which is a tax on the agricultural profession, and income-tax, which is a levy on non-agricultural pursuits, ought to be treated in the same manner if inequalities are not to develop between provinces in varying stages of industrial development. The deduction of a block sum from the proceeds of the provincial heads or the eventual imposition of a federal surcharge on them is bound to place a disproportionately high burden on provinces like Bombay and Bengal.

If the necessity of bridging a temporary or semi-permanent deficit in the Federal Government does arise, which we do not admit so long as retrenchment and reorganisation have not been adopted, it is better directly and openly to impose contributions on the provinces than to tax their subjects indirectly on an inequitable plan. There can never be any agreement on the theoretical merits of any basis of provincial contributions, but we feel that the nearest approach to equality will be achieved by levying contributions on the basis of the combined yield of land revenue and provincial income-tax in each province. If the method of a federal surcharge is followed, both income-tax and land revenue should be brought under the levy. As the activities of the Federal Government will extend over the whole of India, and

as the States will be equal sharers in the authority of that Government, contributions and surcharges must be made applicable to States in the same proportion as to the provinces.

The difficulties of Bengal under the present financial distribution are undoubted. If a proper attempt at reduction of expenditure by the central and provincial governments is made and if at least the whole yield of personal income-tax is provincialised many of these difficulties will be solved. But it is certain that no lasting solution of Bengal's finances is likely to be reached so long as the enhanced income from land is not made to bear its due proportion of taxation. It is mere legal casuistry to conclude that because the Zamindars were promised permanency of the revenue that they were to pay they should escape their legitimate burdens justified by taxable capacity. The proposal to share the yield of the export duty on jute with the Bengal Government, agreed to by the Round Table Conference, is wrong in theory and bad as a precedent. There is no reason to believe that the jute tax is not paid by the foreign purchaser and undoubtedly in the case of import taxes a case can be made out to share their yield among the provinces on the basis of their consumption of imported commodities.

Finance has been too long and too much manipulated by politicians. It is time to reverse the process at least for a while. A strong commission of experts with a free hand should be appointed to consider the possibilities of retrenchment and reorganisation and to suggest the best and most equitable means of allocation. The States, before they join the Federation, have to be informed of their full liabilities. Their instruments of accession must receive the general approval of the British Indian delegates. The use of income-tax as the single balancing item as between the Federation and the provinces must be abandoned.

D. G. KARVE.

BIRTH CONTROL.

THE views of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, one of the most eminent social workers in India, deserve the most respectful attention. She has recently communicated to the press her views on birth-control. Incidentally she mentioned that she had received several communications, the majority of which went to support the resolution in favour of birth-control passed by the last session of the All-India Women's Conference, which is indeed very gratifying. The feeling of gratification is however somewhat marred by the rather halting and conditional support which Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi herself gives to the subject of birth-control. Her views are summed up in the following words of hers:—

I am strongly of opinion that the knowledge of birth-control should not be indiscriminately broadcast through the platform and the press to the ignorant lay public but should be imparted by medical people only to those mothers and fathers who really need or deserve it on account of ill-health or chronic defective conditions

of extreme poverty of the parents which compels the limitation of the family within reasonable bounds.

On the basis of only one of the conditions admitted by her, namely poverty, we should imagine that the number of people who need birth-control in India would run into millions; perhaps the great bulk of the people of India would be included in this category. If the other conditions like ill-health and defective nutrition are also taken into consideration the parents who do not need birth-control would, we fancy, be a handful. On her own basis, it appears that birth-control knowledge cannot be imparted to too many people in India.

Also, she would confine the agency for the dissemination of birth-control knowledge to medical practitioners. Here, again, the number of medical practitioners available for such purposes in India at the present moment is indeed wholly inadequate. Is it a practical proposition to expect that all or even the great majority of "deserving" cases will seek medical aid or that, if they did, the available medical agency will be equal to the task? Dr. Reddi's prescription will leave the trouble practically unrelieved. And much needless misery will continue to afflict the lives of our people. In vivid and touching terms she refers to the miserable fate of women whose husbands are irresponsible on account of drink or otherwise and who are victims or slaves of their husbands' desires and who are powerless to resist and save themselves. She refers also to the large number of destitute mothers burdened with numerous children. Would such readily seek the aid of doctors for preventive relief, even if there were an adequate number of them? On her own showing, it appears that birth-control knowledge cannot be too widely disseminated and that the available press and platform facilities for broadcasting it are not too many to cope with the extent of the problem. The need is really for some means of contraception which can be safely used by the parents themselves without the advice of medical practitioners, and which can be obtained in their immediate neighbourhood, something like the facilities we now have for obtaining and administering quinine. We wish all those interested in the subject, and the medical profession in particular, will devote special attention to devising some simple means by which even the ignorant and illiterate people in the villages can limit their families and space out their children and which they can obtain locally.

Dr. Reddi's objections to broadcasting birth-control knowledge indiscriminately in the press and platform are that birth-control is "unnatural" and that it leads to sex-indulgence divorced from its justification of procreation. It is rather surprising that so late in the day birth-control should be thought unnatural. If conscious and intelligent control of natural phenomena is "unnatural," there is no end of unnatural things that civilisation is guilty of. Why, cooking our food, the use of electric light and medical practice itself would all be "unnatural."

At the back of it all is a feeling that sex is sin that sexual intercourse is a human failing or weakness and that the less we have to do with sex the better for the spiritual evolution of man. Continence is, therefore, advocated for the limitation of families in wedlock and for the preservation of chastity out of it. While continence is admirable, it is, like so many other admirable qualities, not a common possession. Only a very few can aspire to it; the great majority are incapable of it. Even to those who are capable of continence, knowledge of birth-control will and can do no harm. To those who are unequal to it, it is the only safeguard against undesired and undesirable consequences. The only thing that can be claimed for ignorance of birth-control is its tendency to inhibit sex intercourse out of wedlock, which is considered a "sin". But this inhibition does not apply to men but only to women who run the risk of being betrayed by the birth of a child. Ignorance of birth-control does not promote continence among boys; it does among girls. But is it worth-while that, for the sake of frightening a few girls into preserving their chastity birth-control knowledge should be denied to millions of suffering parents and specially, mothers.

Far from restricting knowledge of birth-control to certain people under certain conditions the right thing to do is to find means for universalising it. It can do no harm; but it will do infinite good.

BHISMA.

ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING IN JAPAN.

AT GENEVA, the Japanese have just refused to admit that America, which is not a member of the League of Nations, should have the right to act as a judge towards Japan. This, by the way, provides one more opportunity to deplore the United States' abstention from the League. Meanwhile, a violent incident has just taken place in Yokohama, which gives an idea of the present nationalist ardour of the Japanese. Several hundreds of people have attacked the buildings of the Singer Company, the well-known American sewing-machines firm; not only have the keepers been brutally molested, but the offices have been looted, a great number of machines destroyed and the archives burned down. The police arrived too late; the United States Ambassador protested with the utmost energy, but nevertheless the evil is done.

Hardly more than sixty years ago, American warships stood before the Japanese ports for the purpose of compelling them by force to be opened to American trade. At that time the Japanese were for the Americans nothing but little yellow monkeys. Since then, the little yellow monkeys have taken the good and the bad lessons from western civilisation; they have built a modern state and have armed it to the teeth.

China knows it only too well and even had to stop their boisterous impulses. There is a long way to Peking; but in the meanwhile Korea and Formosa have remained in Japanese hands. Japan further

surprised Europe by its double victory, naval and military, won against Russia. And together with military skill, the Japanese also proved their diplomatic ability: they had been clever enough to secure an alliance with England (this has been denounced since then) which enabled them to consolidate more safely the acquisitions due to their victory. Very soon, however, America started a "pacific" fight against Japan to prevent the colonisation of California by the latter, exceptional laws being edicted to avoid it.

In 1914, Kiao-Tehecu is taken. In 1915, a vigorous effort is made to colonise China, but the world-war somewhat altered normal conditions and stopped the process to a certain extent. After the Russian Revolution, however, the policy of the Japanese leads them up to Lake Baikal; Japan endeavours to annex the Northern part of the Sakhalin Island, and manages to secure at least the virtual possession of the petrol there. More recent events are present to all memories.

Is one justified however in entertaining absolute pessimism concerning the Japanese state of mind? We can hardly believe it. It is true that Japan is a great military power, but the Japanese will not forget Shanghai, where their troops were stopped by the 19th Chinese army; they will think twice before embarking on a war where they might well find China, Soviet Russia and America united against them. Moreover, the financial situation of Japan is unfavourable, as well as its economic situation; in both fields Japan cannot avoid taking the United States into account. And, last but not least, England, Japan's former ally, has listened to America, for certain very good reasons, and if she is not as yet a declared enemy she has joined those who criticise Japan at Geneva.

In spite of the Japanese declarations, what is going to happen in Geneva? Japan has been asked to agree to the Resolution of the 15th of December; this implies, as a fundamental principle, the recognition of the Pact and various Resolutions reached up to now by the League, and indicates as a basis for negotiations the practical suggestions contained in the Lytton Report. If Japan were to persist in refusing to consider the Lytton Report as authoritative, and in maintaining its present attitude, how can one expect events to develop? The competent Committee can hardly go back upon its judgment, and it might be compelled to resort to the application of paragraph 4 of article 15 of the Covenant which contemplates "imperative recommendations without the consent of the parties."

Japan has made no secret that in such a contingency she would leave the League and recover her entire liberty of action, which by the way she has perhaps never sacrificed. One can imagine the grave consequences that such a decision might bring about. Leaving the open field of the League of Nations, the question would raise its head in the diplomatic field, and all previous history has shown us how rapidly situations can develop in that way, especially when, as seems to be the case at present,

public opinion in the rival countries get excited, and "incidents" take place.

The incident in Yokohama related above may appear insignificant; yet it might be a symptom as serious as a purely political incident. The act of a government can be neutralised by a compensatory measure the next day. But the instinctive reactions of the mob often reveal deep, invincible currents in the public opinion of a country. Sixty years ago, the Japanese practised xenophobia already. They do not seem to have changed in that respect. But many other things have changed since then, both inside and outside Japan, which may considerably modify at least the form of the conflict and even the appearance of its premonitory symptoms.

L. MORIN.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, February 3.

THE VICEROY ON THE INDIAN SITUATION.

THE triumphant tone of His Excellency the Viceroy in dealing, in his recent address to the Assembly, with the National Congress perhaps could have been expressed more happily if it had been less self-congratulatory. It is not surprising that at the moment the Indian Government can say that it has quelled the disobedience campaign, for any Government with all the forces this one had behind it would have had to be opposed by a nationalist movement of exceptional strength and organisation to have been defeated. Even if the Congress had had many more advantages in its favour than it had, it is doubtful whether it could have succeeded by revolutionary methods in bringing a powerful Government to terms.

There has been a great deal in the Indian Nationalist upheaval to evoke the sympathy of liberty-loving people in other countries, but there has also been a strong feeling in the same quarters that the political movement and its energies have not been always wisely directed. It would be folly to believe that such attacks as have been made during the last five years could have succeeded in forcing the Government to its knees. But all these remarks do not and cannot belittle the admiration of countless millions of people throughout the world that Mahatma Gandhi has won for himself. His ideas have been and will remain an inspiration to his own people and those other countless numbers, but political victory may need other weapons than those the Mahatma showed us.

One rather feels the pathos of those inexperienced dreamers, who, when rushing into the civil disobedience campaign, thought that by so doing Swaraj would be won in a very short time. No great end is ever won easily or quickly. There are no short cuts, revolutionary or otherwise, to a much desired goal. History has taught us over and over again that states like nature must move and change by constructive progressive measures, or any step apparently gained by quick or violent means cannot be held, and painful experience has shown us that something more than shouting and boycott are required to capture and hold the citadel in India. Yet different countries are stirred into action by different means, and, though it be true, Swaraj has not been won by the tactics

adopted by the Congress Nationalists, a great development in national character and consolidation has taken place, and any country must be the richer for such development. So the work of the last few years will bear its own fruit in producing greater capacities, greater knowledge, and greater fearlessness for the building of the New India that we see emerging.

BACK TO THE COUNCILS.

While it may seem presumption on the part of any Englishman to tell Indians how they ought to conduct their national campaign, it is surely manifest that patriotic concentration and constructive statesmanship were never more needed than they are in India to-day. The method of the boycott has failed—that surely must be acknowledged. The Legislatures, for example, would never have become the instruments of executive repression which they have proved themselves to be if Indian Nationalists had been as active inside as they have been reckless outside those bodies. The moral pressure which a solid phalanx of well-organised Congressmen, working for practical ends, might have exercised on the Government would have far outweighed anything which they have achieved during their wanderings in the wilderness.

For these and other reasons many of India's sincerest friends (in this country at any rate) feel the time has come for a return to the Council table. Is it not possible to reverse the policy, hitherto adopted, of non-co-operation? This reversal need not involve any humiliation for those who have hitherto followed an opposite course. They have shown by their sufferings how sincere their purpose has been. If they should appear to be compromising by resuming the path of co-operation at this stage there need be no real disloyalty to principle. To enter upon discussion now with the other side would not commit them to the acceptance of any particular line of policy or constitution, but it might probably win for their country not only peace with honour, but the liberty to which her people have aspired for so long. If all the progressive elements in India were to make common cause in support of the demands which far-seeing Liberals like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar put forward in London and are still pressing to-day, who can doubt that these would in substance be achieved here and now and that the balance of India's birthright would follow at no distant date?

There are many onlookers here who detect signs of a return to the more constructive policy indicated above, and they are earnestly hoping that the Government will contribute to this happy result by displaying a little more of the art of appeasement. It must be confessed that there were not many signs of this in the Viceroy's latest utterance. The release of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues at the present juncture might work wonders in this direction. It is obvious that the Mahatma is much more keenly concerned just now in the crusade against untouchability than he is with political objectives. The amount of space given to it in the Indian Press appears to be an indication that the exact content of the new Constitution does not absorb the attention of the Indian public or even occupy the first place in their thoughts.

So far as this country is concerned, it is now pretty clear that public opinion is prepared for a reasonable deal on the question of reforms. Sir Samuel Hoare himself, as his closing speech on the Round Table showed, is not such an adamant opponent of India's claims as he was six months ago. He has evidently come to realise that some terms must be made with Indian Nationalism if the

Government of that country is to be carried forward on any tolerable lines. The influence of the Prime Minister, Lord Sankey, Mr. Baldwin and Lord Irwin counts for something in the same direction. Under their guidance the Tory Party as a whole will not set up an impregnable wall of opposition to very substantial advance. The diehards are done for already. Since their last exposure in the *Times* their agitation has fallen flatter than ever. No doubt they will do their utmost through the medium of the Joint Committee, and the House of Lords, but the conviction grows stronger here that they will be outvoted even in that last ditch of reaction.

WOMEN AND JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

The coming White Paper, as I stated before, is being awaited with very keen interest by many groups in this country, and the composition of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is also being widely discussed. A strong appeal is being made for a representation of women on that body. In Monday's *Times* there was an influentially signed letter from a number of progressive organisations urging the vital importance of including one or more women delegates in the personnel.

The writers point out how greatly disappointed both British and Indian women's organisations have been because no British women were asked to sit at any of Round Table Conferences. The view they take is that in the concluding stage of the discussions "it is most necessary that women who have had experience in the women's movement here and have actively studied Indian problems and understand the wishes and needs of the women in India should be present to meet any criticism or difficulties with regard to women that may arise in the course of the discussion."

The latter part of their letter is equally a plea for the adequate representation of Indian women when the last negotiations are going forward. As the signatories say, there is no country in the world where the participation of women in such discussions is more urgent, both because of the recent widespread awakening of Indian women, which has played such an important part in the demand for self-government, and "because the social problems connected with marriage, religion and education must be among the first things to be tackled by whatever Government is set up in India."

Among the organisations giving support to this appeal are the British Commonwealth League, the Women's International League, the National Council of Women, the Indian Conciliation Group, the National Council of Equal Citizenship, the Women's Advisory Council on Indian Questions, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Association of Head-Mistresses, and the Women's National Liberal Federation.

Reviews.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE VEDANTA. By SAROJ KUMAR DAS. (University of Calcutta.) 1931. 21cm. 292p.

THE VEDĀNTA may be said to be the religion and philosophy of nearly three-fourths of the Hindus. There is therefore nothing unnatural if one finds an amount of literature on Vedānta published every year. But a book like the one under review has a value and a place of its own. For it attempts to correlate the Vedāntic thought with Western thought

and thus serves to get our own philosophic thought revalued, as it were, on the touch-tone of the thoughts of other nations. The Calcutta University must indeed be congratulated upon instituting a Fellowship, the terms of which require that the lecturer should deal especially with the place occupied by Vedānta in the philosophical systems of the World and its merits as compared with the Western schools of thought. The present publication embodies a course of twelve lectures on the Vedānta Philosophy which Prof. Basu as the Sree Gopal Basumallik Fellow for 1929, delivered at the Calcutta University.

Comparisons, they say, are invidious; but we believe that they are so, when they are made superficially and from a prejudiced point of view. Healthy comparisons rather tend to shed light on the topics compared. In this book, the comparisons are not made for the sake of mere comparisons. Prof. Das has drunk deep at the fountain of both kinds of philosophical literature. And in this book, he has attempted to offer a systematic presentation of the Vedāntic thought, following the methodology of the West. And quite naturally in the process of presentation of the Vedāntic thought he makes references to similar thoughts in the West. The work is thus one organic whole.

There are many schools and sub-schools in the Vedāntic, we mean the Shankarite Vedāntic, thought. Prof. Basu follows one school and quite naturally criticises the other. We believe, however, that the real criterion for judging the value of a work like this should be the success it has achieved in offering an unprejudiced, deep and satisfactory correlation of the two thoughts. And we are of opinion that that work has certainly been nicely done.

We would however like to suggest one or two things. Prof. Das should have interpreted the term Vedānta in a broader sense. As it is, he has restricted his discussion only to the Shankarite Vedānta. The term Vedānta, as all the students of Indian philosophy know, includes all the schools of philosophy which try to base their theories on Badarāyana's Sūtras. We wish he had found in this book some space at least for Rāmānuja, Mādhva, Vallabha and Nimbārka. There also we are sure he would have found a fruitful field for comparisons.

An index at the end would have certainly increased the utility of the book.

S. V. DANDEKAR.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN COLLEGES.

COURSES ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES, 1930-31. By FARRELL SYMONS. (World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.) 1931. 25cm. 353p.

LIKE all other World Peace Foundation publications, the present volume follows the policy of making certain facts, regarding the college courses on international affairs offered in the several American Colleges, available in clear and undistorted form. It is intended to estimate the growing interest, in the academic world, evinced during the last decade or two in Social Sciences and especially those connected with politics concerning foreign relations and international affairs generally. The descriptions of courses are selected from catalogues of 1930-31. And though the editor has tried to arrange and classify the courses offered on a suitable general plan of his own, he could not go beyond a purely quantitative survey of the field in the volume under consideration. The dates are arranged in various ways in order that it may be possible to view it in

several aspects. As can very well be imagined, the major part of the book is taken up by a description of the courses, giving under each institution separately the scope of the courses, the instructors teaching them, the length of the courses and the credit towards a degree which they carry. The same data are further reduced to a carefully compiled table giving comparative analysis by colleges and classifications specifying under each class the number of courses and the hours generally taken by them. Another section details the classification of courses arranged into subjects fixed by the editor. Statutes of the various institutions as regards their collections of principal International Documents is the subject of the last table of this very useful compilation. The editor is conscious that these details by themselves are inadequate for the purpose of evaluating and comparing the offerings of the different institutions. A study as regards the depth, quality and methodology of the instruction imparted, ought immediately to be undertaken, if any useful purpose is to be served by such attempts.

A statistical survey, besides leading to further reorganisation, has another point in view and that is to afford accurate information regarding existing conditions and former achievements. The present survey clearly reveals the tendency towards intelligent appreciation of world forces, growing in U. S. A., as compared with the notorious self-complacency of the 19th century, first laid down by Washington and Jefferson and later developed by the promulgators of the Monroe Doctrine. How best to make use of this salutary change that is coming over the new world as regards its attitude towards the old world and the nationhood in general, it is for politicians, statesmen and educators of U. S. A. to decide.

The book affords valuable help to the senior student and though there was bewildding diversity in the courses afforded by several institutions the editor has fairly succeeded in reducing the data to some understandable uniformity and is to be congratulated upon the clear arrangement and presentation of the data. The publication, though intended to serve the noble aims of the World Peace Foundation, gives a useful lead as to how similar surveys may be undertaken for strictly educational and other purposes, where comparative study is required.

D. V. KALE.

THE IMPERIAL DRAMA IN INDIA.

A PASSAGE TO INDIA. By E. M. FORSTER.
(Edward Arnold, London.) 1932. 20cm. 325p.
3/6.

THE India of English fiction bearing the uncharitable imprimatur of Rudyard Kipling, Candler, Mayo, Wilson and others of the same ilk, overflows with servile human beings of the coarsest fibre who emit sex and politics through their eyes, so much so that the European visitors of the country expect at every turn either to be swallowed alive by ravishers or to be made aware of degradation all around. Unfortunately for these literary stage managers, the India which once unconsciously amused the European has, in spite of him, learnt not only to outgrow the sanctified absurdities of her ways but also to give the European, taste of the bitterness of her wounded pride and humiliation. Modern India though full of

Antiquated "Men of Thermopylae

Who never do anything properly."

refuses to be judged harshly or to tremble at sight of the Britishers. Incurable she is to the ungenerous novelists of the old school and unassociable ever, but there is now in evidence a kindlier gift of under-

standing and a fairer appreciation of racial values such as Forster and Aldous Huxley bring to their study of her. Whereas Aldous Huxley, without meaning it, digs his sharp pen into the flesh of the Indian so as to goad him into refined life, Forster takes sympathetic stock of India in order to portray her in all literary delicacy and dignity rarely to be surprised,—as she is, a bundle of sensitive nerves standing on edge "to shake the dust of Anglo-India off the feet."

The Imperial drama in India, as Forster sees it behind the wings, betrays the grinding and gnashing of teeth of unfriendliness which explain the forced smile and grandeur on the surface. There is the British Ruler who brings to his task of administration an inordinate sense of superiority which brooks not the approach of an Indian beyond permissible distance. "Fear is everywhere; the British Raj rests on it." The Indian on his side makes his own demoralisation worse demoralised by allowing his undemocratic person to hold greater store by a fawning propitiation of the Britisher than by a robust public service. Productive of bitter fruit of disharmony are these backstairs of British Rule in India containing "Turtons, Callendars, Heaslups, and Macbrydes" who are egged on to their discredit by their unreasonable spouses, and fossilised Indians, temperamentally unsteady, fit only to be down trodden. Through the fascinating story are visible in attractively soft colours the rigid outlines of Indo-European disaffection born of the rough handling and intolerance of the ruled on the part of the rulers. The official fledglings, the Collectors and others arrive in India and enter into the European club therefore to emerge as seasoned Burra Sahibs. Once so incarnated, they sing in chorus "the anthem of the army of occupation" tightening "the symbolic net Great Britain had thrown over India." Then onwards they make their authority felt by a liberal use of "the gross snub." The European club in India is their tabernacle of superiority which preserves all the commandments of British behaviour.

On the other side of the medal there flit about "a hundred Indias," embracing "Aziz" the scapegoat of prestige, "Mahamud Alis," "Godboles," "Nawab Bahadur," and "Panalals," "Where you can't have poetry of the India, my India type when it is nobody's India. ... Round they run weedy, knock-kneed with an expression on their faces not so much of determination as of a determination to be determined.... Everything seemed out off at its root and therefore infected with illusion. ... The triumphant machine of civilization may suddenly hitch and be immobilized into a car of stone and at such moments, the destiny of the English seems to resemble their predecessors who also entered the country with intent to refashion it but were in the end worked up into its pattern and covered with its dust. ... There is no stay in a your native. He blazes up over a minor point and has nothing left for the crisis, ... and then the whole semi-mystic, semi-sensuous overturn so characteristic of his spiritual life ends like a landslide and rests in its due place."

Apparently there are forces of Westernism at work but fundamentally "the East had returned to the East via the suburbs of England and had become ridiculous during the detour. ... Civilization strays about like a ghost here revisiting the ruins of Empire and is to be found not in the great works of art or mighty deeds but in gestures well-bred Indians make when they sit or lie down."

For all these deficiencies, superstitions and petty selves within selves, "perhaps the hundred Indias which fuss and squabble so tiresomely are one and the universe they mirror is one." A single-

mind India of this description is capable of intense resentment "so long as some one abused the English, but nothing constructive had been achieved." The dictates of self-respect make this shadowy entity wring its hands in despair and ask to be relieved of its boasted "spirituality" on account of which, "we can't co-ordinate, ... we can't keep engagements, we can't catch trains. So we go on and so we shall go, I think, until the end of time." Such political anguish issues from the heart of that type of westernised Indian, of whom the English may say, "Here is a native who has actually behaved like a gentleman. If it was not for his black face, we would almost allow him join our club."

Forster drags his sore feet along this passage of sighs and mistakes to India, bearing in mind that "one touch of regret—not the canny substitute but the true regret from the heart would have made it different and the British Empire a different institution." Says he through one of his mouthpieces: "I am going to argue and dictate, the English are out here to be pleasant."

An astoundingly well-written novel which deserves to be worked into the constitution of Anglo-India as well as of Mother India, for the reason that they know not what they do.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

FARM ACCOUNTS IN THE PUNJAB, 1929-30

By SARDAR KARTAR SINGH. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1931. 25cm. 207p. Rs. 2/-

THE highly technical first chapter gives a comparative statement of lift irrigation by the Persian wheel and the electric pump. The Persian wheel seems to be cheaper than the electric pump, with its little outlay, and easy repairs. Accounts of owner cultivated, Batai tenants, and siri tenure holdings are given. Everywhere the actual cultivator does not seem to get more than a low rate of wages for unskilled labour. A mill labourer gets more for his manual work than these with all their continuous toil and all-absorbing attention. The worker on the land has no reward for all the responsibility and the risk that he undertakes and this volume proves the familiar saying of these parts "that the agriculturist, if he takes stock, would see even his yoke yard missing." In any other business an *entrepreneur* of the same type gets far better remuneration than the man on the land. The gross incomes of holdings, which look so gloomy, dwindle to insignificance when we begin to calculate the net income. The net income is no profit, but only wages for the physical labour of the man. To many it may be surprising to note that the expenditure on cattle exceeds the amount that the tenant gets for the maintenance of himself and his family. If land will yield only that much, cultivators should take to subsidiary industries to augment their incomes. Will it be too much to hope that some day, the man who toils on land will get as much as others in other walks of life.

The usefulness of the series needs no mention. These are the sources from which, reliable facts pertaining to rural economics, rural labour, incidence of land revenue and allied subjects, should be taken.

N. S. S.

THE BLEEDING WOUND. Ed. By SIR RAMNATH SUMAN. (Sham Lal, Saurabh Kuti, Benares City.) 1932. 20cm. 226p. Rs. 1/8/-

THIS is a collection of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings on untouchability in Hindu society. Many persons and institutions were at work with a view to the uplift of what are known as the depressed classes before Gandhiji appeared on the scene. But in the expressive words of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who contributes an introduction to this collection, "it was left to Mahatma Gandhi to give this subject the foremost place in all nation-building activities." "It is he," proceeds Mr. Chintamani, "more than all others combined who has made it a burning problem which, if not grappled with firmly and resolutely, may burn the community itself." The publishers have done well in including in the book the correspondence that took place between the Government and Gandhiji previous to the historic fast culminating in the well-known Poona Pact, which also finds a place in this book. Its up-to-dateness is obtained by the reproduction of some of the statements the Mahatma has been recently issuing from the Yerrowda Central Prison. The book is thus very useful to all having anything to do with public affairs and will, we doubt not, find a large sale.

H. P. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

- Taxation of Foreign and National Enterprises in France, Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. (C. 73. M. 38. 1932. II. A.) 25cm. 275p. 10/-
- Review of World Production, 1925-1931. (1932. II. A. 13.) 26cm. 163p.
- Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1931-32. (1932. II. A. 11.) 24cm. 342p.
- The Coal Problem. (C. 405. M. 224. 1932. II. B.) 26cm. 55p. 1/6.
- The Timber Problem. (C. 493. M. 239. 1932. II. B.) 26cm. 51p. 1/6.
- Enquiry into the Quinine Requirements of Malarial Countries and the World Prevalence of Malaria. (C. H. Malaria. 185. 1932. III. 3.) 24cm. 89p. 3/-
- Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation. Vol. 1. Nos. 1-4.
- Conference on the Suppression of Opium-Smoking convened under Article XII of the Geneva Opium Agreement, 1925. Minutes of the Meeting and Documents submitted to the Conference. (C. 577. M. 284. 1932. XI. 5.) 33cm. 127p. 5/-
- Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition. (C. 37. M. 21. 1932. LX. 35.) 33cm. 430p. 16/-
- Conference Documents for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Vol. 1. (1932. IX. 63.) 33cm. 282p. 10/-
- Verbatim Records of Plenary Meetings. (1932. IX. 60.) 33cm. 201p. 7/6; Minutes of the General Commission. (1932. IX. 64.) 33cm. 205p. 7/6.
- Armaments Year-Book. Special Edition. (C. 754 M. 352. 1932. X. 1.) 24cm. 474p.
- Report of the Commission entrusted by the Council with the Study of the Frontier between Syria and Iraq. (C. 578. M. 285. 1932. VI. A. 1.)
- Supplement to the Handbook of International Organisations. (1931. XII. B. 1.) 24cm. 75p. 2/6.