

Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XIX, No. 26. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1936.

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

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	301
ARTICLES :—	
Report of the Special Tariff Board.	304
Federal Finance—The First Stage—III. By Prof. B. P. Adarkar.	305
Land Ownership in South Africa.	306
REVIEWS :—	
Political Theory.	308
The "General Theory" of Keynes. By Prof. B. P. Adarkar.	308
SHORT NOTICE.	309
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Press Opinions on S. I. Society's Report for 1935-36.	310

Topics of the Week.

Bury the Reforms Act.

REFERRING to Lord Zetland's speech on the five Orders in Council in the House of Lords, in which he held out threats against those who were advocating a policy of wrecking, Mr. Styamurti, the greatest protagonist of office acceptance in the Congress ranks, says :

The first thing for the Congressmen to do is to bring the maximum force to bear on the powers that be, and to make them realise that the Federation shall be still-born. In every Provincial Legislature with a Congress majority resolutions will be brought forward to the effect that Federation ought not to come into existence. The Congress will have the support of Mr. Jinnah and his party in this matter.

I look forward to a situation when the Federation will be still-born. Having read the Government of India Act carefully, I know there are no Governor's safeguards which can be brought into play to prevent this.

Mr. Satyamurti also says that progressive parties must so work the reforms in the Provinces, by proposing to spend a large amount of money on social services, as "to bring about a situation which will compel the revision of the Act on agreed lines." "Sooner or later," Mr. Satyamurti is convinced, "the Act will be buried, and when it is buried it will be buried unwept, unhonoured and unsung."

* * *

Nehru and Kelkar.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU in his autobiography has made reckless charges against all and

sundry and is now hard put to it to make out even a plausible case in support of them. When the Congress was engaged in carrying on a civil disobedience campaign, he says all non-Congress parties not only did not protest against, but indirectly supported, the repression that followed, the repression of normal political activities as well as of the civil disobedience campaign. It is a vile and wholly unfounded charge to bring against the Liberal and Responsivist parties. We made a protest against it on behalf of the Liberal Party and Mr. N. C. Kelkar recently challenged Pandit Jawaharlal to cite instances in which the Responsivist Party supported repression. Pandit Jawaharlal has no instances to cite. He should therefore have withdrawn the charges and tendered an apology. That is not, however, his way.

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FINDING that his attack was wholly unjust, he seeks to widen the controversy by introducing into it other matters entirely unconnected with that on which he was challenged. "You did not socially boycott those who were responsible for repression," "You co-operated with the Government which was engaged in putting down political agitation," etc. etc. This is now what he says, and his reply has evoked a stinging rejoinder from Mr. Kelkar, who says, in the course of it :

On this point I simply must say that Mr. Nehru is guilty of the grossest imaginable, and the foulest, defamation of me and my party, when he says that we have given even the remotest or the indirectest support to Government in their policy of repression. This one charge has hurt me most vitally. I believe I can never forgive him *this*. This is the stupidest, if also the wickedest, charge he has made; and I indignantly fling it back in his face. I may be a smaller man than him in other respects; but in point of condemnation of repression I honestly believe I will not yield to him or to any one.

We must say that there is not an atom of truth in the Pandit's accusation against the Responsivists, and that Mr. Kelkar's severe condemnation is thoroughly justified.

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Secret Service.

MR. D. N. SEN of *Advance* enquired of Prof. Berriedale Keith as to the truth or otherwise of the remark in the Joint Select Committee's Report that in England "the practice is that in a secret service case the names are not disclosed even to the Minister most immediately concerned" and as to the advisability of a provision in the Government of India Act based upon it. Prof. Keith's reply on this point is as follows :

It is, of course, nonsense to deny the responsibility of Ministers in England in respect of police work in any form.

The Chief Commissioner is not merely wholly subordinate to the Home Secretary, but he is on the most intimate terms with him under normal circumstances and is bound to keep him informed on any point in which the Home Secretary is interested. Naturally the latter is most anxious to be kept out of the unpleasant business of secret service work whenever of routine character, but anything of novelty would be reported at once to him, and he can demand and will receive at once any information whatever. The plain fact is that for certain purposes the Governor is given the powers of a Minister and that Indian Ministers are not regarded as trustworthy on principle. 'De facto', of course, the Governor may well really hand over his function to the Minister concerned, but the position is quite anomalous and the alleged parallel non-existent.

* * *

Local Self-Government in Maharashtra.

THE Maharashtra Divisional Local Bodies Conference which was held last week-end at Sholapur had for its president Mr. B. S. Kamat whose experience of local bodies is both long and varied. It is an undoubted fact that during the last twenty years the constitution of local bodies has undergone considerable liberalisation. Yet it is doubtful if the control of Government over them has showed a corresponding diminution. Mr. Kamat does not apparently object to Government control if and when it is administered in a sympathetic spirit and serves as guidance to local bodies. Control of this kind, he said, exists even in more advanced countries and has to be tolerated also in India. Only he stipulates that it should not assume the "form of petty red-tapism" and should be more of a guiding than of a vexatious nature, as is the case at present.

* * *

HAVE local bodies done their best to promote mass education? Mr. Kamat answers this question in the affirmative and supports his conclusion with some telling statistics. Out of 33 schemes for the introduction of compulsory education prepared and submitted to Government by municipalities, only eleven were sanctioned by Government till 1934, the corresponding figures of schemes for educational expansion on a voluntary basis being 71 and 34 respectively. The unwillingness of Government to sanction more schemes is to be ascribed, as is a matter of common knowledge, to the present financial stringency, inasmuch as the Compulsory Education Act saddles them with the responsibility of bearing one-half of the additional burden. Whatever that be, the fact that local bodies expressed their readiness to shoulder the burden involved in the introduction of these schemes of educational expansion had they been sanctioned by Government shows, in Mr. Kamat's view, a realisation on their part of their responsibility in regard to mass education. There will, we believe, be little disposition to differ from Mr. Kamat. His suggestion for spending a few lakhs of rupees on setting up village reading rooms as a means of preventing people from relapsing into illiteracy will, we hope, receive the careful consideration of the authorities.

* * *

MR. KAMAT did not fail to touch upon the important problem of the improvement of resources of local bodies. He brushed aside suggestions made to this end for the imposition of a tax on professions by local bodies and for an increase in the local fund cess as being ruled out by the absence of any increase in the per capita income. In any case, in view of the present depression, he characterised them as "inopportune" and "only a counsel of perfection." Brisker collection of dues from rate-

payers would, he thought, go some way in improving the financial position of local bodies. One wonders, however, if the improvement will be so material as at all to be visible.

* * *

Lord Lugard and Kenya Highlands.

THE proposal to add to the Highland area reserved for Europeans in Kenya has drawn a protest from Lord Lugard. In the course of a letter to the *Times* he writes:

The Morris-Carter Commission recorded the opinion that certain of the lands now in European occupation belonged to the natives "unequivocally and as of right." It is proposed to "expunge" these rights with compensation in land or money. Though we may assume (and on this point assurance would be welcomed) that the land given in exchange is of equal agricultural value, and that the pecuniary valuation is the present-day market value, there remains the fact that natives, whose unequivocal right to the land is admitted and who have the status of British subjects, are to be compulsorily evicted, not because the land is required for a "public purpose," but for the benefit of a racial minority, and are to be stopped by means of a Royal Order in Council from that right of appeal to the Courts of Justice, and ultimately to the Privy Council, against the decision of the local Government which obtains in other British Colonies. The Carter Commission very strongly urged that the Trust Board, in which the native lands are vested, should not be a local body inevitably subject to local political influences, but should be free if necessary to challenge any executive action by the local Government which the Board might consider unjust, without prejudice (as clearly shown by section 1817) to the right of appeal to final executive authority—the Secretary of State. This proposal was not accepted. If it were now included in the new Order in Council the right of appeal to the Courts of Justice by the natives might be made subject to allowance by the Trust Board with the object of avoiding unnecessary litigation.

There is nothing to be gained by reopening old controversies now, but it is surely desirable that conclusions which are challenged by reputable authorities and may form awkward precedents hereafter should not be enshrined in a Royal Order in Council which ousts the jurisdiction of any Court of Law.

* * *

Local Boards in the Punjab.

A FEATURE of the working of district boards in the Punjab during 1934-35 was the tendency to avoid contested elections by prospective rivals coming to a mutual understanding beforehand. This happened in some cases in regard to about a third of the seats, while in one case there were unopposed returns to 17 seats out of a total of 27. We are not sure that the tendency needs to be specially condemned unless it leads to serious inequalities in representation or in the return of a particularly odious type of popular representative. We wish the Government resolution reviewing the working of these bodies had shed some light on this point.

* * *

THE educational expenditure of the boards is seen to have risen by over a lakh. The increase, slight as it was, would have afforded some cause for joy if it had led to any expansion of education. As it was, most of it was swallowed by the annual increments in teachers' salaries. The number of educational institutions went down by over 100 with the result that attendance also fell by about 15,000. It was only to be expected that, Government being unable to provide grants for building school houses, hardly any new ones could have come into being. Attention may in

this connection be drawn to the scheme in force in one district under which school buildings are put up in villages whose inhabitants come forward to provide half the cost. The possibilities of the wider application of the scheme may be carefully explored to the benefit of all concerned.

THOUGH the Government grant for medical relief remained stationary, the medical expenditure on the part of district boards showed a rise of about a lakh. It is pleasing to learn that three new dispensaries were opened. The general complaint against the Government grant of Rs. 2,500 for each rural dispensary is on the ground of its inadequacy, especially since its reduction by 12½ per cent. It is to be hoped that, in view of the comparatively more satisfactory state of Government finances as indicated by the discontinuance of the cut in the salaries of Government servants, this cut in the medical grant will soon be a thing of the past unless indeed it has already been abolished. As a means of making these rural dispensaries more useful to women and children, the doctors in charge are given every encouragement to visit the surrounding villages more freely. With this end in view one board has reduced the visit fee usually charged by these doctors. It is too early yet to judge how far the purpose of this reduction is served.

Election in Mombasa Municipality.

A RECENT public meeting of the Indian residents of Mombasa has placed on record a demand for the application of the elective principle in regard to the unofficial personnel of the local municipality. It is observed from the Kenya papers that the municipal board itself has put forward an identical suggestion which in fact is cordially endorsed by the Indian community. According to the present practice, it is for the Governor to make nominations of non-official representatives from panels submitted both by the Indian and European communities after holding what is styled "an informal election." The Europeans, on finding by means of a referendum that the community was opposed to the continuance of this informal election, have decided to do away with it. The reasons for this step are, to our knowledge, nowhere clearly stated. It is to be hoped, however, that our countrymen will continue the present arrangement, however unsatisfactory, till its substitution by the more satisfactory method of a regular election upon which they have set their heart.

THE necessity for reiterating the demand for election at this hour of day may not be clear to many, but it obviously means that the recommendations of the Feetham Commission which held an exhaustive inquiry into the system of local self-government of Mombasa nearly ten years ago are still not acted upon. That Commission made two sets of recommendations as regards the composition of the municipal board on the bases of its total membership being 19 and 23. Its proposals were even then attacked on the ground of their failure to provide for adequate representation to Indian interests and the intervening years have done nothing to mitigate the force of that criticism, but the one feature that commanded universal acceptance was its recommendation for the election of representatives belonging to the Indian, European and Arab communities. The Commission was so thorough in its work that it even went the length of laying down the franchise qualifications for the different communities. But thanks to the stubbornness of the Kenya Government its labours have so far not been allowed to bear

fruit. This is undoubtedly a matter for deep regret. Anyway the Indian community cannot be charged with impatience or undue haste if after vainly waiting for about ten years it starts an agitation for the introduction of the elective principle in the constitution of the local municipality.

South African Indian Education.

IN a statement submitted on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress to the Education Inquiry Commission, a demand for the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for Indian children is put forward. The demand is, really speaking, nothing but a reminder to the South African Government of their obligations under the Cape Town Agreement. Under the upliftment clause of the Agreement that Government undertook the responsibility of providing for the permanent Indian population equal educational facilities with the other sections of the community. It is the contention of the Natal Indian Congress that this obligation is not satisfactorily discharged by the Union Government.

THAT the contention rests on solid foundation is clear from the fact that whereas primary education is free and compulsory in the case of European and coloured children, it is not so in the case of Indian children. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue for some time more, the educational lag between the Indian and other communities will obviously be very considerable. It was in order to prevent such a disparity between the different sections of the South African population that the agreement cast the definite responsibility for the provision of equal educational facilities for all sections of the population on the Union Government, which the Government, it is complained, has so far shirked.

THE Congress is indeed very moderate; it does not ask for the immediate effectuation in toto of this demand. It has made clear that free and compulsory primary education is only to be looked upon as "the ideal for the Natal Province" to be reached in a measurable distance of time. In the meantime the abolition of school fees in the primary stage and a more liberal grant-in-aid policy are advocated. It is estimated that that out of about 37,000 children of school-going age about 20,000 are attending schools, which means that about 40 per cent. of them are growing up in ignorance and darkness. Strenuous efforts are needed to bring all of them to school, for which the only really effective remedy is compulsion.

FROM the figures given in the statement it is apparent that Indian female education is even more awfully neglected. In 1936, for every girl that was receiving instruction two were going without it. And out of those that attend school, hardly a half go beyond the first standard. The backwardness of female education is accounted for in part by the prejudice on the part of parents and guardians against sending girls to mixed schools where tuition is given by men. The starting of separate girls' schools and their being staffed in the beginning by European women teachers till trained Indian women teachers become available is therefore advocated by the Congress. We hope that the suggestions made by the Congress for the betterment of the educational status of the Indian community will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the local Government.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL TARIFF BOARD.

THE report of the Special Tariff Board appointed to enquire into the level of duties to be imposed on the U. K. cotton piecegoods imports was published last week together with an announcement by the Government of India accepting the recommendations of the Tariff Board and bringing the revised duties into force immediately. The Board recommended a five per cent. reduction in the present duty of twenty-five per cent. on U. K. piecegoods imports and a similar reduction in the minimum specific duty on plain grey goods. These reduced duties are henceforth to operate and the position of the Lancashire industry has to some extent been bettered in its competition with Japan in the Indian market.

The terms of reference to the Special Tariff Board were specific and narrow. The Board was asked to find out the level of duties necessary to afford adequate protection to the Indian Cotton Textile industry against imports from U. K.; and by "adequate protection" was meant "duties which will equate the prices of imported goods to the fair selling prices for goods produced in India." The Tariff Board had to consider no other aspect of the question of protection to the Cotton Textile industry and its enquiry was thus of a purely fact-finding type. The data necessary for such an enquiry were costs and prices of competing goods from the two countries and in its search for such data the Board was helped by the Lancashire Delegation on the one hand and the representatives of Indian mill-owners on the other. The enquiry, though circumscribed, proved a difficult one; for, as was admitted on all hands, it was difficult to find in this trade types of standardised goods whose prices and costs in the two countries could be directly compared. The cotton textile industry in all countries produces for the market a very large variety of goods; and the industries of different countries or places rarely produce goods of identical measure, construction or finish. The goods are similar enough to enter into competition with each other, but not similar enough to form the basis of a direct measurement of costs of production. Under these circumstances the Lancashire delegation and the Indian mill-owners approached the problem of comparison from two different points of view. The Lancashire delegation gave estimates of prices at which Lancashire could manufacture and import certain types of goods at present produced by Indian mills; comparing these prices with prices actually realised by the Indian mills, the Lancashire delegation proved its case that the Indian industry did not require any protection as against Lancashire. This approach to the question was assailed from both ends. The costings, it was pointed out, could not be corroborated by any actual sales in the market and were purely theoretical estimates. Secondly, the average prices realised in the market could not always be presumed to be the fair selling prices, as in a market where competition was keen prices may for quite a long time rule even below costs of production. On both these grounds the Board rejected the data presented by

the Lancashire delegation. The Indian mill-owners had based their case also on costings of some types of U. K. imports if specially produced in Indian mills. The Board rejected this data as being equally theoretical, and found itself in the position of not being able to accept the line of approach of either party to the dispute.

The Board has instead followed the way of direct comparison. For this purpose the various Associations were asked to point to lines of goods from the two countries which entered into competition with each other and the Board picked out for comparison a number of these pairs in which the resemblance in making particulars was the closest. Having chosen these pairs, the Board ascertained the prices at which the imports of these could be placed in the market and the fair selling prices at which the Indian mills could produce them. In arriving at the fair selling price the Board has followed mostly the practice of the Tariff Board in former enquiries. An important particular in which it has departed from the accepted standards was in regarding 6 per cent. instead of 8 per cent. as the minimum return on capital. That recently all returns have attained a lower level and that industrial capital in India is not as shy as before are, however, reasons which amply justify the new standard of the rate of return. We are not in a position to say whether the Board was justified in undertaking the direct comparison that it did. That the goods compared were not identical is clear from the allowance of 2 p. c. for better finish etc. that the Board felt called upon to concede in favour of Indian goods and that the pairs are not numerous enough and well distributed enough is shown by the great paucity of the greys and the dominance of bleached goods; in the sample. But the problem that was set to the Board necessarily involved some type of statistical investigation. The question could not be answered on the strength of general considerations such as the rapid growth of Indian industry (which was put forward by the Lancashire delegation as a reason for abolition of duties) or the continued existence of imports (which was taken by the Ahmedabad mill-owners as a proof of the inadequacy of protection). Every statistical enquiry in this question necessitated a series of assumptions and there is no reason for supposing that the Tariff Board's assumptions or calculations were more incorrect or prejudiced than any others.

Apart, however, from the consideration as to whether the Tariff Board gave the correct answer to the question set to it for solution, this enquiry raises a number of important issues of policy. It has been generally noted that the Mody-Lees agreement was an entirely private affair whose terms had not been endorsed by the Governments of either of the countries concerned. Further, so far at least as the Indian industry was concerned, it was only a section of it that was a party to the agreement. It is well-known that the Ahmedabad mill-owners took the earliest opportunity to denounce the agreement. Ahmedabad

is today a very important constituent of the Indian industry and it is even more affected by the competition of U. K. imports than Bombay. That the Indian Government should under these circumstances be so keen on the conduct of this enquiry and so prompt in giving effect to its findings is merely another indication of the solicitude of our Government for the interests of British industry. And this solicitude may well be contrasted with the obstructionist and dilatory procedure followed when the claims of Indian industrialists are under consideration.

It may further be noticed that technically the period of the Mody-Lees agreement expired in December 1935, so that no return on the British side is definitely promised for the special reduction in duties now made in favour of Lancashire. We do not know whether negotiations for promise of such a return are in progress either through private or governmental agency. For, we cannot accept the position that in the absence of such a reciprocal agreement we are called upon to adjust the duties on the imports from various countries to their costs of production. If this position were accepted the Tariff Board would have to go much beyond the present scope of its inquiries. It would then not only have to enquire into the level of Indian "fair selling

prices" and the protection necessary to maintain them, but also into the costs of production of each important importing country and recommend a series of different duties for the different countries. Apart from the unnecessary trouble involved, this would mean a harmful stabilisation of the competing strength of the various countries and an unnecessary burden on our consumers. It would work as if a buyer deliberately gave a premium to the various producers exactly in proportion to their inefficiency and thus prevented himself from getting any advantage from the fact of competition and progress! The Mody-Lees agreement again was a part of a scheme of imperial preference and it is not clear why it should be so hurriedly prolonged on our side while the whole general question is opened up for reconsideration. The Tariff Board's report points to an Indian industry which is expanding and which, considering the difficult times, is not doing badly. If, because of these circumstances a concession to an unimportant buyer of our raw cotton is thought necessary, what important reduction may have to be conceded when the Indo-Japanese agreement comes up for reconsideration! Of a reduction of duties in Japanese goods, however, at least this could be said, that it would lessen the burden on the poorest consumer.

FEDERAL FINANCE—THE FIRST STAGE.

III*

IN view of the fact that the Federal Government will not find it convenient to part with any portion of the income-tax proceeds in the near future, further discussion as to the proportions in which the provincial share is to be distributed among the various Provinces becomes purely academical. In this connection, for the sake of information the following quotation from the Draft Order (which merely gives legislative effect to Sir Otto's recommendations) is relevant:

The percentage which under Section 138, section 1, sub-section 1 of the Act is to be prescribed by His Majesty in Council shall be fifty per cent., and the sums falling to be distributed under that sub-section in any year among the provinces shall be distributed as follows:—

Madras, 15 per cent. Bombay, 20 per cent. Bengal, 20 per cent. the United Provinces, 15 per cent. the Punjab, 8 per cent. Bihar, 10 per cent. the C. P., 5 per cent. Assam, 2 per cent. the N. W. F. Province, 1 per cent. Orissa, 2 per cent. and Sind, 2 per cent.

This distribution by percentages has given rise to a good deal of wrangling which is not altogether out of place. Provincial jealousies are always a feature of federal finance in most Federations. In Australia, for instance, the recalcitrance of New South Wales and the secession move of Western Australia were both to a large extent caused by the supposed tyranny of the Federal Government in imposing iniquitous burdens upon the States concerned and by inter-State jealousy. The future of the Indian Federation promises to be full of such painful events; for one thing, the Provinces have each begun to pry into their neighbour's affairs and, instead of visualising their

problems in the setting of their individual relations with the Federal Government, have preferred to investigate their positions in relation to one another; for another, the presence of the States is sure to give rise to further trouble. The Government of India and the Secretary of State with their invincible horse-sense long ago decided that, as all of the "contestants" in the federal game (viz., the various Provinces) are grumbling in chorus-like harmony, there cannot be any question of inequity as between them, *inter se*. This may be quite true so far as it goes, but the fact remains that the distribution has not been made by reference to any scientific principles as such but in accordance with the vague and arbitrary ideas entertained by Sir Otto Niemeyer. The truth of the matter is that the Provinces are disillusioned as to the future possibilities of income-tax distribution and their high hopes have been falsified, and this too after they had, consistently over ten years, lived in a hand-to-mouth style. They have discovered that there is not enough to go round and this feeling is finding its expression now in these wranglings. That all the Provinces (with the honourable exception of the C. P.) are vociferously clamouring for increased grants is most assuredly not an indication that all is well with the Scheme.

Sir Otto says: "Naturally each Province advocates the basis of division (population, residence etc.,) which gives it the largest dividend. It cannot be

* The previous articles appeared in our issues of the 4th and 11th June.

said that any of the proposed bases have any particular scientific validity or satisfy in any appreciable degree the ideal but practically unascertainable test of capacity to pay. . . .—After full consideration of the various elements of the problem, including the uncertainty of some of the statistical data on which practical calculations must necessarily depend, I conclude that substantial justice will be done by fixing the scale of distribution partly on residence and partly on population, *paying to neither factor a rigidly pedantic deference*, for which the actual data provide insufficient justification." (Italics mine.)

I believe Sir Otto was right in taking into consideration both *residence* as well as *population* as criteria of distribution. Residence shows a *quid pro quo* bias in the distribution, while population gives a fairly reliable measure of neediness. In the peculiar conditions of India, where the subventions are merely to be granted to meet deficits or maintain the "white elephants" of spending Provinces, it is some gain that, at least for income-tax distribution, population is taken to be partial guide. Thus, the poorer Provinces, like Assam, Bihar and Orissa stand some chance of getting Federal aid. On the other hand, advanced Provinces like Bombay and Bengal which paid most by way of income-tax have all along clamoured for a share of its proceeds and the Constitution Act also concedes their claim in this connection. It is fair, therefore, to regard the distribution of income-tax as based on a *quid pro quo* principle to some extent; if that is so, residence, which gives an approximately proportionate weight to Provinces according to the amount of income-tax paid by their several residents, is indeed the right test. A combination of the two criteria, residence and population, therefore, very well fits into the general purpose of Federal aid.

Although, however, the Niemeyer Award accepts these two tests, it is not clearly stated whether the two tests were given equal weight or otherwise, and in general there is no definiteness about the apportionment. It is obvious that in not "paying a rigidly pedantic deference to either factor," Sir Otto cleverly reserved for himself sufficient freedom to alter the results of the two tests. His reasons, however, are not clear and it is this fact that has given rise to well-deserved condemnation by Provincial Governments and others. *Prima facie*, it appears that in order to smooth over the differences created by the "doles" of subventions, some alterations were effected by Sir Otto in the proportions, but it is difficult to say exactly on what grounds. For example, in the case of Bengal, if population and residence were given equal weight, 25 and not 20 per cent. would have been Bengal's share; but probably the fact that Bengal had reaped gains on all sides, as a deficit province and as the principal jute producer, seems to have weighed against her and necessitated a lowering of her proportion to 20. Bengal, of course, in the much-asks-for-more style, would still complain that the proposals are unsatisfactory and disappointing. Bengal is jealous of Bombay and Madras is jealous of Bengal. Thus the Government of Bengal in their telegram referring to the Award maintain that (i) Bombay has obtained fortuitous relief to the

extent of 90 lakhs from the separation of Sind, and (ii) that for many years Bengal has, through no fault of her own, been compelled to submit to an administrative standard markedly inferior to that of Bombay; for these reasons, they further maintain that greater weightage should have been given to Bengal and not to Bombay. On the other hand, the Government of Madras pick a sufficient number of holes in these claims of Bengal by pointing out that (i) the *per capita* and acreage incidence of land revenue in Bengal is much lower than in Madras, owing to the Permanent Settlement and that it is open to Bengal to tap this important source of revenue and raise its standard of expenditure, and secondly (ii) that Bengal has not "followed the path of financial orthodoxy," as other Provinces have done and has, on that account, by showing unnecessary deficits, been able to mulct out larger "doles" from the Federal Government in the shape of subventions and the jute duty. The best criticism of the Award, however, comes from the Governments of the Punjab and Madras. The Punjab Government have very carefully studied the Scheme with a view to finding out the ultimate and immediate relief provided by the Scheme to various Provinces. They come to the none too pleasing conclusion that, as regards the financial assistance which will be immediately effective, by way of relief from separation of provinces, by way of subventions proposed, by way of the jute export duty percentages and by way of benefit from consolidation or cancellation of debt while other Provinces gain to the extent of from 20 lakhs to 243 lakhs, the Punjab gets only 1·7 lakh. The exact figures (in lakhs) are as follows:

Province	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	U. P.	Punjab	Bihar	C. P.	Assam	N. W. F.	Orissa	Sind
Immediate effective assistance	46·2	104·5	243	37·7	1·7	42·5	20·9	56·75	112	50·75	105·7
Income-tax share (after 1937)	90	120	120	90	48	60	30	12	6	12	12
Total	136·2	224·5	363	127·7	49·7	102·5	50·9	68·75	118	62·75	117·7

It will appear from the above table that, in the immediate run, Bengal, N. W. F. Province and Sind gain comparatively the most, while the penalised Provinces are, in relation to their importance and urgency of needs, the U. P., Madras, the Punjab and Bihar.

B. P. ADARKAR.

(To be continued.)

LAND OWNERSHIP IN S. AFRICA.

THE whites of South Africa are very much exercised over what they regard as an alarming growth in land ownership by Asiatics in the Transvaal, and Mr. J. H. Grobler moved, in the House of Assembly of the Union, for the appointment of a

select committee to go into this question. The motion was debated for two days, 28th April and 1st May, and the debate was adjourned, by 38 votes to 36, to 12th May, when however it does not seem to have been resumed.

The present position is that there is a general prohibition against Asiatics owning land in the Transvaal. In 1919 the Union Government passed an Act providing that the then existing rights of Indians should be recognised, but that the Transvaal Act No. 3 of 1885 prohibiting land ownership by Indians except in surveyed areas should be made applicable to private companies in which Indians owned a controlling number of shares, for it was through such companies that Indians were at the time enabled to get round the 1885 Act to some extent. The result was that the door which had been opened to Indians by the Transvaal Companies Act of 1909 was closed ten years later, and the prohibition became complete. Now, again, it is feared by the whites that Indians have found another means of evading the prohibition imposed by the Act of 1885.

How is this done? It is alleged that Indians often employ white girls in their shops; the girls move on terms of intimacy with their employers and then marry them; on marriage Indians buy land in the names of their European wives; and in this way land is rapidly passing into the hands of Indians. Mr. Grobler, therefore, moved "that a select committee should be appointed to inquire into and report upon: (1) the extent to which the prohibition of ownership of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal is being evaded by means of marriages between Europeans and Asiatics; (2) the extent of employment of European girls by Asiatics, and what steps, if any, should be taken to prohibit such employment."

One would think from the terms of this motion that Indians were marrying European women and through them acquiring landed property on a vast scale. Mr. Grobler, however, could produce no figures to support his case, nor could any other member of the Assembly. All that Mr. Grobler could say was that during the period of 1929 to 1934 there were 27 cases of marriages between Indians and white girls, but he could not say to what extent the marriages gave rise to registration of land in the names of the white girls married to Indians. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, put him wise on this question. The registrar of deeds in the Transvaal, he said, "could only give one case where there was an Asiatic married to a white woman, and where the land was registered in the name of the white woman. That was at Lichtenberg. That is the only case that we know of in the Transvaal."

But Mr. Grobler was not to be deterred in this way. He declared that "it is not a question of numbers; it is a question of principle." Not even one case must be allowed to occur of an Indian marrying a white girl. He said: "It goes without saying that no white girl, especially girls that have grown up in South Africa, would of their own motion agree to marry Indians. There must be a contributory cause, and when we inquire into the causes we find that it is due to the fact that these girls have been obliged by

economic conditions to go and work for Indians. . . . When a white girl works for an Indian, then it is obvious that the feeling which exists against colour must necessarily gradually diminish. . . . Such a girl has to stand behind the same counter as the Indian; she is coming into touch with him from morning till night, shoulder to shoulder." "That Indian immediately becomes (remarked another member) the superior of the white girl. She will subsequently commence to look up to the coloured person who is her master as her superior. It goes without saying that she becomes prepared subsequently to marry the non-European, and in that way to give him the ownership of the land." Thus not only do the whites lose part of the land which God has destined for their exclusive use, but the whole basis of European civilisation in South Africa crumbles; that basis is stark naked inequality between races. Mr. Grobler pointed out that "in the Transvaal in any case, both before and after the establishment of the Union, the population definitely insisted that *there should be no equality between coloured people and Europeans, socially as well as otherwise.*" And he would not be satisfied till racial inequality reigned supreme.

Mr. Grobler's suggestion that Indians should not be allowed to engage white women as servants in their shops involved a twofold prohibition: Asiatics must be prohibited from employing white girls and white girls must be prohibited from taking employment in Indian shops. In regard to this the Minister of the Interior pointed out, first, that the number of European girls working in Asiatic shops was small, and, secondly, that such girls were well treated. He said that, from inquiries made in nine cities and also villages along the Rand, "it appeared that the number of white employees in Asiatic shops and other businesses of Asiatics was 14 men and 51 women." These shops have an entirely European staff. There are some other shops maintained by Indians in which Europeans and non-Europeans are employed jointly. "There was, e. g., one (shop) belonging to an Asiatic in Springs (said the Minister of the Interior) where it was stated that in November, 1934, there were 24 white girls in employment, and the allegation was that five months before that time the number was only 14. . . . The inquiries show that the number during the five months had decreased from 16 to 6. These white girls, so far as this shop at Springs was concerned, earned the following wages: one got £3 10s. a week, three got £2 10s. a week, and two juniors earned £1 3s. a week. Mr. Smit, the inspector who made the inquiry, further reports that one of the girls told him that the treatment was better than in some shops belonging to Europeans, and he further reported that the conditions in the shops were satisfactory." In view of these facts the Union Government thinks prohibition of the employment of white girls is not desirable.

From mere prohibition of the employment of the white girls by Asiatics, another member, Mr. S. De Wet, went on to suggest that all marriages between Europeans and Asiatics be prohibited. The number of such marriages in ten years from 1925 to 1934 was as follows: Cape Province 33 and Natal 6. In 1935 there were three such marriages in both the

Provinces together. In the Transvaal and the Free State mixed marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans cannot take place; they can be solemnised only in the Cape and in Natal. Another member, Major Roberts, made a still more sweeping proposal. He pointed out that the number of non-European men marrying European women was small; but that the number of European men marrying non-European women was large. During the last ten years 517 such marriages took place. For the last six years the number were: in 1929 60, in 1930 60, in 1931 35, in 1932 57, in 1933 50, and in 1934 56. These marriages between European men and non-European women have of course no relation to the question of land passing into the hands of coloured people, but to Major Roberts that is a very much smaller evil than that of mixed marriages.

The Minister of the Interior, who is reputed to be a statesman of advanced views and very highly respected, could not turn down these demands, though he thinks all of them to be either unreasonable or impracticable. With regard to the particular question raised by Mr. Grobler, he agrees that "the extent of the problem is not very great," and that the evasion of the prohibition of land ownership by Asiatics to which the mover referred "is certainly not taking place on a large scale." Yet he did not oppose the motion. On the contrary, he said: "If it is the wish of the House that a select committee should be appointed I will make no objection to it." In regard to the amendment of Mr. de Wet "that the select committee should also go into the question whether it would be practically possible to impose a prohibition on marriages between Europeans and Asiatics," he said that that was connected with Mr. Grobler's motion, and that, therefore, "I have no objection to that amendment." It was only on the larger amendment of Major Roberts to put a complete prohibition on all marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans that he declared: "I just want to say that the Government cannot accept" the passing of a law. For, according to him, such a prohibition would lead to "a not inconsiderable increase in the number of illegitimate children that are born in consequence," and therefore "would not be in the interests of good morals." Even in this matter he did not oppose the select committee considering this proposal. He himself appears to be opposed to mixed marriages and to hold the view that public opinion should be educated to condemn them. He said: "In general I feel that we are only too inclined to solve all our problems by legislation. In regard to our social evils our first line of defence ought to be public opinion, a good, strong, well-directed public opinion; and only in the last resort ought use to be made of compulsion, under the law in connection with social evils." "In the light of the data which the Government possesses it is not convinced of legislation of that kind being necessary. The Government is not unwilling for the matter to be gone into again. It may be that a select committee may discover further facts, but in the light of the available facts the Government does not think that it can now take the step of introducing a Bill of that kind."

This passes for liberalism in South Africa!

Reviews.

POLITICAL THEORY.

POLITICAL THEORY. By EDDY ASIRVATHAM. [Lucknow University Studies in Political Scienza.] (Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow.) 1935. 22cm. 575p.

THIS is the first and most compendious of three volumes in a series of studies in political science called "Political Theory and Modern Governments" by V. S. Ram, E. Asirvatham and B. M. Sharma (Rs. 15 for three volumes) issued under the auspices of Lucknow University. Lucknow, it will be remembered, was the first University in India to teach political science as a separate subject for the B. A. and M. A. degrees. It is, therefore, fitting that important treatises on this subject should come from Lucknow, and the present work justifies expectation.

Dr. Asirvatham's work is a discussion of political ideas. How did the state come into being? What is the purpose of its existence? What are its rights and duties to the individual citizen and how far do state and individual rights conflict? These questions are never academic. In an imperfect world the citizen and the state in which he lives are frequently in opposition and rarely in complete agreement. In the dust and heat of day to day controversy, clear thinking on fundamental issues becomes difficult. And yet, without clear thinking it is unlikely that progress can ever be made towards better government and an increased civic consciousness. Dr. Asirvatham has the merit of avoiding bias; of marshalling the arguments for and against a given theory so that the strength and weakness of both sides become immediately apparent. His authorities range from Aristotle to Harold Laski and (which is unusual in India) include a number of able Americans like Garner, Gettell, McIver and Hocking. Yet it must not be supposed that he arrives at no conclusions, for a point of view emerges in the later chapters. It becomes evident that the author leans towards the English idealists in some degree, and also shows sympathy with socialist conceptions of a new state, founded on equality of opportunity.

It is impossible in reviewing so large a work, closely packed with argument, to pick out particular chapters for criticism. The truth is that each of the chapters is matter for a book and one assumes that the exigencies of the class-room have compelled the author to cut down the discussion to a minimum. The final chapters on Democracy and Citizenship raise issues that are of vital importance to the Indian citizen today. Dr. Asirvatham notes that many of the rights of the citizen in this country are held in abeyance. Our civil liberties are in danger. He quotes, in conclusion, the old Athenian oath: "I will leave my native land—witness."

THE "GENERAL THEORY" OF KEYNES.

THE GENERAL THEORY OF EMPLOYMENT, INTEREST AND MONEY. By JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES. (Macmillan.) 1936. 22cm. 403p. 5/-.

SIX years after the publication of the *Treatise on Money*, which was his first systematic effort at a synthesis of the new apparatus of monetary thought, Keynes is again in the arena of monetary discussions. His brilliance, his penetrating acuteness, and above

all, his iconoclasm have by now become almost proverbial. In his role of an iconoclast, it must be noted, Keynes does not spare even himself. He has no false sense of consistency and he is prepared to cast the sloughs of yester-year if need be. Though at times they may bewilder the faithful reader, it must be admitted that his intellectual acrobatics are solely in the interest of scientific truth. "The composition of this book," says Keynes, "has been for the author a long struggle of escape from habitual modes of thought and expression." He is convinced that "orthodox economics is at fault," but the error, in his opinion, is to be found "not in the superstructure ... but in a lack of clearness and of generality in the premisses." In this book, therefore, Keynes has to indulge in a highly abstract argument and "much controversy" in persuading his fellow economists to re-examine some of the basic postulates of the classical theory. He himself wishes there had been less of the "controversy," but whatever view some people might hold about the pugnacity of Keynes, it must be said to his credit that he never indulges in controversy for controversy's sake. Only he has some of the bravado and the fearlessness of genius, which is eternal youth. In this book, I believe, he does succeed in bringing home to those economists, who have been brought up on the classical dogma, the undeniable fact that the older economics has, to a regrettable extent, isolated economic problems and provided solutions by means of highly artificial and unrealistic hypotheses. I believe, Keynes does succeed, that is to say, in delivering the goods.

It is not possible in a brief review to present even a workable summary of the vast amount of thought which has gone into the making of this remarkable book; much less would it be possible to offer any well-argued criticism of it. I shall, therefore, confine myself to merely indicating the new directions in which Keynes has advanced and to suggesting, only parenthetically, some possible lines of criticism.

Keynes's new theory, which he calls "general", as contra-distinguished from the special and limiting theory of the classical school, is briefly as follows. He begins by denying categorically the classical postulates that (i) the wage is equal to the marginal product of labour, (ii) that the real wage is equal to the marginal disutility of the existing employment, and (iii) that supply creates its own demand, and that, therefore, there cannot be any general over-production. The classical writers, in his view, have altogether ignored the factor of Money in their discussion of Values; Money only enters at a later stage as a mere complication or a special case, so that there is hardly any synthesis, in the older theory, between the doctrine that prices are governed by supply and demand, and the doctrine that they are governed by the effective money in circulation. However, in fact, it is the divergence between the aggregate supply price of the output and its aggregate demand price which creates conditions of disequilibrium and unemployment.

Full employment, thus, is the Keynesian ideal of monetary management. Employment depends ultimately upon two forces, which Keynes calls respectively the "propensity to consume" and the "inducement to invest." The former is a fairly steady psychological force, while the latter is a highly fluctuating consideration, influenced as it is by the subtle and indefinable workings of the market "mind" which weighs the "marginal efficiency of capital" against the current rate of interest from time to time. What is more, the total consumption demand and the total investment demand are themselves mutually interdependent, so that increased investment leads necessarily to increased con-

sumption and *vice versa*, all which reacts on the volume of employment. After the point of full employment is reached, further increase in the demand function leads to a steep rise in prices and to unhealthy conditions of disequilibrium. It is, however, the cowardice of the banking system which gives a setback. Keynes's biggest paradox is, therefore, the advocacy of a low rate of interest in a period of boom. In his view, "The remedy for the boom is not a higher rate of interest but a lower rate of interest! For that may enable the so-called boom to last. The right remedy for the trade cycle is not to be found in abolishing booms and thus keeping us permanently in a semi-slump; but in abolishing slumps and thus keeping us permanently in a quasi-boom." The earlier theory, as stated in the *Treatise*, that it is the disparity between savings and investment which leads to disequilibrium, here, gives way to the rather unexpected proposition that savings and investment "correctly interpreted," can *never be unequal*. Keynes has now abandoned the Wicksellian concept of the natural rate of interest which formed the central theme of the *Treatise*. He would rather regard the relationship between the rate of interest and the "marginal efficiency of capital" (which he interprets in terms of the current supply price of capital as well as of the prospective yield) as of greater significance. In this connection, a number of older theories are rehashed and re-examined, including the theory of interest and capital, the theory of prices and the theory of the trade cycle. Keynes's frontal attack on these theories is one of the most striking performances in modern economic writing.

It is not clear why Keynes should have negated his conclusions in the *Treatise*. His "fundamental equations" were, as he says, indeed an "instantaneous picture" of the output phenomenon and, therefore, inadequate to a dynamic theory implying deviations from full employment. But, in my view, they could have been turned to good use in the dynamic treatment also, by considering a *series* of such instantaneous pictures, somewhat in the cinematographic style, as leading to the dynamic aspect of movements towards and away from the ideal of full employment. The most unconvincing part of the book is that in which Keynes practically identifies savings with investment. The only "straightforward sense," in which these terms can be interpreted is the monetary sense, and it is difficult to agree that in that sense savings and investment can always be equal.

However, it is impossible, for want of space, to do justice to the infinite vistas of thought opened up by Keynes in this great work. One thing is certain and that is that this work is bound to revolutionise some of our fundamental notions in economic theory. What is more certain, it will remain for some time to come in the vortex of controversy and become the starting point of another series of new discussions, outrivalling the *Treatise* in this respect, and this is a process which only master minds can set in motion.

B. P. ADARKAR.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE ROMANCE OF CO-OPERATION. BY K. C. BEHL. (Author, Old Cloth Market, Amritsar.) 1935. 23cm. 76p. As. 8.

IN this brochure the author, who in his capacity as Business Manager of the Co-operative Industrial Societies of the Punjab has had ample opportunities of studying the practical aspects of the co-operative movement in that Province, examines the movement in the light of its practical benefits to the people for whom it is intended. The spread of the movement

all over the country during the past thirty years has resulted in the establishment of a large number of institutions. With the best of intentions, the movement, which by itself is a boon to mankind, has belied the great hopes entertained of it at the time it was originally launched in the country with the ostensible object of improving the lot of the agriculturist.

The causes are attributed to various factors governing the spread of the movement. In chapter IV he discusses the essentials of success of the co-operative movement and the causes why it is not so popular. In the following chapter he describes what he considers to be the remedies to overcome the defects and expresses the hope that a policy of gradual de-

officialisation coupled with a spontaneous response to the call of the movement by the people would ensure its success. He concludes that the money-lender (Sahukar) of the village must be incorporated into the movement and from this Sahukar great lessons can be learnt for adoption by co-operative Institutions. The methods of the Sahukar with the ethics of co-operation are surely the successful means to ensure the practical realisation of the co-operative ideal.

The pamphlet rivets attention on some of the vital problems of the movement and the treatment is analytical and suggestive.

S. GOPALASWAMY.

S. I. SOCIETY'S REPORT FOR 1935-36. SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

THE annual report of the Servants of India Society for the year 1935-36 is a useful and interesting record of service rendered in various spheres of public life throughout the country of which it may rightly be proud. The work of the members was of outstanding merit.

Though the Society's official politics are of the Liberal type, more by tradition and association than perhaps by conviction, it has not necessarily mentally incapacitated the members from co-operating with other parties in the country, whenever and wherever they could render useful service to India and Indians.

The Society suffered a great loss in the untimely death of Mr. G. K. Devadhar at the end of 1935, who had devoted his life to the uplift of women and specialised in famine relief work. The Poona Seva Sadan, which trains hundreds of young women and equips them to earn their livelihood in various ways by being useful to the public, still carries on its great and good work, and let us hope that the Society will continue this part of its activity with the same zeal and sacrifice as Mr. Devadhar.

The journals conducted by the Society are undoubtedly of great use to the public and the SERVANT OF INDIA, irrespective of its politics, is conducted with vigour and fearless regard for truth and honesty of purpose. This journal has always upheld the cause of the States' peoples and Indians overseas...

In the Labour sphere the work done by Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale was of outstanding merit, and they never swerved from their high ideals despite the jibes of employers and professional capitalists. It is a great pity that Mr. Bakhale's bill to limit the hours of work in shops and offices was killed by the hostility of the Government, as such an enactment would undoubtedly have rendered very useful and much-needed service to this harassed class of workers.

Similarly in the Assembly, though a nominated member, Mr. Joshi has invariably shown independence of opinion, and except on rare occasions, did not feel himself tied to the apron-strings of the Government. The independence exemplified by these two members was worthy of note and let us say also of emulation by many of the elected members of the legislature.

The work of the Society for the uplift of the Harijans deserves some mention. Mr. A. V. Thakkar is now the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh which renders much useful service to these unfortunate classes.

In another direction such as serving the interests of the States' people, who are generally neglected both

by the Congress and other political organisations in the country, the Society has been showing a lively sympathy for their economic and political uplift.

The fate of the States' peoples appears to be sealed, for in the Federation they are nowhere. No mention is made of them and no note is taken of their very existence. The Servants of India Society can and does render much useful service to these people and fight reaction in the States.

It is a great pity that the Society is unable to extend its services for want of adequate funds. We sincerely hope that the financial position will improve considerably this year to enable the body to recruit more men to serve India.—The *Bombay Sentinel*.

THE thirty-first annual report of the Servants of India Society concludes with an appeal for financial support from the public. A perusal of the report shows the extensive activities of its thirty members, ranging from politics to rural uplift and scouting. The Society suffered a heavy blow in the death of Mr. G. K. Devadhar last year. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, who has been elected President in his place, is a worthy successor to Mr. Devadhar. But it is unfortunate that he has to spend the greater part of his time away from the head-quarters of the Society at Poona. The fact that Mr. N. M. Joshi, the Vice-President, is also unable, on account of his work in the Assembly and at Geneva, to devote much time to the Society's affairs is a second misfortune to the Servants of India. Much of the work of members is done through other organisations, like the National Liberal Federation politically and the Harijan Sevak Sangh socially, and this cannot be assessed as the direct work of the Society. The annual gathering which met at Poona was distinguished this year by the inauguration of the Women Servants of India Society which is to work at the outset under the guidance of the Servants of India Society. Pandit Kunzru administered the oath to two women—the first members. This little group of national workers has contributed much to public life in India and it stands more in need of help today than before not only for extending its activities but even for maintaining much of its work. We trust that the public will respond to the appeal.—The *Indian Social Reformer*.

FOUNDED by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale in 1905, the Society, from the very commencement of its career, has concentrated its energies upon undertaking, in addition to political work, upon social, educational and other activities calculated to raise the general standard of the people. However one may differ with the political programme and policy of the Society, the

valuable services rendered in various spheres of public activities by such eminent personages, as the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the late Mr. Devadhar, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, to mention but a few of its many members, cannot be denied. Social service of different kinds through separate organisations has been a special feature of the Society, and the work of Mr. A. V. Thakkar as the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh particularly deserves attention and appreciation. Matters of outstanding importance, such as the problem of Overseas Indians or the cause of the States' subjects, have always received special treatment at the hands of its members. It is much to be regretted that during November last, the cruel hand of death deprived the Society of the invaluable co-operation and services of one of its veterans—Mr. Devadhar—who was also its President. His loss to the Society has, indeed, been great and irreparable. Lack of adequate funds at its disposal, as appears from the report of its working, has always stood in the way of its progress, and the public cannot honour the late lamented Mr. Gokhale's memory better, or express appreciation of its splendid service in a more befitting manner, than by rescuing the Society from its financial difficulties. We wish the Society many more years of useful career.—*The Searchlight*.

THE annual report of the Servants of India Society for the year 1935-36 is a document of considerable interest not only to those actively engaged in the activities of the Society, but also to the general public. For during the last thirty-one years of its existence, it has come to be recognized as one of the foremost institutions in India devoted to variegated national uplift. During the year under review, the Society had the misfortune of losing its president, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, who was one of its founder-members. At present there are twenty-nine members of the Society, who, besides doing the work allotted to them, are also helping various other organisations. Thus, Mr. A. V. Thakkar has devoted himself to the Harijan Sevak Sangh, of which he has become, indeed, one of the chief pillars. It is not possible to recount here all the activities of the Society, for their name is legion. Its members are interesting themselves in multifarious nation-building activities, and though to-day the Society's prestige as a political body may be on the wane, its record of work is yet impressive and inspiring.—*The Bombay Chronicle*.

TO enable women to devote their lives to the service of the society and the country, a new organisation called the Fellowship of Service has been ushered into existence at Poona under the auspices of the Servants of India Society. Observance of celibacy by the members of the institution, we are told, will be an essential condition of admission and membership. We have always held the view that unless our women come forward to play their part and take their due share in the social life of the country, many precious and essential projects of reform and amelioration will remain idle dreams. And from this point of view, we wholeheartedly welcome the formation of this new body under the patronage of a Society too well-known for its proud associations, mighty achievements and an unbroken record of distinguished and disinterested service. Maharashtra is the centre of the new awakening among the Indian women and we may legitimately expect quite a good deal from this wise move.—*The Indian Nation*.

THAT the activities of the Servants of India Society are little known to the public is chiefly because its members have always placed utility before publicity. The report for 1935-36 is of special interest

as during the latter part of the period under review, the Society was deprived of the able guidance of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, one of the foundation members who as Vice-President and President upheld the high principles laid down by its great founder Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Devadhar brought to his work remarkable organising ability, a capacity for working under the most difficult conditions, and an enthusiasm which to the last was undimmed by temporary setbacks. The real test of leadership, whether in social service or in politics, is that even after the death of the leader, the organisation should be able to carry on the work initiated by him. The activities of the Servants of India Society since his death show that Mr. Devadhar possessed this essential quality. The Society has kept in close touch with the problems of Indians abroad through its new President, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. A Local Self-Government Institute was set up at Lahore by Mr. Haradatta Sharma. In Bombay, Mr. Parulekar and others devoted themselves to labour problems, always keeping in mind the fact that the solution of immediate problems was more important than pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of a Workers' State. The Madras branch specialised in co-operation and its work was recognised by the appointment of a member as director of the Madras Handloom Weavers' Society. A Depressed Classes Mission was conducted in Mangalore, and an Industrial Settlement for Criminal Tribes at Jalgaon. The Servants of India Society has unquestionably maintained the high traditions laid down by its founder to which Mr. Devadhar gave practical shape and if in the years to come it upholds the same high standard of selfless service it will retain its title as the premier social service organisation in the country. There is, however, one branch of the Society's activities which has suffered owing to lack of funds—the Seva Sadan Society for training destitute women in useful vocations. It was Mr. Devadhar's own creation and is recognised throughout the country as a model institution for women. We trust that the appeal for assistance will not go unheard, for, as the report says, the public cannot find a better way of honouring Mr. Devadhar's memory than by placing sufficient funds at its disposal not only for work in the Bombay Presidency but also for the extension of its activities throughout the country.—*The Pioneer*.

THE problems that confront a subject nation are many and varied. In the fight for political freedom in this country sometimes we are apt to forget the need for ameliorative social efforts. That present-day India is seriously alive to the need for such social work is clearly shown by the slow but steady progress of the Servants of India Society. Started by the great Gopal Krishna Gokhale it has to its credit a proud record of usefulness to the public and the distinguished, unselfish and patriotic services, given ungrudgingly by the successive presidents of the Society.

The problems affecting Indians abroad, social reform, Harijan uplift, rural reconstruction, the growth of the co-operative principle in our national life, all these distinguish the Society's work during the years of the Society's existence. The co-operative movement, especially in the States of Travancore and Cochin, has received a great impetus from the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar who brought to his great task a single-minded devotion, unselfish sacrifice and ripe experience that have always distinguished Gokhale's followers. We wish the Society all success and hope it will continue its labours unremittingly for the social amelioration of the Motherland.—*Swarajya*.

THIRTY-ONE years ago the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale brought into being the Servants of India Society with a view to collecting a band of

devoted workers to render national service in a true missionary spirit. The account that the Society has given of itself during the three decades of its existence will be widely acclaimed as having more than fulfilled the expectations of its great founder. In every department of activity relating to national welfare the members of the Society, all of them eminent men, have taken a notable part and, in fact, they have been the life and soul of many ameliorative movements. In the legislatures, in the fields of social service, of labour organisation, of Harijan uplift, of co-operation and myriad others, the Servants of India have distinguished themselves. Indians overseas and the subjects of Indian States owe them much for the championship of their interests. It would be invidious to single out names where so many have acquitted themselves nobly. Our public life is the richer for the endeavours of these valiant workers whose lives are a triumph of sacrifice and service. Perhaps even more than the success they have made of the numerous activities which they have taken upon themselves, the shining example of selflessness that the members of the Society have set to others is to be applauded. Like the members of the Servants of the People Society, the Servants of India may be proud of their outstanding achievements in numerous spheres. "In the midst", modestly states the annual report for 1935-36 of the Servants of India Society, "of various forces which have gone to make or mar the country's progress towards the attainment of its cherished goal, it is not possible to assess the value of the contribution that the Society has made to national advance." The humility thus revealed is excessive. The Society is fully entitled to claim credit for all the excellent work that it has done to promote the interests of the public. We cannot believe that any one who recalls the sterling services rendered by the Society will be niggardly of praise. But it is pleasant to note that the Society itself is not grudging in acknowledgment of the part played by the many institutions in collaboration with which it has worked. The simple fact that the organisation is celebrating its thirty-first anniversary opens out a vista of grateful recollections and we heartily endorse the appeal of the Society for even greater public support than hitherto.—*The People*.

THE work of the Society, as presented in the annual report, maintains the record set up. The membership is only 29, but by their activities in conjunction with other organisations, these members have been rendering great social service. In Orissa, Mr. Lakshminarayan Sahu represents the Society and the Chowdwar Rural Reconstruction Centre in his charge finds honourable mention. The political activity of the Society has been kept up by the three journals it runs, two at Poona and one at Nagpur which have kept up their strong opposition to the new Government of India Act. Nevertheless, we believe that identification of the Society with the Liberal Party, though inevitable, has been responsible for the incomplete fulfilment of the main objective with which the Society was started. No doubt, the work done by the members for rural reconstruction, co-operation, criminal tribes, labour and Harijans is praiseworthy and the names of Messrs. N. M. Joshi, Bakhale, A. V. Thakkar, Venkatasubbaiya and L. N. Sahu are prominent in their respective spheres.—*New Orissa*.

THE importance of securing the devoted labours of a specially trained agency applying itself to the task of national regeneration in a true

missionary spirit of disinterested and selfless service cannot be over-estimated. The part which the Servants of India Society has played in the building up of the Indian Nation is seen in the noble work of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the founder, and his worthy successors the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the late Mr. Devadhar and Pandit H. N. Kunzru. The Liberals who can be practically identified with the Servants of India Society have always stood for all that is sober, steady and consistent in politics. In the field of social reorganisation, rural welfare and labour protection, the members of the Society have done distinguished service. The Women's Fellowship of Service now enables women to serve India through an Association which, though distinct in form, is one in spirit with the main organisation. We are sure that working under the inspiration of the Servants of India Society, following its noblest traditions and supported by the public, the Women's Fellowship of Service will spread the message of reascent India to the millions of their sisters in the country.—*The Hyderabad Bulletin*.

THIRTY-ONE years of public service is no mean achievement for any organization, and we congratulate the Servants of India Society on the fairly long period. The varied activities of this Society extending in all spheres have already been felt by the Indian public. In political, social, economic and educational fields the work of the Society has been considerable. Its non-communal character and entirely national outlook have earned for the Society's principles just appreciation. The names of some past presidents of the Society—G. K. Gokhale, G. K. Devadhar are too well known on account of the position which they occupied in Indian public life.

The idea of whole-time trained men working in a missionary spirit for the uplift of the country is indeed bright and the Society has distinguished itself by adopting that effective method. A review of the Society bears testimony to the long record of public service to the credit of the Society. Co-operation and rural reconstruction are among the main activities of the Society and no one can deny their utility for raising India from the low economic position which she occupies. In the social sphere the achievements of the Society have been considerable. Some of the leading members of the Society have wholeheartedly thrown themselves into the cause of Harijan uplift in co-operation with the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

The need for such societies functioning through their branches in different parts of the country is great. Such unostentatious systematic work is calculated to bring permanent results for the betterment of the country in all spheres.—*The West Coast Spectator*.

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