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EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

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Topics of the Week.

A Well-Deserved Snub.

IT is difficult to assess the gain to the Churchill-Lloyd group by its recent attempt to raise the India issue at a meeting of the Conservative Party organisation. When the matter was last considered by the party about six months ago its verdict was against any such discussion, pending the report of the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee on the White Paper. Nothing has since happened which can be said to afford fresh material for a debate. Nor was there much chance of the National Government making up its mind with regard to the Committee's recommendations without acquainting itself with what its Conservative adherents have to say on the subject. For the party has been assured by its most responsible leaders of an opportunity for discussing the Government's India policy after the publication of the Committee's report. But this has apparently not succeeded in curbing the impetuosity of the anti-Indian Conservatives owning allegiance to Mr. Churchill. At the meeting of the Central Council of the Conservative Party held in London last week, they made a further attempt to precipitate a discussion of the Government's Indian policy; but it met with no better fate than its predecessors, the meeting deciding by a majority to await the Joint Committee's report. It is doubtful if in the circumstances the party could have come to any other conclusion without stultifying itself. Though the antics of the Churchillites designed to embarrass the British Government have thus been foiled for the time being, thanks to the commonsense displayed by the party as a whole, it is difficult to controvert Mr. Churchill's claim that his group has been gaining in strength. It may be that

the supporters of the Government's policy did not take the meeting seriously and failed to turn up in full strength. Whether it is so or not, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the majority recorded for the official motion is much less imposing than it was on previous occasions—a fact of which Mr. Churchill is entitled to make as much capital as possible. A deduction that the White Paper is in danger would however be too far-fetched.

Mr. Sarkar on the Situation.

MR. NALINI RANJAN SARKAR'S presidential address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce which met at Delhi last week laid special emphasis on the desirability of Council entry. This is as it should be. But though he came to the right conclusion he supported it by arguments, some of which at any rate hardly bear close scrutiny. If the Councils can be used as instruments for the promotion of national interests, as many including, we hope, Mr. Sarkar himself believe they can be, it stands to reason that they should be captured by people good and true. If on the other hand they were found to stand in the way of national progress, even then Mr. Sarkar would advocate their capture by Indian patriots, not with a view to extracting the utmost good out of them, but for the purpose of breaking them. We should have thought that the experience of the Swaraj party would have shown our public men the utter futility of any talk of wrecking the legislatures. This was one of the most important planks in the platform of that party when it came into being and on which it sought election to the legislatures. But its actual experience was that it was as easy to talk of wrecking tactics as it was difficult to translate them talk into action. Those therefore who still persist in contemplating the use of councils for promoting deadlocks, it may be they do so for the purpose of making the public gulp down the bitter pill of Council entry, deceive none but themselves by such talk. Whatever good non-co-operation in other fields may or may not have done to the country, the abstention of national-minded men from the legislatures has resulted in piling upon the country many repressive laws whose repeal is no easy matter. The enactment of such laws would have been impossible if the Councils had been filled with people who placed national good above everything else. It is the disfiguring of our statute book by such coercive legislation without end during recent years that has among other things impressed a section of Congressmen who recently forgathered at Delhi with the desirability of seeking entry into the legislatures. How far they succeed in undoing the mischief created largely by their own self-imposed absence from the legislature, time will show. Mr. Sarkar also did well in pleading for an abandonment of the civil disobedience movement.

Commonsense Advice to Diehards.

The existence of terrorism in Bengal is being exploited by Conservative diehards for the purpose of opposing the transfer of law and order to the control of popular ministers at any rate in that province. The *Pioneer*, which cannot by the wildest stretch of imagination be suspected of pro-terrorist sympathy or sympathy for anything which is in the least likely to subvert British rule in India, has the following commonsense advice to offer to opponents of this reform. Writing in a recent issue under the caption "The Toll of Terrorism", it says:

But admitting that terrorism has already secured too firm a footing in Bengal, it is to be hoped that some attempt will be made, even upon the diehard side, to preserve a sense of proportion. In the 26 years since 1908 the number of Government servants of all ranks murdered by terrorists in Bengal has been 50 and of those injured by them 43. These figures have probably been surpassed in municipal politics in Chicago alone in the past ten years; certainly they are insignificant in comparison with those of political assassinations in several European countries over the same period. They are none the less horrifying; but the point we would make is that, even allowing for the attempts that have been foiled by the vigilance of the police or have failed through the incompetence of the would-be assassins, they hardly support the theory, now so sedulously propagated in England, that half the population of Bengal is secretly in league with the terrorists and only waiting for the advent of an Indian Minister in charge of law and order to support them in further outrages. Had that been so the toll of terrorism would already have been much larger.

Loans to Indian States.

THE question of loans to Indian States came up before the Assembly last week on a Government motion for a supplementary grant of nearly Rs. 1¼ crores for the purpose. In the discussion of such matters the Assembly always finds itself in a strange predicament. As custodian of the taxpayer's interests it is its duty to see that all such loans and advances are properly secured and are a sound investment. This cannot obviously be done without displaying some curiosity about the internal condition of the States seeking such accommodation. And yet its rules of business taboo all references to the affairs of the States! Either this rule must be amended so as to permit of discussion by the Assembly of States' affairs or the diversion of the Indian revenues for granting loans to the States absolutely forbidden. Unless some such way out of the difficulty is found, the Assembly will continue to find itself unable to discharge satisfactorily its responsibility to the taxpayer. The point is not whether the total amount of the loans to the States is small or big; it is that if the States are to receive any benefit from British Indian revenues, popular representatives must have unfettered liberty to look into the administration of the States.

It appeared from information conveyed to the Assembly on this occasion that out of a total public debt of Rs. 1200 crores, about Rs. 21¼ crores represented loans to Indian States, Bahawalpur alone accounting for Rs. 12 crores. In spite of assurances to the contrary, this loan, though granted for a productive purpose, appears to be somewhat difficult of recovery, its present amount being made up of the principal and the interest amounting every year to Rs. 50 lakhs which is added on to it. Alwar is already advanced Rs. 25 lakhs and will shortly receive a further advance of Rs. 16 lakhs on the distinct understanding that till it is repaid an officer of the Government of India would be in complete and effective financial control of the State; and the State

budget would be subject to the sanction of the Indian Government. Such conditions, however irksome to the ruler of the State, are essential in the interests of the taxpayer not only in British India but also in the States, for they ensure the expenditure of the loans on the purposes for which they are meant, and prevent their possible misuse for the pursuit of pleasure on the part of the ruler or for the satisfaction of his peculiar whims and fancies.

Education in Bombay in 1932-33.

WHILE in these days of financial stringency it is not practical politics to look forward to any dazzling schemes of development in the nation-building activities of the Government, it is by no means an extravagant demand to ask that they may be maintained at least at their old level. But even this modest expectation was not fulfilled in Bombay in 1932-33. It is seen from the report of the Director of Public Instruction that the number of recognised institutions decreased by 172; and that of unrecognised ones by 116. The number of pupils studying in them was also smaller than during the preceding year. Boys reading in recognised institutions numbered nearly 5,000 less while girls 4,600 more, than during the previous year. In regard to unrecognised institutions, however, the position was quite the reverse. There it was not the number of male scholars that received a set-back, but that of female ones; but the figures of increase and decrease are too insignificant to deserve mention. It may be broadly stated that unrecognised institutions catered for the educational needs of nearly 34,000 students, which with very slight variation may be also said to be the number in them for the previous year. The total number of scholars reading in all kinds of institutions in the presidency was a little over 13¼ lakhs; but though this figure sounds a little imposing, the proportion of literacy continues to be disappointingly low, being not more than 6 per cent. of the total population.

High expectations of educational expansion were generally entertained as a result of the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms; and though Bombay was the first province to have a compulsory education Act, a perusal of the report shows that the Act has not materially helped in fulfilling these expectations. During the ten years it has been in operation, only 12 local bodies have introduced compulsion, no new scheme of compulsion being sanctioned during the year; and only in five of these is it made applicable to children of both sexes. Nor is the tale of educational diffusion on a compulsory basis given in the report more cheering. During all these years only 32 such schemes including the two submitted in 1932-33 were sent up by local bodies; and only eleven involving Government in a recurring expenditure of a little over Rs. 1 lakh were sanctioned. This is not to say that all those that were sanctioned were immediately put into operation. As a matter of fact only seven schemes have been actually carried into effect! What is even more disheartening is the admission made in the report that though compulsory schemes have been in operation in some places for as long as ten years, the whole of the school-age population has not been brought under instruction. This, it is said, is largely due to the unwillingness of educational authorities to avail themselves of the legal machinery for ensuring attendance provided for in the Act. An inquiry into the working of the Act with a view to finding out its possibilities as an effective instrument of promoting universal literacy in a measurable distance of time appears to be a desideratum.

Travancore Assembly.

THE report of Travancore State for 1932-33 has special interest for the British Indian public in that it contains interesting information about the first year's working of its reformed legislature. This consists of two houses, for the more popular of which the electors number a little over 1½ lakhs or nearly 3 per cent. of the population of the State, 75 per cent. of these being men and the rest women. In respect of 29 out of its total number of 48 constituencies there were no election contests, only as many candidates standing for election as there were seats to be filled. In 17 constituencies having an electoral roll of about 63,000, a little over 41,000 or nearly 65 per cent. went to the poll, which promises well for the success of representative institutions in the State. The voting strength for the Upper House is of course much smaller, being 31,157 or 61 per cent. of the population. 84 per cent. of these are males and the rest females. Out of a total of 22 constituencies, poll had to be taken only in 9, of which one was a special constituency. The electors for the remaining 8 constituencies numbered more than 16,000, nearly 60 per cent. of whom exercised the franchise.

The lower chamber enjoys the right of voting supplies—a right of which it seems to have made good use for the purpose of ventilating popular grievances. One of the token cuts moved in the land revenue demand was for the purpose of urging a remission of the land-tax by 25 per cent.; while a similar cut under the medical demand was suggested for pressing on the authorities the need of the provision of better medical relief in rural areas. Some cuts were also put forward with a view to effecting economies in the State expenditure. But the total of all the cuts carried by the Assembly did not exceed Ra. 7,000. In this connection it is noteworthy that all these cuts were accepted by the Government without question and without any attempt to set the Assembly's wishes at naught by invoking the special powers vested in the ruler. The privilege of moving resolutions on matters of public interest seems however to have been very sparingly used, only two resolutions being moved, the discussion on one of which remained unfinished. It may be hoped the Assembly will in future years not fail to make fuller use of the privilege for the promotion of the public weal.

Articles.

MOVING TOWARDS CO-OPERATION.

THE decision taken by a conference of some forty Congressmen in Delhi to fight the ensuing General Election for the Assembly and probably for the Provincial Councils is naturally most welcome to us, but we cannot help entertaining serious doubt as to the strength of this movement. We are rather inclined to believe that it will produce little substantial change in the existing situation. For it must be remembered, first of all, that civil disobedience will still remain the official policy of the Congress. The Swaraj party, now to be revived, will adopt only such a programme as Mahatma Gandhi is prepared to acquiesce in. It is well known that the Mahatma has not changed his attitude towards civil disobedience by one whit. He remains convinced as before that it is the sacred duty of all who are true to the Congress creed to offer civil dis-

obedience in their own persons in all conceivable circumstances. He recognises however that all Congressmen may not have the strength of mind to go through this fiery ordeal; for such he has prescribed what is known as a constructive programme. But this programme does *not* include Council entry. All that the leaders assembled in Delhi imply by their declaration that the Swaraj party's platform has been decided upon after consultation with Mahatma Gandhi is that the Mahatma raises no active objection to those who have lost faith in the Congress methods seeking entry into the legislatures if they so choose. He never does; he never uses coercion; he always leaves people free to act according to their inner light, in fact presses them to do so. That the promoters of the Swaraj party, who have ever set their hearts on entering the Councils, have obtained the Mahatma's leave to follow that course must not be interpreted as reflecting any change in his own view of what the country's interests require at present. They have not secured even his benevolent neutrality. "If you cannot practise civil disobedience and if you have no living faith in constructive work, well, go and do something else, but, for heaven's sake, don't drop into the coma of inaction as you seem to be doing." We seem to hear Mahatma Gandhi speaking to the Swarajists in this strain.

But the most important thing to remember is that he has not waived his objection to taking part in the election contests or entering the Councils; nor has he withdrawn civil disobedience. And so long as civil disobedience is not definitively abandoned by the Congress, there will be little change in the political situation of the country. The present stalemate will continue; repression will still remain in force; and the new constitution will be given a wide berth by the public at large; none but communalists, special interests and a handful of nationalists will show any concern for it. The ranks of the last-named class, we are afraid, will not receive any impressive accession of strength owing to the revival of the Swaraj party. We take no pleasure in recording such an estimate of the present developments; we wish it were otherwise. But it is no use blinking facts merely because they are unpalatable. For it cannot be denied that, in the existing circumstances, whatever does not receive support of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress, has little chance of finding favour with the people. And the Council entry programme of the Swarajists has, it must be admitted, no support of the Mahatma or the Congress. It is a very significant fact too that the Swaraj party has raised its head after the disappearance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the scene. It looks very much like the mice playing while the cat is away. It is inconceivable that a party with a Council Entry programme could have been formed with even a seeming acquiescence on the part of the Congress if Pandit Jawaharlal were not put out of action. Most of the active Congressmen may be divided at present into two broad classes: they are either followers of Mahatma Gandhi or followers of Pandit Nehru. A platform which appeals to neither cannot make much headway within the

Congress fold. The party that is now being revived has not the courage to raise a standard of revolt against Mahatma Gandhi either, as Pandit Motilal and Mr. C. R. Das did when it was first formed. Its present leaders want to sail with Congress colours and yet take a course not favoured by the Congress. Such a pretension will not serve them long.

The Swaraj party's declared aim is to "reject" the White Paper. "Rejection" of the White Paper has come to acquire a distinctive meaning in India. If the India Bill that may be passed by the British Parliament had to be ratified by the Indian legislature before it took effect, we could "reject" the Bill in India by throwing it out in the Assembly as the Filipinos have rejected the Hawes-Cutting Independence Act of the American Congress. But no opportunity for such a formal expression of opinion is afforded in India. We could in our own meetings say either "yes" or "no" to the White Paper, and, but for the representatives of communalist and special interests, we have all been saying "no." "We don't want this White Paper," we have been saying from a thousand platforms. Why Congressmen should need to form a new party to say this we do not know. But even if they say it now, as others have been doing long since, they will not be "rejecting" the White Paper, as the phrase is understood in this country. It is not enough for one to denounce the White Paper wholesale; it is not enough for one to say that one would rather be under the existing constitution than under the new. All this would merely mean some adverse criticism of the White Paper. To "reject" the White Paper in the proper way one must be willing to stand aside from the constitution when it will come into force. Are the Swarajists prepared to boycott the constitution? Impossible. The party is being organised just for the purpose of averting the boycott. We do not like it either. We have consistently been urging that whatever the

constitution, it should be worked; we have even been saying that the worse the constitution, the greater is the need for national-minded people to steel their minds to its working so that they may lift the administration out of the communalist rut. We are therefore very glad that a few at any rate of those who call themselves Congressmen will give up the negative policy of boycott and help in working the constitution. But they must not mislead the people by saying that they are going to "reject" the White Paper. They are going to do nothing of the kind; they will in fact be effectually silencing some of those misguided men who occasionally raise the cry of "rejection," without counting the cost of a successful pursuit of such a policy. If by "rejection" the Swaraj party means, as it seems to do, energetic disapproval, with a view to securing improvement, all we would say is that while we welcome the effort, we have no hope of its leading to any useful result. The Liberal leaders have condemned the White Paper outright; we venture to say that no one could go further in condemning it than they have gone. But as days pass by, there is reason to fear more and more of reaction. It will be a miracle if the Joint Select Committee does not recommend at least one or two steps back from the White Paper in some vital respects wholly unsatisfactory as the White Paper already is. This does not weaken, but only strengthens, our conviction of the necessity of working the constitution. But the fact remains that the entry of the Swaraj party into the political arena will not be instrumental in bettering the constitution. The repeal of the repressive laws, which is the second aim which the party will place before itself in capturing the legislatures, will also, we fear, be equally ineffective. But however little the party may in fact be able to do, the drift away from non-co-operation and civil disobedience which it represents is a policy that we can heartily endorse.

CANADIAN FINANCE : DOMINION--PROVINCIAL RELATIONS.

S ECTIONS 91 and 92 of the British North America Act govern the financial arrangements between the Provinces and the Dominion of Canada as regards taxation, and sections 118, 119, 120 govern the subsidies and their payment. Section 91 gives to the Federal Parliament authority extending to the raising of money "by any mode or system of taxation." Section 92 gives to the provincial legislatures the right to impose "direct taxation within the province in order to the raising of revenue for provincial purposes."

Section 118 provides that "the following sums shall be paid yearly by Canada to the several provinces for the support of their Governments and Legislatures:—

Ontario	...	\$80,000
Quebec	...	\$70,000
Nova Scotia	...	\$60,000
New Brunswick	...	\$50,000

Section 119 granted to New Brunswick an additional grant of \$63,000 per annum for a period of ten years from which a deduction of a sum equal to the interest on the difference between that Province's "allowed debt" and actual debt was to be made.

Sections 110-116 cover the arrangements about the debts of the provinces which were taken over by the Dominion. The disparity between the debts of the various provinces and the resultant injustice to some of them was avoided by allowing each province to charge a fixed rate per head of the population of its debt to the Federal treasury. For this purpose, the population of each province was taken to be that determined by the last census rectified to the date when the agreements were made according to the relative average increase of each in the interval between that and the preceding census. (McGill University Economic Studies, No. 12, A. W. Boos, p. 4.)

The federal subsidies, although against the sound economic principle that the taxing and the spending authority should be the same, were granted as a compensation to the provinces for the loss of their customs and excise duties. They were intended to remain fixed in the case of Ontario and Quebec and to increase with increasing population in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Over and above the fixed allowance they comprised of 80 cents per head to be based upon the 1861 population in Ontario and Quebec and to increase with the increasing population in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick until the population of each province had reached 400,000.

The arrangements, the main features of which are enumerated above, were a compromise and have all the merits and defects of a compromise. The harmful nature of the subsidies was recognised at the very beginning. In the debates on Confederation in the Province of Canada's Parliament Dunkin, who rose to great eminence in Canadian politics and whose whole speech is a remarkable forecast of the frictions that were to come in the future, trenchantly remarked :

"With one accord the provincial governments will, in a quiet way, want more money, and the provincial legislatures and people will want it more; grants for roads, for bridges, for schools, for charities, for contingencies of the legislatures—for all manner and ends they will be wanting money, and where is it to come from? Whether the constitution of the provincial executive savours of responsibility or not, to be sure it will not be anxious to place itself more under the control of legislature, or to make itself more odious than it can help, and the easiest way for it to get money will be from the general government." (Confederation Debates, 1865, p. 519.)

These observations have remarkably come true. The fathers of the Canadian Confederation thought that the financial aids given to the provinces would be final and in full payment of all their claims against the Dominion. But these hopes have proved false. Agitation for more favourable terms and changes in them started almost immediately and has not still been laid to rest finally. Almost on the heels of the new Dominion Nova Scotia complained of the unfavourable position in which it was placed as regards its finances and after careful consideration both its debt allowance and annual grant were raised in 1869. In 1870 New Brunswick began to agitate for additional considerations and after the Treaty of Washington the Dominion considered its claims favourably and raised its grant to \$100,000 per annum perpetually. The province of British Columbia, which entered the Federation in 1871, got additional help in 1874. Only a year after, the newly created province of Manitoba sought relief from financial embarrassment from the Dominion on various grounds. It pointed out that additional consideration on different grounds had been shown to other provinces since the inception of the Dominion. The original arrangements had been changed. New Brunswick had received an additional annual allowance of \$63,000 per year for ten years. Nova Scotia was, for this reason, given \$82,698 annually for ten years, British Columbia's per capita subsidy was calculated on an assumed population of 60,000, while

the actual population at the time did not exceed 11,000. Prince Edward Island's debt allowance was computed at fifty dollars per head of its population instead of 22.77, the rate allowed to the other provinces, and an additional \$445,000 had been granted to that province as indemnity for the lack of Crown lands. It was claimed that justice and equity should warrant reconsideration of Manitoba's claims also. (A. W. Boos, Chapter II.)

It was evident that these claims could not be considered independently of each other amongst the provinces in the Dominion. The satisfaction, often partial, of the claims or demands of one gave rise not only to demands from others but to jealousies and rivalries. The value of co-operation between the provinces themselves on these points was not lost. The first Inter-Provincial Conference that took place was, therefore, convened to consider the financial and other relations between the provinces and the Dominion in 1887.

This Conference came to the conclusion that the payments made to the provinces by the Dominion were wholly inadequate for the purposes for which they were intended, that it was not possible for some of the provinces to raise by direct taxation the additional sums required to meet the growing expenses of the provinces and that the increase in population increased the responsibilities of the provincial governments but did not increase their revenue proportionately. The Conference proposed a new arrangement as "a final and unalterable settlement" of the subsidy problem. The Dominion did not accept these proposals at the time, but they were embodied in the B. N. A. Act in 1907 after another Inter-Provincial Conference in 1906.

The new arrangement changed the original one and gave substantial increases to the provinces. They were as follows :—

(1) A Fixed grant according to population :

When population is under	150,000	\$100,000
" 150,000 but not exceeding	200,000 150,000
" 200,000 "	" 400,000 180,000
" 400,000 "	" 800,000 190,000
" 800,000 "	" 1,500,000 220,000
over 1,500,000 240,000

(2) A grant at the rate of 80 cents per head of the population of the provinces up to 2,500,000 and at the rate of 60 cents per head of so much of the population as exceeds that number.

(3) An additional grant of \$100,000 given to British Columbia for a period of ten years. ("Federation and Unions in the British Empire", by Egerton, pp. 159-160.)

Besides these grants, an additional grant of \$100,000 is payable to Prince Edward Island under the Act of 1912, and the payments to Manitoba were revised by the extension of the Boundaries (Manitoba) Act. (Egerton, p. 160.)

But this "final and unalterable settlement" has never arrived. Friction between the provinces and the Dominion has continued to exist. Party politics and election hopes and calculations continue to affect the attitude of the Dominion towards particular pro-

vinces. No solution seems to have any chance of being accepted as final and irrevocable. It is quite natural that the governments of the provinces should hesitate to bind posterity to any lasting decision. Weight is given to this viewpoint by experience. The provinces have continually gained favourable terms from the Dominion from time to time. But in spite of the seven Dominion-Provincial Conferences that have met since 1900 the stability sought by the fathers of Confederation does not seem to be any the nearer.

The reason for this constant need of change is apparent. There has been an enormous increase in expenditure in the provincial budgets. "The increase in 1928 over 1913 was 210.7 p.c. Of this, approximately 30 p.c. may be accounted for by the increase in population and 50 p.c. by the rise in prices. This leaves 130 p.c. to be attributed to the broadening of old and the appearance of new services of the Provincial Governments. (The conditions to-day must be even worse.) Included in the 130 p.c. is almost 20 p.c. representing expenditure on public utilities which in the long run paid most of their expenses. The remaining 110 p.c. consist of added disbursement for services that were non-producing, or only incidentally revenue-producing, such as education. The increased outlay for education was more than 300 p.c.; for maintenance of highways, more than 400 p.c.; for interest charges on public debt, more than 600 p.c., and such important new items as mothers' allowance and old age pensions had appeared." ("Essays on Canadian Economic Problems" by J. E. Robbins, p. 16.)

The most flexible revenue system could not have been expected to adapt itself to these new and broader avenues of expenditure, though its yield might reasonably have risen in a proportion similar to that of population and prices. The provincial systems are so inelastic as to be incapable even of this. (Confederation Debates, 1865, p. 519.)

How serious the question of provincial finance, and the necessity of adjustment between the Dominion and the provinces are, becomes evident after a perusal of the course of the discussion at the Dominion-Provincial Conference of November 1926. At this Conference only three provinces refrained from making increased financial demands. But they did not fail to show an open mind on the question of subsidy revision in general. Premier Fergusson of Ontario advocated a kind of Duncan Report to cover the whole Dominion. Premier Taschereau of Quebec advised a clearer delimitation of the powers of taxation. Saskatchewan, the third province with no requests to make, expressed willingness to a revision of the basis of the subsidy question. All other provinces had various requests to make. Nova Scotia complained that although its government was run at a surprisingly low cost it had an annual deficit of a million dollars and that the Dominion had invaded provincial fields of taxation. New Brunswick pointed out the inability of the Maritime manufacturer to compete with the central provinces, while they had been excluded by tariffs from foreign

markets; he pointed out the peculiar condition of the population in the Maritimes which has a high proportion of very young and very old people, which increased the cost of education and relief. He referred to the decline in population in the province, the low salaries, and the very high proportion of the revenues spent on education. There was no great wealth in the province and the possibilities of raising money by direct taxation were therefore very limited. Prince Edward Island also asked for better terms.

Manitoba and Alberta joined in the request for assistance. Premier Bracken of Manitoba felt that the financial arrangements had been improvident from the beginning of the federation and pressed for a revision of the subsidies. He referred to the fact that while the provinces had handed over their major sources of revenue to the Dominion, they had continued to maintain their activities connected with health, roads, education and the like, the cost of which has considerably increased. Premier Brownlee of Alberta concurred in these views. He further pointed out that the Dominion had retained the elastic sources of revenue while the provinces had to satisfy themselves with rigid and unpopular methods of taxation.

British Columbia put forth the claim that its subsidies should be substantially increased on account of its peculiar physical characteristics. In addition to this increase it desired the return of railway lands, the withdrawal of the federal government from the income-tax field, and the delimitation of the fields of taxation as between the federal and provincial authorities. (Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association. Prof. H. R. Kemp in "Is a Revision of Taxation Power Necessary?" pp. 189-92.)

In short, in spite of the continuous adjustments and readjustments the relations between the provinces and the Dominion in financial matters are in a state of uncertainty. Apart from the subsidy question, the natural resources question in the Western provinces also did its share in creating new divisions and claims between the provinces.

The fathers of the Confederation could not foresee the enormous growth of responsibilities which the provincial governments shoulder to-day. Public expenditure of the provinces has expanded beyond anticipation. The reaction from the *laissez faire* policy is ever becoming more marked, and this increased governmental interference in the activities of individuals means an enlarged expense. Eleemosynary institutions, highway construction, the spread of education, health and sanitation enterprises, and research work—all make their demand on the Government exchequer. These changes have necessitated frequent adjustments, "to render financial assistance and to admit new provinces. Alterations in favour of one province promoted jealousy in others, and resulted in the presentation of new demands. No settlement has been final and in full payment of provincial claims." The recurrent claims of the last sixty years on the part of the pro-

vincial governments, whenever they find themselves in financial embarrassment and regardless of whether or not their expenditures have been reasonable, bear out the fears of Dunkin. Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association. Prof. H. R. Kemp in "Is a Revision of Taxation Power Necessary?" pp. 189-92.)

That the subsidy principle is harmful is admitted on all sides, but it does not seem probable that a time would come when it would be possible to drop it. It has been pointed out that revision of subsidy has become a scandal, that it follows shortly before or immediately after election. (Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1931. p. 203.) What Edward Blake, a very able politician of his time, said as far back as 1885 is equally true to-day. He remarked:

"The solution of this question of subsidy upon the lines upon which our Constitution in this regard is based is one of great difficulty, because those lines are not very scientific lines; they are not directed by any particular principle, but by supposed adequacy to the interests and conditions of the four provinces that formed the original Confederation. It was thought that they would answer, and they were laid down, and there has been an effort, rather an unsuccessful effort, made to assume that they were based on a principle and to apply the principle which was usually inapplicable to other provinces. For as regards the other provinces, we could not find the principle would answer at all. "There is an excrescence here and another there, and something else incongruous elsewhere; until after all you read the provisions with reference to all the provinces, even the original one, you will find in them nothing like symmetry, nothing that would lead you to believe that the arrangement was formed on principle or even reason. I do not believe the arrangement would be lasting. More and more this question of provincial subsidies becomes a more serious one for the Dominion." (Edward Blake, Manitoba Settlement Bill, Hansard, 1885. p. 2778.)

Leaving aside Blake's rhetoric, the charges are substantially true. And yet it is obviously impossible to make a new departure after so many years of financial practice. The principle of giving subsidies instead of showing signs of losing its hold on Dominion-Provincial relations, seems to have assumed the new role of subventions for specific purposes. It may, perhaps, lead to the partial removal of the objection against subsidies, viz. that the spending and the taxing powers are not the same, because the Dominion Government is claiming supervisory powers over certain expenses. But this hope also is problematical, seeing how jealous the provinces are of any encroachment on their fields by the Dominion Government.

Various ways have been suggested as remedies to deprive the subsidy of its evil and harmful effects. One is to make the revision a fixed periodical one, thus depriving the politician from using it as an election bait. The straitened circumstances of the province are sought to be remedied by asking the Dominion to retire from certain fields of taxation, or requesting it to take over certain fields of expenditure.

Whatever adjustments and revisions might take place, there seems to be little hope of a permanent

solution of the problem today. A policy of shift and opportunism has characterised the financial relations between the provinces and the Dominion and there seems to be no final and satisfactory way out of it.

M. D. SHAHANE.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

London, March 16.

NO INCREASE IN CHURCHILLITE STRENGTH.

IN conversation yesterday with a prominent supporter of the Government's White Paper policy, I put the question whether in his opinion the diehard faction was gaining any strength in the country. He has ample opportunities of testing public sentiment in the course of his activities, and he gave the encouraging reply that he did not think that the opposition was really gaining any ground. Indeed, the view seemed to be held among the opponents themselves that every intervention of Mr. Churchill left their position a little worse than it was before, and they were rather looking askance at his leadership, the quality of which was so poor that the results which it produced were extremely unsatisfactory. I understand, too, that very much the same criticism is raised against Lord Lloyd. Except in special circles, some of them it is true influential where he is *persona grata*, his advocacy does more harm than good, as it is so obviously embittered. The mischief, however, that men like Lord Lloyd can do behind the scenes in private conversation, in a sentence or two casting a slur upon the honour or the capacity of Indians in public life, is far greater than in public speeches. At the same time as these opponents have nothing constructive to offer, and the general feeling prevails, as I believe it does, that something effective must be done if the situation in India is to improve, this would appear to be the best antidote for the jeremiads of the Churchill-Lloyd school.

IN SUPPORT OF THE REFORMS.

Sir Charles Stead has satisfactorily disposed of a criticism that his testimony in favour of the general scheme of the White Paper was liable to suspicion, owing to his earlier views that were so strikingly different from his present ones. His retort is that after 1928 he went through so many valuable and highly instructive experiences, particularly in his own Province the Punjab, that by the end of the summer of 1930 he had become completely convinced that constitutional changes, more or less on the lines of the White Paper proposals, were necessary and inevitable if India was to be retained as an asset to the Empire. He had become convinced, too, "that there were Indians, inside and outside the Services, capable and, under the stimulus of responsibility, willing to rise to all 'law and order' occasions."

Sir Maurice Hayward, too, spoke this week at the usual meeting of the Conservative India Parliamentary Committee, at the House of Commons. His views were of particular importance as he spoke as one who had held office in two capacities, namely judicial and executive. He described the White Paper proposal as a natural development of the previous policy of educating Indians for self-government. He did not think that, having regard to the composition of the proposed Federal and Provincial

Legislatures, the extension of the franchise recommended and the spirit of self-reliance which was increasingly manifest in the general population, there was any likelihood of the Congress Party, with its autocratic traditions, "which had consistently opposed recent democratic reforms... would capture the machine and use it for its own purposes to the detriment of the great masses of the population."

Sir Laurie Hammond, former Governor of Assam, addressing the Marylebone Junior Conservative Association, said that most of those who opposed the White Paper were dealing with the India of fifteen or twenty years ago. He said: "Among the politicians of this country, you will find that most of those who to-day are proud to call themselves diehards, voted in 1919 quite cheerfully for the Act which introduced democracy into India. We started democracy there, and you cannot wipe out the effect of fourteen or fifteen years of that. No constitution of any kind can function in that great Continent unless it is with the co-operation of the Indian. If the majority of the people decide that they do not want us, we are finished with India."

Sir Frederick Sykes described the proposed new Constitution as "a workable basis for a solution of one of the most perplexing and urgent of the many problems confronting us to-day," in a speech to the Royal Empire Society. Whilst regarding the present proposals as the logical conclusion of the policy of the developments of self-governing institutions in India ever since 1858, he held that certain changes must be incorporated in the scheme as prerequisite for the efficient working of the reforms and the strengthening of the safeguards. Among these were the following: a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery; the readjustment of our administration dealing with the Indian States; solvency in the Provinces (it is now suggested that owing to the earthquake disaster it has become economically impossible to set up a separate Province of Orissa); second chambers in certain of the Provincial Legislatures; the adaptation of the machinery of government to make the best use of economic conditions; the organisation of the Tariff Board as a permanent body to advise Government and keep an eye on the interests of industries on which duties are imposed, and exercise a check over those which are protected; and a satisfactory system of information to enable the Governor-General and Governors to exercise their emergency powers adequately. In the opinion of Sir Frederick recent events in India have convinced both Indians and English that such outbreaks are to the interest of neither and it has taught both to realise how greatly the future of the two countries, politically and economically, lies along the same road. He thought, however, that advantage must be taken of the tide of better feeling which has now set in. "To do so requires faith, courage, and imagination. To hesitate would be fatal. The opportunity once lost may not return."

Somewhat surprisingly the Maharaja of Burdwan, speaking at the Overseas League, in whole-hearted agreement with Sir Frederick Sykes, said that the proposed changes were a logical conclusion of the policy followed by the British Government since the transfer of the administration to the Crown, urged the need of going forward with the White Paper policy, with as little delay as possible, having due regard to Parliamentary procedure and requirements. He said that the Round Table and Select Committee discussions in London have been in progress for nearly four years. People in India of all parties willing to cooperate, partially or wholly, were tiring of the long, if unavoidable delay, in framing and passing

legislation. The more favourable financial and economic outlook indicated by Sir George Schuster in introducing the Indian Budget last month was an encouragement to proceed with the scheme. He condemned as short-sighted those who, in this country, sought to block the way of proposals to confer larger powers on Indians, at the Centre as well as in the Provinces.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S ACTIVITIES.

The Government having, through Sir Samuel Hoare, made it plain that the White Paper proposals, subject to reconsideration in detail and further advice, represent the official policy with regard to Indian constitutional reform, it is a little difficult to follow the querulous criticism in the *Morning Post* of the announcement that the Secretary of State for India has made arrangements to lecture to Conservative agents on the Government's Indian policy at a special course for agents to be held at the Bonar Law College during the last week in May, before Mr. Baldwin consults the Party in accordance with his pledge. The main ground of the objection raised in the *Morning Post* lies in the fact that the Joint Select Committee will not by that time have been able to publish its report, and that Mr. Baldwin accordingly cannot consult the Party before the middle or the end of June. How, it is being asked, will Sir Samuel Hoare be in a position to lecture on the Government's policy before the result of that consultation is known? But the point is that the Government have a policy, and they are entitled to expound it, for what it is worth, at a time when it is being attacked by the very people, whom the *Morning Post* so valiantly represents, that are not prepared to await the publication of the Report. As usual, they are asking for a free hand, whilst expecting the Government's spokesmen to fight with tied hands and a gag in their mouths.

Nor, in other ways, has Sir Samuel been inactive. Sir Henry Page-Croft having recently contributed an article to the Press, in which he alleged that the present Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and his predecessor had both declared precisely and energetically against the Federal policy, and that it was a common knowledge that they were expressing the view of the majority of the Princes, Sir Samuel invited him to justify his statements, and in the course of a long reply Sir Henry attempts to do so. In a final return concluding this correspondence, which appears in to-day's Press Sir Samuel appears to have little difficulty in disposing of his adversary, who seems to be very little up-to-date in his knowledge and understanding of these matters.

Our Parliamentary Letter.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

NEW DELHI, April 1.

POSTAGE RATES.

AS was expected the Finance Bill emerged intact from the Opposition attack. The change in the postage rates underwent severe criticism in the form of various amendments, but it was merely a question of moving them to be defeated one after another. Both Mr. Amar Nath Dutt and Mr. Maswood Ahmed, to their credit, persisted in moving all their amendments, in spite of their being slaughtered. Mr. Amar Nath Dutt suggested that it would be better if Government handed over the Postal Department to a private company, which would run it more efficiently with reduced rates, a statement

which was challenged by the Member in Charge, Sir Frank Noyce, by asking whether it would be possible for any commercial concern to continue to pay the salaries and the increments, in spite of such heavy depression. A private company, he asserted, could not do it. Sir Frank Noyce in reply to an amendment promised that he would consider Mr. Maswood Ahmed's proposals for an Advisory Committee, which he (Mr. Ahmed) had suggested would acquaint the Government with the popular view.

INCOME-TAX.

The Opposition fared no better with the amendment of the Income-Tax proposals either. Mr. Amar Nath Dutt and Mr. Maswood Ahmed tried to raise the minimum taxable limit from one thousand to two thousand and fifteen hundred rupees and also suggested variation in the rates of tax, whereby the richer people would be taxed more heavily than those with a smaller income; but to every amendment Sir George Schuster had a ready reply in terms of the loss Government would sustain, if the amendment was carried. It varied from some lakhs of rupees to four and five crores of rupees in some cases, which obviously Government could not forego and opposed them all, with the result that they were unceremoniously rejected. The Opposition claimed division only once to record their strong protest against high taxation.

THIRD READING OF THE FINANCE BILL.

As the Assembly had to finish the third reading of the Finance Bill on Tuesday and as the second reading of the same had finished only just before lunch time on that day, the President had to hold a night session on that day; and the Bill was passed only in the early hours of the morning. Provincial jealousies again reared their head, although the speakers themselves decried such sentiments. Mr. Raju pleaded for protection against dumping of rice from Siam and Indo-China and deplored the action of the Government in taking away the export duty on hides, thus severely handicapping the tanning industry of Madras. He suspected that it was dictated from Whitehall from the questions and replies in the Parliament on the question. Mr. H. P. Mody drew the attention of the Government to the unfair competition Bombay had to face from ports in Kathiawar. He showed from the official figures that imports in those ports had been increasing. He gave some facts and figures and inferred that there was perhaps smuggling going on on a large scale from the marked difference in prices in the States and British India. He hoped that Government would take proper steps to realise the duty and also to see that the States concerned levied the duties strictly. He suggested that time had come for some new adjustments with the respective States in this matter, and Government need not wait till the establishment of the Federation. He hoped that the Viramgam cordon would be tightened and all other customs barriers strengthened. That alone could save Bombay from the menace of this unfair competition from those ports in the States and other places he had mentioned.

Mr. B. Das complained that Government had no plan of their own in the matter of taxation, which was not based on any sound basis. He criticised the action of the Government in floating a sterling loan, when they could get money at cheap rates in the country. Mr. Aggrawal wanted for the Punjab a share of the tax on Khewra salt, following in the footsteps of Bengal, as Government had crippled their only industry of sugar in that province, by the new excise duty. He deprecated the policy of creating new deficit provinces and permanently saddling the Central Government's resources

by promising subventions to those new provinces. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer protested against the way Government had treated the Assembly, by first getting it committed to the excise duty on sugar and then bringing the specific proposal after they had passed the Finance Bill.

Mr. S. C. Mitra once again reverted to the situation in Bengal and asserted that the marching of troops in Midnapore District was nothing short of making the people meekly submit to a policy of repression. He bitterly complained that in the name of suppression of the terrorist movement, they had suppressed all kinds of political activity. Sardar Sant Sing protested against the Communal Award and warned the Government that its application to the Punjab was going to create a very difficult situation in that province, for the Sikhs had been determined to fight it to the last. The Finance Member in winding up the debate announced that Government had decided to institute an inquiry into the position of the port of Bombay, as they did recognise that maintenance of trade and financial stability of Bombay port was a matter of no less importance to them; Government of India had a direct concern with it, and they would do all in their power to ensure conditions of fair and equal competition with other ports. The Bill was then passed.

LOANS TO STATES.

The supplementary demand for Rs. 164 lacs in respects of loans and advances to Indian States evoked a heated debate on the policy of the Government of India in granting these loans, without taking the Assembly first into confidence, and getting its sanction by the indirect way of including them in the supplementary demands for grants, whereon the general policy of the Government is not expected to be discussed. Mr. B. Das asked if the Government of India had satisfied themselves that the loans were going to be spent on productive purposes and whether Government had satisfied themselves of the security against them. Mr. S. C. Mitra objected to the Government being very generous to the States with people's money when the states themselves were not accommodating to British India, in the matter of customs and import duties, as was shown during the Finance Bill. As some members complained that they were debarred from raising the matter of policy on this demand, Sir George Schuster assured the House that he would welcome the discussion on this matter from all points of view. Raja Bahadur Krishnamachari thought it unjust of Government to ask the Assembly's sanction for those loans, when they could not discuss the administration of those states. Mr. James from the European Group also concurred that the Assembly should know why the loans were granted and how they would be repaid. Mr. Joshi feared that as the Princes had stipulated for direct relations with the Crown in the new constitution, they would not be amenable to the authority of the future Government of India and it would be very difficult to recover the loans from those princes. He wanted specific stipulation made, when granting those loans, that the future Government of India would have the right to recover them. There was very severe criticism over the big loans made from time to time to the Bahawalpore State and Sir Geogre Schuster himself had to admit that the whole position in that matter was not very satisfactory. He welcomed the criticism and explained the terms on which the loans had been given to Alwar and Nawanagar States. He admitted that the Bahawalpore loan had to be dealt with in some satisfactory way soon, and he assured the House that it would be given an opportunity to have its say before Government took any final steps. The demand was then voted.

EXCISE DUTY ON SUGAR.

Government's proposals to impose an excise duty on sugar produced in factories has created much furor in the general public as well as in the members of the Assembly, especially those from Upper India. A battle royal is expected on the floor of the Assembly, from the intense propaganda carried out by sugar interests during the whole of the last month. Some members apprehend it as the thin end of the wedge, other excise duties following suit in the near future. Sir George Schuster, moving its reference to the Select Committee on Thursday last, referred to the propaganda by saying that he had been lately showered with protests against the Bill, but that very intensive propaganda had made him all the more determined to fight those sugar interests as he suspected that the whole show was put up to serve their own interests only. He refuted the charges of breach of faith, hardship to the share-holders, and hardship to an infant industry. He asserted that they were giving the industry the protection the Tariff Board had recommended. His budget speech of last year should have given the warning to the industry of the coming change. By giving undue protection, he computed, the country had suffered ten crores in revenue. He added that Government was quite satisfied that even under the new conditions the industry could certainly make handsome profits; if in spite of the protection afforded the industry could not succeed, it did not deserve to do so. After the Finance Member's speech Mr. Maswood Ahmed moved that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion. The debate was then adjourned till Monday when discussion will be resumed.

Reviews.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE. By J. S. HOYLAND. (Builders of Modern India Series.) (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1933. 20cm. 200p. Re. 1-8.

THIS series has been enriched by this latest addition to it. The author is indebted to the books already written about the last, if not the least, in the long line of the pioneer nation-builders of India; and there is no incident or anecdote of any importance described in them but is mentioned in this neat handy volume. The book is more a compendium than an original work of biography. It lacks the anecdotal vein of D. E. Wacha's reminiscences or the touches of personal devotion to and intimate relationship with the master noticeable in Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's booklet, and the fullness of detail and the historian's appraisal running through Shahani's monograph. Yet the author who has dedicated the book to his student friends has succeeded in his task of portraying the personality of Gokhale so as to stir up the instincts of emulation and hero-worship, and making the young reader realise that Gokhale was a past master in "the art of the possible," "a constructive statesman of the first rank, a Unifier and Reconciler of East and West, and, above all, an idealist, a fore-seer, a prophet of a new era of inter-racial goodwill and co-operation." Feeling the summarisation of Gokhale's speeches and policies a barren waste of effort, and being captivated by the spell of the great patriot's admirable command of language, diction and style, and restrained eloquence, he could not resist the temptation of making Gokhale, as far as possible, speak for himself, and interspersing his narrative with quotations from a number of speeches, each quotation being followed by a short note emph-

asising the nature and importance of the source. The speeches selected are illustrative of the basic aims and fundamental principles Gokhale stood for and emphasised, and will also help one to "understand the problem of the relationships between England and India, or of the vast enterprise of naturalising Western methods of government in the East." Gokhale's method of working has been truly indicated to "involve a two-fold movement, proceeding simultaneously—that of the extension of enlightenment and the development of character on the one hand, and that of constitutional advance on the other." Gokhale, it is well-known, never abated his insistence upon these twin principles, principles which, thanks to the inheritors of his ideals and policies, hold the field in Indian National Liberalism even today: advance must be constitutional advance, deserved through the spread of enlightenment and education; and the British connection is essential to the well-being of India.

The author has many happy aphorisms about Gokhale; but one cannot wholly agree with him that "he himself was, in truth, the most striking of all proofs of the fact that in the main the British system has been successful. Methods of education, of local and national government, and of Imperial relationship which in the end produced this great man have no doubt borne their fruit in him, and in the spirit which he embodied." But our great men have been, not only because of, but also in spite of, the system under which they lived and struggled, and of which they refused to be slaves. What Burke said in a passage of lofty dignity suits admirably well the career of Gokhale:

"*Nitor in adversum* is the motto for a man like me. I possessed not one of the qualities, nor cultivated one of the arts that recommend men to the favour and protection of the great. I was not made for a minion or a tool. As little did I follow the trade of winning the hearts, by imposing on the understandings of men. At every step of my progress in life, for in every step was I traversed and opposed, and at every turnpike I met, I was obliged to show my passport, and again and again to prove my sole title to the honour of being useful to my country, by a proof that I was not wholly unacquainted with its laws and the whole system of its interests both abroad and at home; otherwise no rank, no toleration even for me."

In short, Gokhale was obliged to mould, and vigorously uphold, his policy, in the face of disconcerting conditions created by either the apathetic easy-going majority of our countrymen, or by the wild anarchic extremist or the obstinately unsympathetic bureaucrat of India or the sullenly hostile Greater Britain. Though much that was old has changed, and much that is new has taken place, the conviction is strongly growing in the minds of many that our Motherland has today to work out her salvation on the creed formulated by Gokhale at the inception of the then Moderate or the present Liberal school of politics, and in the spirit of its maker. That seems to be the message or purport of the book, that "this great man should come into his own, and be appreciated at his true worth, as amongst the greatest of all the builders of Modern India."

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA. BY S. G. PANANDIKAR. (Longmans.) 1933. 22cm. pp.299. Rs. 5.

OF the three books on this subject published after the issue of the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India which the present reviewer has been privileged to see, there can be no doubt that Prof.

Panandikar's is certainly the clearest and the most comprehensive. Dewan Chaman Lall in his "Cooly" presents to us a series of vignettes sketched by a hand which was obviously tremulous with indignation at the sufferings of India's working-class population, and Margaret Read's "The Indian Peasant Uprooted" seeks to explain, in terms of human happiness or the reverse, the conditions and circumstances on which the "official" Whitley Report was based. The present volume provides a third variation on the same theme, the difference being that here the threnody of indignant passion, subdued or exuberant, is replaced by the cool judgment of the academic grove. His main conclusions are that the main obstacle to the industrial progress of the country is the absence of an efficient and contented labour force, that this can be overcome fairly soon by the adoption of certain remedial measures, and that there is a growing appreciation in the land of the necessity for reforming our industrial system along these lines.

In order to reach these conclusions, Professor Panandikar has examined almost every aspect of Indian labour; and his 16 chapters provide a varied and extensive bill of fare containing such items as conditions of work in factories, mines, plantations and transport, labour legislation, the trade union movement, industrial relations, wages, health, housing, etc. There may be nothing new or original in what he says; but this does not detract from the value of the volume which gives an objective and unbiased presentation of the facts of the case, carefully compiled from reliable official and non-official sources, and here and there supplemented by the author's personal investigations. For this reason it is to be hoped that the book will be used extensively by university students all over the country, and that our legislators and social reformers will also accord it a hearty welcome.

The principal interest of the volume is the stress it lays upon the fact that the welfare of the workers and that of the nation are closely interdependent. In these days when the cry for higher tariffs has become so popular as to divert public attention from the internal defects of our industries, it will perhaps take some considerable time before the country will choose to examine the alternative methods for improving our industries suggested by Professor Panandikar. It may well be that present conditions in India necessitate the adoption of a policy of discriminating protection. But, if, as Mr. Mody pointed out in the Legislative Assembly the other day, the consumers have no right to expect to get goods below the cost of production, the community as a whole has no right to get labour for wages which are obviously below the minimum required for maintaining a reasonable standard of living. Mr. Joshi has been trying to voice these demands for social justice for a long time, but it is not clear whether the industrialists of the country have yet been persuaded of the essential justice of this claim. The case for improving the conditions of the worker and ensuring him a reasonable standard of life is even stronger in those industries for the maintenance of which the consumers are being taxed, and it would be an excellent beginning if, whenever protection is granted, a proviso is added to the effect that the conditions of the workers in the protected industries should be steadily improved, so that a part of the protection might extend to them also.

The example of Japan is always being flung at the Indian workers as if the comparative inefficiency of the Indian worker arises out of sheer "oustedness". But wages in Japan are considerably higher than in India, and that country has organised welfare systems, administered through governmental as well as through non-official agencies, which have no

counterpart in India. The connection between this and the superior efficiency of the Japanese worker seems to be generally overlooked by our industrialists; they have hitherto failed to realise that an industry in the long run can be protected and developed only by its own efficiency and not by such a temporary expedient as the erection of a tariff wall. Professor Panandikar quotes with approval the opinion of the Whitley Commission that there are evident signs of the awakening of the general conscience of this country as regards its responsibilities towards labour. The Government of India have certainly been active in implementing the recommendations of the Whitley Commission, and in some cases bettering upon them, but it is not so easy to assert that the social conscience of the country as a whole has been aroused or that it has yet felt the necessity for protecting the interests of the vast millions of our actual and potential wealth-producers.

A few minor mistakes have crept into the volume. Thus, Mr. Whitley has been re-christened the Mr. Whitely; and the Government of India are even now assumed to maintain a Labour Bureau. But these are small errors which could be eliminated in a subsequent edition.

P. P. PILLAI.

TEACHINGS OF SIVANARAYAN.

INDIAN SPIRITUALITY. THE TRAVELS AND TEACHINGS OF SIVANARAYAN. By MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI. (Dent.) 1933. 20cm. 253p. 5/-.

MR. MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI'S name is well known in spiritual and religious circles both in India and England. He has written several books on Indian religion and philosophy. The book under review records the travels and teachings of an almost illiterate wandering Brahmin ascetic. His life and character exhibit in an interesting and lucid manner development of spiritual traditions and their relation to existing institutions, religious, moral, social and political.

Sivanarayan has travelled far and wide throughout the country, visiting all sorts and conditions of men, high and low, prince and peasant. Wherever he went he carried his own message of inward spiritual enlightenment as opposed to dead creeds, formulæ and inhuman practices masquerading in the garb of religion.

He disillusioned many so-called devout people and struck at the very root of hypocritical pretensions. Thus he tried to sow the seed of true spiritual insight. The thoughts of this wandering ascetic are not borrowed from traditional scriptures or learned people of the time, but they are the genuine expressions of feelings of one living in the light of truth and love of his fellowmen.

About the merit and general utility of the book Mr. Herbert E. Palmer says that it introduces the western readers to a varied world little understood by western people. Further he says, "the book appears to be not only a sort of well-spring of the spiritual but also a crowded birds'-eye-view of India. The mass of the people of India dwell in darkness; nevertheless we have to realize that in the same country live many men like Sivanarayan."

Sivanarayan has left behind him striking and inspiring teachings on social, political and spiritual topics. In one place he says, "social order, inclusive of the political, must be based upon faith in God as the creator and moral Governor of the Universe. As

the creator of all. He is equally related to all. As the moral Governor of all, He wills equally the well-being of all."

Having completed his spiritual mission, he peacefully died amidst mean surroundings. It may be truly said of him that the treasures of his soul transcended price.

The book is written in simple and chaste English. There are no technical philosophical terms in it. Unfamiliar Sanskrit words, which are not known by westerners, have been carefully translated into English and appended as a glossary at the end of the book.

We heartily recommend this delightful book to all lovers of ancient Indian culture.

M. H. S.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE SECOND TIGRESS. By GANPAT. (Hodder & Staughton.) 1933. 22cm. 7/6.

IN this as generally in all novels of Oriental interest, Asia remains the home of villainy, the homeless Eurasian for a change sharing the dishonour. It is some imaginary Asiatic who is made to inspire loathing by sounding the basest depths of criminality and unscrupulousness, the imagination being supplied by the European creative artist. Strange indeed are the ways of novelists who breed mischief through literature.

A fair sexed fiend sits jealously guarding a gold mine in Burma (which she works by slave labour) biding her time to wreak vengeance on Europeans and the immediate opposing of the British adventurers who made a toy of her for a time and then cast her aside in disdain. Wounded in love, it was more than a saint could bear with fortitude. Pitted against her and all her folk who, according to Ganpat and the brood of like novelists, possess "a devilish streak of savagery" are "western barbarians" of his own description, "the pirate breed who fly to gold like needles to a magnet," and a half caste Reilly with all "the hate that accompanied mixed blood, conscious of being distrusted by both sides." It is Hecate herself on one side with a score to pay and the ill-assorted children of Mammon on the other, the former on the defensive and the latter anxious to "dispose of the savages... essential to progress to open up the country where it is a paying proposition." As the battle of dangerous instincts is in progress, the Mother of Tigers who is the Mistress of the Horse Shoe mountain and its gold, meets her match in Rita Langrishe who aided by Reilly plays her own game at cross purposes with a firm of gold-hungry men from England. Rita is stern enough "to dot him two and send for the undertaker," as the Mother of Tigers revels in inflicting slow death upon her victims. The Mother of Tigers "had studied and watched the West which she had come to hate because of Hector Armitage; she had studied the East that slept and seen it turn uneasily in its sleep... the West was definitely bent on suicide; the East was waking and presently she would guide the storm, not for love of the East, nine-tenths of which she despised for its invertebrateness, its futility but because of the revenge she desired."

Likewise Rita Langrishe and, more so her English friends to whom she becomes reconciled, go to form those who found England first and since it wasn't big enough for us all, we went out and found an Empire and a trade to keep a population of forty

odd million instead of the fourteen Britain alone could feed. Funny how pacifists' minds work. Under a blaze of thrilling adventures and romance, the issue is at last brought to a close in a manner favourable to Rita and her party by the mutually inflicted deaths of the Mother of Tigers and Reilly. As a fitting finale, the wedding bells ring ushering "a woman's proper kingdom."

The story interest and the fantastic pseudonym of the author notwithstanding, novels such as this help "to make a damned tragic mess of the funny old world."

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

MODERN RUSSIA, THE LAND OF PLANNING.

By LOUIS SEGAL. (Industrial Credit & Services Ltd., London.) 1933. 20cm. 169p. 5/-.

NUMEROUS books are now being published about Russia, partly because of the world's curiosity at the novelty of her government and her machinery and partly because the whole world is concentrating its eye upon the success or failure of her plans to become independent of the capitalist countries. This book is one among them and deals only—as the title ("Land of Planning") suggests—about the industrial and economic developments of the country. It is noteworthy that in this book there is no reference to either politics or the machinery of the Government of Russia. In short it is only a survey of Russia's industrial and economic progress in a statistical form.

This book details, in a series of short chapters, the progress attained by the Soviet Government in all departments of industry, agriculture and public health. The author, before describing them very aptly says of the Plan, that Russia endeavoured to jump at one step as it were from the 18th to the 21st century, "at a single bound." The Russian method of rearing children in "Townlets" is a model to be copied by the other nations as well. Special prominence is given in this book to the position of labour and trade unions. The concluding chapter on the 'Lessons of Planning' emphasises that the Plan has proved to the rest of the world neither abortive nor a day dream, but one for industrial progress of the country to a remarkable degree and has solved the problem of unemployment in this era of world-wide economic depression and unemployment, and the position of Russia as a progressing nation is almost assured.

S. VENKATESAN.

TOWN TO COUNTRY. By G. C. HESELTINE.

(Burns, Oats & Washbourne, London.) 1933. 20cm. 72p. 1/6.

THE economic depression is turning the attention of men to fundamental problems of life and production, and directs many to peaceful rural life and to agriculture. The townsman cannot easily become a rural man and an agriculturist. He will have to prepare himself for this new life, by equipping himself with knowledge of farming, rural life and capital. It is no easy matter to decide on a farm, a cottage and a place. But for one who is earnestly intent on it, there are no serious obstacles. A useful bibliography and an appendix are also appended.

N. S. S.