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Topics of the Week.

Assamese Opinion on J. P. C. Report.

THE Assam Political Conference held last week and presided over by Mr. B. C. Goswami is the latest to join in the universal chorus of condemnation of the Joint Select Committee's report. It has branded the report as "unacceptable" and characterised it as "highly disappointing and unsatisfactory", due to the fact that it falls "far short of the united demands and aspirations of the people of India."

IN taking this view of the report, the Conference followed the lead given to it by its president in his inaugural address. Both he and the Chairman of the Reception Committee agreed in regarding the report as being even more reactionary than the White Paper. It had sometimes been said in defence of the J. P. C. report that though the proposed constitutional scheme was replete with safeguards and restrictions of all sorts it was really designed to lead India eventually to the goal of Dominion Status. Mr. Goswami is very far from sharing this view. On the contrary he thinks that the numerous additions to safeguards and special responsibilities which the Committee had made tend to make such measure of responsibility as is offered wholly illusory. To him as to most Indians it is inconceivable that the operation of

the proposed constitution can ever culminate in India being raised to the status of a self-governing dominion.

FOR his part Mr. Goswami would have preferred a federation of the British Indian provinces as a preliminary to the wider one with the Indian States. He would be in no hurry to promote a federation of British India with the States till the latter had unanimously agreed to join it and till their subjects were allowed a voice in the management of their affairs apparently such as is allowed to the people in the neighbouring British Indian provinces. In giving expression to these views, Mr. Goswami, we doubt not, was voicing a large volume of Indian opinion which would not shed a tear if the present federal plan is altogether dropped.

Firing at Ajra.

HAPPENINGS of a tragic character occurred last week at Ajra in Ichalkaranji Jahagir, a feudatory of Kolhapur State. It would appear from press reports that there was some dispute between the Jahagir authorities and the local Muslims over some sandal trees which the latter seem to have unauthorisedly planted in their cemetery. The mamlatdar of Ajra visited the place for the purpose, it is said, of preparing a report as to the circumstances in which the plantation came to be made; but his visit was misunderstood by the Muslims as being undertaken with the purpose of uprooting the trees. It seems the Jahagir officials also wanted to arrest the offending Muslims; but their attempts to catch hold of them were violently resisted by the mob which seems to have numbered about 150, nearly half the Muslim population of Ajra.

IT was in these circumstances that firing was resorted to only as a last resort and after due warning had been given. Even so, the heavy casualties, nine dead and about thirty wounded, point to the conclusion of its not having been properly controlled, if indeed it was not excessive. Whatever that be, the public demand for an independent inquiry into those deplorable happenings appears to be irresistible. The rule that every case of firing should be followed by an independent inquiry which is generally observed in British India is a wholesome one and deserves application even to Indian States. Our experience of inquiries in regard to the recent cases of firing in

Kapurthala and Rampur point to the determination of the Paramount Power not only to enforce this rule in the case of Indian States and to set up such inquiries on foot without avoidable delay but to see that the deliberations of such committees come to as speedy an end as possible. We trust the public will not be long kept in suspense about the personnel of the committee to inquire into the happenings at Ajra.

Common Roll in Kenya.

AS is well known, the Indian community in Kenya is opposed on principle to the institution of a separate register of Indian voters. So deep-seated is its aversion to the communal roll that for some time it preferred to remain unrepresented in the local legislature rather than avail itself of such hateful electoral arrangements. Having however realised the harm which such non-co-operation wrought to Indian interests, it decided last year to enter the Kenya legislature even under the existing regime, highly unsatisfactory as it doubtless is. This change in its attitude does by no means presage the abandonment by it of its fight for a common roll. Far from it. Its attachment to the ideal of the common roll is firm and unshakeable. How strongly it feels on the point will be clear from the observations of Mr. Pandya in his presidential address to the thirteenth session of the East Africa Indian National Congress held at Mombasa during Christmas last. Said he :

We have suffered greatly and have offered large sacrifices for the sake of our ideal and although we have not been successful, from the point of view of the Indian community, I think no sacrifice is too great to achieve this ideal, because it is our honest and sincere belief that the only solution of many of our political difficulties and many of the evils from which this our adopted country is suffering lies in the practical application of the ideal of common roll and common citizenship carrying with it the sense of common responsibility for the progressive development and prosperity of the country which is as much our home as that of our other fellow-colonists.

European Demand for responsible government.

THE European Colonists in Kenya have, it may be recalled, latterly revived their old agitation for the grant of responsible government to Kenya. If the agitation was meant to benefit the whole population of the Colony, nobody would have any right to cavil at it. But the responsible government the Kenya Europeans are striving for is meant only for their own benefit. Of this no more convincing proof is needed than is furnished by the proceedings of their unofficial conference held last July when not only this demand but one for the vesting of the financial control of the Colony in the hands of Europeans was strongly put forward. These preposterous demands are naturally opposed with equal, if not greater, strength of feeling by the Indian community which rightly takes its stand on the declaration of policy made by the Imperial Government in 1930. In the Kenya White Paper issued by them in that year it was definitely laid down that, "The goal of the constitutional evolution in Kenya, as elsewhere, is admittedly responsible Government by a ministry representing an electorate in which every section of the population of Kenya finds accurate and effective voice and that the establishment of a common roll with an equal franchise of civilisation or education character is the object to be aimed at and attained." It is however not this sort of responsible government that the Europeans want. What they have set their heart upon is a system of government which will make the non-official Europeans the virtual rulers of Kenya and

place them in a position to continue their exploitation of the Colony without any serious challenge from any quarter. It is to be fervently hoped that the Imperial Government will possess the strength to resist such a selfish move on their part.

—And Financial Control.

AS for the other demand of the Europeans viz. for the financial control of the Colony being vested in themselves, Indian sentiment in Kenya is found forcibly expressed in the following resolution passed by the Congress. The resolution says :

(a) The Indian Community firmly believes that no section of the Non-European communities of Kenya has confidence in the financial ability, experience and wisdom displayed by the European Elected Members in the past and that the general policy pursued as a result of the influence exercised by them over the finances of the country heretofore is largely responsible for the present financial crisis and the deliberate programme of one-sided Colonial development to the neglect of the interests of the other sections of the population.

(b) While holding that financial control by an Unofficial Majority in the Legislative Council constituted in a manner which would adequately and effectively represent and safeguard the interests of all tax-payers is a sound principle, this Congress views with alarm and perturbation the type of control demanded by the European members which, in the opinion of this Congress, will be disastrous to the interests of the non-European tax-payers.

This Congress is, therefore, strongly opposed to any change in the present financial control by the unofficial majority until the Common Roll is established and the Legislative Council is so constituted as to fully represent interests of all inhabitants of the Colony.

Compulsory Voting.

WITH a continuous lowering of the franchise, the complaint is very often heard that elections, whether to local bodies or to legislatures, are becoming prohibitively costly save to those backed up by the powerful support of a popular organisation like the Congress. If success at elections is to depend largely upon wealth, the outlook must indeed be said to be gloomy. For in such a state of things it would not be the most public-spirited or even the most qualified but those commanding the means to win elections, with whom our local and legislative bodies would be filled. It is no wonder if at the hands of such representatives public weal does not always receive primary consideration. In the case of some who have undergone considerable expense for their election, there is also the danger of their falling a prey to the temptation of recompensing themselves, while in office, by dishonourable means.

THE remedy has been suggested by the Conference of office-bearers of local bodies in C. P. and Berar recently held at Raipur under the presidency of Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar. It is to make it statutorily obligatory on the voter to exercise his right to vote. It is difficult to say how far the remedy is practicable in our existing conditions. But if it could be enforced it should result in bringing election within the power of persons of moderate means by effecting a considerable reduction in election expenses. For when the voters are legally bound to go to the poll candidates may ordinarily be expected not to put themselves to the expense of arranging conveyances for them. Though this is now legally prohibited it does, as is a matter of common knowledge, form quite a large item in a candidate's election expenses.

When non-attendance at the polling booth would be an offence in the eye of the law, it is reasonable to suppose that the general tendency among candidates would be to incur no expense on the voters' conveyance. An over-zealous candidate might even then be found to be taking his voters to the polling booth in his own or his friends' cars which is now allowed. But he would be an exception rather than the rule. From the point of view of eliminating even such exceptional cases would it not be better not to stop short at merely throwing the legal obligation to vote on the voter but to accompany it by an express prohibition to make use of other people's conveyances for the purpose? Exceptions to cover really hard cases of old and decrepit voters or of a conveyance-owner giving his voter friend a lift to the polling booth will have to be carefully provided for.

Akalkot in 1933-34.

IN response to our request for a copy of the administration report of the Akalkot State, we have been favoured with a type-written summary. It may be admitted at once that this is better than the utter absence of any response with which such requests are sometimes met by the authorities of Indian States. But may we enquire if the State administration report is never printed? The obligations the State owes to the Political Department are probably met by the submission to it of the report in type-written form but does not the State feel that it owes a duty to the public in the State and outside? How can it interest the general public in the working of the administration except by making the annual report freely available to it? We hope that in these democratic days a few rupees spent upon the printing of a sufficient number of copies of the administration report will not be regarded as waste of money by the State authorities.

COMING to the events during 1933-34, the year was darkened by the tragic death of the minor ruler's wife shortly after his wedding which evoked universal sympathy with the young ruler. The State receipts amounted to nearly Rs. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs and the expenses to about Rs. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, leaving a surplus of about one lakh. Nearly one half of the reserve balance of Rs. 5 lakhs was spent on new water works, while the other half represented the marriage expenses of the ruler. We should have liked to find out what proportion the palace expenses bear to the State income but this is rendered impossible by the summarised report which fails to give details either of the receipts or the expenses side.

EDUCATION in the State seems to require much more careful and sympathetic attention than it has received so far. The number of educational institutions increased by one to 51. The number of students nevertheless showed a diminution to the tune of nearly 300, which is regrettable. If 15 per cent. is to be taken as the school-age population, the number at present under instruction represents, roughly speaking, no more than 25 per cent of the population to be eventually brought to school. May it be hoped that the young ruler who is being trained for his high station in life will, when he assumes the reins of power, chalk out a programme for the universalisation of literacy extended over a stated number of years, say 10?

ANOTHER matter to which also he may usefully devote his attention is the development of represen-

tative institutions with a view to the introduction of responsible government within a measurable distance of time. As it is, there is only one municipality in the State with a preponderance of the non-official element. How much of this is elective is not clear from the summary of the report supplied to us. Whatever that be, we would suggest that as many more of such local bodies be brought into being as possible with a legislative council enjoying powers similar to those conferred on the provincial legislatures in British India. An announcement on some such lines on the occasion of the approaching accession of the ruler to the Gadi will go far to reassure his subjects that the new regime will mean something more than a mere change of hands for them.

New Bombay Industries.

IT is encouraging to learn from the report for 1933-34 of the Bombay Industries Department that, despite the economic depression, the year witnessed the birth of several new factories. Prominent among these may be mentioned a factory started in Bombay for the manufacture of razor blades. In view of the generally unsatisfactory nature of the imported blades the new factory should find a good market for its wares provided the blades give better results than their foreign counterparts.

A NEW canvas shoe factory was added to the two already existing. The factory is said to be well-equipped and can turn out a maximum of 5000 pairs of rubber-soled canvas shoes per day. A factory for the manufacture of metal screws and nuts which uses imported bars has also come into being and the finish of its products seems to have come up to the expectations of the Department. The Cooper Engineering Works of Satara, though in existence for a good many years, commenced last year the manufacture of small crude oil engines. This is the only factory in the presidency which makes oil engines—a fact which should ensure for its products ready sale at the hands of swadeshi enthusiasts having opportunities of purchasing oil engines. The design, workmanship and working of the engines are described as being of "a high order," which is an additional recommendation in their favour. Another class of manufacture which should prove profitable is that of clocks and time-pieces, for which purpose two factories already existed and a new one was added last year.

WHILE it is true that the birth of the new factories can in no way be directly traced to the activities of the Department it can hardly be open to question that it was indirectly facilitated by it. Besides giving technical advice to promoters of new industrial enterprises and helping them with the preparation of financial estimates, the Department pursued its usual activities of giving demonstrations in hand-weaving, wool-weaving, dyeing, cottonizing, etc. The Government Hand-Weaving Institute had 30 students on its rolls, all of whom passed in the annual examination held in April 1933. Departmental activities covered investigations, with a view to finding out the possibilities of cottage industries, those undertaken last year relating to oil seeds, hemp and bone manure. We miss in the report any mention of the grant of State aid to industries; but this was never a strong point of the Bombay Industries Department. And the omission cannot be accidental but must be looked upon as an indication of the fact that none was actually given.

THE SUPPLEMENT TO OTTAWA.

THE latest Indo-British trade agreement has been interpreted by the political correspondents of a section of the Press merely as reflecting the great anxiety felt by British commercial interests regarding the future of Indo-British trade relations. And it does seem strange, at least superficially, that so much store should have been laid by an agreement which seemingly does little more than perhaps underline some parts of the Ottawa agreement. The supplementary agreement naturally terminates with the main agreement and cannot hence be interpreted as prolonging the period for which British Preference is to last. It also does not provide for any new important concession. In the first two articles the British Government agrees on the one hand to recognise that interests of India's economic well-being may make protection to Indian industry necessary and also that revenue considerations may lead to a high tariff wall. The Indian Government, on the other, agrees to recognise "that conditions within the industries in India, in the United Kingdom and the foreign countries may be such that the Indian industry requires a higher level of protection against foreign goods than against the imports of United Kingdom origin." Merely agreeing to visualise the possibility of such circumstances existing would have been, if at all, a purely academic concession. The Government of India, however, in the third article goes on to undertake steady adherence to the policy of discriminating protection and having regard to this policy further agrees "that wherever possible lower rates of duty will be imposed on goods of United Kingdom origin." Now there is perhaps nothing that is startling in this provision. Yet we wonder why the Government of any country should in an agreement with that of another bind itself to follow only a particular policy regarding the grant of protection to the home industries. The provision of a Tariff Board Enquiry and the facility afforded to U. K. industrialists to appear in such an enquiry have parallels in the agreements with some of the Dominions. But nowhere in these agreements have the Dominion governments, we believe, bound themselves to a definitive policy as the mention in Article 3 of the new agreement of the resolution of the Legislative Assembly of February 16, 1923 involves. We may ourselves favour discriminating protection wholeheartedly; but knowing the strength of feeling on this question in the country and the difference of opinion even amongst the members of the Fiscal Commission, we feel that the Government of India was not justified in agreeing to this wording of Article 3.

We also apprehend the interpretation that may be put on the concession that "wherever possible" lower rates of duty will be imposed on U. K. products. For, this may be possible everywhere, depending entirely how you estimate the possibilities. If, as throughout the agreement, it is only the Indian industrialist who is visualised as being affected by protective measures and having a concern with

tariff walls, then a margin of preference can always be provided for, for the U. K. industrialist. The rate of duty against U. K. goods being fixed at the rate at which the prices of imported goods will be equated with the fair selling prices of similar goods produced in India, you can always impose an additional burden on non-British imports. This can certainly be done as long as the prices of imported British goods are not substantially lower than those of non-British goods of the same quality, a condition which is almost universally satisfied to-day. But this involves, as we have always insisted, an entire disregard of the interests of the consumer. The result of the Ottawa agreement has been the imposition of a burden on the consumer not called for by the interests of Indian industry and we are afraid that this burden on the consumer will never be taken account of in gauging the possibilities of according preference to U. K. manufacturers under the supplementary agreement.

Article 3 further goes to specify that differential margins established between the United Kingdom and other countries' goods shall not be altered to the detriment of United Kingdom goods, the only exception allowed to this being an overriding surcharge for revenue purposes. Thus whatever the altered circumstances, once a certain degree of preference is established in favour of U. K. goods it must ever be maintained. While thus even the degree of discrimination once granted to U. K. cannot be changed, Article 4 gives the right to the British Government to demand an enquiry under changed conditions of the appropriateness of existing duties according to the principle of discriminating protection. The text of the agreement leaves definitely this impression that while it contemplates that under changed circumstances a tariff more favourable to U. K. producers may come into operation, no single concession now existing or to be obtained in the future by them could, whatever the justifications for such a step, be ever reduced. Thus though it may look at first glance as if this supplementary agreement did nothing but emphasize or underline the principles at the basis of the Ottawa agreement, it really amounts on the part of the Government of India to definite commitments to important principles of policy in most wide and generalised forms. We cannot see in anything that the Government of India has been able to obtain in return or in any of the experiences of India or other countries of the Empire under Ottawa any justification for such an important step.

We may under the circumstances be justified if we read a somewhat sinister political move behind this agreement. The character of the safeguards that the British commercial interests have been able to obtain in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report are well-known. It is perhaps expected that by the time that the Ottawa agreement is due to expire the régime of these new safeguards will begin. The definite commitment made in the supplementary

agreement would then be meant to guarantee that the newly elected Legislative Assembly should not upset the structure of Ottawa or take any decisions in the realm of protectionist or preferential policy which would even temporarily embarrass British interests.

The agreement is thus perhaps meant to cut the ground from under the feet of the new Assembly. But possibly there lies even a deeper design behind. Under the proposed safeguards of the new constitution it lies in the power of the Governor-General to prevent anything done which unduly discriminates against British interests. The phrase is necessarily vague and Ottawa and the new agreement give definite meaning to it. If the present Indian Government is supposed, because of the great benefits conferred on Indian producers of raw materials by the agreement, to willingly make certain concessions to United Kingdom it is

obvious that any move which disturbs these established principles later on could be interpreted as being unduly discriminating against that country. The construction may look far-fetched; but the proved foresightedness of the ever-awake British industrialists leads us to believe that it alone can explain their anxiety over this agreement. The agreement is primarily meant to commit us for ever to certain definite principles of policy. That is the reason of its generalised character and seeming harmlessness. In our eyes that is really what ought to make it universally condemned. A particular concession for a short period may inflict temporary loss; but a commitment of policy of this nature, especially in view of what is in store for us under the new constitution under the guise of safeguards, can only be regarded as suicidal.

LAND MORTGAGE BANKS IN BOMBAY.

THE Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to consider the question of development of land mortgage banking with a view to relieve agricultural indebtedness has just been published. In view of the fact that the Committee was appointed to examine a very pressing problem, conditions for the solution of which are most ripe just now, it is a pity that as much as a year and a quarter should have been spent in deliberation alone. It is to be hoped that Government will not spend unnecessary time over further cogitation of the unanimous recommendations made by the Committee. If the proposed mortgage banks are to be successful they should be started as early as possible, even without waiting for the new financial year to commence.

The genesis of the question which the Committee was appointed to examine is well-known. Owing to the mixing up of short term with long term lending, and especially owing to the precipitate movement of prices during the last few years it was found impossible in most parts of the Presidency to recover the outstanding dues from members of co-operative societies. It was seen that the fluctuations of business and the long-term use of loans could not be taken account of by the ordinary co-operative societies which borrow short, and hence must confine their lending to equally short periods. The co-operative Round Table Conference which met in Poona in June 1933 referred the question of starting Land Mortgage Banks, to take over the long term obligations of agriculturists, to a committee presided over by Mr. Punjabe, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and consisting of other experienced co-operators and bankers.

The Committee unanimously recommend that it is not only feasible but eminently desirable to extend the system of Land Mortgage Banking. The outlines of their scheme are obviously determined after a good deal of careful thought and as far as any organisation can be proof against financial failure their suggestions might claim to be so. In fact the most

striking feature of their scheme is the large number of precautions taken to avert the possibility of financial embarrassment for the new banks. It is proposed that a separate Central Land Mortgage Bank should be started for the Presidency. The shares of this bank might be taken up either by individuals or by co-operative banks. The Central Bank will, as and when necessary, issue debentures which will be guaranteed by Government. The Bank itself will not make loans except through primary Land Mortgage Banks and the loans shall not usually be for a longer period than twenty years nor as a rule for a higher amount than Rs. 10,000. The profits of the bank shall not exceed 6¼% and shall not be distributed until half the amount is carried to a reserve fund.

Special importance is attached to assessment of credit-worthiness which depends in a large measure on the valuation of assets. With a view to making this process as efficient and independent as possible it is recommended that the services of competent valuation officers should be made available by Government free of charge, at least for the first three years. It is further laid down that at least twice the amount of the loan should be taken as mortgage security. Periodical revaluation, once in three years at least, and the demand of further security if necessary are also provided. The list of purposes for which loans are to be made includes the following: redemption of land, improvement of land or cultivation, purchase of costly plant or machinery, liquidation of old debts and purchase of new lands for the purpose of consolidation or improvement. In cases of misapplication of loans they are liable to be recalled. It is further proposed that the land held in mortgage should be liable to be sold without the intervention of Courts, in cases of default.

No loans are to be sanctioned except by the Central Bank. It is expected that in view of Government guarantee and the generally sound nature of the proposed organisation the rates at which the Central Mortgage Bank will be able to raise debenture capital will not be high, particularly at the present time.

With a view further to reduce the effective rates at which even in the initial stages the borrowers will get their loans it is recommended that Government should make an annual contribution of Rs. 10,000 towards the expenses of the Bank. With the cheap and long dated loans that the new banks will bring to the landowners it is expected that the better sort among them will be securely stabilised. Especially the good offices of the Mortgage Banks in securing a substantial reduction of the cash obligations of landowners by compounding with present creditors are expected to achieve a substantial relief of agricultural indebtedness, which was the principal purpose of the appointment of the Committee.

It must be admitted that so far as they go, the recommendations of the Committee are well designed and sound. Government should lose no time in giving effect to them. The accommodating mood of the present creditors and the exceptionally low rates of interest are factors which will deteriorate with the passage of time, as prices and general business conditions begin to look up. In this respect the success of the proposed banks would have been more assured if the prospect of direct Government initiative and assistance in the matter of debt conciliation had been real. This is a matter which did not fall within the immediate field of the Committee's recommendations but the Government itself before it takes action will be well advised in taking some steps in this direction. Another feature of the proposed scheme which calls for some comment is the provision of the future current and short term credit needs of the members of the mortgage banks. Membership of Land Mortgage Banks is clearly incompatible with membership of another credit association based on unlimited liability. Will the personal credit of the borrower be enough to secure for him easy and adequate credit for short term purposes? If not is there not reason to fear that the difficulties in this field might accumulate so fast as to embarrass the agriculturist? Cannot the land mortgage banks themselves provide for a department in which short term credit might be dealt with?

At their best the proposed Land Mortgage Banks will be able to assist only a fraction of the agricultural population. Those who are most in need of assistance will not be able to satisfy the stringent conditions rightly laid down for the operations of the mortgage banks. A more positive and direct assistance at the hands of the state is called for in these less fortunate cases. The Committee has not exaggerated the situation when they observe that in case the present opportunity is missed "the pressure of debts may grow to such an alarming extent that it may lead to agrarian discontent and may shake the foundations of rural economy." This caution applies to that part of the rural population that is beyond the pale of likely membership of the Land Mortgage Banks even more intimately than to the more favoured sections of agriculturists. The initiation of the new institutions, instead of being an isolated measure, ought to be undertaken as part of a comprehensive policy of rural rehabilitation and agrarian reform.

MR. WHITTY'S SORRY PERFORMANCE.

HAVING been foiled in their attempts to beat up non-official support for the report of the Joint Select Committee, the Government are apparently thrown back on the resourcefulness of their own officials to act as its propagandists. In some provinces, e.g. in Madras, explicit instructions to this effect are reported to have gone out from the headquarters. It is by no means an easy task which the Government have set to their subordinates, the defence of the indefensible. Last week's oration of Mr. Whitty, acting Governor of Bihar and Orissa, is a case in point. The burden of his song was an appeal to the people of this country not to reject the scheme out of hand but to work it with a view to making it yield the best possible results.

Why? Because, he said, if India were to non-co-operate with the new constitution, it will only stir up ill will. It is too early yet to say whether any political party will go the length of boycotting the legislatures in order to mark its sense of keen disapproval of the proposed constitution. That apart, the point to be noted is that Mr. Whitty is keen upon the avoidance of ill will. His object, laudable as it unquestionably is, would however be more effectively served if he pleaded with his own countrymen holding the springs of power in England in favour of the grant to India of a more generously conceived constitutional scheme. It is really the offer of a niggardly measure of reform based on the distrust and suspicion of Indians that has created all the wide-spread dissatisfaction and discontent which Mr. Whitty in common with others deploras so much. But there is little doubt the situation would assume a more hopeful aspect if the British Government could be persuaded to transfer real power into Indian hands rather than making a show of doing so, which is what the J. P. C. scheme is universally and with good reason believed to be designed to do.

Mr. Whitty himself must be regarded as sharing the Indian view of the J.P.C. scheme at least to some extent, for he too does not seem to regard it democratic in the sense that it confers on the people of India real power to order their affairs according to their will and pleasure. Else it is difficult to account for the twist he tried to give to the well-understood definition of democracy. Democracy, as every school boy knows, is government of the people by the people and for the people. In other words, a people claiming to be democratically governed must have at their command the means of making their will in regard to national affairs effective. Mr. Whitty is too shrewd not to see that under the proposed scheme it is exactly this very power which has been kept away from the Indian people and safely deposited with his own countrymen. He therefore sought to solve the riddle by making us believe that all that democracy aims at is to provide the people concerned with the constitutional means, not of making their wishes prevail in the first and last resort as we have been taught to believe, but of merely making those wishes known. From their being thus made known to their fruition is, according to Mr. Whitty,

but a short step. Whoever else may be taken in by Mr. Whitty's ingenious definition of democracy, it can make no impression whatever on the people of India who know to their cost how even under the existing order of things under which there is no lack of opportunities for making popular wishes known, their satisfaction is a painfully slow process. What India desires is not opportunities for discussing popular grievances but the power to set them right without reference to an outside authority. Can Mr. Whitty honestly say that this will be possible under the new regime?

A DEMOCRAT.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

London, 4th January.

INDIAN LIBERAL DISPLEASURE.

THE attitude of the Servants of India Society and of the Indian Liberal Federation has been telegraphically reported, both by Reuter and by the special correspondents, together with summaries of Mr. Kunzru's presidential address and speeches in support of the main resolution of the Federation by Mr. Sastri and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Whilst there are no illusions here as to the meaning of the Liberal reactions to the reforms proposed in the Report, there is no disposition in the Press generally to take a tragic view of the news that both the Servants of India Society and the Indian Liberals, as a whole, find the new scheme of constitutional proposals unacceptable. It is generally recognised that with the Congress having taken a strong stand against the reform proposals, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Liberals to have done otherwise. This point of view is put by the fairly sympathetic *Spectator* as follows:—"It must be remembered that the Liberals, who have often been charged with an undue subservience in relation to the Government of India, and an undue subordination of nationalist aspirations, can least afford to declare approval of the reforms." Indeed, in his broadcast on Tuesday, Sir Samuel Hoare expressly stated that widespread denunciations of the reforms from Indian political parties had been fully anticipated and one drew the deduction that they had consequently been already discounted.

Almost alone the *New Statesman* to-day submits another point of view, namely, that the Liberal meetings at Poona have rendered it clear that "this Constitution has no Indian supporter, save the more conservative of the Muslims, the great landlords, and some of the Princes." Hence the paper suggests that the present proposals, which the *Spectator* urges should be firmly pressed on with, are in effect "an imposed Constitution." But there is, of course, nothing new in this. Presumably few people in India at any time imagined that the new Constitution could, by any stretch of language, be described as an agreed one. The maximum, that might have been hoped, had things gone reasonably well, would have been a tolerated Constitution and the only question is the extent to which toleration will proceed as the proposals when cast into final shape, are studied on their merits, and in the light of a constitution that is about to be brought into operation and will have to be

worked. Telegrams in to-day's *Times* seem to indicate that there will be in practice a larger amount of toleration than recent public statements in the Congress camp or on Liberal platforms suggest. Naturally a great deal is going to depend upon the circumstances that will prevail, both in India and this country, when the new constitution comes into operation.

POLITICAL UNCERTAINTIES

No one, of course, can say with any certainty what Government here will have imposed upon it the duty of setting the Constitution into operation. I notice that so intelligent and well-informed an observer as Commander Stephen King-Hall, whose work at the Royal Institute of International Affairs has borne much fruit, anticipates that the general election will fall this year, and that it will result in a victory of the National Government with a majority of about fifty. Whether or not this forecast will be verified, and even supposing that a Labour Government takes office, its duty will be to support the Governor-General and the Governors in ensuring their constitutional responsibility for maintaining law and order. Mr. Lansbury, at the India League meeting the other day, was quite explicit on this point. Any British Cabinet, too, would be strictly held, whatever the composition of Parliament, to support the Governor-General and the Governors in the due exercise of their particular rights and special responsibilities in the event of a crisis, either at the Centre or in any Province.

BRITISH CRITICISM.

It is important to remember, too, the true nature of the criticism that arises on this side regarding the attitude of the Indian nationalists. It was crystallised by Mr. Lansbury himself, the other day, when he said that the Labour Party did not know what Indian nationalists wanted; all they knew was what Indian nationalists, with different notes of emphasis, agreed they did not want. Sir Samuel Hoare in his broadcast put the matter slightly differently when he remarked that no alternative proposals had come from India which would not make the difficulties of administration during the transitory period now about to open graver than they would be under the Government's proposals. That view will probably be endorsed by the vast majority of people in this country, who will take their criticisms from the experts whom Sir Samuel quoted as being on his side. It is of very little use, the British onlooker would urge, to say, as some Indian nationalists have done, that there is an underlying unity in India of a much more permanent character than the present external divergencies. That kind of argument, whatever weight it may carry in India, carries absolutely none here in the absence of common agreement in India upon such an important issue, for example, as that of communal relations. The memory of the abortive Nehru agreement, some years ago, which it had been hoped might be reached at the All-Parties Conference, has been revived by a recollection of the circumstances in which the Communal Award had to be made, and of the angry recriminations that have arisen since the Poona Pact was agreed to.

One other thing should be noted. Sir Samuel Hoare was speaking with a profound understanding of the realities of British political conditions, when, on the 10th December, in moving the official resolution in favour of the Bill based upon the Majority Report, he warned his Indian hearers that, if these proposals failed to reach the Statute Book this year, there would be no prospect for many years to come of Parliament being able or willing to deal with the Indian constitutional problem. I do not think that sufficient note was taken in India at the time of this

pronouncement, or of the most significant fact that it failed to provoke any note of protest from the Opposition benches. It is generally recognised that, however its sympathies may lie, no Labour Government, even if it should attain power as well as office, in the near future, would be able to find the time or the opportunity, even if it had the will, to force through Parliament a new Constitution for India, substantially in advance of the one now proposed. In any case, as Mr. Lansbury has plainly intimated, a Labour administration would wait until it was told authoritatively what India wanted before it made up its mind whether to do anything, and if so what to do for India.

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

It must therefore be realised that the only alternative to the proposed Constitution for an indefinite period to come is the retention of the present Constitution, with all its limitations and defects, and with the prospect that all chance of an All-India Federation united for common purposes, with a prospect of enlargement of those purposes, would have disappeared for a very long period ahead. These seem to me at any rate to be the basic facts of the situation here, and it is a duty imposed upon any responsible correspondent to place them upon record, in order that Indian opinion may be guided in the formulation of its views by reference to these facts. I believe that they would be subscribed to by most objective observers in this country who have taken trouble to analyse the political situation here and the probable line of political development with any degree of detachment. It is, of course, certain that another set of facts exists in India. It is by an understanding of the facts of either side that the inter-actions between the two points of view can best be understood and interpreted. It is to be hoped that the nationalist leaders of various party groupings in India will be taking all reasonable opportunities of keeping the British Press correspondents there in constant and adequate touch with the Indian viewpoint, in order that those correspondents may be in a position to reflect that opinion in their despatches home. This process of mutual education should be productive of nothing but good to both sides, and it should help to remove asperities and misunderstandings.

THE INDIA BROADCASTS.

I have already referred to Sir Samuel Hoare's broadcast on New Year's Day, in the India Constitution series. He will be replied to to-night probably by Major Attlee. Sir Samuel's main purpose, of course, was to indicate that the great bulk of expert opinion is on the Government's side, and that the Churchillites were proposing something that would neither work nor had any alternative attraction. His secondary purpose was to arouse a general desire in the electorate, now that Parliament has expressed itself in favour of the main lines of the scheme, that the Bill should be allowed to proceed as rapidly as possible through its various Parliamentary stages, without obstructive tactics, on the part of the diehards, which would only have the consequence of preventing the Government from proceeding with those schemes of domestic reform to which they are committed. It was quite an astute appeal, which, however, is likely to fall on deaf ears so far as the diehards are concerned. Doubtless the Government hope that the pressure of opinion in the industrial constituencies will help them to create some kind of feeling of unrest in the diehard constituencies which are ordinarily not situated in industrial areas.

GENERAL SMUTS AND MR. ANDRWEES.

A few days ago a Communist paper, in London, published under various scareheads an attack upon

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who was described as a malicious go-between bearing inspired messages from the British Government, conveyed through the medium of their henchman, General Smuts, to Mahatma Gandhi, with the object of inducing the latter to accept the proposed reforms. One would hardly have imagined such a charge possible against so well-known, so honourable, so generous-hearted and innocent-minded a person as brother Charlie Andrews were it not for the fact that it is a recognised method of Communist propaganda to disparage and cast suspicion upon public men in order to unsettle the minds of those ignorant people to whom the Communists address themselves. It might not have been thought necessary to take serious notice of a charge coming from such a source, but for the fact that, with variations, it was repeated this week by a Sunday paper with a small circulation, whilst a relatively innocuous paragraph also appeared in the *Star*. Of course, nothing of the sort took place, and in any event General Smuts, who has his own views, which are far in advance of anything that the Government may propose, as was clear from his Dundee speech was hardly likely to allow himself to be used as a demi-official cat's-paw. Gandhiji and Mr. Andrews have had a close personal touch with the General for many years since the old South African days, and the contact was renewed during Gandhiji's visit to England in 1931. They have naturally exchanged ideas from time to time and General Smuts has himself made it clear that there was nothing surreptitious in the correspondence that has from time to time taken place between them of a purely personal character, and in the private capacities of both parties. General Smuts is far too experienced a statesman not to realise that a bad constitution is better than a worse one from his point of view, and it was obvious that when his opinion was asked by Mr. Andrews whether there was any message that the General would like him to convey to the Mahatma it was that the latter would co-operate in working the reforms whilst at the same time preparing for something of a more satisfying character in the future. There is no public man of any standing anywhere in the Empire who, if he had been asked, would not have given similar advice, and indeed it is what the Labour leaders here have already done.

Reviews.

AGRICULTURE AS A FACTOR IN PROSPERITY.

A PEOPLE'S CHARTER OR THE TERMS OF PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM WITHIN A COMMUNITY. By A. H. MACKMURDO. (Williams and Norgate.) 1933. 20cm. 270p. 6/-

THE revival of agriculture and placing it in the position of importance which is its due in the national economy in order to redress the disequilibrium existing in it at present is advocated in this book by the author. The crisis in world economic affairs has brought one fundamental fact to the forefront. It has taught us that each nation can be considered to have laid the foundation of its economic prosperity on a sound basis only when its agricultural industry is developed as much as its manufacturing industry and vice-versa. In that case the country will be able to free itself from the consequences of changes in world trade policies and carry on an independent existence of its own. In the times of economic nationalism, this is the policy which alone will help.

Mr. Mackmurdo therefore desires a national policy in Britain to restore agriculture on the basis that "a nation that cannot feed itself cannot remain mistress of her own destinies." He prescribes as a panacea for all economic ills the fixation of agriculture and agricultural produce as the physical basis of measurement of all values. The present money basis of fixing values is arbitrary and useless on account of the fluctuations in its value and efforts so far made to stabilise it have been unsuccessful. This is the question of questions, and as the author says, it is a question of choosing between the two alternatives of natural and artificial factors for the purpose.

II.

Mr. Mackmurdo follows this theme through all the stages of the economic process, production, distribution and exchange, and throughout his argument is based upon the principle of national self-sufficiency. As far as production is concerned, he says that till now, it has been undertaken for a world market; but he wants that production should be undertaken mainly with the home market in view. And so also with regard to other branches of economic activity, he desires that the ideal of national self-sufficiency should be kept in view. He realizes that the main drawback of the present economic system consists in its distributive side and he supports the socialist view that some take too much and some too little out of the common stock, the result of which is social disintegration. The principle on which the distributive system should be based is that security for the man and security for the community that maintains the man shall be a matter not of caprice but of sound adjustment.

In order to bring about this state of affairs Mr. Mackmurdo advocates the public control of production, for unregulated competition in production is at the bottom of our economic troubles. Unemployment among the workers which is brought about by this is a national loss, for it reduces the demand for the articles and therefore causes overproduction. On the same principle he also supports the dole, because "the unemployed are not responsible for their unemployment and the community is responsible both for their adequate maintenance and for their re-employment."

III.

The *raison-de-etre* of Mr. Mackmurdo's theory on which he bases all his suggestions is that the total wealth created is equal to the value of 'the total food consumed.' Wealth creation can take place not only when there is sufficient food, but it will also be in proportion to the total food consumed, as food alone is the active energy producer. The mathematical precision of the formula may be in doubt, but the fundamental truth underlying the analysis cannot be gainsaid and should rightly form the basis for the ordering of the economic system of the future. Mr. Mackmurdo's theory may be stated in his own words as follows:—

"We are all the victims of a system now breaking down because of its maladjustment to permanent human needs. These latter needs which cannot be set aside demand a continual readjustment of human power to an increased mechanical power. To make every use of mechanical aids is an advantage to the general welfare. But unless we organize the productive capacity of the nation so that the increase of machinery is balanced by a reduction of human labour all round, social and economic disaster must result."

IV.

Mr. Mackmurdo has added some chapters at the

end of the book on general topics like 'democracy', 'electoral reform' and so on, in which he gives a practical demonstration of how his principles can be concretised. The chapter on "Electoral Reform" written in 1910 is an index of how twenty-five years ago the author thought of the necessity for an occupational franchise based upon the representation of professions which is very much similar to the guild socialism of Graham-Wallas and others. Lastly, there is the chapter on 'Economics in a nutshell' in which he usefully summarises the various views urged by him in the course of the book. On the whole, the book is a welcome contribution to the theory and practice of economics and contains the basic principles on which a stable economic system could be built up under present-day conditions.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

HISTORY OF GOLCONDA.

QUTBSHAHI OF GOLCONDA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Ed. by VASUDEV C. BENDRE. (Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.) 1934. 158 + 203 pp. Rs. 4/—

THE present work, No. 39 in the 'Own' Series of the B. I. S. Mandala, is another of the series of source books which are a special feature of the historical publications of that learned body. The Mandala, as is well known, does not so much concern itself with the compilation of literary history as it does with the authoritative supply of properly documented sources. It has so far made very valuable contributions mostly to Maratha history and the present volume, though dealing directly with the Qutbshahi of Golconda, was selected for publication on account of its bearing on the Shivaji period, i. e. on the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The book contains three different accounts extracted from the famous Mackenzie Collection, the first and the last being copied from the original Mss. which are in English. They refer respectively to the history of a late revolution in the Kingdom of Golconda and give some account of Akanna and Madannna, his Hindu ministers. The second extract is a translation into English by the Editors of some chapters from Hadiquat-ul-Alam, a Mss. preserved in the Persian in the Mackenzie Collection. The extracts naturally vary in their reliability as is clearly pointed out by the editor and it is for the purpose of estimating their real value and submitting a tentative account of the Qutbshahi itself as placed together from these sources and others that he has subjoined a very scholarly Introduction of about 158 pages.

The Introduction is by no means taken up by the mere elucidation and annotations of the text in the English sources. The editor has spent a good deal of his time and energy on the more ambitious task of presenting a general outline of the whole of the Qutbshahi period with a view to consolidating his studies in some definite form, that may be of use to future researchers. Much of the history of the Deccan is still clouded by many inaccuracies and misrepresentations, some of which have been particularly mentioned even in the volume under review and so far, as we know, there is no reliable source which may be honoured by being given the high place deserved by any standard history in this respect. History, in this as in many other instances, is still in its formative period and we shall not be surprised if it takes another twenty-five years before we are able to say anything more definitely. Mr. Bendre and the Mandala are certainly to be congratulated on being able to handle so neglected and yet

so valuable a subject with so much authority and detail.

As matters stand, it would certainly be unscholarly, if not unkind, to judge some of the details even in the editorial introduction by comparing them with any available history as it is absolutely impossible to guarantee the veracity of any account that proposes to deal with the history of the Qutbshahi. Abstaining therefore from any comparison at present, we welcome this contribution to the study of Golconda History, which would have been better serviceable if it had been supplied with the necessary apparatus of a detailed index and genealogical tree.

D. V. KALE.

PUNJAB MARKET CONDITIONS.

MARKET PRACTICES IN THE PUNJAB.

Inquiry conducted by L. R. DAWAR. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab). 1934. 25cm. 85p. As. 6/—

WRONG weightments, faulty measurements, numerous commissions, compulsory charity deductions, allowances for dirt and inferior quality, all these take away a fair margin of the price of the commodity which the agriculturist has to sell. The *artia*—the all-powerful man of the market—keeps him at his entire mercy, and the poor producer thanks him for his help and returns home satisfied. He is getting to know the truths of the market and the causes of his low realisation of commodity prices, but he is helpless. The Royal Commission on Agriculture realised the enormity of the problem of marketing and suggested some improvements even in the last decade. The machinery of Government moves but slowly, and the ill-organised agriculturists have no initiative to make new ventures. This booklet is the result of a close study of market conditions in the Punjab. There is practically no regulation of market practices, and no control of them. Though astounding, it is the fact that only 50% of the *pucca* and 12% of the *kachcha* weights are accurate. The few attempts at organising market committees have failed. The *Kachcha*, the *Kachcha-pucca*, the *Pucca Artias*, and the *Dalals* are the middlemen at whose entire mercy the sellers and buyers stand. The two systems in vogue, that of open bids, and bids under cover are described in detail with their relative merits and demerits. The numerous deductions which the seller has to bear and the many inconveniences which he has to put up with are described. The appendices are very useful. The comparative study of market legislation in Bombay and Berar is very helpful. This is a timely publication as both the agriculturist and the Government realise the need for introducing better methods of marketing to the best advantage of the primary producer.

N. S. S.

SHORT NOTICES.

LABOUR FACT BOOK II. (International Publishers, New York.) 1934. 20cm. 222p. \$. 2.00.

THIS book is the second of the series prepared by the Labour Research Association, New York. The latest and most important facts covering the recent developments in U. S. A. are discussed in it.

The book is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter deals with the present economic crisis in the United States. The perpetual gap between the productive power of the capitalist industry and the con-

suming power of the great masses of workers, the mass unemployment becoming a general and well-recognised problem long before the present crisis, the effects of the war on American industry, the course of international investment going out from the United States estimated at \$363 millions in 1928 alone, the banking crisis and various contradictions in the present capitalist society are well described.

The second chapter deals with the various capitalist measures intended to overcome the crisis. The working of the N. I. R. A., Roosevelt's Railroad programme, Home-Owners Loan Act, and Federal Unemployment Relief have been criticised as measures of indirect inflation transferring the burden of the crisis to the working classes. More than 30 p.c. of the nation's productivity is idle not because there is no use for it but because of the system which produces only for profit and not for consumption.

The miserable social and political position of the Negro worker, the Craft Unionism encouraged by the American Federation of Labour, the Minority Movement in the American Trade Union ranks and the sad plight of the farmers are dealt with in the following four chapters.

The remaining portion of the book is divided into three parts, the first one dealing with Fascism in various countries, the second one on War preparations and the last one on the Soviet Union.

Though the book is intended to be a propagandist one, the prominent feature about the book is the wealth of facts and figures quoted from authoritative sources. This renders the book extremely useful as a reference book, which should find a place in every Trade Union Library.

V. V. GIRI.

GOD, MAN AND SOCIETY. AN INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY. By V. A. DEMANT. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1933. 20cm. 224p. 6/—

THIS book represents an attempt to "map out the field of Christian Sociology." It is written on the assumptions that "God has placed man in society and made him in part a creature of nature," and that "because man is not merely a natural, nor even merely a social being, and because all his problems are the problems of a creature with a spiritual nature, no merely secular programme of social reform can affect the foundations of social life." The book is in many ways a psychological study of the insanity of modern society, and the author analyses this insanity as being the result of the nations, having mistaken certain political and economic means to prosperity as being ends in themselves. Man has in fact become the slave of his own ingenuity, and society lies stricken by its over-emphasis on "attention to economic pain." The vicious circle can only be broken into from outside, by a power which is independent of and above both the State and the social order, by a power which is more than natural and right, because it is a power "that is supernatural and divine." The book is well documented and is worth study.

OUTRAM WALSH, C. P. S. S.

FARM ACCOUNTS IN THE PUNJAB, 1932-33. By SARDAR KARTAR SINGH AND SARDAR ARJAN SINGH. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1934. 25 cm. 266 p. Rs. 1-8-0.

THIS is the ninth publication of this series divided into two sections; (1) farm accounts, (2) well-

irrigation and tube well irrigation. Tube well accounts are included in this and its previous issue. This year's accounts reveal a general rise in the price of agricultural commodities except gur and rapeseed, and this has enabled all the farms to work without loss. The higher prices have increased the expenditure, but even then the cultivator gets more than during previous years. In fact he has lost considerably in the two preceding years. The tube wells are yet failures, and electric pumping is costlier than the Persian wheel both in initial outlay and working expenses. Some of the semi-tenants get very low wages. The tenants have to spend more upon maintaining their livestock than on their families. The tenant generally gets a low net income when compared to the landlord. Water rates are usually paid by him, while the landlord pays the land revenue. The water rates, and the cost of maintaining livestock take away a major portion of the tenant's gross income, and leave only a bare margin for his subsistence. Land revenue and water-rates are separated in the case of canal irrigated lands, and land revenue is shown to be a minor portion of the gross and net incomes. Land and water are the two factors which the cultivator gets from the Government, and he pays for both of them to the Government. If the water rate is added to land revenue and the total shown in proportion to gross or net income it will reveal better the condition of the cultivator in comparison with other tax-payers and be more helpful to him for his own purposes. Again, depreciation and interest charges for livestock and implements are included in expenditure but not interest charges on general expenditure throughout the year. This is a considerable amount which should not be left out of account. As usual, the statement and the graph add to the clear understanding of the book which is a very useful one to the student of rural economics.

N. S. S.

DANGER ZONE. THE STORY OF THE QUEENSTOWN COMMAND. By E. KEBLE CHATTERTON. (Rich and Cowan.) 1934. 25cm. 437p. 18/-

WE have here a war book of intense interest written by a well known writer on naval topics. It deals with the important and dangerous part played by the Royal navy in the great war, the dangers it had to face and how it faced them. In particular, the book concerns itself with the activities of the Queenstown naval command, which, by nature of its being exposed to direct attack by the Germans had to bear the brunt of the work of defence. Treated with something like a step-motherly affection by the high command, the Queenstown naval guardsmen, inexperienced as they were, showed remarkable pluck and courage in meeting the organised U-Boat campaign on the German side. The author describes the circumstances in which some of the important British steamers were torpedoed by the German submarines and the most interesting account is of course that of the way in which the s. s. Lusitania, one of the biggest steamers, that ever strode across the Atlantic, met its end.

Mr. Keble Chatterton next describes how the drooping spirits of the Queenstown naval guardsmen were revived by the appointment of Admiral Bayley as the commander of the Queenstown naval station. The U-Boat campaign is described in full and the dispositions of the various fleets and ships and the methods of attack and defence are enumerated with a full knowledge of naval warfare. As the war proceeded and when it was found that the unrelenting campaign of Germany extended to great lengths and without any heed to warnings that merchant shipping

belonging to neutral countries should not be attacked, the U. S. A. extended their hand of co-operation in a hearty manner to the British navy in combating the U-Boat attacks. The co-operative effort of the two fleets in the cause of the freedom of the seas and the protection of trade is one of the interesting chapters of the story, which holds one's attention throughout. Mr. Chatterton in the concluding paragraphs relates the crowning act of the co-operation between the two fleets when Sir Lewis Bayley was publicly honoured in New York for his efficient direction of the united efforts of the two navies during the years 1917-18 and for successfully resisting German submarine attacks.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

SUSIE SORABJI. A MEMOIR. By CORNELIA SORABJI. (Oxford University Press.) 20cm. 71p. 3/6.

THE book was written "in response", the author says "to the desire of pupils and friends in England, India, Canada and America." It is a memoir of Miss Sorabji written by her elder sister. Miss Susie was the founder of St. Helena's School in Poona and laboured in the cause of education for nearly forty years. She was always in the van where any movement for the uplift of women was concerned. This story of her life is written with deep affection and much appreciation. The first chapters describe her early life in a very happy home; the later chapters tell of Miss Susie's work and of the growth of St. Helena's School. There are a number of excellent photographs.

E. A. G.

THE MADRAS STATES DIRECTORY, 1934. (The Pearl Press, Cochin.) 1934. 25cm. 761p. Rs. 5/-

THIS directory will serve as a guide and reference book to all those interested in the affairs of the Madras States viz. Travancore, Cochin, Pudukkotta, Sandur and Banganapalli. To commercial and business men more particularly, this book will be of great value inasmuch as it contains a list of the important trades in the States. There are good and attractive illustrations and the directory is well got up. The information supplied seems to be up-to-date.

S. R. V.

Miscellaneous.

WOMEN & THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

A meeting of the representatives of the three women's organisations viz. the All-India Women's Conference, the All-India Women's National Council and the Women's Indian Association was recently held at Delhi for considering the J. P. C. report in so far as it affects women. The following joint statement issued at the conclusion of the meeting embodies the views of the women's organisations on the report:

WE feel that the Joint Parliamentary Committee was animated by a genuine desire to bring women in greater numbers on the electoral rolls and to give them a definite place in the legislature under the new constitution. For this spirit

of sympathy with us and also for the unqualified recognition of the part that women must play in the public life of the country, we place on record our sincere appreciation. At the same time, however, we feel constrained to express in no uncertain terms our inability to accept the recommendations as they stand for the following reasons:—

We claim that there should be a declaration of rights in which the removal of sex disabilities should be clearly stated. We draw attention to the fact that the word 'sex' has been omitted for eligibility for holding public offices. (see Paragraph 67, Volume I, J. P. C. Report). While feeling keenly this omission as a grave injustice to us despite our repeated demands in this connection, we hope that the same may even now be rectified.

FRANCHISE.

The greater number of women enfranchised under the recommendations are going to be the wives and widows of property-holders and to this number have also been added the wives of men with military service qualification and pensioned widows and mothers of military officials and soldiers. Our reasons for our strong objection to this method of enfranchisement have been stated in clear language on more than one occasion. They still hold good and we regret that despite our protest a qualification wholly unacceptable to us is being sought to be imposed on us.

We reiterate our belief in an equitable method of election and attach equal importance to the quality as well as the quantity of women's votes. We object strongly to the doubling of the vote for any vested interest as being against all canons of justice for the poor who constitute India's main population and against all democratic principles. We again urge the acceptance of our proposals for the introduction of adult suffrage, to begin with in the urban areas, for purposes of increasing our electoral numbers.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIFFICULTIES.

In our opinion far too much weight has from the outset been laid on the administrative difficulties where women are concerned. This opinion is practically strengthened by the number of *pardah* women who went to the polls in the recent Assembly elections. We protest strongly against the invidious differentiation that has been made between provinces with regard to literacy and property qualifications. The 'application' of the conditions and other details, including the omission of wives and widows of those holding educational qualification (if "wifhood" is a qualification) is unreasonably persisted in.

We have not swerved from our conviction that we do not on principle approve of reservation of seats in the legislatures for ourselves or for any particular interest. Nevertheless, seeing that this expedient may unfortunately be imposed on us during the transition period, we deplore the entire omission of women from the legislatures of several provinces and the total exclusion, for whatever reason, of the women of the North-West Frontier Province from all citizenship rights including franchise. We feel very strongly that in the case of those provinces where women may be said to be less vocal the exclusion of their representatives from the legislatures would constitute a grave omission and neglect of the very cause for which we stand. We also claim that no disability should attach to women in any province that may be duly created.

SECOND CHAMBERS.

If certain selected provinces are definitely to be burdened with Second Chambers, we see no reason whatsoever why women should not be accorded a definite place in all these as well as the Council of State. We regard it as our inherent right and must therefore protest against this omission.

With Lord Lothian, we are 'unrepentant believers in the system of direct election' and we, therefore, object with all possible emphasis to indirect election at any time or for any one. We refuse likewise to accept nomination to the legislatures.

We urge that the disqualification of candidature should not follow on conviction for criminal offence involving a sentence of imprisonment exceeding one year where such offence does not involve any moral turpitude. (See Paragraph 77, Volume I, J. P. C. Report.)"

CONCLUSION.

While mentioning the above details, we wish to make it quite clear that even if we had secured or secure for ourselves all that we had wished for or wish to secure and if at the same time we felt that the recommendations as a whole were not in the true interests of India, we would, as women and natural guardians of the future generations, feel it our bounden duty to deny all special privileges for ourselves for the sake of the common good. In the light of the general criticisms of the report we know that the recommendations are not acceptable to all shades of representative opinion in the country. We, therefore, join in this widespread protest and still hope against hope that such a new constitution may eventually be created as will meet with general approbation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- GRAINS OF GOLD. Part I. By R. S. DESIKHAN and B. L. RANGANATHAN. (S. R. Chari, 9 Singaraohari St., Triplicane, Madras.) 1934. 18cm. 132p.
- THE LIVING TEACHING OF VEDANTA. By K. C. VARADACHARI. (The Modern Book Mart, Madras.) 1934. 16cm. 48p. As. 12
- WISDOM AND WASTE IN THE PUNJAB VILLAGE. By MALCOLM LYALL DARLING. (Oxford University Press.) 1934. 23cm. 368p. Rs. 8.
- GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY, Vol. I. By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. (Kitabistan, Allahabad.) 1934. 23cm. 614p. Rs. 6.
- RETREAT FROM GLORY. By R. H. BRUCE LOCKHART. (Putnam, London.) 1934. 23p. 372p. 10/6.
- MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA. 1522-1761 Part II. By S. R. SHARMA. (Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay, 2.) 1934. 22cm.
- FRUIT CULTIVATION IN CEYLON AND S. INDIA. By FRED TAYLOR. (Fred Taylor & Co., Colombo.) 22cm. 97p.
- WHAT EVERYBODY WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT MONEY. Ed. By G. D. H. COLE. (Gollancz.) 1933. 20cm. 544p. 5/-.
- PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDIA. By N. R. DHARMAVIR. (Rama Krishana Brothers, Lahore.) 1934. 20cm. 86p. 1/-.
- RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY. By NALIN C. GANGULY. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1934. 20cm. 229p. Rs. 1-12.
- THE ECONOMIC SERVICES OF ZAMINDARS TO THE PEASANTS AND THE PUBLIC AS ANALYSED. BY BENOY SARKAR. By PANKAJ KUMAR MUKHERJEE. (N. M. Ray-Chowdhary & Co., Calcutta.) 1934. 24cm. 22p. As. 8
- RURAL INDIA. By CHOWDHRY MUKHTAR SINGH. (Leader Press, Allahabad.) 25cm. 175p. Re. 1/8.