

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The late Sir Ramachandra Rao.

SIR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO who passed away at Bangalore on Saturday last belonged to the old generation of Congressmen who attached much importance to a sound study of public questions. So deep was his knowledge of these questions and so thorough his mastery of details that he came to be called the Gokhale of South India. This joined to a rare measure of public spirit enabled him to secure for himself a high place in the ranks of active public workers. Nor was his work just one-sided or confined only to one field of public work. He distinguished himself as much in the field of local self-government as in that of law-making. Like most Liberals Sir Mocherla was at one time a devout Congressman, but joined the Liberal Party when it was formed; and the Liberal party gave proof of its confidence in him by electing him to preside over the session of the Liberal Federation held at Calcutta during the Easter of 1933. The masterly survey of contemporary events to which Sir Mocherla treated his audience in his inaugural address drew high encomiums from those who listened to him. It was at this session that the Liberal party pronounced its first authoritative judgment on the White Paper in a comprehensive resolution extending to eight foolscap pages.

SIR RAMACHANDRA RAO was a member of the Madras Legislative Council under both the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford dispensations. He also served in the Legislative Assembly for a period of three years and was the Deputy Leader of the

Independent party. He was a member of the Committee appointed under Lord Lytton's chairmanship to report on the condition of Indian students in England. As a member of the Skeen Committee, he is reputed to have represented the popular view of the Government's defence policy in outspoken terms in its inner councils. Sir Ramachandra Rao was also interested in the problem of Indian States' subjects and his selection as a delegate to the first R. T. C. is said to have been due to his close association with the movement for their uplift.

SIR RAMACHANDRA RAO was a keen co-operator all his life and fully believed in the economic possibilities of the co-operative movement for bettering the ryot's lot. He was the President of the Central Land Mortgage Bank at Madras, which owed its birth largely to his ceaseless endeavours. He was also a member of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank since its inauguration. His death creates a void in the ranks of seasoned and active public workers in India, which will take very long to fill.

Social Justice.

JUST as May 1 is celebrated by the labour forces in all countries every year, May 15 was celebrated by all the Catholics in U. S. A. this year as the forty-fifth anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, "Rerum Novarum," and the fifth of Pope Pius XI's encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," two of the Roman Church's greatest pronouncements on social justice. Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara, who called upon American Catholics to commemorate these great papal encyclicals, writes :

These world letters reject the old individualism of unrestrained competition. They reject the newer era of a vast and cruel private domination held by wealth, investment-control and credit. They tell us to retain private ownership but to make it the normal portion of the average man and rigorously subject it to the common good. They insist that wages, salaries, prices and all income from property shall be in an order of social justice at levels which will give every family and the whole community the secure material means of a good life. They tell employer and employee their obligations of individual and collective honesty and industry, of justice and social justice and of charity toward each other in the bonds of a common undertaking as children of God.

For the sake of social justice, economic peace and a right functioning of government itself, they call upon public authority to foster and assist this thorough-going and organized economic self-control. They proclaim that it is the duty of public authority to see that laws and institutions shall promote general prosperity, establish justice, protect the weak and the poor and advance that common welfare which social justice demands. They plead for a like world action in behalf of all mankind.

When popular interest in Socialism is so deep in India at present, it is very much to be hoped that the principles of Christian Socialism embodied in these encyclical letters which have had such a tremendous effect in shaping the thoughts of people on the continent of Europe and in America will be widely studied here.

Civil Liberties.

WITH very great appropriateness the *Indian Social Reformer* has brought to the attention of the Indian people a recent article in the *New Republic* giving a clear idea of what civil liberty is. The article says:

Liberty is not an absolute, but a relative quantity. In no regime and under no circumstances, is liberty complete. Every society forbids the doing of certain things. What it forbids depends on the nature and aims of the society. Liberty to own private capital and seek profit, for instance, is incompatible with socialism, and no one who favours socialism could believe in it. Civil liberties involve chiefly the freedom of persons in relation to the government that forbids. If people can oppose the government freely, can even advocate with impunity basic changes in its character, and if they are safeguarded, when they become involved with governmental police power, by such things as the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved and all the other appurtenances of what is known as a "fair trial," then civil liberties exist as completely as is humanly possible. Now liberty of this magnitude is rare and always has been. It does not exist a free gift or as divine right, but is won and preserved, if at all, only at a great sacrifice. And it is not a condition precedent but the product of certain other conditions. It can result only from a highly stable regime that is not seriously involved with foreign enemies and in which internal opposition does not threaten the existing order. The moment a government is threatened by civil conflict, or war, civil liberties are restricted. This is historically as true of the United States as of other nations.

"Prisoners' Paradise."

SIR HENRY CRAIK, the Home Member to the Government of India, has lately returned from the "Prisoners' Paradise," as he was pleased to describe the Andamans. But it is surprising to learn from him that a number of prisoners are pining for an exchange of this heaven on earth for an Indian jail. Therefore, either the Andaman authorities had so arranged the show as to impress the Home Member with the perfection of the arrangements for the comforts of convicts or the prisoners were perverse enough to prefer the horrors of Indian jail life to the blessings of life in this paradise. But it would be making too heavy a call on human credulity to expect it to believe that all those who disliked conditions of life in the Andaman penal settlement possessed a perverse mentality. It, therefore, follows that the picture of Andamans cannot be as rosy as the Home Member was pleased to depict and that if prisoners are found to welcome their return to Indian jails, they must have good reason for it and that such a wish can by no means be ascribed to an unreasoning and sentimental partiality for Indian prisons.

BE that as it may, Sir Henry Craik's announcement about one or two members of the Indian Legislature being given facilities to visit the Andamans will be widely welcomed as constituting an advance on the Government's secretive attitude in regard to the Andamans so far. It was only last year that a member of the Upper House of the Central Legislature was provided with facilities for paying a visit to

the penal settlement on the ground of his continued interest in the problem of prison reform; while another member of the Lower House, not perhaps equally safe in the eyes of the Government, was pointblank refused permission to proceed to the islands. It is to be hoped that this facility will be availed of to the fullest extent by Indian publicists.

ACCORDING to the Home Member, terrorist convicts in the cellular jail in the Andamans number 300 Bengalees.

They are called P. I. (permanantly incarcerated). As a matter of policy they are, unlike other convicts, kept in the jail but they are allowed special diet and amenities and their conditions of life and health statistics were superior to any jail the Home Member had seen in India. They play games, have a library with several thousand books and a number of newspapers. There is an electric light in each cell and superior hospital accommodation. These terrorists are employed in weaving rope factory, tailoring and carpeting and on completing their term, they return to their homes. Terrorist convicts did not seem to have any particular grievance. They all wanted to be repatriated but the Home Member opined that they had better living conditions there than in any Presidency Jail. Their relations were allowed interviews with them. The Home Member thought that nowhere in the world were ordinary convicts so well treated in a penal settlement as in the Andamans. In fact the punishment was not imprisonment but merely banishment from home.

"Popular" Forsooth!

IN the course of a well thought-out representation submitted to the local Government by the Madras Temperance League, a number of suggestions for an improved constitution and increased powers for Excise Licensing Boards and Excise Advisory Committees were put forward. All of them save one have been turned down by Government for reasons which, to put it at the lowest, are unconvincing. The one suggestion singled out for acceptance related to the representation granted to employers of labour on these bodies. It would appear that under the existing rules labour representatives are to be elected by labour organisations, failing which they are nominated by the Collector. In a closely argued rejoinder Mr. Suryanarayan Rao, on behalf the League, strongly controverts the proposition that an honest attempt was made at any time in the past to arrange for the election of labour representatives, even though a large number of registered trade unions existed in the city of Madras.

BE that as it may, what is pertinent to remember is that a corresponding provision for the election of the employers' representative was so far conspicuous by its absence. The Temperance League, therefore, suggested that the omission should be made good. The Government have now agreed that the employers' representative would hereafter be elected by such bodies as Chambers of Commerce where they exist and nominated by the Collector only where they do not. This is the only recommendation of the League which is found acceptable by Government, for which the League has duly expressed its thanks to them. Other equally reasonable suggestions, e. g., for the election of the members of the local legislature on the Madras City Licensing Board, increased representation to Temperance Societies, and elimination of the official element on these bodies as in the case of local bodies have all been rejected by Government, which in other words means by the Minister in charge of the Excise portfolio. That a so-called "popular" Minister should dare to treat the representations made by such an

influential and representative body as the League with such scant courtesy is an interesting commentary on the popular character of the Montford governments set up in the provinces.

Indian Education in Trinidad.

A CORRESPONDENT writes from Port of Spain (Trinidad) on the spread of education among Indians in that country.

Among the Indians the Christians are the best educated. They have made greater progress than the Muslims and Hindus. And that is due to the missionaries who linked Christianity with education and secured preferment for the converts. The Hindus and Muslims have become conscious now and are struggling for a place, but they have not and will never have the same pull in this Christian country. The State here gives subventions to all the Christian Churches, and not merely to schools maintained by such Churches. But no similar subvention is given so far to the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus and Muslims are trying to start a school.

In this country the great majority of schools are Christian schools with very few Government schools. The Roman Catholics, the Canadian Mission and the Church of England control a majority of the denominational schools. There is no prospect of a change over from the denominational to the state system of education. Mr. Arthur Mayhew, who was in India for many years in the Education Departments, and who is now adviser to the Colonial Office, and who recently reported on the educational policies in Trinidad, is a thorough-going Christian missionary and has backed the Christian denominational system of education. That means the Hindus and Muslims will, in self-defence, try to have their own denominational schools, and that will lead to friction with the Christians and plenty of trouble. If only all education is made secular and religion relegated to the home and the temple, mosque and church, it would be infinitely better. But of that there is no prospect here. Oh, religion, religion, how many crimes have been committed in thy name!

Travancore.

THE administration report of Travancore State for 1934-35 which has recently reached us is as usual a record of progress in the working of the different departments. But this fact need not blind us to the increase in Palace expenses which is slowly taking place year by year. It is true that the figure for the year under report is smaller by 4.37 lakhs than for the preceding year; but yet it stood at 15.14 lakhs! And this figure is higher by about 1½ lakhs than what it was five years ago. It is a matter of little concern to us what proportion this figure bears to the total revenue. In the present case it comes to about 7 per cent. Even so the figures disclose an unmistakable tendency to rise, which the young Maharaja would do well to check with all his might. For our part we would suggest his following the worthy example of the ruler of the adjoining State of Cochin whose civil list is fixed at a third of the amount expended by the Travancore Maharaja or at Rs. 5 lakhs, to be exact, and is not subject to fluctuation.

THE State budget, as is well known, is submitted to the vote of the legislature; but from the manner this power of the purse is exercised by it, it must be admitted that the legislature uses the power with great moderation. During 1934-35 three one-rupee token cuts were carried by the Assembly. One of these was with the object of recommending a 50 per cent. reduction in the land-tax including water cess, the second for bringing home to Government the need of making

suitable changes in the rules for remission of taxes on account of failure of crops and the third for pressing the need of an industrial survey of the State. The Government did not accept the policies indicated by the cuts, but accepted the cuts themselves and gave effect to them in presenting the demands for grants to the Upper House. A supplementary demand of about Rs. 5,500 for Marketing Officers and their staffs was rejected by the Lower House but passed by the Upper. The difference of opinion was settled at a Joint Committee of both Houses and the grant eventually made. This betokens the prevalence of a spirit of co-operation between the Government and the Legislature which reflects great credit on all concerned.

IT is a matter for gratification that even during the present hard times the educational progress of the State was maintained without interruption. The number of educational institutions no doubt declined by 50 to 3,699, which was obviously due to the State policy of eliminating inefficient and overlapping primary schools. But the number of students suffered no diminution. On the contrary it went up by 25,000 to 6¾ lakhs. It may be added that nearly 8,000 students over and above those studying in Government and recognised institutions were reading in 150 unrecognised institutions. The percentage of the total number of pupils to the total population rose by .5 to 13.2; while the percentage of male scholars to the male population was 15.8, the corresponding proportion in the case of girls being 10.6.

Estate Settlement Scheme in Malaya.

PUBLIC opinion in Malaya is apparently amazed at the suddenness with which the European planters effected a complete change in their angle of vision towards the problem of Indian settlements. All such proposals used to be received with extreme disfavour by them; but now the planters are not only favourably disposed towards them but are active in securing public support for them. How is the miracle to be explained? This change in their outlook is not due to any altruistic desire to better the lot of the Indian labourer. It is based on the main on considerations of self-interest. The fear is widely entertained in Malaya that the proposed Indian deputation, unless satisfied about the conditions of life of Indian labourers, would recommend a stoppage of emigration to Malaya. If the stoppage comes about the planters would be put to untold hardships in the matter of cultivating their lands. It is in order to ensure a local supply of labour that this plan of Indian Settlements has been hit upon. If Indians are given pieces of land to cultivate and look after, they would, the planters think, stick to Malaya for all time and cease to look upon it as a land of temporary sojourn.

IT is doubtful, however, if the scheme which the planters have in mind would have this effect on Indian labourers. Unless Indians are allowed to have perpetual interest in such land by making permanent alienations of it in their favour, they cannot be expected to have an undying attachment for it. But the allotments of land seem to be contemplated on a temporary basis. Then, there is the question of political rights for Indians which the European planters do not like to face. Even supposing that steps are taken to create permanent interest in land on the part of Indian labourers, they will naturally feel discontented in the absence of any political rights for themselves.

EACH FOR HIMSELF !

INDIAN reaction to the conquest and annexation of Abyssinia by Italy is best shown by the following resolution of which notice has been given by Mr. M. Anantasayanam Iyengar, M.L.A., for the purpose of being moved in the next session of the Legislative Assembly :

Whereas the League of Nations has failed to prevent the destruction of Abyssinia, one of the members of the League, by taking proper action in due time, but has on the other hand done positive disservice to Abyssinia by feeding it continually with false hopes of help, and as it (the League) does not promise to be of any use to save weaker nations from the aggression of stronger ones even in the future, but has only become a costly show, this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to take early steps to withdraw the membership of this country from the League and to discontinue the payment of the annual contribution thereto.

The failure of the League is much more tragic and blameworthy than is represented in the above resolution. If it were the case that the League Powers used all their resources in restraining and punishing the aggressor but that he proved too powerful for them, the League's failure would be tragic but not blameworthy. It might be hoped that the League would be rendered stronger in course of time, and its utility restored in full measure. But the gravest part of this ghastly tragedy consists in this that the aggressor could have been stopped almost immediately without any serious danger to any of the important Powers, and yet no Power thought it its business to do so, each acting in the light of its self-interest. Collective security has failed, because being in theory everybody's business, it is in fact nobody's business.

Let us suppose, for instance, that Mussolini had attacked Kenya instead of attacking poor Abyssinia. Would not have Britain put in the field immediately all the forces of the Empire it could collect, and if Italy had to face the armies of the British Empire instead of those of Haile Selassie would the result have been for a moment in doubt ? In fact every British statesman including Sir Samuel Hoare is emphatic in asserting that the military arm of Britain is more than equal to that of Italy. Why then did Britain hang back in this hour of supreme danger to Abyssinia ? Because it was only Abyssinia that was involved, and Britain did not consider it part of its duty to mobilise all its forces to save this member of the League. Collective security is understood by Britain, as indeed by all other Powers, in a very narrow sense. It may join with others in naming Italy an aggressor, it may also agree along with them in imposing certain mild non-military sanctions, it may even go with them in waging a defensive war ; but other countries must play their part. If these, either from unwillingness or inability, fail to do their share Britain thinks that it is justified in defaulting on its obligations. It does not say to itself : " Other Powers too ought to have come forward in making what contribution they can to pooled security. They have not carried out their obligations, but that is no reason why we should not carry out ours. We by ourselves can bring the aggressor on his knees ; let us

do so. The disloyalty of other members does not absolve us from the duties which loyalty to the League imposes upon every member."

Britain, however, does not recognise—and indeed no Power does—that its membership of the League involves making available to the country whose territorial integrity is threatened all the resources at its disposition. Such an obligation follows only from a regional Pact as, for instance, the Locarno Pact. If any of the Locarno Powers are threatened, Britain has undertaken to go to their aid with all its military force. But where Britain has not entered into any such Pact, its obligation is just nil. That is why Britain and every other Power that could export oil continued supplying this war material to Italy, thus prolonging the war which they pretended all the while to be engaged in bringing to a halt. In order that collective security may become a reality, there must be such partial security pacts in all regions, where there is likely to be any danger. If any country fails to secure such a pact with powerful countries in its region, it remains insecure though a member of the League. The forces at the service of the League in any dispute are not all the forces of all the League States, nor all the surplus forces of all the League States, nor all the surplus forces of all the States which are in a position to render effective help to the threatened country, but only the surplus forces of all such States as have undertaken an explicit obligation to render help. The effectiveness of the League, therefore, depends upon every country, big or small, being able to persuade mighty countries round about it to offer it assistance. If any country fails to do so, any gangster nation may come and march into it with impunity. The League can give it no protection.

What does this mean ? It means that we come back to the pre-war system of military alliances. Every country must either be sufficiently armed to repel the attacks of possible invaders with its own unaided strength, or it must depend upon its allies to do what by itself it cannot do. A country which is itself weak or cannot boast of powerful allies must go to the wall. What allies is a country like Abyssinia going to get ? All it can hope to do is to play off one imperialist country against another, as in fact it did in the past. It could maintain its independence so far only because of the three countries—England, France and Italy—from which quarter danger lay none would allow the others to absorb it. But now conditions have changed, and the result is the annexation of Abyssinia by one of them. But it shows that, as before, material might prevails over moral right, in spite of the emergence of the League. For the new pacts in the League framework, like the old alliances on the principle of balance of power, are entered into in each case only when national interests demand them. Mr. Eden frankly admitted in the House of Commons recently that in signing the Locarno Pact Britain did nothing to oblige either France or Germany, but that it did what was plainly dictated by its own interests. Thus self-interest in the

narrow sense continues even in post-war days to be the governing consideration. Each country is bent upon the selfish service of its own national interests, and no country is interested in an unselfish way in the general welfare of the world. In such a situation each one for himself and the devil take the hindmost is the rule. The devil has taken the hindmost in this case, because each country lives only unto itself.

Two proposals for the reform of the League are made. One is that collective security, which is now only nominal, be formally done away with and regional security established in itself. This is frankly a reversion to the old-style Balance of Power. The other proposal is to make the League a purely mediatory body. Sir John Simon has always understood the League to be a body which was never meant to exercise any coercive function. Thus it is proposed that Articles 10 and 16 be expunged from the Covenant. The League will then be rendered a mere debating society. If it persists in this form it will be a League—not as it was originally intended to be, but as those who desire to destroy its usefulness would have it. Viscount Cecil has stated what Britain's own part was in making the League the police force of the world. He said in the House of Lords :

The very first paper which was submitted by the British Cabinet about the League of Nations consisted almost entirely of Articles 15 and 16 of the Covenant. That is to say, it suggested that in future before any war was engaged in, whenever a rupture had occurred or was likely to occur between two countries, the matter should be submitted to the consideration of the Council of the League, that they should give some opinion within six months, and that not until three months after they had given their opinion should it be legitimate for any country to go to war, and even then not in all cases, with which I need not trouble your Lordships. But at any rate there was to be that delay—that "moratorium" as it was called by General Smuts—between the quarrel taking a dangerous shape and the possibility of the outbreak of war. If any country in breach of that undertaking resorted to war, then the other countries were to combine, to put first diplomatic and then economic pressure upon the delinquent country, and then, if necessary, to consult with one another as to what military measures, if any, it was desirable to take with regard to that country. . . . I was present, I think, at the whole of this (League) discussion in Paris, and I remember very well a considerable discussion on a French proposition as to whether there should be a military organisation at the disposal of the League, with a General Staff and things of that kind. That proposal was negatived, but the proposal that there should be collective action against a wrong-doer was never negatived; indeed it was always accepted as an elementary part of the Covenant, and it has been so recognised repeatedly by spokesmen in this country and spokesmen abroad on behalf of this country.

Whether, therefore, the coercive clauses of the Covenant are scored out, or whether the system of regional pacts of security alone is retained taking out the system of unrestricted collective security, or whether the system of collective security is formally retained but virtually scrapped as now, the League can be of no assistance to militarily weak and economically poor countries like Abyssinia. The League has been tried and found wanting. It has failed every time its strength was tested. In Manchuria it failed woefully; but it could at least be said then that the

Far East was on the periphery of League interests. The European Powers could not have done much there. But the rape of Abyssinia took place under the nose of these Powers. They could easily have prevented it, but they did not exert themselves. Mr. Baldwin wants the League to be given a further trial. How many countries should aggressors be allowed to gobble up before the League can be pronounced to have failed irretrievably? The big strong Powers have patience enough, not so the small weak ones. The latter are convinced that the existing peace mechanisms have proved thoroughly useless and that there is no pooled security. If peace is exposed to danger justice is still more so. The big countries may by pacts of non-aggression and mutual assistance preserve peace, but the small countries cannot save themselves from aggression; they cannot obtain justice—unless, as it is said, *justice is the interest of the stronger.*

CURRENT COMMENT.

IN the current number of the *Indian Review* Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer writes:—

Few people are satisfied with the new constitution and a great majority of people believe that the fetters and safeguards provided by the constitution will seriously interfere with the economic development of the country and retard the attainment of Dominion Status. The letter of the new constitution does not justify much confidence in the possibility of making any great advance under it. But the spirit in which it may be worked by the Government may, to some extent, dispel the present feeling of pessimism. If the Government are guided by an exclusive regard to the interests of India and its political, economic and military development, and are not swayed by a regard for British or imperial interests inconsistent with the progress of India, and if they give up the time-honoured policy of 'divide and rule' and the encouragement of communal tendencies, they may be able to create a spirit of confidence in the sincerity of their intentions to speed the progress of India.

AS portraying public opinion on the new constitution, this passage presents a faithful picture. Few people are satisfied with the constitution, and a great majority of them think that it retards the attainment of Dominion Status by India. There is a good deal of pessimism among the people, but it is possible for this pessimism to be replaced by confidence if the Government undergoes a change of heart. All this is true. But what precisely is Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's own position? Is he amongst the small minority who think that, even with the fetters and safeguards provided in the new constitution, a satisfactory economic development of the country is possible and the attainment of Dominion Status a practical proposition? Does he think that a complete transformation of Government policy such as would justify a spirit of confidence in the new constitution is within the bounds of possibility?

If he does not, what is his purpose in giving expression to this sentiment? His doing so at this time is very much like a leader of the Ethiopian people saying immediately after the annexation of Abyssinia: "It is true that our country is conquered by Italy. We have lost our sovereignty; but if only

the Italian Government will not treat us as a conquered people but will let us live in our country as if we were still masters of it, we can yet look upon the future with confidence. It will then not be necessary for us to go into mourning over our loss of titular independence." Yes, if Italy does treat a subjugated country as though it were independent, the Ethiopians will be able to retrieve their position even under a military defeat. But such things do not happen in this mundane world, and we are sure no patriotic Ethiopian would indulge in such reflections.

DOES Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer want the Indian people to follow a policy of resignation, of submission to an accomplished fact, hoping that everything will turn out well in the end? If so, it would be well if he said so. One can quite understand how even those who are keen on a large measure of constitutional advance take up this position. A policy of opposition, they will say, continued after the enactment of the constitution, will lead to acute tension, strife, disturbance of peace, chaos and perhaps civil war, and anything is better than this condition. Opposition therefore must be dropped, and active co-operation offered. Is Sir Sivaswamy among the people who argue in this way? "Fortunately," he says, "for the interests of peaceful administration, the constitution is absolutely proof against all attempts at sabotage. The administration cannot possibly be overthrown or paralysed by any peaceful means." What we are concerned to know is whether, in his opinion, effective provision against the wrecking of the constitution which makes mockery of all our aspirations is as much in the interest of the country's political progress as in that of "peaceful administration," whether in other words he would regard wrecking as desirable if practicable. His outlook on the situation would differ if he thought it desirable.

WE would only like to add that it is a vain hope that the precautions that Government have taken to insure the constitution against sabotage will lead to peaceful administration. On the contrary nothing is so certain as this, that if a constitution cannot be altered by peaceful means violent means will be taken to alter it. And it is the moral duty of all those who do not favour violence to give this warning to Government. If by constitutional means no adjustments can be introduced into the political structure, people resort to force in some form or other. This is the teaching of history. Lord Lothian is now foremost among British politicians in enforcing this teaching in its application to international affairs. "Just as inside the State," he said recently, "unless Governments move sufficiently with the times, indignation and a sense of injustice gradually rise to revolutionary violence, so in international affairs unless changes are made in time war becomes inevitable." We wish Sir Sivaswamy would point the moral to our Government in internal politics. For it is impossible that all people will place peace before justice; some are bound to place justice before peace.

THE Indian States' People's Conference seized the opportunity of the visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Bombay to make known to him once again the grievances of the States' people. The Pandit addressed a public meeting at the Marwadi Vidyalaya, in which he explained his personal position. This, we fancy, the States' people will feel to be perfectly satisfactory.

HE assured the States' people that the Congress fight for freedom was for the whole country and not for the people of British India alone. Whenever the Congress succeeded in establishing a constituent assembly, the States' subjects would be given the same rights as those of the people of British India. When, however, such an assembly would be established he did not know, for he declared it was going to be a revolutionary body. He then disclaimed the intention of the Congress to follow a policy of non-interference in States' affairs. "Supposing," he said, "there is a struggle in a particular province, the major portion of the struggle must be carried on by that province itself. But the Congress organisation in other provinces will not sit quiet and silently watch the fight. The Congress will play its role. Similarly when the States' subjects are fighting their rulers, the Congress will not sit quiet and witness the former being crushed. But the States' subjects should not bank too much on others."

THE States' people's demand is very simple, viz., that as the Congress has both the British Indian people and the States' people for its members, it should not discriminate between them. If a constituent assembly cannot be convoked for British India, they do not want it to be convoked for the Indian States; but if it is convoked it should be for both, and the States' people should have a place on it on the same terms as the British Indian people. Similarly they realise that the responsibility for carrying on the struggle for internal political freedom in the States must rest largely on themselves, as the responsibility for carrying on the struggle in any province in British India must rest largely on the people of that particular province. But as in a province the Congress identifies itself with the struggle and gives such active help as it can when the struggle enters on a crucial stage, so should the Congress identify itself with the struggles in the States and give active help in them to the extent of its capacity when these struggles enter on a crucial stage.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL has thus given what we should regard as full satisfaction to the States' people, but he has done so only in his personal capacity. The Congress policy, however, is opposed to his own policy and is not altered by what he says. The Subjects Committee of the Lucknow Congress turned down a proposal for the admission of the States' people to the constituent assembly and for the recognition of the principle that, while the main burden of a struggle in a State must fall upon the people of the State, the Congress considers it its moral duty to give such active support to them as it might be possible for it

to give in the circumstances. About Pandit Jawaharlal's own views there was never any doubt; but the Congress policy in this as in many other matters is in flat contradiction to his, and the grievances of the States' people against the Congress will remain till Pandit Jawaharlal is able to persuade the Congress to accept his policy.

AN INFERIOR CITIZENSHIP.

JAN H. HOFMEYR, Minister of the Interior in the Union Government, condemned the Union Government's Representation of Natives Bill in a vigorous speech, which has been greatly admired by liberal-minded people all over the world. It is undoubtedly a courageous speech and in some respects a great speech, but just for that reason it also brings out in bold relief the severe limitations to which the liberalism of even the most go-ahead of white statesmen is subject. Mr. Hofmeyr rightly said: "The central feature of the Bill is to give to the natives an inferior, a qualified citizenship, a citizenship which has the marks of inferiority in clause after clause of this Bill, and which bears the added stigma that whatever may be the advance of the native in civilisation and education, to all intents and purposes he is limited for all time to three members in a house of 153. That surely is a qualified, an inferior citizenship. This Bill says that even the most educated native shall never have political equality with even the least educated and cultured white or coloured man. This Bill says to these educated natives: 'There is no room for you, you must be driven back upon your own people.'" The inferior citizenship provided for in the Bill consists, according to Mr. Hofmeyr, in the setting up of a separate racial franchise for the natives, and in the allocation to them of only three seats in the House of Assembly to be filled by whites, the number of three never being capable of increase except by a two-thirds vote of the Union Parliament.

The deprivation of the natives, however, appears more grievous on paper than it is in fact. For at present the number of Cape natives on the electoral roll is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total number of voters, and in the existing circumstances they could never hope to obtain more than three seats. The deprivation would be real if the number of native voters could increase *pari passu* with the spread of education. But if every time the native vote grew the whites adopted measures for raising the franchise qualifications, as even liberal-minded white statesmen have done and would do, with the express purpose of keeping down the number of native voters, then natives stand to lose little if their representation in the House of Assembly is fixed statutorily at three. Mr. Hofmeyr uses very high-sounding words in denouncing the Bill; he speaks of equal political rights for the natives. But the equal political rights that he would himself confer upon the natives are very limited. When in 1930 Senator F. S. Malan proposed that while Europeans should have adult suffrage, for non-Europeans all over the Union there should be a franchise test consisting of mono-

salary qualification, Mr. Hofmeyr moved an amendment to this proposal. The amendment was as follows:

That Senator F. S. Malan's proposals should be adopted in so far as they apply to natives in the Cape only; with the provision that the franchise qualifications for natives shall be subject to periodic adjustment, so that the number of natives admitted to the voters' roll shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the total voters' roll of the Cape Province.

At no time, according to this proposal, could the natives hope to have more than a 10 per cent. representation by white representatives on the House of Assembly in their own country. They are thrice or four times as numerous as the whites, and yet all they could hope to get under the most generous proposal the whites can make is one-tenth of the Cape seats in the Assembly to be filled by white men—not only now, but at any time in future. To talk of equal political rights for the natives in connexion with a proposal like this is buncum. And even this so-called generous proposal was to apply only to the Cape. What about the other Provinces? Mr. Hofmeyr only proposed that the Governor-General should appoint one senator each (of course white) to represent the natives in the Transvaal, Free State and Natal. A generous proposal indeed!

Mr. Hofmeyr's criticism of the Hertzog Bill was very severe, but we wish to point out how puny his own proposal was. Mr. Hofmeyr said:

This Bill is a Bill, the acknowledged aim of which is the self-preservation of the European. It starts out from fear and its underlying conception is the interest of the stronger. I do not believe that, in those circumstances, you can attain self-preservation. I do not believe that you can, in this country, have a safe native policy which is not based on consent. I do not believe that we can assure the nature of white civilisation in South Africa, save with the consent and the good-will of the non-European people. When I hear the Christian principle of self-preservation invoked in connexion with this Bill, then I am reminded of the eternal paradox that whosoever will save his life shall lose it. It has been said recently, and I think we all acclaim it, that "The spirit of inequality and subjection in which the Peace of Versailles was concluded could only lead to great trouble. We are passing through days of division and strife, we have had them for years, and they are the result of that Peace." I can only hope that the same division and strife is not going to be the result of the spirit of inequality and subjection which is largely at the root of this Bill.

This is well said, but the same spirit of inequality and subjection lies at the root of Mr. Hofmeyr's own proposal, though of course in a lesser degree. If General Hertzog would limit white representatives of natives to three, whatever advance native education may make, Mr. Hofmeyr would raise the number but limit it there for all time. His proposal too would fail to receive the free consent of the natives. It cannot but fill the advocates of real equality and freedom with the greatest alarm to see that even the statesmen who are supposed to be wholly free from racial bias are unable to contemplate Africa being governed by the Africans even in the distant future.

Reviews.

LIFE IN THE HIMALAYAS.

THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF THE HIMALAYANS. By S. D. PANT. (Allen and Unwin.) 1935. 22cm. 264 p. 15/-

THIS is one of the most delightful books we have yet read in the field of Indian socio-economic studies. The grandeur, the simplicity and the romance, with which Nature has invested the Himalayas and which have held both geographers and ecologists alike under their spell, are most wonderfully painted as a background into this picture of the socio-economic life of the Himalayans, whom Dr. Pant has now definitely put on the map of the world. Developing out of a thesis for the Master's Degree at the Lucknow University, this book has, for the first time, made available to the enquiring world a truly scientific account of the human geography and social economy of the Himalayans. The study covers only the region known as the Kumaon Himalayas, but it may be taken as fairly typical of the entire range. As Sir Edward Blunt says, moreover, Mr. Pant, himself a Kumaoni, is well fitted to write of Kumaon and the Kumaonis.

The whole life of the Himalayans is conditioned by the natural factor: "Nature here is awful, impressive, and overpowering, and the hillman must bow before it in humility and reverence." On the one hand, there are the tremendous difficulties of the environment; on the other, there is the constant effort and struggle of man to adapt himself to the impact of varying forces. Consequently, seasonal nomadism, alternating with strenuous agricultural life, is a principal feature of the life and labour of the Himalayans. This has left its stamp on the habits, institutions and superstitions of the people. The character of the mountain economy has been largely self-sufficient; still, in recent times, inroads have been made upon this self-sufficiency by modern civilisation. "New ideas of comfort are gradually influencing them. . . . The merchant and the commercial traveller have approached even the higher habitations. The advent of motor coaches, and their penetration to the outlying parts of the district and the introduction of new and cheap luxuries, have greatly modified the Bhotiya's mode of living." The semi-nomadism has taught the hillmen to be in tune with Nature and a community life of mutual aid and kindness in labour, leisure and recreation prevails especially among the Bhotiyas. Dr. Pant describes the Bhabar Exodus during winter and the Bhotiya migrations in summer in the most picturesque language. His ecological and botanical studies are equally instructive and his observations regarding *Katli* culture, with its adverse effects on forest conservancy, and regarding terracing, and dry and wet farming in the Himalayan regions merit serious consideration. But perhaps the most interesting parts of the book are those dealing with the status of women, festivals and ceremonies. Among the Bhotiyas, the able-bodied males migrate during the summer months to Tibet and the women have to manage affairs in their absence; this training in responsibility makes them self-reliant and capable housewives, enjoying a status of equality with men in most matters. They are physically fit and in matters of marriage, they have their own voice, while they can have property (*stridhan*) of their own. In the sub-Himalayan region, however, woman's position is decidedly worse; here, she is a drudge and a slave. Polygamy is rampant, in spite of the local proverb that "Two marriages make the life of a man as wretched as that of a dog." In theory, woman here is a god-

dess (*Shakti*) and as another proverb says, "Without a woman, everything is in darkness," but in practice a woman has been likened to a worn-out shoe!

The book is copiously illustrated with panoramic and other photographs and also equipped with maps, while a complete glossary of local words is attached. The author is to be congratulated on the production of a painstaking and interesting survey of incomparable merit.

B. P. ADARKAR.

PROBLEM OF FEDERALISM.

FEDERALISM IN GOVERNMENT. By M. VENKATARAMAIA. (The Andhra University, Waltair.) 1935. 24cm. 215p. Rs. 2.

THAT the literature on the subject of Federalism is growing in India is not surprising. The contemporary movements in the sphere of Indian government constitute more than sufficient incentive for activity on the part of Indian scholars. It is very encouraging that this activity is not confined to particularised descriptions but is aimed at reading the immediate happenings in India against the background of political theory and historical experience. This book is a very creditable production of this type and deserves the attention of all Indian readers interested in federalism.

A comparative study of different constitutional systems and an attempt at a definition of federalism are rightly adopted by the author as starting points for his more intensive study. The definition adopted is very sound, inasmuch as it is accurate as well as comprehensive. This is followed by a description of the Indian constitution, which is described as mixed in character. Such a description is plausible but not very significant. The characteristic feature of the Indian constitution is not its mixed nature—as this does not result from any deliberate adoption of a mixed principle—but its transitional and changing character. India by the very nature of its political evolution is in the throes of a national movement, which at different stages reveals different features, only to make room for others. The only helpful study of the Indian constitution is the one undertaken in a historical spirit.

Chapter II contains a very helpful discussion about the essentials of Federalism. The author's view that a Second Chamber is unnecessary, even in a federation, is in keeping with doctrinaire opinion of recent times. But the adoption of bi-cameralism in U. S. S. R. and its universal prevalence in the older countries seem to stand for a wide recognition of its practical utility, which after all matters more than political theorising. The forces making for federalism are outlined in the next chapter, and it is hoped that those interested in the so-called Federal constitution to be inaugurated in India will ponder over the author's judgment that in the absence of a spirit of community among the constituent parts of a federation several forces may make for disruption. The author's description of the relevant facts concerning the communal and State politics in India is at least realistic.

The vexed question about the distribution of functions and powers in a federation is dealt with without the old type notions of a dogmatic or clear-cut differentiation, and the historical peculiarities of each federal country are given their due importance. With the growing integration of the economic and cultural life of 'federations,' a new outlook of sympathetic appreciation is bound to emerge towards the greater mutual dependence of state and federal governments. The legalistic view of the federal constitutions, however helpful it may be for purely analytical purpo-

ses, is without much political significance inasmuch as the course of public events in a federation has almost invariably tended to overstep the barriers created in written instruments. The recent and contemporary happenings in the United States of America are very significant in this respect.

The structural peculiarities of several federations have been described with a view to deduce some generalised trends. This is a very important part of the work which will be of much interest to students of federalism. A study of the present working and future prospects of federalism has evoked from the author several penetrating and optimistic paragraphs which the student ought not to miss. The Indian experiment at federalisation is discussed in a separate chapter. In common with many other theoretical students the author has picked up several doubtful points in the proposed Federal structure in India. The position sanctioned for the States under the new constitution comes up for prominent mention in this respect, and the author feels that even the extraordinary powers of the provincial governors offend against the minimum of provincial independence that is required in a Federation. It is exactly in criticisms like this that the roles of student and publicist ought to be carefully differentiated.

If we take our definition of federalism from some jurist or political scientist and with its aid try to pick holes in the proposed federal garb for the new Indian constitution, the endeavour will be as easy as futile. For the student of federalism the most important and significant aspects of the Indian constitution are its reactions to changing political feeling in the country. That the States are given greater independence than in other federations and that the provinces are given too little are less significant features than the other facts that under the new constitution the States, for the first time, are coming into organic political contact with the provinces, and that these latter are to enjoy considerable powers of autonomous administration. The new Indian constitution is not federalism *par excellence*, but much less is it near any other recognised form. It is on the road to federalisation. It is this changeful character of political institutions in general and of Indian political institutions in particular that has supreme interest for the students of comparative government in India.

Mr. Venkatarangaiya's book throws much critical light on the problem of federalism and its special manifestation in India. It should be read by all students of federations in this country.

D. G. KARVE.

SOCIALISM.

WHY SOCIALISM? By JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN. (The A. I. C. Socialist Party, Benares.) 1936. 20cm. 160p. As. 10.

ST. JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN, who was till recently the Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, has addressed this book primarily to the Congress workers. It is stated that it is not the author's intention to explain socialistic theory but only "to elucidate certain problems arising out of the present stage of the national movement and the problems of its future directions".

The book is therefore propagandist in character. In the first chapter the author describes the schools of socialism in brief. Chapter II is devoted to an elaborate explanation of what the Congress Socialist Party stands for. Under different heads the principles of the party are described in detail.

Alternatives to socialism are discussed in the third chapter. Here, the author confines his attention mainly to an examination of the two schools of thought represented by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Bhagavan Das respectively. In regard to the first, after a detailed criticism of Gandhism, the author considers that a well-intentioned but a dangerous doctrine—dangerous because it deceives the masses and encourages the upper classes to continue their domination. The change of heart that Gandhism hopes for, according to the author, is never realisable.

The scheme propounded by Dr. Bhagavan Das is also dismissed as impracticable because his ideas are also based upon the method of persuasion. "The vision is no doubt inspired but there is a shadow of the whole thing." The pleading of the Doctor for a school of Yoga is decried as being out of tune with the present day capitalistic society which has its own standards and values types of man different from the missionaries of Brahma, as suggested by Bhagavan Das. Chapter IV deals with the methods and technique of Socialism. Here are reviewed certain common criticisms and suggestions put forward for the consideration of the socialist party.

The intentions of the author about the purpose of the book are made quite clear from the beginning and it must be conceded that the book more than justifies its object. By reducing the price of the publication to a nominal figure, the chances of its wider circulation among the masses could have been better assured.

Socialism in its manifold forms has always found champions for a long time. Examples of success have been recited. But the question for serious consideration is the form in which it should be adopted in order to ensure the minimum of social disturbance. Non-violence is never an unalterable creed of the Congress Socialist party. But let us not forget that capitalism of the extreme conservative type is a thing of the past. If Indian genius, according to the author, is eminently fitted to appreciate the basic principles underlying common endeavour and the sharing of life, foreign examples involving revolutionary changes of our present order may not be the best means of ensuring an effective realisation of the goal, which should prove to be both practical and enduring.

S. GOPALASWAMY.

SHORT NOTICE.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF BHAMBU SANDILA. By ABDUL RAHIM KHAN, (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1935. 25cm. 205p. Rs. 3.

THIS is the survey of Bhambu Sandila in Muzaffargarh district in South Punjab. It is dry and sandy, 'no good, nor ever likely to be.' It has 812 cultivated acres and 550 acres of waste land. The main sources of irrigation are the inundation canals from the Indus and wells and ponds. It is a Mohammedan village containing 553 persons. Of the 327 landowners 150 are living out of the village. There is not much of fragmentation, but the difficulty is about the minute fractional shares which are owned by many. A case is met with in which 14 acres of land is divided over 22 wells. As the soil is poor and the percentage of failures is great, money rent is not established, but the batai tenants have permanency of tenure and they cultivate as well as the landowners themselves. Though the economic condition of the area has not improved the land revenue and the occupiers' rate have been always on the increase. "Dates.—The present Jama is Rs. 3. The number

of female trees is 250. The trees are not good. Assess Rs. 12." This is an extract from the settlement inspection report and this explains the logic of the enhancement of government dues. The village has a total unsecured debt of Rs. 14621 and 333 acres are under mortgage in the period of the survey. Taccavi loans are not quite popular and a settlement officer says that they really help the money-lender and not the cultivator. Practically the whole area of the village seemed to have changed hands in the course of forty years from 1894. The price of land is not high, as at the average a cultivated acre is sold for Rs. 86. Marketing facilities in this village are absent; and co-operation has not entered it even in the sphere of credit. Except shoe-making, there is

no other industry worth naming, but cotton is spun at home and woven in the village itself. Except for nice wear the people generally use the coarse home-spun Khadder. Dates and mango trees add to the income of the owners. The process of agriculture is the old time-honoured one, and new implements and methods have not found their way into this village. A detailed study of goat rearing is also given.

An attempt to compare the facts of this village with others already obtained is a new and a happy feature. Profuse quotations from other works help a clearer understanding of the problem. Useful charts, maps, and tabular statements are appended.

N. S. S.

HANDLOOM INDUSTRY IN MADRAS.

BY R. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

AMONG the many cottage industries which provide subsidiary or main occupation to a large number of families, handloom weaving occupies an important place. In the case of most families it is the main and hereditary occupation. As they depend for their subsistence on this occupation only, its failure for any cause would render them utterly helpless, depriving them of their bread as it often happens and recently happened in Salem. This industry is responsible for the production of a large quantity of cloth without which the cloth supply of the Madras Presidency would be greatly diminished, affecting the consumers badly. It also provides cloth of a class, quality and durability which is always in demand especially as no animal fat is used in sizing and the colour is fast and the cloth wears longer than the cloth prepared on power-looms.

It is true Bombay and other provinces import a large quantity of cheap mill-made cloth and foreign imports of cloths mainly from Japan continue in a large measure. There has also been an increase in the production of cloth even in the mills in Southern India, as will be evident by the increase in production from 25,000,000 yards in 1910-11 to 75,000,000 yards in 1934-35. In spite of increased production of mill cloth and of imports, local and foreign, the handloom industry consumed 78.8 millions of yarn in 1934-35 and produced 315,000,000 yards of cloth, while the consumption of yarn in 1910-11 was only 59.1 million pounds of yarn and production of 236,000,000 yards of cloth. More than 300,000 handlooms are at work engaging as many as the same number of persons in weaving, leaving out of account those engaged in preparatory processes. These and other facts should convince any unprejudiced observer that the handloom industry cannot be totally killed. It is bound to subsist though in a precarious condition and that given favourable conditions it can grow and supply a great deal more of the cloth requirements of the Presidency. But it should be observed that the increase in the consumption of yarn and the production of cloth by the handloom industry have not been either in proportion to the growth in the weaver population or commensurate with the demand for cloth-supply due to increase in the general population. Nor is the percentage of increase in the production of handloom cloth as large as that of the mill cloth. This is due to factors which affect production over many of which the weaver has no control. In spite of unfavourable circumstances which almost threaten to kill the handloom industry, it is a fact, however tragic none the less patent and true, that the hand-

loom weaver still clings to this industry, being perhaps compelled to do so because of its being his hereditary occupation carried on in his house and providing work for the members of his family and lack of any other remunerative rural industry. In the nature of things any attempt to divert the weaver community to other occupations will not meet with success at all. Moreover the existence of the handloom industry and its development are in the interests of the consumer as that industry alone can supply cloths of a kind which are in demand and it is doubtful, nay impossible, at any time for the mill cloth to take its place. So to those interested in the development of rural industries as a part of any programme of rural reconstruction the problem of the weaver and his uplift should appeal most.

DISABILITIES AND REMEDIES.

The next question for consideration is what the disabilities of the handloom industry are and how best to remove at least some of them, in order that it may thrive and make steady progress. Some of the disabilities with suggested remedies are dealt with below.

Various factors affect the cost of production, and of these the cost of raw material is the most important. The wages are already low and further reduction is neither possible nor advisable. Reduction in the cost of manufacture is, therefore, mainly dependent on the reduction in the price of yarn. The protection afforded to the Indian spinning mills has resulted in increase in the price of yarn, considerably reducing the imports, even if they have not been completely shut out. It is also understood that the price of cloth produced in the Indian mills has not risen to the same extent as yarn and they produce cloth from the same counts of yarn as those used by the handloom weavers. The handloom weaver is, therefore, at a great disadvantage. If the mills do not produce cloth of the same counts of yarn as those used by the handloom weaver, he will then be able to raise the price of cloth and make good the higher cost of yarn. The handloom weaver suffers from the fact that he cannot raise the price of cloth beyond that of mill cloth while he is forced to pay increased price for yarn. Therefore, it is suggested that the mill should undertake not to weave cloths of counts up to 40s. It is understood that this proposal was recently the subject of a conference of representatives of handloom weavers and the mill-owners with a view to arrive at an agreed understanding and its deliberations resulted in no agreement. So if the mills are not prepared to give

this undertaking, a cess of at least 3 pies on every pound of yarn consumed by the weaving mills should be levied. If either of these proposals do not receive support, it should be the endeavour of all interested in the handloom industry to agitate for the removal of all import duties on yarn. The false sentiment of promoting swadeshi mill industry should under no circumstances be allowed to kill the handloom industry bringing misery and starvation into countless homes. In addition the local Government should be free to levy a terminal tax on every pound of cloth brought into the provinces and they should also be empowered to restrict the installation of additional power looms until the required quota of handloom production is obtained. The amount realised either as cess or as terminal tax should be utilised for the purpose of helping the handloom industry. It is doubtful if even any of these alternative suggestions will receive the support they deserve. It is best to recognise that it is not too easy to reconcile the interests of the Indian mills and the handloom weavers in India. Any measures adopted to prop up the mill industry will not necessarily further the interests of the handloom industry. It is worth while for the Government of India to appoint a special Tariff Board mainly to examine the effect of import duties on yarn on the handloom industry, the extent of Indian mill competition with handloom weaving industry and to fix the quota of production between the mills and handlooms. The facts disclosed may be staggering. Nevertheless it is better to know facts and face them rather than rely on mere sentiment. This Tariff Board should also consider what steps should be taken, by legislation if necessary, to compel mills to adhere to correct count, length and weight of yarn in bundles to prevent any deviations which the ignorant handloom weaver is not at present in a position to detect.

While the high cost of production and the consequent high price of cloth owing to causes mentioned above is largely responsible for not finding ready and adequate sales for the handloom products, there is no denying the fact that increased, adequate and organised marketing facilities will greatly improve the situation. The mills give as much attention to sales agencies as they do to production and their sales are more and quicker. Owing to the poor economic condition of the handloom weaver he is the victim of many a middleman to whom he is always heavily indebted. Often he has to be content to receive the price he is paid for and often he undersells his goods in order to satisfy his immediate wants. Even for raw materials required to keep him occupied and enable him to earn his living, he has often to rely on the middleman who adopts all kinds of methods to keep him always in his clutches. The description that is true of the Indian labourer in the plantations that he is born in debt, lives in debt, and dies in debt, may with equal force be true of the handloom weaver. His is a miserable existence as even his freedom of movement is restricted owing to the paucity and unsuitability of other occupations. He is often the producer and seller combined and usually he spends more time in finding sale for his finished products than even in producing them unless he has a middleman to receive his finished products and the weaver is prepared to receive the price he is pleased to offer. So continuity of employment is non-existent as it depends on the quick sale of finished goods. Lack of certainty of employment places him at the mercy of sahukars who are generally middlemen.

The weaver is generally conservative and he clings, as in other matters, to his age-long methods of production. In some places it has taken years to bring home to his mind the value of labour-saving appliances and the improved methods of weaving.

But in view of the fact he has come to realise that he has to face competition from mills, a new and serious factor in the situation, he is now inclined to change his methods or designs if they are brought to his notice. But the problem here is again that of marketing, for improved methods mean increased production. He is already finding it difficult to dispose easily and quickly of the goods manufactured according to primitive methods. So naturally he is content to pursue his old ways resigning himself to fate. Moreover, the weavers are difficult to organise for a common purpose. They feel organisation means disruption, forgetting the fact that in union lies strength and unhealthy competition has also been the cause of their ruin. They are as a rule the victims of three D's, viz. debt, drink and disease. The causes of their indebtedness have already been touched. A study of the economic condition of their community will disclose the fact that they are getting deeper into shackles of debt which is demoralising the community and as long as the load of debt remains any attempt to improve their lot will yield no adequate results. Drink has been ruining them and the little they are able to earn is wasted on drink. The wastage involved is hardly realised. They have a wrong notion that they can drown their woes in drink. Their earnings are poor; and these poor earnings are spent on drink. The natural consequence is that they fall easy victims to disease. In most cases while they have the desire to work and the necessary capacity to turn out good work, their physique is too poor to stand continuous strain for a length of time. To those who have even a cursory acquaintance with the life and labours of the weaver community, it is a wonder that the community has not yet been wiped out of existence.

With a view to encourage the handloom industry and to improve the lot of the weaver, the Government of India are pleased to give subventions to local Governments out of the sum collected by the levy of a specific duty on yarn. It may be stated here that a portion only of the sum realised from duties is allocated for this purpose. It may also be remembered that the handloom weaver is not only paying these duties indirectly but is also paying higher price for yarn of Indian mills contributing thereby indirectly to the growth of the Indian mill industry also at his expense. These duties on imported yarn have been imposed not for the purpose of protecting the handloom industry and not with the expressed or implied consent of the handloom weaver. So it is the bounden duty of the Government of India not only to increase the subventions allocating the whole amount realised from the duties but also to take all possible steps to protect the handloom weaver from unfair competition even though it be from the Indian mills. Various suggestions have already been made in regard to this matter. The local Governments have framed and put into effect schemes for the development of the handloom industry suited to conditions prevailing in different provinces.

THE MADRAS SCHEME.

The Madras scheme consists of the organisation of a Provincial Co-operative Society with weavers' primary societies affiliated to it. The authorised share capital of the Society is Rs. 500,000, shares being allotted to all those interested in improving the lot of the weavers' firms engaged in production and distribution of raw materials, mainly yarn and weavers' co-operative societies. The whole of the subvention is placed at the disposal of the Provincial Society to meet the cost of administration, recurring and non-recurring, and to give assistance, financial or other, to the weavers' societies. The Government have also taken power to nominate the first Board of Dire-

ctors for a period of one year. The Government are represented on the Board by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Director of Industries and the Textile Expert. The necessary staff to study the problem in all its aspects, especially in regard to the cost of production and the existing marketing facilities, has been provided. Five Supervisors have been appointed whose duty it is to supervise the working of the existing societies, assist in the marketing of their goods and start new societies wherever the need for them exists. It is only a few months since the Provincial Society has been in existence and it is too early to assess the value of its activities. However, some facts may be given. There are at present 39 weavers' societies affiliated to it, of which two of them are mere credit societies. The membership of these societies is about 1,700. It is hoped that when the nature of assistance given to societies is fairly known the membership will increase and that more societies will come into existence. Already there is a great demand for the organisation of more societies. But the Provincial Society is not in a position to give assistance to all newly organised societies. The nature of assistance to the affiliated societies is in the following ways: (1) giving of subsidy for administrative expenses and the provision of improved tools such as fly shuttle alays etc., (2) guaranteeing the supply of yarn through mills up to a limit, such limit being prescribed on the recommendation of the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, (3) and marketing the finished goods for which sales cannot be found locally, either through wholesale or retail merchants. So far under (1) 25 Societies have been given monthly subsidies amounting till now to Rs. 1,958. The Provincial Society has guaranteed to the mills the supply of yarn to 19 Societies of the value of Rs. 29,420. It may be noted that the guarantee given is not a grant and the amount is to be recovered from societies, those failing to pay on due dates being required to pay interest on the amounts outstanding. The Provincial Society and the primary society share equally the commission received on the purchase of yarn made from the mills. While every society is required to find local sales for its products, its surplus goods are proposed to be sold through Depots which are to be established at Madras, Madura, Bezwada and Calicut. It is learnt from experience that societies which have been enabled to run Depots with the assistance of Government grants have always managed to find better sales for their goods. Ultimately it may be necessary to establish a depot at each district centre linking them all with the Central Depot at Madras. It is also proposed to pay half the price of goods sent to Depots for sale, the amount being adjusted towards the yarn supply, and the balance of price will be paid monthly on sales made. A cloth designer attached to the Provincial Society is required to study the designs in vogue for which there is demand, propose new designs and pass them on to the primary societies. The Executive Officer of the Provincial Society is the administrative head giving his attention to marketing and supervising the work of Supervisors. The Society proposes to set up a finishing and calendering machine for the use of societies charging a small fee. The whole organisation when completed is meant to afford as much assistance as possible to the primary societies.

MODIFICATIONS NEEDED.

The Scheme outlined is not perfect and is not calculated to help all handloom weavers. From the figures already quoted it will be seen that the whole

scheme, even when it is completed, will be able to render assistance to a small body of weavers. As the funds at the disposal of the Provincial Society are limited and help cannot be given in the form of subsidy to more societies unless the subvention is increased, the number of weavers helped cannot at any time exceed 2,000. But there are nearly 300,000 weavers. What is to be the fate of other weavers? Are they to be deprived of help simply because they are not members of the Weavers' Societies? Is not the subsidy received from the Government of India on their account also? Are they not also contributing to the funds from which grants are made? There is no gainsaying the fact that these weavers also require assistance, and it will not be considered amiss if it is said that the members of weavers' societies receive undue preference and that too when others who are not in the co-operative movement, whose number is large, deserve help equally and the need to better their condition is as great. How best to bring them into this movement without waiting till they all organize themselves into societies is the problem. It may be argued that a Provincial Society registered under Madras Act VI of 1932 can render assistance to and have dealings only with affiliated societies registered under the Act. There is much force in this contention. But attention is respectfully invited to Section 60 of the Act whereby the Local Government may exempt any registered society from any of the provisions of the Act or may direct that such provision shall apply to such society with such modifications as may be specified in the order. Cannot the Provincial Society invoke this section and section 59 for the purpose and request the Government to allow the Provincial Society to frame a scheme to help non-member weavers also? The Government of India may also permit the Provincial Society to utilise the subsidy and if necessary they may even allocate a particular sum for this purpose only. While the affiliated societies will receive preferential treatment in regard to subsidy etc., the unorganised weaver will receive assistance at least in the matter of marketing. The problem is a very intricate one and at the same time a very important one.

The societies need cash to pay wages and incur other expenditure. It would be a great help to them if in addition to the guarantee for the supply of yarn a small amount is given as advance, charging interest if need be for working expenses. Every society cannot find sales for its finished goods and that too for all every day. The small amount of share capital raised will be locked up in business and will not be available for daily use. What the amount of advance should be and the terms of repayment may be fixed and strictly enforced. Half the cost of goods sent to Depots for sale is to be set off against the cost of yarn. While this by itself is no doubt a great help, payment of actual cash to meet wages and other expenses will enable increased production to take place.

The problem of handloom industry bristles with many difficulties so as to make one feel that whatever remedy may be tried the problem is impossible of solution. Circumstances over which the weaver has no control arise now and again and they have to be carefully watched and dealt with. The suggestions made in this article are based on the study of the conditions existing to-day. They may not be original; they may not, if given effect to, solve all the difficulties; they may not be perfect. Nevertheless they are designed to meet the situation as it exists to-day and so they merit consideration.—The *Indian Co-operative Review*.