

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

International Conference on India.

THE third session of the International Conference on India which came into being early last year was held on September 19 at Geneva, Dr. E. Privat presiding. The attendance seems to have been very representative, America, many European countries including England and some Asiatic ones being represented. A noteworthy feature of the Conference was the presence of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who seems to have gone there at Mahatma Gandhi's request and Mr. S. C. Bose, both of whom placed it in possession of the Congress view of the Indian situation. The former being personally conversant with recent Indian happenings was able to explain to the Conference from firsthand knowledge the implications of the doings of the famous Congress workers' conference held at Poona in July last and the continuance of the deadlock between the Congress and the Government. Though the full text of Mr. Bose's speech at the Conference is not available he does not appear to be fully satisfied with the Mahatma's lead, Indian youth for whom he claimed to speak would, he said, follow the Mahatma so long as he could give a lead; but he also made it clear, as Pandit Jawaharlal had recently done, that what young India wanted was "entire national sovereignty" which obviously was not covered by Dominion Status. Till that was attained, it was, according to him, impossible to expect peace in India.

After hearing these two exponents of the Congress view and Mrs. Hamid Ali who went to England

to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on behalf of Indian women, the Conference adopted a number of resolutions, by one of which it recognised India's right to complete independence and also her right "to decide the form of her government and of her future relations with Great Britain and other nations." The Conference deprecated the present practice under which disputes between India and other parts of the British Commonwealth are placed outside the purview of the League of Nations. It also regarded it as "unfair to the other members of the League that one member thereof (Great Britain) should nominate the delegates of another (India)." Discriminatory measures adopted against Indians on racial grounds in any part of the British Empire were strongly condemned and the idea of sending South African born Indians to British Guiana for colonisation purposes disapproved. It is unnecessary for anybody to approve of all the Conference's doings to appreciate its value as an instrument for forcing the Indian problem on the attention of world opinion.

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Bombay Women's Conference on Labour.

THE recent conference held in Bombay, the first of its kind in India, for the special purpose of dealing with problems connected with women labourers, though it unfortunately did not attract in the press the notice its importance deserved, is a measure of the interest which women in general take in the questions affecting female labour. That the organisers should have succeeded in inducing a social worker of Lady Ramanbhai's standing and experience to guide its deliberations augurs well for the success of the new movement. She laid great stress on the necessity of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour being translated into action. In fact that, so far as she was concerned, provided an important justification for the Conference. This is as it should be. But she would have done better if she had examined the provisions of the Bill now before the Legislative Assembly—a Bill modelled on the Commission's recommendations—and told us what she thought of its provisions from the point of view of ensuring the welfare of women labourers. The principal requirements of labour, according to her, are fair wages, good housing with moral surroundings, medical aid and education. Their satisfaction has no doubt very largely to do with the economic condition of the industry in which the labourers are engaged. At the same time it does not admit of serious doubt that the workers' material condition would be considerably improved if temptations like drink and gambling are kept out of their way. Lady Ramanbhai was therefore on firm ground when she pressed upon Government the desirability of giving early effect to the policy of prohibition to which they stand committed. She also pleaded for the eradication of illiteracy which breeds many of the evils

from which ignorant people suffer. However indispensable these reforms may be for the well-being of labourers or of the general population, there appears very meagre chance, with the depleted state of the Government's finances, of their being carried into effect in the near future. All the same, the president of the Conference did an undoubted service in drawing pointed attention to them.

* * *

"Weightage on Weightage."

It is now universally realised that before the proposed Indian Federation comes into being, at least half the Indian States must have joined it. What however does not seem to be equally clear to many is what happens if the balance delays adhesion or does not come in at all. Will one half of the seats allocated to Indian States in the Federal legislature remain unfilled in that case or will other devices be suggested by which the stabilising element which the Princes' nominees are expected to contribute will be supplied? In other words, what remedies would be proposed to remedy the disturbance of the balance of power in the Indian legislature which the non-adhesion of the other half would produce?

As the Secretary of State himself stated before the Joint Select Committee, three alternatives were thought of in this connection. These were: (i) the Viceroy to fill up the vacant seats by nomination, (2) the voting strength of the States to count full 100 per cent, whatever the proportion of the seats actually filled by them, and (3) the acceding States to be empowered to appoint additional representatives. The first one was turned down because it was feared that it would lay the Government open to the suspicion that they were by this means anxious to create what would virtually be an official *bloc*. The second one was rejected as being contrary to Sir Samuel Hoare's "own ideas as to voting in assemblies." The third one of allowing the acceding States members to nominate additional representatives or allowing them what was described by a member of the Committee as "weightage on weightage" was however favoured by the Secretary of State.

To what extent this additional weightage would be given, whether to 70, 80 or 90 per cent. of the full quota of States' seats, was not however explicitly stated by him. "We should come to some general decision that by this means the voting power of the States would be brought up to X percentage of their 100 per cent. and it would remain at that, whether new States come in or whether they did not, until sufficient States come in to get it above that percentage". This course of action was justified by him in the following words in his reply to Lord Reading :-

"From the States' point of view, and from other points of view as well, it is important that the State vote should have adequate strength behind it. Moreover, it seems to me to be more likely for the other Princes to accede who have not acceded at once if they see that their vote in the Chamber is already carrying adequate weight. When, however, Lord Reading asked me why, that being so, we do not suggest giving the vote its full weightage at once, my answer is that I think that is going too far. I think that what one wants to do is to ensure that the Princes who accede will have an adequate vote for making their point of view felt, and for ensuring that they are not swamped by a great majority of votes against them. But I do not think it would be necessary to give the full weightage. I should like to leave some inducement, at any rate, to the Princes to get the full number of States into the Federal Chamber, and into the Federal Government... What I want to do is to make some kind of reasonable arrangement that I hope will last only for a short time, because I am assuming the 100 per cent. of Princes will come in without undue delay

under circumstances in which the Princes will feel that they have got a fair deal, and in which British India will also feel that the Princes have got a not unreasonable arrangement."

Will States' representatives be entitled to vote on purely British Indian matters? In the opinion of the Secretary of State, this is a point which must be allowed to be dealt with by convention. His belief however was that "in actual practice the States will neither wish to intervene in the internal British Indian affairs nor will they so intervene." At the same time, he thought that it was very difficult "to make a out-and-dried definition saying when they can vote and when they cannot vote, and the particular difficulty is the difficulty of votes of want of confidence in the Government, and votes which, although they may not be actually votes of want of confidence, yet would undermine the existence of a Government in which the Princes themselves are directly represented." Barring such cases, he made it clear that the expectation was that the Princes' nominees would not, by convention, take part by their votes in the decision of matters affecting British India alone.

* * *

East Africa.

MR. J. B. PANDYA, the Editor of the most influential Indian paper in East Africa, the *Kenya Daily Mail*, who is on a visit to India, has again called attention to the need for constant vigilance in order to prevent the handful of white settlers in Kenya controlling the government of that Colony even more effectively and more adversely to Indian and Native interests than now. Notwithstanding the announcement of the Colonial Secretary that there was no intention to make any changes in the constitution of Kenya as desired by the White settlers, it is unwise to relapse into complaisance and fear no danger. Colour is lent to this suspicion by the proceedings of the Permanent Mandates Commission at its twenty-third session, regarding the closer union of the Eastern African territories. The Commission expressed the view that "no scheme of closer union between the mandated territory of Tanganyika and the neighbouring British territories which would involve the creation of a political or constitutional union with the neighbouring territories could be carried out so long as the present mandate is in force and that, with due regard to the provisions of article 10 of the mandate, any measures during that period tending to the *de facto* establishment of such "closer union" should be avoided.

The Commission recognised the value, in the interest of the mandated territory itself, of pooling the experience acquired in neighbouring territories, and for this reason expressed its particular interest in the conference of the Governors of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. It added, however, that it considered that such a body should not assume executive responsibilities which might unduly restrict the necessary autonomy of the mandated territory."

The cause of action for this observation was the unification of the postal systems of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, against which the Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam, and a German organisation in Berlin had protested to the Mandates Commission. Coordination of policy is very different from the unification of the services. Notwithstanding protestations to the contrary by a minority consisting of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland, the majority of the Commission in recording their findings must have had good reason to suspect that the unification of the postal service was not an innocent pooling of experience permitted

by the mandate but something more. The majority of the Mandates Commission were not satisfied apparently with the *bona fides* of Great Britain when she protested she was not likely to enforce by circuitous methods a unification of the three territories which she had formally promised not to do. Will India be guilty of want of charity if she too hesitated to take at its face value the declaration of the Colonial Secretary that there shall be no change in the constitution of Kenya, considering that the Kenya white settlers linked together white supremacy in Kenya with the unification of Kenya with Uganda and Tanganyika?

* * *

Mysore.

IN his address to the Representative Assembly on Saturday last Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, paid a public tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. He acclaimed the Mahatma as a "convinced lover of peace," an "ardent patriot," a "far-seeing, sagacious statesman," a "powerful ally" of the Government and a "true friend" of Great Britain. Considering the subordinate status of the Indian States to the Paramount Power and considering the views held by that Power of the Mahatma, it required no ordinary courage and conviction on the part of the Dewan to pay that handsome tribute to the Mahatma in a public and official pronouncement in the presence of the representative of the Paramount Power. Whatever be the motives which prompted this bold performance of the Dewan, it is earnestly to be hoped that its significance will not be lost on the

British Government. Sir Mirza is not an anti-British agitator, but the responsible head of the progressive State of Mysore. His estimate of the Mahatma must make the Government pause to consider its present policy of humiliating him rather than winning him over to the constitutional path. By the way, equally courageous was his admonition to the British Government not to write once again "too late" on the next chapter of Indian reform.

The timing of Sir Mirza's tribute to the Mahatma is not without significance. It was only recently that the Gandhi-Nehru correspondence was published. It disclosed material difference of opinion between the two leaders. The Pandit would do away with the Princes, while the Mahatma would be tender to them, and persuade them to establish *Ramarajya*, benevolent rule, though despotic. As between the two it is not surprising that the Mahatma should be more acceptable to the Princes.

Also, the Mahatma has never inaugurated a civil disobedience campaign in the Indian States, most of which are very much worse governed than British India. That must also endear him to the Princes. Apart from self-interest of the Princes, Sir Mirza's own convictions regarding democracy have suffered a change. He has lost faith in it. "However admirable and inspiring the democratic system may be in theory, and even in its application under special conditions, it has proved unsuited to modern nations, who are now seeking to move beyond it" in favour of autocracy. Sir Mirza has come to share the Mahatma's views of *Ramarajya*.

THE COTTON TRADE CONFERENCES.

INDIA, LANCASHIRE & JAPAN—II.*

IN the absence of the publication of the report of the latest Tariff Board enquiry into the claim of the Indian cotton textile industry for protection, it is difficult to discuss this question adequately. As, however, the claim for protection is one of the most important factors in the present situation the case for it must first be considered. We have already indicated that the Tariff Board in 1927 rejected the plea for a high protectionist measure and recommended a moderate protective tariff in view entirely of the inferior labour conditions in the Japanese cotton mills. The reasons why in 1930 this protective measure was renewed at a higher level were explained in the Assembly at certain length by Sir George Schuster and Sir George Rainy. Sir George Schuster admitted that in 1930 Japanese labour conditions could no longer be said to be inferior to Indian conditions; he, however, pointed out that so far as the imports of yarn into India were concerned, the case for protection against the Chinese mills which had recently become very important in this trade was still strong from the point of view of labour conditions. As regards the imports of piece goods it was not contended that protection was justified because of the unfair competition of any exporting country. The case for this protection rested almost entirely on the peculiar position of the Bombay industry. The cotton mills in other parts of India had, it was admitted, not worked at a loss

during recent years. The measure of protection was thus proposed entirely as a temporary expedient which would give the Bombay industry the required breathing time in which to put its house in order and reorganise itself on a firm and permanent basis. The increased protection given last year was with a view to maintain effectively the height of the 1930 protection measure. There has been thus no effective case yet established for giving any considerable and long-period protection to the Indian cotton textile industry. For, the only ground on which the Tariff Board could in 1927 recommend protection even of a moderate character has now vanished, or holds good only in the case of the yarn imports from China. There remains outstanding the question of depreciated exchange. It was chiefly in view of the exchange depreciation that the Tariff Board recommended the enhancement of the protective duties last year. But it is clear that the advantage given by depreciated exchange to any country is of a purely temporary nature and that further its effect applies to the whole of the foreign trade with a country and not to the products of any particular industry. Here again in the absence of data of a complicated and exhaustive character, it is impossible to evaluate the importance of the factor of depreciated exchanges. We, however, consider that this purely temporary phenomenon should not weigh much in the consideration of the question of giving a permanent measure of protection to the textile industry.

* The first article appeared in our issue of September 28.

It is reasonable to suggest that an industry in which production has been increasing year by year is not *prima facie* entitled to any measure of protection. Not only is this continuous increase in production to be observed in the all-India figures, but even in Bombay the total annual average of cloth woven has been, except for the interruptions effected by labour troubles in certain years, on the up-grade. In 1932 the quantity of cloth woven by the Bombay mills was much higher than in any previous year. Even here, then, production has been established at levels much higher than in the pre-war years or the years immediately after the war. It is admitted on all hands that the Indian industry has displaced during the post-war period the imported piecegoods, to a very large extent; and when an industry is in a position to do this, its competitive position in the home market must needs be sound.

Even the profits secured by the Indian mill-owners for themselves have throughout this period been not unduly low. The Ahmedabad mill industry all along has been doing exceptionally well and most of the other up-country mills have not done badly. It is chiefly in the Bombay industry that losses have been continuously and steadily incurred. But this makes the production figures all the more inexplicable. Why should an industry which is working at a loss expand its production over such a long period as a whole decade? This phenomenon could be explained in only two possible ways. The losses are not so heavy as they are made out to be, or those who direct production are influenced by considerations other than those of profit or loss to the mills. Or it may be that both these explanations are partially correct. Anyway, the facts indicate that the price mechanism is not operating to bring about the necessary readjustments in the scope and character of the Bombay industry and before increased protection gives a further period of life to the present regime the reasons for this inelasticity on the part of the system must be fully investigated.

The question further deserves careful consideration as to how long the peculiar Bombay conditions should be allowed to influence State policy regarding the textile industry. The Tariff Board in 1927 pointed out the competitive weakness of the Bombay industry *vis-à-vis* the exporter as well as the up-country mill-owner. They commented also on certain inherent internal defects such as over-capitalisation, the wastage involved in the working of the managing agency system and a general non-progressive character from which the Bombay industry was suffering. The Tariff Board expected the Bombay industry to reorganise itself during succeeding years and the Government of India expressed a similar hope when granting further protection in 1930. Whatever the reasons, it remains true that the Bombay industry has during these many years failed to reorganise or rationalise itself. A few small reforms may have been effected, but no radical measure, such as alone will permanently save the industry, have been effected. This perhaps is not to be wondered at. It required a much more severe and

prolonged depression and much more active intervention on the part of the banks and Government to induce the Lancashire manufacturers to undertake comprehensive schemes of reorganisation and even so, that industry is not yet completely reorganised. But though this reluctance to undertake radical overhauling may be granted as natural, the fact has to be recognised that there are only two alternative State policies; either to continue to bolster up the Bombay position with protective duties and thus delay further and further or almost permanently the date of reorganisation, or to recognise clearly that the amount of protection granted to the Indian industry cannot be based on the exceptional case of Bombay.

One more important issue regarding the grant of protection to the Indian industry may be raised. As the statistics show, the Indian mill industry already supplies the major portion of the mill cloth consumed in India; considerable imports of cloth yet take place. It is possible to urge that with the use of foreign cotton the Indian manufacturer may be able to supply even this portion and oust the importer completely, and that protection should be given to enable him to do this. This is a possible view but we find it difficult to subscribe to it. When an industry has attained the size of the Indian mill industry and enjoys its advantages it is best that it should develop further only so far and in such directions as it can competitively do. Unless a strong case was established for granting protection in some special direction in which the industry enjoyed marked advantages but was temporarily handicapped by circumstances, we would not endorse the grant of protection to it. We can in the case of the Indian cotton textile industry contemplate protective aid only under circumstances such as those of proved cases of dumping or unfair competition and these only as temporary measures. If this is granted, a high protective regime of a permanent character such as seems to be in the course of establishing itself in recent years appears to us to violate at least the spirit of the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission which, in our opinion, should guide Indian tariff policies. We do not, of course, rule out the possibility of some temporary measure being proved to be necessary today. But even if such a measure is proved necessary it remains next to consider whether it also involves discrimination against Japan.

GOVERNOR'S ORDINANCE-MAKING POWERS.

IF the White Paper constitution is passed unamended by Parliament, provincial Governors will for the first time come to enjoy large ordinance-making powers. The ordinances they could then promulgate would fall into two categories: those issued (1) in the discharge of their special responsibilities and (2) on the advice of their Ministers when the legislature is not in session. Ordinances of the former variety would have, in the first instance, a maximum life of six months, though the Governor could renew them for an equal period, in which case

they would have to be laid before Parliament. An ordinance issued with the consent of the Ministers would have to be laid before the next session of the legislature and "will cease to operate at the expiry of six weeks from the date of the reassembly of the Legislature," unless it has been disapproved by the legislature in the meantime. In this case the wishes of the legislature will unquestionably prevail and the ordinances will cease to be operative forthwith. Both varieties will however be subject to disallowance as if they were Acts passed by the legislature and "to withdrawal at any time by the Governor."

This suggested departure from existing practice has been attacked by progressive opinion in this country as constituting a retrogression on the present state of things. The present Government of India Act authorises none but the Governor-General to issue ordinances; while under the new constitution these dangerous and arbitrary powers will be extended to heads of provinces as well, thus increasing the chances of their possible misuse. The point was debated at some length in the Joint Select Committee when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru expressed his preference for the *status quo*. At present if and when a Governor is faced with an emergency necessitating speedy action he is required to apply to the Governor-General for an Ordinance. This arrangement has so far worked without any kind of hitch and apparently there appeared to him to be no reason why it should at all be changed. Sir Samuel Hoare however firmly stood up for the contemplated departure on the ground of making autonomous provinces self-contained even in emergencies. This however did not preclude further consideration of the matter at his hands. Said he :

"It is again one of those questions upon which differences of opinion have been expressed, but we do definitely take the view that with Law and Order a Provincial subject, the Provincial Governor ought to have this ordinance-making power, always, of course, remembering that ultimately he is responsible to the Governor-General and ultimately to the Secretary of State and to Parliament."

Would it not be better to vest the Ordinance-making powers in the Governor-General alone who with the Army reserved for his control would in the last resort be in fact responsible for the maintenance of peace in the country? suggested Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. His contention however failed to make any impression on the Secretary of State who refused to budge from the position he had already taken up. He even went so far as not to entertain even the more moderate proposal of the Archbishop of Canterbury who wanted nothing more than a statutory obligation on the Governor to consult the Governor-General before issuing any ordinance. This appeared unnecessary to Sir Samuel Hoare, for he could not conceive a Governor taking any action to cope with an emergency, without acquainting the Governor-General with the full facts of the situation. If so, it is difficult to understand his unreadiness to provide statutorily for what in any case is bound to happen though of course informally. The extension of the ordinance-making powers to Governors can with

some show of reason be justified on the ground of the necessity to "make provincial autonomy as effective as possible." But this defence assumes an air of unreality when in the same breath it is said, as was done by the Secretary of State, that it was unbelievable that a Governor of an autonomous province would act in an emergency without the Governor-General being given an opportunity of making "his voice and, if necessary, his decision heard." What, then, happens to the independence of the Provinces of which so much is made? If it is real, the Provinces must be free to take their own line subject of course to constitutional limitations. But obviously this is not what Sir Samuel Hoare understands by provincial autonomy.

Like the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Reading too insisted on prior consultation with the Governor-General with a view to preventing any provincial action the implications of which from the larger all-India point of view had not been properly examined, a sentiment which Lord Peel also seemed to endorse. Lord Reading was able to recall from his experience as Viceroy cases in which the requirement of moving the Governor-General to issue an ordinance has actually served as a safeguard for the people and prevented a too hurried or too frequent resort to this kind of executive legislation. Whereas the Governor, if he had the power, would have immediately invoked it, it was the Governor-General who took the view that it was premature to do so. Lord Reading therefore unhesitatingly pressed the Secretary of State to consider the desirability of providing the safeguard of previous consultation with the Governor-General in the new regime, if the Secretary of State could not persuade himself to allow the continuance of the present procedure undisturbed. While disclaiming every intention to be impervious to any suggestions, Sir Samuel Hoare expressed the hope that "it might be possible to meet the views of some of the Members of the Committee in the instructions to the Provincial Governors."

A perusal of the proceedings of the Committee leaves the impression on one's mind that a section of influential opinion seemed firmly to hold the view that no case for the proposed innovation had at all been made out. If the present procedure had been proved to have caused delay in meeting an emergent situation to the detriment of public good, there would perhaps be something to be said for the proposal to vest the Governors with the ordinance-making powers. But there was not even a whisper of it in the Committee. On the contrary, Lord Reading with the silent approval of Lord Irwin, both of them ex-Viceroy, asserted, without any challenge by anybody, that "there has been no difficulty in dealing with matters of that character hitherto, notwithstanding the Governor has not had the power to issue an Ordinance." The advantage of the existing procedure is, he pointed out, that a Governor gets "the benefit of the Ordinance without issuing it himself." As an added argument for the continuance of the present arrangement he suggested that even if the Governor were to issue an Ordinance after consultation with the Governor-General, it places him "in

more direct opposition to his legislature and to his Ministers than if the Ordinance is issued by the Governor-General for application to the Province." But the Secretary of State thought that if this were true, "it would be equally true to say that a more acute difference would arise if the difference was a prominent difference between the Governor-General outside and the Province, the Province being responsible for its own Law and Order." We shall not be required to wait long to find out to what extent public opinion has been able to influence the Secretary of State's final decision of this question.

THE SYKES SCHEME.

THE uplift of the Harijans was no new discovery of Mahatma Gandhi. It was being carried on for years by officials as well as non-official agencies, missionary and other. But the Mahatma's espousal of it gave it a prominence and a momentum which it had lacked before. Even so with village uplift. The espousal of the cause by H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes, who is the first among the provincial Governors to do so, has brought the movement to the fore as never before. In this country Governors and Governments enjoy power and prestige greater than elsewhere not only in the sphere directly under their control but also in stimulating non-official interest and endeavour. No cause which a Governor patronises, be it village uplift or horse-racing, will suffer, at any rate in the matter of finance and popularity in particular quarters, notably the princes and the plutocrats. When to the official status is added the personal zeal of the Governor and the impeccable character and the universal appeal of the cause, the chances of its success are vastly improved.

There are not people wanting who see in the Governor's new-born zeal for village welfare a political move; to wit, an anti-Congress stunt. Some colour is lent to this accusation by the Governor's references to the civil disobedience movement in his address to the village *patils* at the Belgaum *darbar*, which was chiefly devoted to village improvement. It was Lord Burnham, if we remember right, that recommended that the Governments in India should undertake active propaganda against the Congress through its officers. The *darbars* which Sir Frederick Sykes has held and proposes to hold remind one of Lord Burnham's suggestion. But even if the motives of the Governor be a mixture of pro-British politics and rural welfare, his actions need not be viewed with disfavour. Even those who do not approve the motives of the Christian missionaries in rendering social services to the Harijans need not discount the services themselves. After all is said and done, even if the Governor's motives were solely political, they are not illegitimate. *Nishkama karma*, selfless service, is still very much of an ideal.

The close association of Government officials as office-bearers in the pyramid of organisations contemplated under the Sykes scheme is a source both of strength and of weakness to the movement. The association gives it stability but at the same time it

stabilises it also. The forms will remain but the spirit will soon have fled. When Sir M. Visvesvarayya was the Dewan of Mysore he had promoted a similar scheme. A whole pyramid of organisations, consisting of officials and non-officials, was created. It has mostly disappeared now. This was its fate in Mysore where there is no antagonism between the Government and the governed as in British India. The active association of officials with such organisations in British India will give them the colour of the notorious 'Aman Sabhas' of the United Provinces. Notwithstanding its undoubted advantages, official participation will in the present circumstances of British India be a fatal weakness to the scheme.

The best model to follow under the circumstances is the organisation of the cooperative societies, which is a compromise between officialisation and efficiency. It would be far better to organise a central non-official body for village welfare, even on the lines of the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute or the Local Self-Government Institute.

Adequate finance is however the essence of the thing. Even a Village Welfare Institute or a Servants of Rural India Society will not thrive without funds. Sadly enough, the Governor's scheme is based on no subsidy from Government, at any rate for some time ahead. In these days of economic depression and the phenomenal fall in prices of agricultural produce, it is rather over-optimistic to expect the rural population to find money for the very desirable improvements envisaged in the Sykes Scheme.

In fairness to Sir Frederick it must be noted that he rests his scheme "mainly on corporate effort, not on money." And yet the Scheme adumbrates pure water-supply, rat-proof houses, good schools and play grounds, gramophones and records, adequate medical service, increased milk-supply and *charpoyes* for every villager! Only Technocracy may achieve this, if even it can, without money and by only corporate effort.

In so far as the Scheme is not prompted solely by considerations of political exploitation, the intentions of the Governor are admirable; his earnest desire for the better-living of the millions of the rural population is infinitely to his credit. But as a practical proposition, the Sykes Scheme has fatal weaknesses inasmuch as Government's contribution will be of officials and not of funds.

ORISSA FLOOD RELIEF.

THE first week of August last saw the terrible floods in Orissa. They astounded all. Both the officials and the non-officials bestirred themselves immediately. At first the Commissioner of Orissa, writing in the *Statesman* dated August 15, said that the non-official reports were all exaggerated and that "there has been no loss of life." Writing on August 23, however, the same gentleman said in the *Statesman* of 27th August:

"On August 3 there were four inches of rain followed by fourteen inches on the 4th Over 1200 houses were ruined by this rain flood and 800 badly damaged. These poor people, who have in addition lost much personal property, require help to rebuild and re-equip their homes."

This is about the town of Cuttack only.

But while writing about the villages in Puri and Cuttack Districts he said: "all over a thousand houses will have to be rebuilt."

But the Government communique from Ranchi dated August 16, which was an improvement on the Commissioner's statement, said:

"Many people are still stranded with their cattle on high ground..... Large numbers of houses have collapsed... The extent of the damage to crops cannot yet be ascertained but it is feared that it is considerable."

The last Government communique published in the *Times of India* of September 27 has however admitted frankly that 2000 square miles of area both in Puri and Cuttack Districts have been devastated, that 20,000 houses in Puri and Cuttack Districts have been damaged, and that the loss of human life due to floods so far reported amounted to 7.

Now the official and non-official quarrel is over and the figures obtained by both agencies very nearly tally. 1500 villages have suffered in both the Districts and 3 lakhs of people have been involved.

Mahatma Gandhi in his appeal for help for Orissa Flood Relief says:

"The public will have some little idea of the meagre relief sought to be given when I inform them that it is proposed to give not more than one rupee per month per head to the famishing people."

Out of the 3 lakhs of affected people, at the minimum we have calculated to give relief only to 10 per cent., i. e. 30,000. For one year this relief will have

to be given to the extremely indigent, till the next autumnal harvest. This alone will need Rs. 30,000 a month for twelve months i. e. Rs. 3,60,000 in all. Besides this there is house-building to be done—20,000 houses have to be rebuilt. Then, hundreds have already fallen victims to cholera in the flooded areas—a fact admitted by Government. To meet such epidemics medicines also will be required. As we propose to have 30 centres in all, we may require Rs. 500 × 30 or Rs. 15,000 worth of medicines. Similarly, if we can give Re. 1 worth of cloth to these 30,000 who are extremely indigent we shall require Rs. 30,000. Thus Mahatmaji has appealed for Rs. 5,00,000.

The Orissa Flood Relief Committee of Cuttack works for both the districts of Puri and Cuttack and it has on its board almost all the representative people of Orissa. It had Rs. 8,000 in all which have been exhausted. Now Mr. Andrews has gone to Orissa and has, after seeing the situation with his own eyes, appealed to the people of India to come to the immediate rescue of these flood-affected people of Orissa.

Orissa, being very poor, cannot stand on its own feet. It is purely an agricultural country. Its ills are many. It is purely a consuming province. Its lands have been concentrated in the hands of a number of absentee landlords. Its people have gone out to different parts of Bengal, Assam, Burma, etc. as mere coolies who can maintain themselves with great difficulty; and they cannot feed their people at home.

I therefore appeal to the sympathetic public to save the people of Orissa in the flood-affected areas from famine and starvation. Let the cattle of those people also be saved. Or else they will be ruined.

L. N. SAHU.

THE PROPAGANDA AGAINST INDIA.

FEW things have been more disturbing and disconcerting during the past year than the alarming growth of anti-Indian propaganda in all the countries of the west and the extreme difficulty of counteracting it by publishing the truth. Not merely in Great Britain but in America and in every western country this propaganda is being carried on.

In England, the growth of hostility towards Indian aspirations has been vast. It has been subsidised by those who have very large resources at their command and are quite openly ruthless in their methods. The greatest offender of all is the *London Daily Mail* with its large group of syndicated papers in the provinces. Lord Rothermere, as I have already shown, is cynically brutal in the arguments which he employs in the leading columns of his own daily paper. A head-line will appear for two or three days, announcing that Lord Rothermere is going to occupy the middle column with an important article on India on such and such a date. Then the article itself appears with big head-lines to call attention to it, and a notice is placed on the outside page in red letters. Street placards also call attention

to it in big letters as the main subject of interest for the day.

The article is usually of the pre-war type declaring that India "is our own possession and we must not lose that which our ancestors won for us by the sword." (I am paraphrasing his leading words.) Imperialist declarations as crude and gross as this form the stock in trade of his appeal. In the second place, the claim is made that one-fifth of the income of every English household depends upon Englishmen maintaining their hold on the Indian Empire which is the keystone of the British Empire. "Once let India go," the cry is raised by Lord Rothermere, Lord Lloyd and Winston Churchill alike, "and the whole British Empire falls to pieces".

The third argument which Lord Rothermere uses is that of 'unemployment'. "We built up our population in Great Britain on the money and trade we derived from the Indian Empire. If we lose that Empire which our forefathers won for us, then instead of two to three million unemployed we shall have six million on our hands. England is overpopulated if we have not got India with its great wealth to fall back on."

I have mentioned the name of Lord Rothermere as one of the Big Four in the newspaper world. Lord Beaverbrook often runs him close in the inflammatory things he publishes in the *Daily Express*. Then comes the *Morning Post*, which for many months past has made 'India' a scare headline running across two columns. If the very least bit of news comes through about a Hindu-Muslim riot or something to do with untouchability in which Hinduism can be blamed, the news is written up with warnings that Great Britain cannot 'desert' India. It is pointed out that it is impossible in a country where such dreadful things have happened, to give the enemies of the voiceless masses Swaraj or independence. India is a 'Great Dependency' and it will be a long time before any step further can be taken in entrusting responsibility to Indians. Here again the crudest pre-war conception is taken of the relation of India towards England. The idea of conquest predominates, and no other conception is even conceivable. The phrase 'our Indian Empire' is repeated day after day. Headlines giving the news of each Conservative 'revolt', as it takes place in the constituencies that have returned Conservative members to the National Government, are frequent. Members of Parliament are challenged by their home voters whether they are prepared to 'vote against the White Paper.' If they refuse to give the pledge they are warned by the Indian Empire League that at the next election candidates who are pledged to vote against the White Paper will be run against them. Thus the 'revolt' within the Conservative ranks is spreading every day and becoming more and more serious.

It is true that Mr. Baldwin's great personal ascendancy within the Conservative party has been able hitherto to prevent a landslide; but again and again that personal authority has been challenged. It would appear that those who are using almost unlimited funds in this ruthless campaign are certain that in the end the tide will turn in their favour. Many people who are shrewd judges in such matters, are of the opinion that by the end of the year the effect of all this propaganda will be fully realised and that when the Joint Select Committee has issued its Report in April 1934 the attack will have become so strong that it will sweep the Party from end to end and that a general election is not unlikely with 'India' as one of its main issues next year.

Those who take this line may be mistaken after all, because if trade in other ways begins to revive again and unemployment becomes less, it will not be so easy to create a 'scare' election concerning India as it would be if trade was on the downgrade. But on the other hand if trade declines again this winter and troubles in Europe and America increase then the gravest fears will arise and liberal ideas will have very little chance.

Very much will depend on Lancashire and what happens in Simla this month. The Lancashire vote is a solid hundred members of Parliament in a House of over six hundred members. If Lancashire swings right over and takes a more progressive view of India, the Conservative 'revolt' will not succeed.

But if Lancashire, in a panic, goes solid for reaction, then the anti-Indian propaganda will have a golden chance of success.

On the Continent of Europe the *Daily Mail* propaganda has been equally active against Indian Reform. The Continental edition of the *Daily Mail* is one of the most widely circulated and most easily accessible English papers. The *Manchester Guardian* was banned for a time from Germany altogether and the *New Statesman* also. The *Daily Mail* has therefore had the field to itself. One who has continually corresponded with me from Germany tells me that bitter attacks on Mahatma Gandhi frequently appear in the German Press. Herr Hitler in his book 'Mein Kampf' expresses admiration for the strong hand of the British rulers in India and hopes that India may never go 'Bolshevist' as large areas of China have already done. In the great "struggle against Soviet Russia," which Hitler sees impending, he hopes to have Great Britain and its Empire in India on the side of Germany. This has now become a part of Nazi propaganda and the 'strong hand' in India is regarded as necessary for a world discipline that shall end at last in the ascendancy of the great German people.

C. F. ANDREWS.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, September 22.

THAT GRAND OLD LADY.

THE news of Dr. Annie Besant's death on Wednesday hardly came as a shock to those who had anticipated it for many months past, and who were acquainted with her condition of health. Nevertheless it is difficult to reconcile oneself to the thought that this wonderful woman has now passed out of mortal existence, and that her courage, her knowledge, her wisdom and her experience are now no longer available to be drawn upon except from memory and example in the service of India to which they were so generously devoted for so many long years.

The present writer, who was then approaching the end of his first half-century and who had been associated with things Indian for over twenty years, and who had also first heard A. B., as she is known to such large numbers of her devoted followers, well remembers a public meeting held in the Queen's Hall, London, only a few years ago, when distinguished figures in all branches of British and Indian life, among them the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, paid noble tributes to the great woman, the fiftieth anniversary of whose entry into public life was then being celebrated. Your correspondent happened to be in London in 1911, the Coronation year of the present reign, when the women of England were organising the most successful and picturesque procession and demonstration yet seen in London as part of the propaganda for securing votes for women, the success of which was achieved only after, and as a result of, the splendid work of the women during the Great War. There was a section of the procession set aside

for the representation of India, and among those who joined it were some distinguished Indian women then resident in London and a few British women friendly to Indian aspirations, most noteworthy of whom was Mrs. Fisher Unwin. Your correspondent's part in that procession mainly consisted in carrying the elephant emblem of India and the ladies' impedimenta. The head of this enormous procession that took full three hours to march from the Mansion House to the Albert Hall was Mrs. Annie Besant. At the Albert Hall demonstration that followed, there were many eloquent appeals for the franchise by the then most noted leaders of the franchise movement. But none of them could hold a candle for eloquence and impressiveness to Mrs. Besant, who walked straight to the front of the platform to deliver her speech immediately upon her arrival in the middle of the proceedings. I recall one pregnant phrase that she used then. It was that in which she warned the women of England that if they used the franchise of which they were now certain no better than the men and making the same mistakes, far better would it be for them to be without the franchise. The great little woman was listened to with breathless attention by that vast audience, and when she had finished they were keyed up to a pitch of high enthusiasm, and they shouted their applause aloud. I have heard and met her many times before and after, in India and in England. On her last visit here, it was very clear to those that knew her well that she could never again appear on a public platform after the serious illness that befell her and caused her to disappoint, for the first time, an expectant Queen's Hall audience. Who shall measure the value of the service that she rendered to the many great causes with which the name of this revered woman was associated for so many years, usually as a pioneer fighter in the days when those causes were unpopular and difficult? Her courage and her gallantry were superb. She never flinched. Anglo-Irish as she was she always insisted that she was Irish first and a rebel against accepted canons. Round her clustered many a fierce controversy. Again and again she broke with colleagues and entered among the outcasts and the untouchable, by whom she was welcomed and whom she loved, seeking to raise them to divine status. She was a great pilgrim of Truth as it was revealed to her, and revelation was with her a frequent, if not constant, experience. She was among the elect who are always in a sense incalculable. She will be best remembered as an interpreter and an advocate of the causes that she made her own. Many who to-day are in the forefront of public life have built upon the foundations laid by her and those whom she inspired many years before. Of late the voice of controversy had been hushed, as she withdrew more and more from the field of active life. Other interpretations than hers will probably be made in the future. They must all be considered in their proper perspective. If at times she spoke or appeared to speak as one infallible, there was the other side of her in which fun and humour and a sense of proportion predominated. Her quiet voice, her sweet smile, and her twinkling eye will be missed by many to whom they were familiar. The commanding tones of her oratory will soon be but a memory. The inspiration that she gave to her friends, colleagues, and followers, and the written work in a vast library of literature will remain. It is a strange coincidence that her passing should coincide with the Centenary celebrations of the birth of her old colleague Charles Bradlaugh, of pre-Fabian days. Of her it may be truly said the Queen is dead, long live the Queen! Who knows whether her conviction will not be justified by the event, and that she will soon be reborn in an Indian body to carry the torch of

freedom for India yet a further stage in the progress of humanity?

THE TORIES AND INDIA.

The Tory Party Conference, to be held at Birmingham in a fortnight's time and to be attended by upwards of 1700 delegates, is now attracting increased attention. In all probability Mr. Churchill will not take a prominent part, preferring to leave matters relating to India in the hands of his co-adjutor Lord Lloyd. His own Division of Epping has not sent in the customary condemnatory resolution on Indian policy. Nevertheless five motions dealing with the Indian policy of the Government have been tabled for discussion at the Conference. One to be moved by Mr. P. J. Hannon, M. P., on behalf of the Birmingham Unionist Association, expresses "warm appreciation of the lofty sense of public duty which has animated the members of the Joint Committee in the conduct of its deliberations, and offers congratulations to the Secretary of State for India upon the success which has attended the administration of Indian affairs since he has been in office." All this sounds simple and delightful, and it is to be hoped for the sake of party concord that the motion will be adopted.

There are, however, sundry dangerous animals in Mr. Hannon's path. Viscount Wolmer, for example, will move "that this conference records its confidence in the National Government, but would respectfully represent to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament the apprehension that it feels in regard to the proposals in the White Paper regarding finance, defence, police, the welfare of the Indian peoples and trade discrimination in India". How much is left? Then there is a motion by Mr. E. L. Hardwick, which says that the conference, whilst ready to support His Majesty's Government in giving an extension of self-government to the Provinces of India, on the broad lines of the Simon Commission Report, views with the gravest anxiety any proposals to grant self-government to Indians at the Centre. He urges that no steps should be taken towards this end until provincial government has proved in every way successful. Another motion to be sponsored by Major-General Sir Alfred Knox, M. P., stated "that this Conference views with the greatest anxiety any proposals for the grant of Central self-government to India." Finally, there is another motion to be put forward by Admiral R. S. Phipps-Hornby, which says that the Conference is of the opinion that at the present juncture to set up an all-India responsible government on the Western democratic principles is so fraught with danger to the security of the Empire, British trade, and to the well-being of the peoples of India, as to be undesirable, and urges the Government not to proceed otherwise than in strict accordance with the provisions of the India Act of 1919 and the findings of the Simon Commission.

It does not seem to occur to any of these four gentlemen that they are guilty of seeking to interfere with the constitutional privileges of Parliament and the Select Committee which it has appointed, and whose Report it is still awaiting. In the end probably Mr. Hannon's non-committal motion will be adopted, in view of the fact that the whole question is still *sub-judice*.

THE MAHATMA AND THE PUNDIT.

We are still awaiting the full text of the correspondence that has passed between Gandhiji and Pundit Jawaharlal. So far only an unsatisfactory and hardly-comprehensible summary has been received here. It is of a confusing character, but the *New Statesmen & Nation* interprets the correspondence as implying in plain English that "Mr. Gandhi (as he has always done) would make an

evangelical appeal to the better nature of landlords and Princes, whereas Pundit Nehru would lead a no-rent strike." This view appears to receive confirmation from the manner of Gandhiji's intervention in the threatened mill strike at Ahmedabad, and his support of the Municipal Vice-President's appeal on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of the late Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal, to the rich men in the City to benefit citizens generally and his plea for harmony between Capital and Labour. It is more than doubtful whether Pundit Jawaharlal will have joined him in that plea, and one may reasonably suppose that each of them will sooner or later go his own way in political as well as economic matters. The temperamental differences between them seem to be fundamental. In the meanwhile, so far as the correspondence is known and understood here, it will probably provide excellent ammunition for the diehards.

Reviews.

INDIAN NATIONAL FINANCE.

INDIA'S NATIONAL FINANCE SINCE 1921.

By V. G. KALE. (University of Delhi, Delhi.)
1932. 25cm. 111p. Re. 1-8-0.

THE years that have elapsed since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been full of momentous events in the public life of this country. Not the least arresting, by reason of their importance as by their strangeness, have been the vicissitudes of national finance. On the verge of a fresh constitutional change and in the midst of a worldwide depression too much study cannot be bestowed on the financial organisation. In this book Prof. Kale, with an insight and thoroughness all his own, has laid bare the essential features of the recent financial history of India and has indicated the basic defects, constitutional and technical, that must be removed at the earliest possible date. For all those who are looking forward to the new constitution as an opportunity to shape state policy towards national and popular progress this book will serve as a very valuable guide. To the serious students of finance a perusal of the book will, of course, be indispensable.

The principal task that Prof. Kale had set to himself in composing this book, the substance of which was delivered in six lectures to the students of the Delhi University in 1932, was more or less technical. Still his enumeration of the essential drawbacks of the system should serve a wider purpose in attracting the attention of publicists. That the finances of our country, in common with the rest of our economic life, are coming to be influenced in greater and greater measure by world causes is a truth as yet imperfectly understood. The Finance Members of the Government of India who have learnt of the fact are yet without the necessary expert knowledge or advice to shape their policies accordingly. The essays in economic prognosis made by the three members who held charge during this decade read almost puerile in the light of actual events. Then again in the structure of Government as at present constituted an irresponsible and periodically changing administration is in control of the purse, while a popular but powerless legislature has all that can be desired in the way of opportunities for criticism. Bureaucrats without the necessary technical knowledge often get the opportunity to follow ruinous policies against which the whole legislature protests. Even the best among Finance Members, after the first flush of enthusiasm, fall back

upon the official motto 'this will last my time', and thus the nation's finances continue to drift from one Makeshift to another.

Any bold or fundamental reform is unthinkable under such a regime, which is neither the benevolent despotism which was the dream of a Curzon, nor a healthy popular rule. The attempt to balance each year's budget out of taxation, irrespective of the inequitable nature of the tax system and the reasonable doubts about the 'ourent' nature of the expenditure incurred has worked to the detriment of both the rich and the poor. As most of the taxes are indirect the system has thrown growing burden on the poorer classes, and as the screw has always been tightened a little more than what was justifiable the springs of production have always been pressed down. A balanced budget is no more than a facade of the nation's economic life; and whether the financial condition of a country is really sound or otherwise is to be judged by reference to the conditions of the tax-payers. Judged in this light it must be conceded that there is more cause for anxiety than for satisfaction. The hand-to-mouth policy of the Finance Members must be held responsible for this unhappy situation.

This management of the nation's currency by the successive Finance Members illustrates this baneful process in a vivid fashion. 'Keep the exchange high and prices low and change the ratio when an opportunity offers' has all along been the watchword of the currency gods in India. What they have gained by way of savings, on their foreign remittances and by increased import trade is a poor compensation for the heavy losses of the whole of the producing community. One feels constrained to observe that if the Government in this country had not stirred their little finger to help the industries and agriculture of the nation, but had only kept taxation and expenditure within the limits of economy and equality, and had they but refrained from tampering with the currency in the way they have done, the lot of the agriculturist and the industrialist would have been far better than what it is at present, even though a policy of protection is now grudgingly accepted.

Professor Kale gives the Government its due when he says that on the technical side, that of balancing the budgets, there is much to the credit of the Finance Members. But how long can such palliatives and essentially unsound policies last? There has been too much tinkering at the problem of national finance. In the interests of the tax-payers, the producers and the consumers a thorough inquiry into the system of taxation and the ways of expenditure is called for. But mere inquiry will not avail much, if there is not at the same time the assurance that the results of the inquiry will be followed by suitable action. It is for this reason that we must insist that full control of the nation's financial policy should be delegated to a responsible popular ministry. It is a broad lesson of the currency and financial history of the last twelve years that no amount of enfranchisement and outward constitutional change will help in setting right the people's economic wrongs if control over the whole field of finance is denied. Those who ignore the significance of this lesson will deserve ill of their countrymen.

It is a pity that our public men, members of legislatures and journalists, do not devote enough thought to the less showy but more vital side of the responsibilities of administration. It is to be hoped that Prof. Kale's sound and timely publication will attract the attention of the present and prospective students of the financial affairs of the country.

R. P.

SOLUTION FOR WORLD CHAOS.

THE WORLD CHAOS AND THE WAY OUT.

By ERNEST KIRK. (The Author, 6 St. John's Road, Bangalore.) 1933. 20cm. 142p. Re. 1-8-0.

THIS book by one who is a well-known worker in the cause of labour is an attempt at diagnosing the causes of the present depressed and disorganised economic conditions in the world. Many there are who have investigated the world depression and equally many have been the remedies proposed to tackle it. But most of these investigations and remedies are only superficial in character and can be considered as mere palliatives. Mr. Kirk however is one of the few investigators who have tried to go to the root of the problem. He shows that the main causes of the depression are: (1) our present capitalistic or economic or monetary system which from A to Z is a system based upon and partly caused by false values with profiteering as the keynote; (2) the absence of any true measure of wealth that will at once be stable and international and (3) the inner and more human side, the muddle in man himself. The fundamental cause of the chaos, the author points out later, is in man himself. He says that "man's attitude towards life must be right." The remedy lies in "facing each problem as it arises in the light of the inner reality." Each man must think out the remedy for his own problems and solve them in his own manner. Mr. Kirk however asks for too much when he says this; he counts without the fundamental fact of human nature, the fact that selfishness is so ingrained in man and that the first instinct in man is the instinct of self-preservation. He is therefore essentially incapable of looking at the problem from the others' point of view. There are of course a few who can and will do it; but the majority cannot and will not. Mr. Kirk's remedy therefore amounts to a revolution in human nature, and if this inner revolution is not going to take place, then the only remedy to end the chaos will be a physical and armed revolution which Mr. Kirk does not rule out of practical politics. Capitalism and the present civilisation based upon capitalism is not so imaginative as to take time by the forelock and effect the necessary reforms which would prevent the continuance of the present malaise or a recurrence of it, so that ultimately the whole will have to be straightened out by an armed revolution. Barring that, the only other way is by a strong international body taking the initiative in its own hands and forcing all nations to adopt certain measures. But even such a remedy is at present out of the question, since the rivalries of nations are so pronounced that concerted international action or submission to an international authority is an impossibility.

Mr. Kirk's book is a thought-provoking one. And whether his suggestions are accepted or not, they deserve careful and sympathetic consideration.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF DR. ANNIE BESANT. By C. JINARAJADASA. (Theosophical Society, Adyar.)

THIS small book takes the life of Dr. Besant in great sweeps, and still is fascinating, lucid and eminently stimulating. She, who had talked of India as her "Motherland" even before her first landing on Indian soil in 1893, — she, who came as a stranger, not knowing Sanskrit and yet expounded the old philosophies of Hinduism in a way which amazed contemporary students and which became a powerful instrument for the awakening of self-respect, consci-

ousness of their country's greatness and national aspirations in the hearts of educated Indians of a few years ago, who worked with body, mind and spirit through day and through night for Indians, almost thrusting the realisation of their heritage, potentialities and destiny on them, and gathered that select band of students and workers around her at Benares in founding the Central Hindu College, which is now the University of Benares, who pioneered the Indian Boy Scouts movement until its amalgamation with Lord Baden-Powell's Scout movement, who launched "The Stalwarts' movement," in which parents pledged themselves not to marry their daughters under the age of 16, and who threw herself vigorously into the task of purifying and rehabilitating Hindu religious and social life towards its pristine greatness, and then entered the field of Indian politics in 1913 and became a national figure must have inspired in a close and understanding friend like Mr. Jinarajadasa nothing short of a most voluminous biography full of reminiscences, quotations from her speeches, writings, letters, diaries, and of their reaction at the time and now, on his own mind and the minds of his contemporaries. But, very successfully, and with the artist's depiction by bold outlines and only the essential tones, does he contrive to keep the story to less than an hour's reading.

The booklet goes on to tell very felicitously what she wanted to achieve for India. The reader who is interested in the most authoritative statement of it, is recommended to look up the "Creed" formulated by her in 1915 for the All-India Home Rule League, under the caption: "What does India Want?". On the action on which she was dubbed even a traitor to the King during the world war, namely, in speaking, against the suspension of political agitation in India during the War, the Creed explained:—

"Had England said one word to the effect that there would be a new deal between Britain and India after the War, there is little doubt that Dr. Besant would not have gone on at the time with her political agitation."

Actually the idea that Indians would not be fit for Home Rule or for Dominion Status for generations to come was still rooted in the British mind and puffed with all possible zeal by interested parties in the Empire. The movement for India's freedom had therefore to be driven harder than ever, and Dr. Besant was determined to do it. All along she emphasised that it was never to be a movement for the severance of India from England. Her greatest urge was that the precious opportunities for union between two great peoples, that the advent of the British into India had provided, be utilised to their fullest limit and that what had been achieved by the sincerity and sacrifices of even a few should not be allowed to be lost. So she worked and prayed for India to remain a member of the British Empire and yet to be a sovereign nation owning the paramount power of the Imperial Crown as "The Dominion of India." With her habitual clear and comprehensive mind, which could see all the emergent issues and vulnerable points, she sketched this principle out in detail and in legal garb in the well-known Commonwealth of India Bill of 1925.

The difference between her methods of political work and those of Mahatma Gandhi can thus be clearly understood by anyone turning to the references to it in this little book.

There is a masterly summing up:

"First and foremost, she is a fighter. Dash, courage, initiative, these characterise her. But she is also intuitive and far-sighted... She is intensely magnetic, but she

does not dominate. She is the first to meet an opponent more than half-way. She is both fiery and dispassionate—fiery to denounce a Government's evils, yet dispassionate to see and to denounce also the excesses of her own beloved Indian people. She is without a particle of resentment towards any one who opposes her, for she believes, he must be aiming to do his duty. She sees things in large sweeps and leaves details to others. In her technique she is the artist."

The greatest thing in her life yet remains to be touched upon and it could hardly be done justice to in this brief review. But that was the high development of her mind and spirit that enabled her when in the midst of materialism and while actually working for the breakdown of religion, she was able to see, when she came upon books and experiences of that sphere, the great reality with its veils lifted, and had the courage publicly to change her activities in conformity with her enlightenment. And ever afterwards in her life, all her actions, all her drive, her courage and her sacrifices drew their inspiration from the great light she had found and which she reflected and transmitted on to her fellow-beings, the light which she so happily recognised and referred to as the Divine Wisdom—Theosophy—and of which she remained the stalwart servant.

K.

ANTI-UNEMPLOYMENT REMEDIES.

HOURS OF WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT. (I. L. O.) 1933. 25cm. 197p.

THE solution of the colossal unemployment problem now prevailing throughout the world has so far defied the wisdom of the capitalist politicians and various remedies have been suggested to meet the unemployment crisis. The reduction of hours of work as a measure of alleviating the effects of unemployment was suggested to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office in January 1931 and since then, it has been pursuing the question with great vigour. This book is a compendium of the solutions sought in various countries in this direction. Among the causes contributory to unemployment, technological changes in industry in recent times have been responsible for throwing many workers out of their employment. The increase of output has gone up at break-neck speed while the improvement of the conditions of the workers has not correspondingly kept pace. It is becoming very evident that the working hours of industry have to be materially reduced without corresponding loss in wages if the fruits of rationalisation methods are properly apportioned to the workers.

Another effect of reduction of hours of work is to make it possible to absorb many unemployed persons in industry. Some countries like Germany, for example, have, in recent times, enacted statutory measures compulsorily reducing the hours of work with a view to facilitate the re-employment. But such re-employment while pooling the wages bill does not increase the purchasing power but only reduces the effect of unemployment. Controversy has been keenly going on as to whether reduction of hours of work should be in the interests of industry accompanied by corresponding or part reduction of wages when providing more employment for the same output. This difficulty has been partly met in some countries where unemployment insurance is provided by the State, by a subvention from the State funds but in other countries, the workers are reluctant to face reduction of their standard of living. However, conditions some-

times arise when for the sake of recognition of the principle of security of service, the workers in an industry are prepared to sacrifice their earnings to avoid reduction of personnel. This publication of the International Labour Office which embodies in substance the report prepared for the preparatory Conference held in January 1933 puts briefly the problem of unemployment as solved by each country, by resort to the method of reduction of hours of work. The book contains comprehensive statistics of short-time and over-time worked in various advanced countries in the world. Attempts made to introduce a 40-hour week have also been succinctly described. That an International Convention limiting the working hours of labour to 40 a week is desirable to reduce the present unemployment, is the main purport of the book.

Various methods of rationing employment by resort to rotation of employment or reduction of daily or weekly working hours, which are practicable, have been elaborately described in chapter 3. It would have been much better had the book been more definite in its statements of facts, viz., that it is a practical proposition to reduce working hours for the purpose of not only avoiding discharge of staff but also for enabling the re-employment of the already discharged staff, that the limit of practicability of working the method of leave by rotation or short-time is set up only by the limit of tolerance of the workers to work the method and that it is necessary at the worst in the interests of the workers that no employer should object to working of short-time or leave by rotation when the workers in that industry express their preparedness to work short-time for avoiding unemployment. The recent labour troubles especially over the railway systems in this country have been caused mainly by the pig-headedness of the Railway Administrations in not meeting the demands of the workers to reduce the working hours for facilitating employment of surplus workers even without the Administrations incurring any financial burden. It is unfortunate that this publication does not meet the pleas usually advanced against the system such as that it is only a temporary expedient, etc.

It is to be hoped when the supplementary reports are finally embodied, the International Labour Office will definitely assert that it is unreasonable to refuse to provide employment by reducing working hours when the workers are prepared for necessary sacrifices.

In other respects, the book contains a wealth of information about the working hours which have been reduced in various countries in the world to reduce unemployment.

V. V. GIRL

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1930 and 1931. Ed. by JOHN W. WHEELER-BENNET. (Oxford University Press). 25cm. 264p., 241p. 12/6 each.
- THE ECONOMIC TENDENCIES OF TO-DAY. By STEPHEN VILJOIN. (King.) 1933. 25cm. 251p. 10/6.
- YOUNG CHINA AND NEW JAPAN. By MRS. CREIL CHESTERTON. (George G. Harrap.) 1933. 21cm. 310p. 10/6.
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