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Topics of the Week.

India's Attitude to Sanctions.

THE Prime Minister of Great Britain quoted Canada, Australia and Ireland as being in favour of the lifting of sanctions in the House of Commons on 23rd June. He did not quote South Africa, though its Premier, General Hertzog, had made a statement in the Union Parliament on 16th June for the maintenance of sanctions even if it should lead to war. "If the big powers like England and France," declared General Hertzog, "should say that they are not prepared to go to that extent (to go to war in defence of Abyssinia), then it does not remove our own obligations to support the League of Nations until the last. If the League must fail it must not be because we were unfaithful to our pledge."

DID the Government of India communicate its opinion on the matter to the British Government? Of course, it can never remain faithful to its pledge; to it a pledge is of little consequence. What justification is there then for it to remain in the League, dragging the Indian people along with itself? Mr. Baldwin said in the Commons on 23rd June: "The countries of Europe are the League of Nations, and they have the responsibility of doing what should be done and the responsibility of taking action." If so, where does India come in in this business? Why should she be gratuitously involved in this disgrace?

Separation of Aden.

THE century-old association of Aden with India will come to an end with the beginning of the official year 1937-38. This decision is embodied in the Aden Order in Council issued last week. Aden has so long been a Chief Commissioner's province; hereafter it will be something like a Crown Colony. The constitution outlined for Aden in the Order provides for its administration by a Governor and Commander-in-Chief rolled into one with the assistance of an Executive Council which will obviously have only an advisory status. The encumbrance of a legislature, which exists in several Crown Colonies is, however, conveniently dispensed with in this case!

ACCORDING to the Draft Instructions accompanying the Order, the Executive Council will consist of the Civil and Political Secretaries who will be its members ex-officio. But provision is made for the appointment of others who will presumably be non-officials. We hope use will be made of this provision for including in the Executive Council representatives of both Indian and native interests. We also fervently trust that it will not be long before Aden is equipped with a legislature representing the different elements in its population.

THE reported possibility of Aden being converted into a Crown Colony naturally filled the public mind with apprehensions as to the possible repetition in Aden of the humiliations and hardships which are heaped upon Indian nationals in some Crown Colonies. As a matter of fact it is no exaggeration to say that it was this fear which was largely at the root of the Indian opposition to the idea of handing over Aden to the control of the Colonial Office. But the promise of complete equality for all people in regard to public appointments, acquisition of land, pursuit of profession, or entry into Aden which is contained in section 21 ought to give a quietus to such doubts.

THE law-making power is vested in the Governor and the laws made by him will be known as ordinances. He is, however, expressly debarred from enacting any law which subjects non-Europeans "to any disabilities or restrictions to which persons of European birth or descent are not also subjected or made liable". This coupled with the provision making the judgments of the Aden Supreme Court appealable to the Bombay High Court should reassure Indian public opinion as to the improbability of the perpetration of any gross injustice in the case of Indians. Incidentally it may be noted that the separation will give relief to Indian revenues to the extent of about Rs. 16 lakhs, which represents India's contribution towards the defence of Aden.

Late Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

THE death of Sir Fazl-i-Husain deals to the Muslim community a heavy blow from whose effects it will take very long to recover. He came into prominence with his appointment as the first Minister of Education under the Montford regime in the Punjab—a position which he held with distinction for many years. But over and above the educational reforms for which he was responsible and which in view of the prevailing financial stringency could only be of a minor character, his name will always be remembered in connection with the Sikh Gurudwara legislation. The discussion of the bill was marked by keen and heated controversy. Nevertheless Sir Fazl-i-Husain was able successfully to pilot the legislation through the legislature which speaks volumes for the remarkable nature of his parliamentary abilities.

HE was later appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. It was part of his duties at Delhi to safeguard the interests of the Indians overseas. And it is only fair to add that in him they felt they had an unfailing champion of their interests. The problem of South African Indians assumed a serious aspect about the year 1932 when Sir Fazl-i-Husain led a delegation to that country. Such success as attended its efforts in its arduous task must largely be ascribed to the marked skill and uncommon ability exhibited by him as its leader.

Quinine.

IF adequate quinine were available so that persons attacked by malaria could be given the modest amount of 120 grains spread over four to six days at a cost of one penny per day per patient, the loss in working days would be about one-tenth of what it now is. And when not suffering from fever their economic output would be increased by at least 50 per cent. At present nearly every bread-winner loses at least forty days' work a year from malaria and about another 100 days from reduced output when working. This is the view expressed not by a layman but by Col. Dunn, who was at one time the Director of Public Health in U. P. This expression of opinion, coming from the quarter it does, cannot be light-heartedly brushed aside as undeserving of serious notice.

BUT apart from the individual gain, it will also result, according to Col. Dunn, in an improvement in Government revenue. Malaria is generally rampant in the province in which Col. Dunn served in the months of September, October, and November, the very months when the fields and crops need the agriculturists' attention most. If by the avoidance of malaria the ryot were enabled to give an extra ploughing to the fields in October the output will, he claims, increase by at least three bushels per acre. This represents an additional income of about six rupees per acre to the producer. And will not his improved economic condition lead to the betterment of Government receipts?

COL. DUNN estimates that for India to be self-sufficient in regard to her quinine requirements about 1,500,000 lbs. of quinine must be locally produced. He is under no illusion that this could be done in a short time but he would certainly like the Government to work up to that ideal within a measurable distance of time.

MUCH was made last year of the free distribution of 45,000 lbs. of quinine to the provinces by the Central Government. Col. Dunn in common with public opinion naturally looks upon this as very

inadequate help. It stands to reason that the Government's quinine policy should in the first and last resort benefit the Indian tax-payer. But the revelations that Col. Dunn makes show that it helps the trade more than the people of this country. "After this burst of generosity" says he "financial considerations intervened and instead of distributing free the whole of the surplus reserve, the Government proceeded to sell quinine to the trade at a price well below the cost of production, and below the price at which the quinine trade in England and in the Dutch possessions could produce it. The result of this policy is that the Government of India quinine is being sold outside India at a lower price than it could be sold by the quinine trade. It is known that about 22,000 lbs. of this cheap quinine has been imported into England in the last few months and that large quantities will be thus imported during the next few years." The only correct policy, as he rightly puts it, is for the Government of India to make some effort to provide an adequate supply of quinine, free of all cost, to the sufferers from malaria either by increasing their own output or by purchasing in the cheapest market. We hope Col. Dunn's plea will not pass unheeded.

Indian Students in England.

IT is satisfactory to note from the report on the working of the Indian Education Department, London, that the Department is experiencing comparatively little difficulty these days in the matter of the provision of facilities for technical training for Indian students. Until quite recently the Department used to speak on this subject in terms of utter helplessness. If the manufacturers refuse to take young Indians as apprentices, how can they be compelled to do so, it used to ask. In view of the vast nature of orders for materials required for Indian Government and semi-Government departments which are placed with British manufacturing houses, this powerlessness of the Department was difficult to comprehend. It was felt that if only the Department insisted upon the provision of such facilities as a condition precedent to the acceptance of the tenders of British firms, the doors of British factories would no longer remain barred and bolted against Indian young men. It is gratifying to learn that this view which was constantly pressed on the authorities is now commending itself to the High Commissioner. His policy, we are told, is to give preference to firms who are willing to provide training facilities for Indian students. And its effect is to be seen in the comparatively smaller number of Indian students who remain unprovided for. During the year under report, out of 177 qualified applicants 123 secured offers of training and of the 40 applications pending at the end of the period covered by the report offers have since been obtained in 26 cases. We are sure if all this vast patronage in the hands of the High Commissioner is used as a lever, Indian students will not have to complain against the lack of opportunities for training facilities.

THE writer of the report, as usual, bemoans the fact that needlessly large numbers of Indian students betake themselves to foreign lands for study. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the phenomenon is not at all surprising. So long as foreign degrees are more highly valued in Government and private service, so long may Indian students be expected to flock to Western countries in search of them. What is necessary to stop this exodus is a change in the mentality of employers in India who ought not to start with the presumption, as they do now, that the holder of a foreign degree is necessarily a superior being. Unless

the angle of the employer's vision changes in the desired direction, no amount of regret at the waste of money which this exodus involves will be of any avail.

SOME idea of the growing increase in the number of Indian students in England may be formed from statistics given in the report. In 1887 the number of Indian students in England was 160.

Three years later it rose to 200 while after another four years it went up to 300. The increase is progressive year after year with the result that it is estimated that nearly 2000 students now leave India every year for American and continental universities. During the year under report there were 1300 full time Indian students of whom 75 were women studying in England, the largest number viz., 372 taking the medical line.

FEDERAL FINANCE—THE FIRST STAGE.

IV.*

IN the previous article, I dealt with the actual distribution of the total Federal Aid from the statistical viewpoint. It is clear from those statistics that certain Provinces are penalised in the short run; it is a meagre solace to them to be told that by 1947, or whatever is the date when the Centre will be in a position to part with the whole of the 50 p. c. of the income-tax proceeds, they will be getting substantial grants. Provincial Autonomy is to begin as from 1937 and it is abundantly clear that it is the first few years of Autonomy which will be the years of storm and stress, so far as finance is concerned. I think, therefore, that the insufficiency of the Niemeyer Award from the Provincial point of view will begin to be patent from the very beginning. What is worse, as in the parallel case of the Meston Award, it is bound to inflame Provincial jealousies which might well be the Pandora's box of future dissensions. Thus, it will appear that the pivotal problem is that of income-tax distribution; if this is delayed to any extent, there are bound to be serious political repercussions in the Federal Assembly of the future. History, that is to say, will repeat itself and we shall be having the same kind of tussles as are going on in other Federations, in Australia, in Canada and in the United States. All this could well have been avoided if a serious effort were made to pacify Provincial interests after a thorough-going inquiry instead of the necessarily make-shift methods proposed by Sir Otto Niemeyer.

Sir Otto bluntly told the Governments of some of the Provinces, which had observed financial rectitude and trimmed their budgets with the pruning knife, that he was not there to "tip the virtuous, but to assist the needy." This was indeed a scientific, though somewhat callous, attitude. However, the point at issue is, what was the test of neediness which Sir Otto adopted? I believe that Sir Otto touched only the fringe of the problem of "allocation according to needs." The Meston Committee, in 1920, at least enunciated the method of "relative taxable capacity" (whatever that meant) and took some pains to investigate the position of the various Provinces from this angle, though they bungled the actual application. Sir Otto has done nothing of the kind: he simply takes the dictum of the Percy Committee that the "only method of relieving the deficit Provinces is to spread the charge over the other Provinces,"

as his gospel text and proceeds in pursuance of this ideal of allocation to make subventions according to the budgetary "needs" of the Provinces. This, to say the least, is not assisting the needy, but to tip the prodigal at the expense of the virtuous Units. Budgetary condition, in any Province, can never be regarded in scientific federal finance as a true test of neediness. A budget has two sides, and deficits can arise either through insufficient taxation or through excessive expenditure or both. Most Provincial budgets, when they were presented to Sir Otto, were samples of mere "window-dressing." He should not have paid any heed to them, but should have proceeded to examine the fundamental factors underlying the revenue and expenditure positions of the Provinces,—fundamental factors, such as per capita income in the various Provinces, their agricultural and industrial wealth and so on. Had he delved sufficiently deep, he would no doubt have arrived at the true tests of neediness. Similar methods have been followed in Australia, for instance, and a Commonwealth Grants Commission annually examines the claims of various Australian States for Federal grants-in-aid. I should recommend a careful study of the Reports of the Australian Commission to all those who are seriously interested in the scientific study of methods of allocation of Federal Aid. Sir Otto, in the brief time at his disposal, could hardly have been expected to go into the essentials of these problems. The result is that we have this half-baked, mediocre effort at evolving a Scheme of Federal grants, which has failed to satisfy everyone except the Central Government. The unfortunate thing is that this Scheme will now continue to dominate Federal Finance in this country for several years and there cannot be an opportunity of effecting any alterations by legislation except by means of an Order-in-Council. One very much wishes that the door were left open for subsequent revisions of the Scheme on the plan of the Australian Commonwealth Grants Commission and the relative position of the Units were re-examined from time to time with a view to such revisions.

The arrangements proposed regarding (a) decentralisation of balances and (b) consolidation of pre-autonomy debt by the Government of India are an excellent feature of the future methodology of meeting the debt requirements of the Centre and the Units. The accounts of the Provinces will be credited with their unearmarked provincial balances, Famine Funds, Depreciation Funds, etc., and with the unspent amounts of Road and Development resources assigned

* The previous articles appeared in our issues of the 4th and 11th June and the 2nd July.

to Provinces in the past in advance of requirements. These proposals are bound to simplify the future credit relations between the Centre and the Units. The Order-in-Council does not provide for this arrangement, as it falls strictly outside the purview of Federal Aid. The debt to be consolidated in the case of each Province consists of (1) the pre-1921 debt, minus (2) balances available on decentralisation, plus (3) post-1921 debt; and the figures for the various Provinces are as follows:

Figures for Debt to be consolidated.
(IN LAKHS)

Province	Madras	Bombay	Sind	U. P.	Punjab	C. P.
Pre-1921 debt ...	827.8	615.6	274.9	1219.4	1086.7	151.9
Balances ...	577.2	361.1	49.4	322.6	294.2	151.9
Post-1921 debt	727.5	2070.8	229.7	1760.3	998.9	378.6
Debt to be consolidated ...	978.1	2325.8	455.2	2647.1	1791.4	378.6

In the case of Provinces other than those mentioned above, separate arrangements have been suggested under the subvention plan. The following cancellations of debt owed by the Provinces to the Central Government will take place:

		Net annual saving in interest
Bengal	} All debt contracted with the Centre prior to April 1936.	33 lakhs.
Bihar		22 "
Assam		15½ "
N. W. F. P.		12 "
Orissa		9½ "
C. P.	Deficit debt as on 31st March 1936, and 2 crores of pre-Reform debt.	15 lakhs.

Thus, it will appear that the Centre will assume the pre-Federation debt of the above five Provinces and a part of such debt of the C. P. Sir Otto has proposed an ingenious plan for the cancellation of these debts as against the subventions. "Where financial assistance is to be given by a creditor to an existing debtor, elementary common sense suggests that the shortest and simplest method of adjustment is by reducing the claim of the creditor on the debtor, and I have naturally been led to consider whether the assistance I recommend that the Centre should give to the above Provinces cannot conveniently be provided in whole or part by such an adjustment of debt relations." That is to say, Sir Otto has, in effect, made the interest charges on these debts, a first charge on the subventions to be granted to the Provinces under his Scheme. This is, indeed, a very convenient programme. It has not been provided for under the Order-in-Council relating to Federal Aid, but

the subventions granted therein have been taken to represent the residuary sums after making allowance for the above arrangements. A subsequent Order will deal with the whole problem of debt.

Under the new Constitution, the Reserve Bank of India will float loans on behalf of the Units as well as the Centre, while a co-ordinating power is vested in the Federal Government under Sections 162, 163, and 164. The Federation can make loans to the Provinces or guarantee their loans. No Province can borrow outside India without Federal assent, and in case of any dispute, the Governor-General in his own discretion will give the verdict as regards the urgency of Provincial requirements. It would have been a good plan to appoint a Loan Council by an Order-in-Council for the handling of the entire debt question, as in Australia. Such a body could have acted in a purely advisory capacity, assisting the Federation as a whole to float loans in due order, to make proper allocations of funds according to the urgency of requirements, to look after the sinking fund arrangements etc. This remains a great drawback in the present Scheme of Federal Finance.

There is one more problem which needs early attention, viz., the settlements to be made with individual States on their entry into the Federation. The Davidson Committee have made detailed proposals as to the way in which the "debts" and "credits" of each of the States are to be assessed. However, in the actual working of the programme difficulties are bound to arise which cannot be tackled merely by departmental correspondence. Under the new Constitution, the States will be soon entering the Federation, and we shall soon be engulfed with overwhelming problems of financial settlements, involving consideration of age-long treaties, sanads etc. For the detailed treatment of these questions, it was highly desirable that a semi-permanent machinery should be set up. However, neither the Act of 1935 nor Sir Otto has recommended any measures for the management of these aspects. He could have, by liberal interpretation of his terms of reference, especially in view of the Secretary of State's letter of 18th December 1935 which permitted this, ventured into these regions. Anyhow, when the First Stage of Federal Finance, viz., Provincial Autonomy and its financial groundwork are ready, we should soon be looking forward to some concrete machinery to deal with the Second Stage, in which the States will be filling the picture.

B. P. ADARKAR

(Concluded.)

KILLING THE LEAGUE.

UNTIL recently Mussolini was waging war on two fronts—a minor war with Abyssinia and a major war with the League of Nations. He gased Abyssinia out of existence and the minor war thus came to an end. The major war also ended in a complete victory for him on 4th July, when the League Assembly decided to raise sanctions against him. This surrender to the aggressor means

nothing less than the death of the League, and there is no question that the British Government has taken a leading part in compassing it. In the debate on the vote of censure brought against the Government on 23rd June, the Labour and Liberal parties exposed the deceit and duplicity of the so-called National Government throughout this affair, but it is unnecessary at this time of day to dwell on it at any great length,

One or two things may, however, be brought to the attention of our readers. It is usually argued that U.S.A. was indirectly responsible for the failure of the sanctionist countries in putting on the oil embargo, because, it is said, U.S.A. was not willing to co-operate with them. We have ourselves shown before how utterly unfounded this allegation is, but Sir Archibald Sinclair quoted a passage from a speech of Sir Samuel Hoare as Foreign Secretary which clinches the point. Sir Samuel said:

Just because of the effectiveness of the oil sanction, provided that the non-member States had a full part in it, the situation immediately became more dangerous from the point of view of Italian resistance. From all sides we received reports that no responsible government could disregard that Italy would regard the oil embargo as a military sanction or an act involving war against her.

As Sir Archibald Sinclair said, "There was not one syllable about a refusal of the United States of America to co-operate with us in imposing this oil embargo." On the contrary, it was just because Sir Samuel felt that an oil embargo would, if applied, be effective and would lead to an attack upon Malta or Egypt, that he began busying himself with what Mr. Lloyd George described as "compounding a felony," or "giving the burglar half the goods." The part that France played in this dispute is notorious. In January of last year a secret agreement was made between the French Government and Mussolini, whereby the French, in return for assurances of aid on their other frontiers, gave to Italy a free hand in Abyssinia. Mr. Eden who, as Sir Stafford Cripps well said, was "the chief decoy duck put out on this foreign policy episode", admitted in the House of Commons on 24th February this year that he had information in his possession regarding the terms of the agreement and yet took no steps to raise the matter before the League, but on the contrary preferred to use France as an excuse to cover up the British Government's own "poltroonery," to use Mr. Lloyd George's blunt phrase, or "fear and loss of nerve", to use a more elegant expression of Lord Hugh Cecil.

What is the good of maintaining merely economic and financial sanctions, the spokesmen of the National Government ask. Only military sanctions can possibly restore Abyssinia to its former position, and for military sanctions no Government is prepared—neither the British Government nor any other. Mr. Lloyd George answered the question thus: "There is every good in keeping the sanctions on: 'the strain on Italy would increase.'" "If you kept up the strain for another year you would find that you would be able to make terms with Mussolini. You may say, 'You will never restore the thing as it was.' Probably not, but you would restore freedom and independence, and the form of some better organisation, which would be an infinitely better thing for both Italy and Abyssinia. It is a fatal error to deprive yourselves of the means of bringing the necessary pressure, which would enable you in the end to establish a very much better peace than you could do now by running away." Nor need it be presumed that Ethiopian resistance is at an end. "The great bulk of the Abyssinian population," Dr.

Hugh Dalton pointed out, "live in the western part of the country, which is still unsubjugated," and it may well be that what happened in the Boer war might happen in this. Mr. Lloyd George recalled: "The real trouble (for the British in the Boer war) came after the capital had been captured, the Government scattered, and the President, Head of the Republic, in Europe, just as the Emperor (of Abyssinia) is today; then our trouble came. It took us two years to try to conquer the country, and we did not conquer it. In the end we had to make a treaty with the guerillas there which ends in practically the restoration of independence of those people." Who can assert that the same thing might not happen in Abyssinia? Let us maintain the sanctions, Dr. Dalton urged, at least till the rainy season is over when, owing to the low clouds, Italian aircraft cannot fly, and Mussolini cannot go further in subjugating the country. Let us then judge whether Abyssinia is conquered or not. But even this most modest plea was rejected, on the ground that the sanctions front would dissolve in the meantime and sanctions would peter out, with the result that the British Government bent the knee itself and made other nations bend the knee to the Italian dictator.

What the Prime Minister said of the future of sanctions shows that, so far as Conservatives are concerned, sanctions are dead not only now, but for all time in future. He said the Ethiopian episode had taught him one thing, viz. that sanctions mean war, and that unless all the important countries are prepared simultaneously to embark on war, not on their own account but on others' account, it was no use imposing even mild economic sanctions. "You cannot tell," he said, "when you begin at what point the aggressor will regard the sanction as a military sanction. It depends entirely on his strength. I can conceive instances when sanctions might proceed as far as we proceeded last autumn before war broke out. But the ultimate sanction is always war, and unless the sanction you apply is such as to bring the aggressor to his knees, war is inevitable, and probably not a localised war, but a war throughout the whole of Europe. (Secondly,) where there is an aggressor it would be quite impossible for the nations that wished to exercise the power of military sanctions against the aggressor or a group of aggressors to do it unless they are in a position to do it at once and together. If collective action is to be a reality and not merely a thing to be talked about, it means not only that every country is to be ready for war, but must be ready to go to war at once." And what is the possibility of such a thing happening? Mr. Baldwin was convinced that the British people would spring to their arms at once if their own country were threatened, but "I sometimes wonder," he said, "if they would march on any other occasion than if they believed their own frontiers were in danger... If there be any truth in what my instinct tells me about men's hearts in Europe, then, indeed, one of the problems before the League of Nations is to educate the peoples of Europe that they may be ready to fight to restrain the aggressor, and I doubt if today they are." Of course,

the British people are not, and no other people are. This means that the League has been established much before its time, and that for many decades and centuries yet might will continue to be right. If this is so, one wonders why Mr. Baldwin consented to the application of sanctions at all, for he knew what it involved. He said on a former occasion, "If you are going to adopt a sanction you must be prepared for

war. If you adopt a sanction without being prepared for war you are not an honest trustee of the nation." We all thought he was prepared to take the risk of war when he launched on sanctions, but it is now clear that he was never prepared for it. He funked it throughout. It is good that the weaker peoples are told plainly once for all where exactly they stand with these protagonists of the League.

NATIVE LABOUR.

THE South African Native Land Bill, which we discussed last week in these columns, cannot be properly understood unless we consider the provisions it contains for driving out from white land those natives who reside on it in any other capacity than as loose labourers. We saw that, with the provision of additional land that the Bill makes, natives will have, man for man, at a very liberal estimate, only one-twelfth of the land that the whites will have. But even this is considered much too generous, and, considering the native policy of the Union Government as a whole, it is generous. What is the explanation of this? Part of it is contained in the statement of the Prime Minister, General Hertzog: "We are going to be liberal towards the natives in the future. We can be so, because the danger in connection with the (native) franchise has been removed. I do not doubt that that will be a very great incentive to the Europeans." But the real explanation is that only if more land is given to natives can their interpenetration of the Europeans' farms be stopped. In setting up the native areas, however, care has to be taken to make them large enough to draw away some of those natives who have been squatting on the whites' farms but not so large as to support the whole of the native population in ease and comfort, which will make labour for the whites scarce. The native areas must be so circumscribed that natives will be forced to come out of the reserves in search of employment on European farms—not as tenants or squatters but as mere labourers. This is just what the present Native Land Bill seeks to do. The Bill says to the native (we give here General Hertzog's own words): "We want as few of you as possible in the white man's area. For that reason we are setting aside defined areas in which you can go and carry on farming operations and to which you can come and live. When you come within the white man's area you should know that you really come, in the first place, to serve his interests." The native shall normally live in the area set apart for him. If the area reserved for him is not adequate to his needs, he will be allowed to come and live in the white area only as a servant, and in no other capacity. In the South African natives over one-third live in reserves, one-eighth in urban areas, one-fourth are employed on the railways or in the mines or as servants of European farms, and the rest work on the land of the white men as labour tenants or squatters. It is one purpose of the Bill to reduce the number of labour tenants and to eliminate squatters, or to force all natives in non-native areas into the position of

simple farm-labourers. Labour tenants are under a contract of service with the white farmer and, in return for the service they render, are allowed to reside on the farms. Squatters hire a farm from a white landowner, reside on it without any contract of service, and cultivate it with their own live stock on the "ploughing on halves" or a similar principle. They do not pay rent to the proprietor in labour as labour tenants do but go shares with him. The Bill makes the residence of all superfluous labour tenants and all squatters illegal, and imposes heavy penalties in the form of licence fees upon the white farmers who will employ them. It is presumed that every owner will require five labour tenants in respect of each farm owned by him. But if a complaint is made to the magistrate that a landowner has on his land more tenants than are *bona fide* required for his work, a board consisting of an official of the Native Affairs Department and two owners of land situate in the district will go into the question. They will presume that every labour tenant is engaged to render service for at least six months in the year and if the board comes to the conclusion by a majority that the owner has an excessive number of such tenants, it may order that the number be reduced, whereupon the owner shall effect the removal of the excessive number within a maximum period of a year. If the owner fails to do so "he shall be guilty of an offence." If the tenants fail to move they will be evicted by the police on a magistrate's warrant. A breach on their part of a contract of service is made a criminal offence, a provision which was defended by most members of the Union Parliament. Mr. Alexander described this as among the provisions "which belong to the dark past" and asked if it was good for the native to be put into gaol for breaking a contract, why they should not try it on the European as well and why it should be regarded as a civil matter in his case. "Do not keep all the good things for the native"; he said, "give the Europeans a chance as well"!

The Bill's policy in regard to the squatters is much more severe. The owner will be made to pay in respect of each squatter a licence fee of 10s. per year for the first and second years, £1 for the third and fourth, £2 for the fifth and sixth, £3 for the seventh, eighth and ninth, and £5 for the tenth and every subsequent year, and no licence will be renewed after the expiry of thirty years. The high licence fee is being levied for the express purpose of abolishing what is called Kaffir farming, but the complaint of the whites is that the process of abolition is unduly slow. Why wait for ten years before imposing the maximum

penalty, they asked. Why not make the farmer pay £2 10s. in the first year and £5 in the second? Why not increase the maximum from £5 to £10? The Minister of Native Affairs said: "Anyone who has to pay £5 for a native is being punished severely enough. . . I am convinced that it is a sufficient tax to force the landowners to get rid of the squatters." Getting rid of the squatters is the avowed objective which he felt would be effected rapidly enough by the payments of the licence fee. Yet he could not withhold sympathy from these extreme proposals. He wished he could accept them, but his regret was that he could not do so. The Bill placed on the Government the responsibility of accommodating the squatters that would be removed from the land of Europeans, and he did not like to be saddled with them in large numbers. "I shall first of all," he said, "have to buy land, and in some cases have to prepare the land. Where, e. g., there is no water we shall have to sink boreholes or build dams." That was the reason why he wished to spread out the displacement of squatters over about ten years. It is true that the system of employing labour tenants and squatters has been condemned by commissions as wasteful. For example, the Native Economic Commission remarks: "From the point of view of the farmer, labour tenancy is distinctly an uneconomic method of securing a labour supply. . . The only reason why it is maintained on many farms is because there is no satisfactory alternative. It involves waste as it is necessary to keep more labour on the farm than the work warrants." The hope of the Government is, by driving off the labour tenants and squatters from the European farms, to turn them into labourers proper without any rights of tenancy.

It is not definitely known how many such tenants are in occupation of European land. In 1913 there were about a million squatters among four million natives; now the native population has risen to a little less than six millions, and probably the number of squatters has risen proportionately. All these will undergo gradual displacement, and in about ten years there will be no squatter left. Let it be remembered that many of them have occupied land in the white area for several generations. To ask them now to go and settle in the native area, where they will at best

be perfect strangers and at worst they will have little land which they can occupy is to force them to return to the European farms with their status reduced from that of tenants to one of servants. That is the declared object of the Act, and if some more land is being given to natives it is for the purpose of depriving some million and a half of them of the superior position which they now enjoy. Mr. Alexander entered a feeble protest against these provisions and suggested the excision of the whole chapter IV in the Bill in which they are embodied, but he too did not press strongly with his criticism and the provisions were accepted without demur even by those who may be considered to be of somewhat liberal views. The majority report of the Eastern Transvaal Natives' Land Committee takes a sane view of the question, in dealing with the Native Affairs Administration Bill of 1917. It says:

It may be premised, as a general proposition, that the squatter in a non-native area will not be in a position to pay the licence money which, though chargeable to the owner of the land, will, as a matter of course, be recovered from the tenant. He will either have to become a servant (for even as a labour tenant he is subject to licence), or move into the native area. Whilst declining to become a servant, he may or may not decide to move, but in any case he will not pay the licence money simply because he cannot. . . .

In the opinion of the Committee, there is no alternative but the entire withdrawal of the licence provisions of the Bill. Why should it not be sufficient merely to prohibit fresh squatting and allow existing squatters to continue without impediment until they disappear in the course of a generation? Why should it be necessary indeed to attempt to abolish squatting in a breath, as it were, and by a mere stroke of the pen? Economic forces are at work which are bound, in due time, to cause the total extinction of squatting in any event.

As the country becomes more closely occupied, from squatting to labour tenancy and from labour tenancy to the condition of full-time servant is but a step. . . . Granted that the squatting evil is flagrant, any attempt to extinguish it suddenly can end only in the creation of a new situation worse than the first. The Committee is confident that the utmost that can be hoped for, on lines of fairness and justice, is the extinction of squatting within a generation. To bring this about involves merely the refusal of fresh facilities—a very different thing from utter deprivation of facilities already granted or, at any rate, already tolerated.

Such views, however, have no chance of a favourable reception in South Africa at present.

INDIA AND INDIANS ABROAD.

It has often been said that parents love their children more than children love their parents.

In the case of Mother India and her children abroad, the reverse seems to be truer. Indians abroad, even those in Trinidad, British Guiana and Surinam who are farthest away from India and most cut off from cultural contact with India, why, even those who were born in these countries and have never been to India, display a tender love for India which is very touching. This must be most gratifying to the visitor from India, but he may well ask himself how India, the people of India, deserved this tribute of love and affection.

Immigration to these countries began nearly a

century ago. During the great part of this period, till almost a decade ago, no cultural mission arrived from India to these countries. The charge cannot be denied that through all the long decades during which Indians were allowed to emigrate to these countries, unofficial, cultural India has neglected to maintain and strengthen the cultural tie between India and her children abroad. The emigrants from India were recruited, of set purpose, mostly from the poorest, the least educated and cultured class in India, to take the place of the liberated Negro slaves, and were treated as slaves to all intents and purposes. If, in spite of their appalling disabilities, the Indians in these colonies have made the progress they have, and sustained

their cultural heritage with amazing tenacity, it was all through their own self-effort and not due to any cultural assistance from India. Even in the matter of their education, they owe more to the Christian Missions from Europe and America than to any help from India.

Does this bleak record mean that the people of India have been indifferent towards their compatriots in these colonies? In answering this question it is well to take note of some three or four considerations. Till about the foundation of the Indian National Congress, now fifty years ago, the people of India had hardly awakened to political consciousness, much less to a sense of their cultural and other responsibilities towards Indians abroad. Since then increasing interest has been evinced as regards Indians abroad as the records of the Indian National Congress, the premier national organization in India, testify.

For many years Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi, among the most devoted to the interests of Indians overseas, attempted to persuade the Indian National Congress to organize a department of Indians Overseas. He was, however, unsuccessful in his efforts, solely because the Congress had its hands full with local Indian problems and in particular the fundamental problem of *Swaraj* or home rule for India, and it felt that it could not effectively undertake more extended responsibilities. This view had the full support of Mahatma Gandhi whom nobody who has even the slightest acquaintance with his work in South Africa can accuse of indifference towards Indians overseas. It is interesting to learn that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the present President of the Indian National Congress, has suggested the organization of a Congress Bureau to keep in touch with Indians abroad.

Another very important consideration to be remembered is the fact that however much the people of India and the Government of India are divided, and divided into hostile camps, over the internal problems of India, as for instance home rule for India, they are happily both at one with respect to the problem of Indians abroad. On that question both the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi, not to speak of the leaders of other parties, stand together. And, therefore, the solicitude of the people of India for Indians abroad often took the form of official deputations, as those of Messrs. McNeill and Chaman Lal, Messrs. Keatinge, Pillai and Tiwary and Mr. (now Sir) Maharaj Singh. It may be noted that Messrs. Pillai and Tiwary were non-officials.

Among the non-official organisations which seek to serve the cause of Indians abroad may be mentioned the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, and the Indians Overseas League, London. The former owes its existence to the South African Indian Fund which was organized by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the Founder of the Servants of India Society, in order to support the passive resistance campaign led by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. The balance of this Fund was subsequently devoted to the establishment of a permanent organization to watch over and safeguard the rights of Indians abroad, both in the British Empire and outside.

The Indians Overseas League in London has for its moving spirit Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who was the right-hand man of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa and whose devotion to India and Indians abroad is exemplary.

Though not solely devoted to the service of Indians abroad, the Servants of India Society has from its inception taken special interest in that cause. It has already been stated that Mr. Gokhale organized the South African Indian Fund. He himself visited South Africa and was primarily responsible for persuading Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, to publicly identify the Government of India with the passive resistance campaign led by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. The Viceroy went the length of publicly rebuking the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Gen. Smuts.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who succeeded Mr. Gokhale as the President of the Servants of India Society, led an unofficial deputation in 1923 to England over the Indian question in Kenya, and later in 1929 was deputed by the Government of India to assist the Kenya Indian community to formulate and present their case to Sir Samuel Wilson, the then permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, who visited East Africa at that time. Again in 1931 Mr. Sastri gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament over the East African question on behalf of the Government of India. Mr. Sastri represented India at the Imperial Conference in London in 1921 and carried a resolution to secure equal rights to resident Indians in the British Dominions, other than South Africa. He then toured these Dominions in order to promote the implementing of the Imperial Conference Resolution. Again he was a member of the Indian Delegations which represented the Government of India at the two Round Table Conferences in 1926 and 1932 to negotiate agreements with the Government of South Africa over the Indian question there. He was appointed as the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa in 1927.

Mr. H. N. Kunzru, the present President of the Servants of India Society, presided over the East African Indian National Congress in 1929 and led a deputation to England in 1930 in the interests of the Indians in East Africa. Mr. S. G. Vaze, for many years the Editor of the SERVANT OF INDIA and now again in editorial charge of it in the absence, on foreign deputation, of the undersigned, was deputed by the Society to East Africa in 1923 to study the Indian problem there.

But none of these members of the Society had occasion to travel so far afield as the West Indies and British Guiana. Mr. V. N. Tiwary who was a member of the Keatinge-Pillai-Tiwari Deputation in 1922 and who wrote the majority Report which is considered a classic on the subject, was at the time a member of the Society.

The undersigned is another member of the Society who has had opportunities to study the problems of Indians overseas. He had the privilege of being the private secretary to the Rt. Hon. Sastri in South Africa, East Africa and London. He has taken

advantage of the invitation of the Yale University in the U. S. A., to visit Canada, U. S. A., Trinidad, Surinam and British Guiana to study local Indian problems. He intends to visit Fiji, Australia, Malaya, and Ceylon, for a similar purpose before returning to India.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who visited these colonies, stands apart, is a host in himself, more Indian than many Indians, a genuine friend of all, and has visited more countries where Indians are settled than any other investigator, whether British or Indian. His services are unique.

The organizations and individuals referred to above either attempt continuous work from the home base in India or undertake occasional deputations abroad. They have not attempted permanent and continuous work abroad, in the colonies, among the Indians overseas. Moreover, their work has primarily been political and economic. They have investigated and made recommendations to the local Governments. But they have not attempted to send permanent missions abroad to work continuously among the Indians overseas and build up institutions for social reform and social service. Nor have they directly sought to instill or kindle the spirit of nationalism in them nor help them to appreciate their cultural heritage.

It was only during the last decade that this new type of national and cultural rehabilitation has been attempted. From all accounts the pioneer of this new movement was Pandit Jaimini, who visited these countries some few years ago. Though he did not himself settle here permanently, he kindled the national and cultural consciousness of the Indians and created organizations which were to receive a continuous supply of preachers from India. Himself a devout Arya Samajist, he seems to have expounded his religious tenets without attacking the religions of others, and by his suavity, urbanity and tact, helped not only to make Indians here conscious of their cultural individuality, but to keep together.

He has since been followed by others who were mostly religious preachers, both Hindu and Muslim. There is every reason to believe that in the future the contact between India and the Indians abroad will be more continuous and more intimate and it is likely that in future there will come to these countries not only an increasing number of visitors and passing students of public affairs, but also religious and other types of missionaries to undertake permanent work of a religious and social character.

Whether the growing intimacy in the relations between the people of India and the Indians in these colonies has already had or is likely to have undesirable and unhealthy consequences is a matter for anxious consideration. Some of the recent arrivals from India were religious propagandists who believe not only in expounding their religious tenets but in attacking those of others. In some of these colonies the religious sensibilities and susceptibilities of Indians have been sharpened, and divisions among them along religious lines have been either created or accentuated. The Hindus have been divided into Sanatanists and Arya Samajists, and the Arya Sama-

jists themselves into two sections! The Muslims, too, have been divided. Recently there was a meeting at which rival sections of Muslims under the chairmanship of a Christian debated for many long hours whether Christ was dead or alive! In these countries *pardah* is unknown even among Muslims. But recently a Moulvie arrived from India who inculcated the doctrine that *pardah* was a Quoranic injunction the violation of which was sin. This too has divided the Muslims into hostile camps, and the emancipated Muslim women are steeling themselves to resist this imported outrage from India. Well may some Indians deplore that India's new-found solicitude was worse than her long neglect! They had loved India in spite of her neglect. When contact was re-established they hoped for sound leadership from the Motherland. Instead, they get religious fanaticism and social obscurantism. Well may they plead with India to send them social reformers and social servants who will enable them to make up the leeway in social and educational progress and come on a level with the other communities in these colonies.

Apart from this aspect, the increasing contact between India and these colonies is bound to lead up to political affiliation and even political exploitation. Indians in the colonies will increasingly look to the people of India to assist them in redressing their grievances and some Indians in India will be tempted to exploit these grievances in their campaign for home rule for India. Political campaigns can be inflamed by half truths, and sometimes even by pure inventions. It is to the interest of the Government and the peoples of India to have a regular supply of accurate and responsible news as to the conditions of Indians abroad. It is to the interest of the Colonial Governments to have at hand a responsible representative of the Government of India who would keep in touch with local Indian communities and promptly communicate their wishes and grievances to the Government concerned. It is to the interest of the local Indian communities, who have yet no leisured class of cultured people to give them leadership, to have an agent of the Government of India to watch over their interests until such external assistance becomes superfluous. The agent of the Government of India will be in the best position to give a healthy and progressive direction to the growing intimacy between India and the Colonies.

P. KODANDA RAO.

Reviews.

ECONOMIC PLANNING.

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING.

By N. S. SUBBA RAO. (Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.) 1935. 20cm. 271p. Rs. 3.

THE author of the book is an Indian economist of established reputation. He was the Sir William Meyer Lecturer of the University of Madras for the year 1932-33. In that capacity he delivered a series of lectures on the subject of Economic Planning. These have now been published in the form of a book, which is calculated to throw much useful light on several

important aspects of a problem which is attracting considerable attention at present. Mr. Subba Rao has a very happy knack of expression and can be trusted to make even a dull topic interesting. It is not, therefore, surprising that he has been able to produce an extremely readable book.

Prof. Subba Rao has in view the more limited connotation of the word "Planning" Rightly or wrongly, planning in certain minds has come to be permanently associated with collectivist economy. This identification of a particular aspect with the general idea has not been very logical or helpful. But considerable theoretical work has centred round the notion, as is evidenced by such publications, as *Essays in Collectivist Economic Planning*, edited by F. A. Hayek. According to Prof. Subba Rao, Planning should be regarded as the considered effort of the community to bring its economic technique up to date and fit it to the radically changed conditions of production in recent years. With this generalised notion of Planning, as a method of collective economic activity, Prof. Subba Rao has discussed several interesting issues that naturally arise if that method is to be seriously adopted.

Prof. Subba Rao reviews the evolution of thought on the subject of industrial, and particularly, price stabilisation. He weaves his treatment of the subject more or less along lines now made familiar by the great work of Keynes, and points out how planned monetary regulation must be an integral part of the technique of social planning. A survey of the difficulties as regards efficiency and economy that lie in the path of purely national planning leads the author to the conclusion that the distribution of the raw materials of the world in the most economic fashion is not feasible in view of conflicting national interests. Concerted international action on the economic plane, as on the political, can only become practicable with a large limitation of the attributes of national sovereignty.

It is to be noted that according to Mr. Subba Rao, a certain social end must be inherent in all deliberate supersession of individual economic effort. He says, "Economic planning, even when it is not of the full-blooded socialist type, implies far-reaching measures of social betterment and a stricter limitation of the rights of private property and inheritance. The choice before the privileged classes is a loyal acceptance of change and a wise guidance of the forces of reconstruction, or a shortsighted opposition in the interests of private property and enterprise to all economic change till the present order decays and reform comes clothed in the robes of revolution." This view only shows how very fluid is as yet the thought on the subject of Economic Planning and how different objectives are being read in its application.

In view of the obvious difficulties in the way of international and inter-Imperial planning that the author has rightly emphasised, it is slightly surprising that he should feel quite convinced of the necessity and advantage of Indian Economic Planning being adjusted as a part of some wider planning unit, Asia, Empire or the World. Not only for its execution, but for its essential unity, a plan can cover only a unified and integrated area. For renascent nations, particularly of the ancient and continental type of India considerable internal planning will have to be achieved before any useful scheme of wider planned co-operation can be framed. Prof. Subba Rao's book contains a very readable discussion of several important aspects of Economic Planning. It will be read with interest and advantage by students of contemporary economic thought in India.

D. G. KARVE.

INDIAN PRISON REFORM.

PRISON REFORM IN INDIA. By P. K. TARAPORE. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 20cm., 182p. Rs. 5.

FOR the first time in the history of prison administration in India comes forth a senior medical and administrative officer to examine the very system he worked for years, and to put forth suggestions for reforms which he strongly feels are absolutely necessary. For one thing this attempt of the author must serve as a guiding note to other administrative officers of his rank, for we have seen how medical officers like Curry, Goring and others of the prisons in England and elsewhere have occasionally turned their experiences to good account. In India officers of these ranks never felt it their duty to solve this ever worsening problem of crime and punishment and educating public opinion. One reason for this is that our staff of this rank is mainly drawn from the foreigners. These, while on duty, never think in terms of Indian society as their 'own', and on leaving service, leave the country for good. Their mental attitude is one of keeping the prisoners under the whip—an inevitable psycho-reflex of the imperialist attitude of keeping India under thumb. Secondly, this staff, in the words of the author, "is wholly untrained in the ethics of their work" and the sense of citizenship as well. Considered from this point of view Lt. Col. Tarapore deserves praise all the more.

Not only does the author not concern himself with the sociology of crime, he does not even concern himself with discussing the fundamentals of penology. The only task to which he addresses himself is to examine (1) the present method of administration of prisons and (2) the ethics of the present methods of punishment and treatment. Admittedly this field is narrow; none the less he acquits himself well.

The book is divided into nineteen chapters. Some of these, (1) Theories of Punishment, (2) Treatment of Young Offenders, (3) Preventive Detention, (4) Training of Inmates, (5) Problems of Labour and Finance, (6) Training of the Staff and (7) After-Care of the Prisoners, make instructive reading.

In discussing the theories of punishment, Col. Tarapore has dismissed the belief in crime by birth and the heredity complex of crime. He rightly looks for the origin of crime to the mental or the environmental conditions of each individual put up for trial or sent to prison.

His criticism of our judiciary which mechanically translates the letter of law into punishment is remarkable. Both the magistrates and the jail administrators deal vacantly with the commission of crime, forgetting the criminal and therefore the punishment meted out "renders the criminal useless for outside life." Therefore the author reminds the magistrates that "in trying cases the sole aim ought to be to protect the public and not to deal out purely retributive punishments". This is natural because "men who are systematically repressed begin by being sulky and end by being thoroughly demoralized".

The gist of this treatise lies in four suggestions: (1) a more enlightened and humane method of dealing with offenders, (2) institution of alternatives to imprisonment, i. e., detention camp, (3) after-care of released prisoners, and (4) efficient training of the staff including the Superintendents.

Towards the accomplishment of these, the author has made a few useful suggestions. Some of these, however, are partially put into practice—at least in this presidency. For example, the author wants separate prisons for the habitual offenders with a view

to keeping the first offenders away from their pernicious influence. The prison in Nasik has already been set aside for habituals. So also his suggestion for the revision of sentences so as to tempt prisoners to behave and to earn their freedom earlier. This suggestion has since long been given effect to in this presidency. How far it has brought about the desired effect and how it is honestly worked is another matter!

In the Chapter dealing with Labour and Finance the author has built up a strong case for (1) the introduction of industries in prisons and (2) the purchase of produce thereof by Government departments. These are really wholesome suggestions. But when the author goes further and suggests that there is some scope for economy in the feeding and clothing of the prisoners, he exposes himself to a serious challenge. True, there are all sorts of irregularities and often vagaries in the purchase of stores. Admittedly these require to be put right. It would however become a matter of efficient administration and not of economy. On the contrary the amount sanctioned per capita is so meagre, that in the interest of the preservation of the vitality of the prisoner, it must be increased. The author puts this amount at Rs. 100 per annum per capita. Granting the figure to be accurate, it may be safely stated that the author overlooks the fact that almost over 40% of the amount goes towards the maintenance charges.

Col. Tarapore emphasizes the necessity of making the prisoner love work. Enough evidence can however be produced to prove that the absence of any scope for work has been one of the causes of enlarging the ranks of the criminals. So many prisoners look in vain for work when released that in sheer helplessness they are forced to commit a technical infringement of the law so as to find their way back to prison. The plea in favour of the after-care of the prisoners entered into by the author in his book has, or ought to have, a pointed reference to this eventuality.

His criticism of the untrained staff and the blank, vacant Superintendents has a considerable amount of truth. In India, the superintending staff generally is a misfit in the system. The State has not as yet known that men commissioned to deal in human material—the most complicated and reflexive—need training in organisation and in psychopathy. Our Superintendents are, for the most part, only vain drillers.

LALJI PENDSE.

SWEDEN.

THE SWEDEN YEAR-BOOK, 1936. (Official, Stockholm.) 1936. 20cm. 367p.

THE Sweden Year-Book of 1936 is a source of valuable information. A small strip of country lying to the north-east of Europe, Sweden has a population of only 62,14,000 i. e. one quarter of the population of the Bombay Presidency. But whereas Bombay has an income of 19 crores a year, Sweden boasts of a revenue equal to nearly 105 crores, almost equalling in this respect the revenues of the vast sub-continent of India. Its government, therefore, spends sixty times as much per head of population as is spent by the Indian government!

Nor is this all. Though far more unfortunately placed than India, so far as the bounties of nature are concerned, Sweden boasts of an administration which still remains the dream of the Indian people. Sweden has full responsible government. The King of Sweden, like his confrere in England, is only an ornamental figurehead. The actual administration of the country is run by a cabinet consisting of nine members with a Prime Minister at the head. The

central administration is entrusted to nine departments of the State, over each of which a member of the cabinet presides. The nine departments thus administered are: (1) Ministry of Justice, (2) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (3) Ministry of Defence, (4) Ministry of the Interior, (5) Ministry of Communications, (6) Ministry of Finance, (7) Ministry of Public Worship and Education, (8) Ministry of Agriculture and (9) Ministry of Commerce.

The legislative authority called the Riksdag in Sweden is a bi-cameral legislature. The first Chamber consists of 150 members, elected by a restricted franchise and its duration is for a period of eight years. The second Chamber consisting of 230 members is a more democratic body, for not only is its duration limited to a period of four years, but it also is elected by a wider franchise. Thus, unlike all other democratic countries where the first chamber is more representative, Sweden presents the case of a democratic second Chamber. Consequently, the second Chamber in Sweden is vested with greater powers relating to finance than the first Chamber.

Unlike most other countries again, elections to the Swedish Riksdag are conducted by the system of proportional representation. Thus, no single party gains a stable majority in the Riksdag. The government is often run by a ministry which adopts an all-pleasing and conciliatory attitude.

Sweden is a country known for its beauty and culture. Year after year, thousands of tourists visit the country to sport in its perpetual snow. Sweden again has acquired world-wide recognition by the princely donations of its eminent citizen Alfred Nobel, the Prize named after whom is known all over the Globe. The history and conditions of Sweden, therefore, have an irresistible charm for the outsiders. No other book can satisfy their curiosity better than this Year-Book, compiled as it is with the help of the public authorities of Sweden. We commend this book to every one's careful perusal.

S. S. MISRA.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA. ITS CAUSES AND CURE. By M. VISVESVARAYA. (The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.) 1935. 20cm. 66p. As. 8.

THIS is the second reprint of a lecture delivered by Sir M. Visvesvaraya in September 1932. Analysing the causes of unemployment in India, he holds the economic depression, the increasing population and the defects and difficulties peculiar to India as the causes. Even in normal days the population engaged in agriculture is without work for six to eight months in a year. Whereas the tendency in other countries has been the diminution of the agricultural population, we find an increase of the population engaged in agriculture in this country. The heavy pressure of population on land accounts for the poverty of our country. Other countries produce greater wealth by industries than by agriculture, but India is mainly dependent on agriculture for her wealth. Many of the governments in India have appointed committees and investigated the problem, but they have not shouldered the responsibility of industrialising the country. The history of the industrialisation of other countries reveals the fact that industrialisation has progressed with the initiative and the efforts of the governments concerned. While the governments should come forward to shoulder their responsibility, the people owe it to their country that they should actively strive for its

development. The growing population should be checked by modern methods, and the people should train themselves for the new life and collective action. The educational system which is treating the unemployed should be directed to produce men who could directly participate in the reconstruction of the country. Besides the permanent solution put forward by the author, an immediate plan of work is also suggested for relieving unemployment. Rapid industrialisation, rural reconstruction and the establishment of practical training institutions are the methods suggested by him. Minor industries, both rural and urban, should, he says, be started, and run on modern methods. Thorough surveys and well laid out schemes of medium and large scale industries should be prepared as a result of the co-operation of the governments and the people. As regards rural reconstruction, Sir Visvesvaraya wants the introduction of western methods which avoid waste and lead to maximum production at minimum cost. He wants training classes, town schools, and the city institutes to impart to the youth training in the new industries.

The State owes it as its first duty to the people to increase their productivity, which will as a matter of course increase its own resources. Charity, instead of being indiscriminate, should be real help and co-operation for national regeneration. The people should get themselves well organised for the new life and for this work of economic regeneration of the country.

This scientific study of the problem based on wide knowledge and experience with a clear-cut and practical plan of work should be made full use of by those who have a hand in moulding national policies.

N. S. S.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VILLAGE MOVEMENT.

By J. C. KUMARAPPA (Sanivarapu Subba Rao & Co., Kovur P. O.) 1935. 20cm. 83p. As. 8.

THIS is a collection of the lectures by the author, who has accepted fully the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi "which is different in many respects from the current notions". He has all praise for the genius of the land which has its social structure based on the happy ordering of village life in contrast to western countries which built their national lives round the cities and kings. This is a view which cannot be accepted lightly if only we care to understand human nature and history aright. If the village social and economic ordering had any soundness in it, it could have served the village in good stead and need not have brought it to its present deplorable plight. The need for the industrialisation of the country and the diversion of the population dependent on land to other occupations is well emphasised, but the author's tirade against machinery and centralised production cannot stand close scrutiny. A transition stage in which cottage industries might have to be fostered may be accepted, but it is not the solution for all time; and it is too much to take it as the panacea for all our economic evils. The author wants to arrive at a happy mean between Capitalism and Communism and suggests that village industries will evolve that happy social order. In attempting to fight both Capitalism and Communism, the author loses sight of many economic tendencies which stare one in the face. In praising decentralisation, the author fails to recognise the need for collective planning and direction which are the life-breath of modern

industries. If social service should be the aim of production, Communism offers the best method of organisation and production, but the author has an instinctive dislike for it. Decentralisation and individual enterprise have led to the present chaos where one feasts and the other fasts perpetually. Should not the producer think of the consumer and the place where he can dispose of his production? The author in his enthusiasm for decentralisation has failed to think of these difficulties. Slavish imitation of other countries is condemned by the author but his blind veneration for the past might be equally condemned. Though a collection of lectures delivered off and on, the book presents the author's view of the problem and makes interesting reading.

N. S. S.

Miscellaneous.

MR. DUBE'S CANDIDATURE.

WE have been asked to announce that Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, of the Servants of India Society, is a candidate for election to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly from the Indian Christian constituency. Mr. Dube will be one of several candidates including Sir Maharaj Singh. We have wished the latter success and so do we in the case of Mr. Dube (There will be two seats). There is another Liberal in the field, the rev. Mr. Mukund of Lucknow. But we hope that an understanding will be reached between him and Mr. Dube. Both of them stand for joint electorates as does Sir Maharaj Singh—as does, indeed, every sensible and patriotic nationalist. Mr. Dube has to his credit public service rendered during many years in several capacities—as a member of the Servants of India Society and of the Liberal party, and as secretary of the U. P. Temperance Association and of the U. P. Cooperative Union. There can be no doubt that if elected, Mr. Dube will prove to be an independent and useful member of the next provincial legislature.—*The Leader*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. An Autobiography. (John Lane.) 1936. 23cm. 617p. 15/-.
 IRAQ FROM MANDATE TO INDEPENDENCE. By ERNEST MAIN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 23cm. 267p. 16/-.
 ENGLAND, 1870-1914. By R. C. K. ENSOR. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 23cm. 634p. 15/-.

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