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## Topics of the Week.

### Adjournment Motions.

THE amended rules governing the procedure relating to adjournment motions in the Legislative Assembly are obviously intended to reduce the so-called nuisance of too many adjournment motions which is visited on Congress members by Government. But whether it will reduce that so-called evil remains to be seen. For so far as can be seen, the revised rules do not introduce any material change in the present position in the sense of conferring wider powers on the Governor-General of disallowing adjournment motions. The only change made by them in procedure relates to the giving of the notice of the proposed motion to the Member of Government concerned as also to the President and not only to the latter, as had been the practice so far.

SO far as the Governor-General's power of disallowance of such motions goes, it is left exactly as it was. He was free to disallow an adjournment motion even though it had been already allowed by the President. With the new provision requiring the submission of the notice also to the Government Member, the Governor-General can hereafter intervene at an earlier stage. But he can, as before, put his foot down on an adjournment motion only for two reasons: one, that it cannot be moved without detriment to public interest and two, that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Governor-General in Council. On no other ground could he disallow such motions before and on no

other ground would he be able to do so hereafter. The new rules will, it is true, facilitate his taking cognisance of inconvenient motions before their being allowed by the President, though of course he is not debarred from so acting at any time before the motion is debated. But at whatever stage he appears on the scene, he must continue to face the odium of stifling the discussion of a matter in which the public is keenly interested.

IT is of interest to compare the procedure governing adjournment motions obtaining in India with that prevailing in Parliament, after which the Indian Legislature is avowedly modelled. Such motions can be brought forward in Parliament only on the first four days of the week. The member desiring to make the motion is not required to give previous intimation of his intention to the Speaker much less to the Minister. All that he is required to do is to rise and declare his intention to bring forward such a motion at the appropriate stage in the day's business and to state the subject he wants to be discussed. It is after he has done so that he hands to the Speaker a written statement of the matter proposed for discussion. If more than forty members support the proposal, a debate automatically follows at the prescribed hour without any functionary intervening to stop its discussion. The Speaker like the President here can refuse permission to a motion which does not raise a definite and an urgent matter. But once it successfully runs his gauntlet, its discussion cannot be stopped by anybody.

### Labour and Coal Committee.

THAT a special committee is at present engaged in grappling with the difficult problem of minimising accidents in coal mines in India is a matter within the knowledge of the reader. Towards its expenses a supplementary grant was recently demanded by Government in the Legislative Assembly. And Mr. N. M. Joshi utilised the occasion for once again pressing on Government the need of adequate labour representation on the Committee. We fail to see how a committee whose business it is to suggest measures for reducing risk to the lives of labourers can satisfactorily discharge its allotted task without the persons most vitally affected by its work being kept constantly and closely in touch with it. Is it at all possible to secure this object without including a sufficient number of representatives of colliery workers in the Committee as its members? So far as we can see, there is no equally satisfactory substitute for it.

REPLYING to Mr. Joshi's very cogent and reasonable plea, Sir Frank Noyce took shelter behind the fact that the Committee was an expert committee which had been called upon to handle an essentially

technical problem. Nobody can say that his contention is absolutely devoid of force. But can it be denied by anybody that the Committee would have been in a better position to face its difficult task if it could have been enabled to have the benefit of constant and continuous consultation with duly accredited labour representatives?

THE Government spokesman sought, without much success in our opinion, to establish an antithesis between an expert committee and a representative committee. It is difficult to see how and why it is necessary to divest an expert committee of all vestige of representative character. As a matter of fact every care ought to be taken to retain its representative character because its recommendations have ultimately to be accepted by public opinion. The Government can never afford to lose sight of the fundamental fact that the yardstick with which the success of a committee's task can be judged will be the acceptability of its suggestions to the public. Looked at from this point of view its representative character, far from reducing the authoritative nature of its conclusions, would have considerably added to their practical utility.

#### Arbitrary.

THE press in which the *Independent* of Nagpur is printed has been asked by the C. P. Government to deposit a security of Rs. 2,000. We have no doubt their action will call forth strong condemnation from all quarters. The Government order asking for the deposit refers to the paper's comments on the arrest of Mr. Biyani. While it may be readily conceded that the comments could easily have been less offensively worded without taking away anything from their pointedness, there can be little doubt that the punishment is unwarrantedly severe. It has been the consistent contention of the paper that the defeat of the Congress candidate for the Council of State from C. P. was due not so much to public hostility to the Congress as to the influence the Government brought to bear, directly or indirectly, on voters in favour of the non-Congress candidate. Mr. Biyani's arrest it looked upon as part of the same anti-Congress campaign by Government.

THE contention may or may not be well founded. But if one looks to the spirit and not the letter of the criticism, one is at a loss to discover anything in it which need have brought down on the devoted head of the poor keeper of the press the heavy hand of a mighty Government. The action once again illustrates the danger of vesting large arbitrary powers in the executive without their being made subject to some judicial check, and brings prominently to view the menace they constitute to civil liberty. But so long as the executive is free to use them at its will, its misuse as in the present case need really cause no surprise. This, however, in no way lessens the gravity of the offence of the Government.

#### One More Inquiry.

SO we have not yet seen the last of economic inquiries in Zanzibar. The hurried enactment of the obnoxious clove legislation in 1934 was followed soon after by an inquiry by a commission presided over by the Chief Justice into the problem of agricultural indebtedness. Then, last year Mr. Binder was specially brought out from England to look into the working of the clove laws. And now even before any action on these two reports is taken, news is brought by Mr. Anantani, who has just returned from England, of a fresh inquiry. This will be under-

taken, so Mr. Anantani says, by Sir Ernest Dawson, who was formerly Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government. He will concern himself with the agricultural indebtedness position with particular reference to the working of the land legislation of 1934 which has raised such a storm of protest in Zanzibar.

IN view of the earlier inquiry into the problem of agricultural indebtedness this fresh inquiry might appear to some to be superfluous. But it has to be remembered that while the first one concerned itself with ascertaining the extent of agricultural indebtedness and suggesting measures for its relief, Sir Ernest Dawson will, if we understand the situation, examine the recommendations of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission and the action consequent upon them in the light of the working of the hated land decrees. If this is the purpose of the Dawson inquiry one is not sure that it could be belittled as one of those time-devouring devices which are brought into existence by all Governments from time to time or that there is much to object to in it.

WE are sure the Government of India are closely in touch with the developments of the situation in Zanzibar. Whether they succeed in staving off this inquiry, as Mr. Anantani wants them to or not, they must stand steadfastly by our countrymen, as they have been doing. If the inquiry is not abandoned, they must send out their representative to Zanzibar to help the Indian community present its case to Sir Ernest Dawson. Their representative should not, as on some former occasions, hold a mere watching brief but should be officially associated with the inquiry. The Government will, we hope, succeed in securing such a formal status for him.

#### Inefficient Primary Schools.

IN these days of financial stringency the policy of local Governments in regard to primary education is naturally that of consolidation. Since expansion on any considerable scale is out of the question till the return of better times, all attempts have necessarily to be concentrated on securing the utmost return for every rupee spent on education. This is the justification of the official policy of elimination of inefficient and unnecessary schools that is being followed everywhere. In a recent speech at Ongole the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, gave several instances of schools of this kind.

HE referred to a school which had been in existence for twelve years and which had a teacher who regularly drew Rs. 20 every month as his salary but whose total enrolment was one and average attendance nil. There were a number of schools, he said, with a total attendance of only three and an average attendance of two or one. Similarly, there were hundreds of schools with a total attendance of five, six, seven and eight, and hundreds and hundreds of them with an enrolment not exceeding 15.

WE are not sure that anybody will shed a tear if such schools are closed down and the financial savings thus effected utilised towards starting more schools in areas where the demand for education is really insistent but which, owing to the paucity of funds, the Government is unable to satisfy. It is difficult to say how far Mr. Statham's description can be taken as representative of other provinces. But we daresay that Madras alone cannot possibly have a monopoly of inefficient schools which must be existing in large numbers in other provinces as

well. It would be interesting if other provincial Directors of Public Instruction made the results of their close study of the statistics of elementary schools available to the public in the same way as Mr. Statham.

#### Mysore People's Demands.

THE Mysore People's Federation Conference, the presidential address of which was noticed in these columns last week, passed a number of important resolutions. The pride of place amongst these must be given to the resolution demanding the establishment of responsible government in the State. The present constitution was inaugurated thirteen years ago and looking to the growth in political consciousness that has since taken place, has become antiquated and out of date. Nobody can doubt that the time has arrived for taking a step forward. But instead of an advance there has recently been some going back in Mysore, as indicated by the recent notifications in regard to the Legislature which, it is complained, are calculated to bring about a curtailment of the powers and sphere of influence of the Legislature.

BUT this is not all. Towards the popular demand for the grant of political reforms, the Dewan has chosen to adopt an undisguisedly hostile attitude. He roundly averred once that the measure of advance for which the people had been agitating would not be in their best interests as if he alone understood what was good for the people than the people themselves. In his opinion, that policy would neither be "practicable, wise nor desirable." Nor did he stop here. He used words which make the people doubt his very faith in democracy. In face of such ominous portents, how could a popular party like the Federation sit with folded hands? In addition to repeating its demand for responsible government the Conference expressed its anxiety and grave concern at the reactionaryism typified by the Dewan's attitude towards the question of constitutional reform in Mysore. In the light of all this it is not surprising that the Conference also asked that the tenure of the Dewan's office should be limited to five years.

A RESOLUTION was also passed which brought into being a Civil Liberties Association for the State. The existence of a very stringent press law on the Statute book, the frequent invasions on freedom of speech and meeting that are taking place, etc., do emphasise the need of a body which will exclusively devote itself to safeguarding public liberties. Whether the Government would be far-sighted enough to listen from the start to the representations of the new body or not, the Association will certainly succeed in building up a force of public opinion which the Government would eventually find it difficult to resist.

#### Eradication of Illiteracy.

AT the Madras Corporation Teachers' Education Camp the head-master of the Government Secondary Training School, Saidapet, delivered a lecture on "The Intellectual Outcaste and his Uplift." In the course of his lecture he made certain suggestions which, if acted upon, would, he thought, assist to a considerable extent in the eradication of illiteracy. Said he :

Elementary education must be viewed as the primary and direct concern of the State; a minimum wage must be vouchsafed for every teacher and paid directly to him every month through some government agency; business methods should be employed in the matter of producing literates—something like the old "result grant" system had to be revived. Each of the 50,000 elementary schools should add 10 literates per school year; honest and sincere teachers should not be tossed about by political waves; rural schools must be attuned to community life in respect of curriculum, working hours and holidays; the course must be carefully planned on a scientifically graded system of gradually decreasing the number of working days for children above 10; some schools must cater to the needs of even adults between 20 and 30 years. Provincial grants must be refused to those schools which did not admit Harijans. Inspecting officials must try to acquaint the teachers with up-to-date and effective methods of teaching and actually handle classes. A literacy register must be kept in every school showing the total male and female population of the area served by the school and it should be brought up-to-date, a consolidated statement being issued year after year by the department.

## INCOME TAX REFORM.

THE report of the Income Tax Committee is a workmanlike document covering a very large number of questions regarding income tax reform in a comparatively short space. The reform of the Income-tax system in India has been long overdue and it is to be hoped that the Government of India will now take speedy action following the recommendations of this Committee. It is not possible for us in this article to deal with the entire varied field which the Committee has traversed and we shall content ourselves with commenting on some of the main problems raised by the Committee's recommendations. It was clear from the composition of the Committee that it was expected in the main to deal with the details of procedure and administration rather than raise issues of a wide and general character. For, the Committee was one of technical experts consisting of one Indian Commissioner of Income tax and two members of the English Board of Revenue. This in the case of income tax reform did not, however, act as

a great handicap inasmuch as this reform is today more largely a matter of a consistent and a logical following out of certain accepted principles rather than of the explanation of new ones.

The Indian income tax system both in its theory and its practice is very largely modelled on the British system and one of the points at issue was the further adaptation from the English model of some features hitherto absent from India. The Committee, for example, has definitely accepted a reform in the basis of the incidence of income tax which has been generally demanded in recent years. There are at present serious gaps in the Indian Income tax system specially with regard to incomes arising out of India. These, it has been complained, unduly favoured the person with a non-Indian domicile and encouraged the investment by Indian capitalists of their resources abroad. The Committee definitely recommends the assimilation, with some minor modifications, of Indian practice to British which will help in filling these gaps. The

Committee recommends the adoption of a definition of "residence" on the lines of the British definition and recommends that the entire income accruing to residents be liable to the Indian income tax instead of only that part of it brought into India as at present. In the same way certain modifications are proposed so that the income of non-residents arising in India may also be properly made liable to the Indian income tax. In this same connection two other points had usually been raised. One was the Governor-General's powers of granting exemption from taxation. This is an entirely anomalous practice but the Committee declare their inability to make any recommendation on a constitutional matter of this character. The most important set of exemptions granted under this section have been those to pensions and leave allowances and salaries paid to officers resident abroad. The Committee point out that so far as Government pensions are concerned, the matter has been taken out of their hands by the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 which exempts the pensions earned by even the future entrants of services from taxation. The Committee's feeling of justice and propriety in this matter is, however, made clear by the recommendation that all pensions—other than those enjoying statutory exemption—earned in British India should be liable to the tax, wherever they may be paid. The Committee also definitely recommend that the exemption hitherto enjoyed by leave allowances and salaries paid out of British India be revoked. The other important class of income which, it has been long suggested, may well be taxed is the interest on the sterling securities of the Government of India. This is definitely an income arising in British India and ought, on the general considerations laid down by the Committee, be made liable to the tax burden. Here again the Committee point out that the Government of India Act (1935) extends statutory exemption to existing securities—an exemption which they had not enjoyed before. The Committee make a faint-hearted attempt to justify this exemption but it is clear from the recommendation they make regarding the taxing of interest payable outside British India that this is nearly a case of weekly accepting a *fait accompli*. In the case of both pensions and sterling security interest it is clear that the Government of India Act (1935) has done naked violence to established principles of taxation at considerable expense to Indian revenues and solely with a view to profit British interests; and it is something to get this opinion, at least impliedly confirmed, in this Committee's report.

There come next some questions regarding the mode of levying and ascertaining the tax. The Committee definitely recommends the giving up of the present "stage" system of taxation basis and recommend instead a "slab" system. The Committee also pertinently point out that the rates of the Indian tax are at present a little too heavy at the lower levels and the whole scale not graduated deeply enough. The difference that will be made by their recommendations is clearly brought out in an appendix giving the actual working of the results of the present scale

and a suggested specimen slab scale. There has been little question regarding the merits and greater justice in operation of the "slab" system. Its adoption in the Indian system hitherto has been prevented chiefly by the fear that it would be too complicated to work in India. It is to be hoped that now that three experts have pronounced in favour of its adoption this elementary measure of reform in the basis and method of levy will be speedily adopted.

While the Committee recommend the adoption of the slab system they have definitely rejected the suggestion that the elaborate British system of differentiating between the married and unmarried, and between earned income and unearned income should be adopted in India. The Committee hold that these differentiations will not make any material difference to the distribution of the tax burden in Indian conditions and that on the other hand they will unnecessarily complicate working arrangements. Very possibly the view of the Committee is correct. But it would have been more satisfactory if the Committee had caused statistical information to be compiled on some of these matters so that we would have had something more solid than these vague guesses to work upon.

A big question to which the Committee's attention was drawn is the taxation of agricultural incomes. The merits of the general question the Committee have refused to discuss, seeking refuge again behind the provisions of the Government of India Act (1935). They have, however, taken account of the effect of agricultural income upon taxability of other income and recommend that the agricultural income of an assessee should be taken into account in fixing the amount of tax payable on his other income. This, of course, is no radical alteration but it is a step in the right direction. This is a beginning of a realisation of the fact that the ability to pay depends on both agricultural and non-agricultural income together. The problem of the proper taxation of higher agricultural income and applying income tax criteria to it is a very difficult one and can hardly be expected to be tackled by our Government at this stage.

These are some of the more important questions of general interest tackled by this Committee. The Committee has, however, dealt with all kinds of other questions, each of some importance, in its particular way. The Committee, for example, provide in its recommendations for relief of certain hard cases in the taxation of the Hindu joint family; it definitely holds that the incomes of husband and wife shall, except for a minor relief granted in one case, be lumped together for purposes of taxation; and it tackles in its chapter on legal avoidance the question of the non-distribution as income of a company's profits. A large portion of the Committee's report is concerned with improving the efficiency of Income tax administration in India. It is estimated that the possibility of such improvement is very considerable and that a very large number of people escape assessment altogether. An important legal change suggested by the Committee for meeting the latter phenomenon is that the reporting of one's income, when

liable to income-tax, should be made a statutory obligation in India as it is in U. K. to-day. At present the Indian law obliges a person to make a return only in case he is served with a notice to that effect by an Income tax Officer. A large number of administrative improvements are suggested and the Committee has also gone into the vexed question of appeals and

appeal authorities. It is not possible in this article to enter into the details of the various recommendations. What has been written above is enough to show that the report of the Committee is an able document showing both the merits and limitations of expertise proper.

## THE ABDICATION : CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES.

IT is widely agreed that the voluntary and unconditional abdication by King Edward VIII of his right to the British Throne is an act of unprecedented gravity in the annals of the British Constitution. The political behaviour of the English people in any crisis has always taken the foreign observers of their constitution by surprise, and the recent event is no exception. The real issues involved in the protracted negotiations between the Prime Minister, the Dominion Governments, the party leaders and the King before abdication was finally decided upon are not yet clear even to the English critics themselves. Much less can the ulterior effects of so momentous a step be accurately visualised so soon.

Some facts and inferences appear, however, to be well-established by now. It has been stated in certain usually well-informed circles that the issue involved was whether the views of the Government should prevail in the matter of the King's marriage. In the light of the very clever speech made by the Prime Minister explaining the circumstances of the case and the frank broadcast of the ex-King, it is clear, beyond doubt that the King never claimed that he could take such an important step as his own marriage, which would not only supply a Queen to the nation but which would affect social and political relations in several quarters, without advice from his responsible Ministers. The King did not claim immunity from submission to constitutional advice but urged that the advice should be in the affirmative. He knew full well that in the event of the Cabinet refusing to give favourable advice and his failing to get, by strictly constitutional methods, an alternative government which would satisfy his inclinations and yet retain the confidence of Parliament he would have no choice but to yield or to abdicate. That he chose the latter course is a very interesting personal detail but it does not change in any important respect the implications of the British constitution.

Recent events have a tendency to be viewed out of proportion and in any case knowledge of important connecting details is bound to be so scanty for a long while that a stable judgment can only be pronounced by posterity. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge among very competent recent exponents of the British constitution, such as Dr. Ivor Jennings, that the traditions of an active, and sometimes a meddling, influence on the nation's government which had been created in the long reign of Queen Victoria were not maintained in the two succeeding reigns. This was for the most part a result of the difference in personal characteristics, though it is

possible to trace a certain wilful yielding in the actions of the late King George V. It is more than probable that his successor claimed a greater initiative in administration, though there is no ground for the belief that he claimed to have the authority to override a responsible cabinet.

A strong and active monarchical influence is so near the hearts of the Conservatives and the other rightist parties that one would have expected a much more tolerant reception of King Edward on the part of the Prime Minister than what actually was the case. It is hardly fair to interpret the recent visit of King Edward VIII to the depressed areas as marking in him either any definite sympathy towards working class policies or a desire to cross the responsible Ministers in their policy. The easy ways of a long life as the heir-apparent had undoubtedly developed in King Edward a dislike for ceremonial formalities which would be the despair of a royal master of ceremonies. That Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues were apprehensive of the constitutional danger of the King's informal manners is, therefore, not likely. Undoubtedly it was the scandal caused to the respectable English middle class mind by the proposed marriage of the King that led the British and colonial Prime Ministers to advise the King against this marriage. It was a regrettable accident, if it was not actually a clever move on the part of the responsible advisers, that the King was led on to suggest amorganatic marriage to end the constitutional difficulty. The fact is that so far as the King was concerned, there was no constitutional issue at all and what the King suggested as a second best course to avert the extreme step of abdication was fully utilised in Parliament and in the country to turn opinion against him.

That the sense of respectability of the large majority of conservative Englishmen at home and in the Dominions was rudely offended at the prospect of what to them appeared a *misalliance* is not a matter of surprise. They, perhaps, thought that in the long run the sentimental affection and the social attachment felt by the higher and middle classes for the Crown would be rudely shaken by this all too 'human' conduct of the King. Since people lost faith in the divine right of Kings to rule over their subjects, propaganda emanating from high social and political circles has drawn a ring of divinity round the wearer of the Crown. Whether the refusal of the ex-King to play the traditional role of the central character in a long succession of religious and social functions materially influenced the attitude of the Conservative party is not certain. In any case high



society and the ex-King did not hit it off quite well together, and this association between the King and high society was so essential to the perpetuation of Kingship that the Tory party, rather than risk an ultimate undermining of the institution of royalty, prepared itself to sacrifice an admittedly popular King.

All this is according to form and according to our expectations about the English character. But the opposition of the large majority of the Socialist and other leftist parties to the King's desire to marry Mrs. Simpson is less easy to understand. Social conservatism is the last virtue to which the leftists and their followers in the country will openly avow. But it is exactly this trait of British character that has been more prominently revealed by recent events than any other. In fact, though the British socialist parties will not like the mention of it, it is this very conservatism and respectability of almost all ranks of the British population that has stood Great Britain in good stead in many a crisis and that explains the relatively smooth course of British party politics. In outlook and attachments there is so little to divide them. Not only in point of purity, but also in point of pomp and circumstance the great majority of the English public loves to lead a vicarious existence through their King.

The non-political character of the issues culminating in the abdication of King Edward is proved to the hilt by the fact that Tories and socialists divided markedly on this issue. The most bewildering part of the whole proceeding is to be found in the daily *Herald* and its learned correspondent presenting the issue as one centring round the supremacy of Parliament. That this lead to its followers was due to a complete misapprehension on the part of the great Labour journal is clear as much from the speech of the Prime Minister as from that of the ex-King. The Labour party, parliamentary and the rest, has been thoroughly outflanked on this issue. Puritanism among Tories and constitutional propriety

among socialists strangely mixed with each other presented a united opposition to the King's will which neither he nor his friends expected. Had they expected this combination the issue may quite possibly have changed.

That the imperceptible yet real weakening caused by the revelations made during the protracted course of recent events will continue for a long while is undoubted. Whether the cause of monarchy has been better served by the policy recently followed by the British Government than would have been the case if a less drastic course had been followed only the future can decide. The immediate consequences are definitely in the direction of weakening both the social and political prestige of Kingship. The influence of the private advisers of the Crown is reinstated, and will have to be counted with by every progressive government of the future. The power of the Cabinet vis-a-vis the King has been reasserted but it is not clear that it has been enhanced, or that it was ever in danger. What would have happened if the King had chosen a more clearly public issue for indicating his personal inclination is a question on the answer to which depends our judgment about the net accession of strength to the Cabinet over the recent happenings. For a King endowed with a greater appreciation of the prevailing social complexes, the way is still open to influence state policy if he can muster enough ability and energy to emulate the example of Queen Victoria. The Dominions, by sharing so soon after the passing of the Act of Westminster in the virtual dethronement of the King, have in a most unexpected way consolidated their claims to equality and independence. The British Dominions office has in fact been working hard to find out what exactly are the constitutional prizes which Mr. de Valera has walked away with while King and Government were arguing it out among themselves.

D. G. KARVE.

## LIQUIDATION OF DEBT IN CANADA.

WE are now engaged in several provinces in British India and in several Indian States in scaling down the debts of agriculturists who of all sections of the population are the hardest hit by economic depression, and in these efforts we shall be very much encouraged and fortified by similar efforts made in other countries which have proved successful. In the present article I will describe what is being done in the Dominion of Canada in this respect. In the first place, in several Canadian provinces moratory legislation is in effect under which creditors are precluded from instituting foreclosure proceedings or effecting seizure under certain well defined conditions. In the second place (and this is the subject of the present article) legislation was passed by the Dominion Parliament in 1934, under which compositions or re-arrangements are effected of debts of farmers who are unable to pay. The reasons that are given in the preamble for this legislation called the "Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act" are

that "in view of the depressed state of agriculture the present indebtedness of many farmers is beyond their capacity to pay" and "it is essential in the interest of the Dominion to retain the farmers on the land." The Act as originally passed provided for reduction of debt on a voluntary basis. A farmer who is unable to meet his liabilities as they become due may make a proposal for a composition in satisfaction of his debt, an extension of time for payment thereof or a scheme of arrangement of his affairs. The proposal is filed with the Official Receiver of the country or district in which the farmer resides, and the Official Receiver thereupon is required forthwith to convene a meeting of the creditors. If the proposal, either as made or as altered with the concurrence of the farmer, is accepted by the creditors, the Official Receiver applies to the court to approve the proposal, and on the approval being obtained, the proposal goes into effect. But if the proposal, as made or as altered, is not accepted by the creditors, the Official Receiver,

on application to him by the farmer or any creditor, sends the whole record of the case to the provincial Board of Review established for the purpose with a request that the Board endeavour to formulate an acceptable proposal to be submitted to the creditors, and the debtor. The Board then takes charge of the case. It is required, under the Act, to "base its proposal upon the present and prospective capacity of the debtor to perform the obligations prescribed and the productive value of the farm." The Board may, of course, "decline to formulate a proposal in any case where it does not consider that it can do so in fairness and justice to the debtor or the creditors." But when the Board does formulate a proposal for a composition, extension of time or scheme of arrangement it is placed before the debtor and the creditors for acceptance. If it is accepted by the creditors and the debtor, it is filed in the court and becomes binding on the debtor and all the creditors.

So far it is purely voluntary conciliation, and this was all that was provided by the 1934 Act, but a very important amendment of the Act was made in 1935, which introduced for the first time the principle of debt conciliation on a compulsory basis. When the Board of Review satisfies itself that the proposal formulated by it is accepted by a majority of the unsecured creditors holding three-quarters in value of all unsecured claims, then it is not necessary for the proposal to be submitted to the creditors. Otherwise it has to be submitted, but whether it is approved by the creditors or not, it takes effect when it is confirmed by the Board. The provision inserted in the Act in 1935 on this point runs as follows: "If the creditors or the debtor decline to approve the proposal so formulated, the Board may nevertheless confirm such proposal, either as formulated or as amended by the Board in which case it shall be filed in the court and shall be binding upon all the creditors and the debtor as in the case of a proposal duly accepted by the creditors and approved by the court." Here it will be seen that the Board is vested with the power of compulsorily reducing the debts of farmers. In the case of any debt, however, incurred after 1st May, 1935, the Act is not to apply without the concurrence of the creditor. When a proposal is approved by the court or is formulated and confirmed by the Board of Review, the court may order the farmer to execute any mortgage, conveyance or other instrument necessary to give effect to the proposal. The usual provision for stay of proceedings pending the disposal of a proposal is of course embodied in the Act. On the filing with the Official Receiver of a proposal for a compromise, etc., no creditor, whether secured or unsecured, shall have any remedy against the property or person of the debtor for three months after the filing of the proposal, which period may, if necessary, be extended by the court. "On a proposal being filed the property of the debtor shall be deemed to be under the authority of the court pending the final disposition of any proceedings in connection with the proposal and the court may make such order as it deems necessary for the preservation of such property." This is a Dominion Act which is to come into force in any

province when it is so proclaimed by the Governor in Council. But there is one provision in the Act concerning the rate of interest which applies to all the provinces automatically. It runs as follows: "Notwithstanding the provisions of any other statute or law, whenever any rate of interest exceeding 7% is stipulated for in any mortgage of farm or real estate, if any person liable to pay the mortgage tenders or pays to the person entitled to receive the money, the amount owing on such mortgage and interest to the time of payment, together with three months' further interest in lieu of notice, no interest shall after the expiry of three months' period aforesaid be chargeable, payable or recoverable in respect of the said mortgage at any rate in excess of 5%."

I have obtained figures showing the extent to which the Act has been put into operation. Approximately 25,000 proposals have been submitted by farmers under this legislation. Voluntary settlements have been effected by Official Receivers in 6,458 cases; settlements have been effected by Boards of Review in 9,457 cases; additional voluntary settlements have been effected by Official Receivers outside the purview of the Act in 4,486 cases. Thus nearly 82% of the cases have been satisfactorily disposed of; 56% of these were dealt with by Official Receivers at the very first stage of their proceedings, either in their official capacity or by using their good offices as private citizens; and nearly 26% were disposed of by Boards of Review. Complete information is not available as to the total amount of debt which was compounded under the Act; but information is at hand with regard to 13,759 cases which have been settled. In these cases the total debt involved was \$83,464,185, and the reduction effected in this debt by the application of conciliation was \$25,192,590 or 30%. The average debt per case was \$6,066 and the average reduction per case was \$1,831, which works out at the same proportion, viz. 30%. Thus, the Act has enabled the farmer's debts to be reduced by 30%. The annual interest reduction per case was \$153.

The operations of the Canadian Farm Loan Board which make long term loans to farmers are also worthy of note, but I have left myself no space to describe them here. Nor is such a description strictly relevant to the subject dealt with in the article.

S. G. VAZE.

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## Reviews.

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### INDIA AND THE CRISIS.

**INDIA BEFORE THE CRISIS.** By BRIJ NARAIN.  
(The Indian Press, Allahabad.) 1935. 22cm.  
456p. Rs. 6.

PROF. BRIJ NARAIN of Lahore is so well known as a careful and learned student of Indian economic problems that anything coming from his pen and purporting to throw light on our economic situation is calculated to receive the most earnest consideration from interested readers. In the present volume Prof. Brij Narain has presented a historical background for

the survey of India's plight in the great crisis, which he has undertaken in a separate volume. In the present book Prof. Brij Narain has treated of the more permanent and long term tendencies of Indian economic life, which only assumed an accentuated form in the period of the depression.

The most characteristic feature of Indian economy is the unsatisfactory figure of per capita production. Prof. Brij Narain emphasises that the Indian population problem is not a food problem. All the same he concludes that agricultural production during 1921-31 has not kept pace with numbers and that the pressure on resources is as great as ever. In fact, according to Prof. Brij Narain, there is a constant state of overpopulation in India. The prevalence of disease is, according to the author, a sure indication of overpopulation and in his opinion during the last sixty years conditions in this respect have not improved. He does not hope for much from improved agriculture, which, he feels, can only follow upon increased industrialisation. In the absence of a large scale attempt to apply science to industry the progress of manufactures must remain a dream and the problem of pressure is thus a well-nigh insoluble problem.

There is reason to suspect that Prof. Brij Narain is allowing himself to be more pessimistic than necessary. Though all would agree that the progress of the country during the last two generations has not been commensurate either with that of advanced countries or with the desire of the enlightened people in this country, yet it is simply not correct to say that the position in respect of health and production has not improved during the recent past. In particular during the last thirty years or so there is a welcome movement in the upward direction. Birth and death rates, infant mortality and other significant aspects of demographic statistics are showing a welcome improvement. Though it is true that even today there is no deep-rooted and extensive urge towards modernisation of outlook and industrialisation of the economic system, there is an appreciable quickening of the mass mind which even the back to the village propaganda can hardly eclipse. Considerable further progress along these lines is indeed desirable. But certainly there is no room for the unmitigated scepticism with which Prof. Brij Narain appears to contemplate the future prospect.

Prof. Brij Narain prophesies that in all probability there will be a big famine or a big epidemic during the current decade. Let us hope that the author proves a false prophet at any rate in this respect. With official and unofficial medical services so well organised as at present it would appear that there is little danger of an epidemic similar to the plague or influenza epidemic now invading the land. Similarly the danger of a large scale loss of life due to famine also appears to be improbable. If there is any truth in the alarmists' position about pressure the death rate is bound in the long run to show a rise, and the figure for expectation of life is bound steadily to fall. At present neither of these tendencies are in evidence, and hence while we must concentrate all our efforts on intensifying the pace of our industrialisation we can well afford to be hopeful.

Prof. Brij Narain has a good deal to say about the land revenue system, in spite of the fact that he knows the futility of his suggestions. Prof. Brij Narain is indeed right when he says that during the period of depression the net assets of the agriculturists which form the theoretical basis of the land revenue demand were in many cases a minus quantity, and land revenue had in fact to be paid out of the legitimate earnings of labour. The complete lack of a defensive economic policy in the face of the depression which characterised the Government of India is

unique, and deserves criticism. But when as a normal proposition Prof. Brij Narain proposes the abolition of the land revenue, and its replacement by income tax, or in the alternative reduction of land tax to 10 per cent. of net assets with exemption for small holders, it must be said that he is either unmindful of the fundamental features of our fiscal system or that he is planning a wholesale reorganisation of our tax system. Where agriculture is the principal wealth-getting occupation of the people and where it is conducted on such a small scale as in India, the freeing of land from a major share of the public burden is out of the question. It may be urged that non-agricultural producers may be made to bear a higher share than at present. It may also be suggested that the basis of taxation and the elasticity of demand may be further rationalised. But to hold out a prospect of the abolition of the land tax, or its substantial reduction, or its transformation into an income tax except as a supplement to a general property tax is extremely unpractical. Under the new constitution in many provinces popular ministries will have a chance to introduce radical reform in the sphere of finance. It remains to be seen how land revenue fares under the new regime.

The surrounding economic prospect is unrelieved by any bold signs of encouraging progress, and such an earnest inquirer after truth as Prof. Brij Narain might easily be pardoned if he sees gloom all round. A little pessimism did no one any harm, and we are sure that the picture of Indian economic life which Prof. Brij Narain has painted in this book will bring home to readers many a realistic feature of great interest. The book deserves to be read by those interested in India's economic progress.

D. G. KARVE.

## PRESENT WORLD DISTRESS.

**THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT WORLD-DISTRESS.** By H. V. CHINMULGUND. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona 4.) 21cm. 24p. As 4.

THE present brochure seeks to suggest a number of remedies for the prevailing distress of the present-day world. The writer rightly thinks that most of the miseries of the world are due to the exploiting tendencies of the stronger nations. To enhance their power and prestige, the stronger nations not only conquer the weaker ones but always keep them in a state of bondage. Secondly, the mad race for conquering weaker countries gives rise to interminable fight among the stronger powers. The two great evils of the present-day world are therefore firstly, the scourge of unemployment and secondly, the mad race for armaments and the ever-present danger of war. Rao Bahadur Chinmulgund thinks that international trade is at the root of all this evil. It is the desire for foreign markets which gives rise to skirmish among the stronger powers and it is the same thing again which leads the stronger nations to hold in bondage the weaker ones. The author suggests, therefore, a complete stoppage of international trade and in the event of that not being possible, taking it out of the hands of the private traders. Such a regulation of foreign trade, the writer claims, will reduce unemployment, stop the mad race for war, lower high salaries and prevent the fluctuations in the value of the currencies. We do not think that the stoppage of foreign trade alone will bring in its train all these advantages. But supposing it brings in those advantages will it be right to advocate such a measure? Already, there is such a lot of economic nationalism all the world over that the best men are despairing of the future of the world. The World Economic Conference which met some time in 1932 suggested the total abolition of all trade barriers as one of the preliminaries for lifting up



the depression. We should have more of international co-operation if we want to get out of the morass of depression. Again, one fails to understand how the stoppage of foreign trade will lead to the absence of unemployment in the country. If foreign trade stops, foreign exploitation will surely stop. But what about the exploitation of our own countrymen? Abolition of foreign trade is not going to stop that. Similarly cut-throat competition will not disappear as soon as foreign trade is stopped altogether. It will have supreme sway in internal trade. Thirdly, governmental activities will be enormously increased if the foreign trade is carried on by the government alone. The government will establish various sale-depots and the bureaucracy will replace the private trader. Will this be more advantageous to the consumers in the long run? Can they be sure of not paying more for foreign goods than what they are required to do at present? The bureaucracy is never known for efficiency. How can it be expected to be efficient in this connection?

Apart from this suggestion which raises controversial issues, there are many other suggestions which can be accepted at once. For example, both the rich and the poor should have the same facilities for entering government service; super-annuation should be more strictly practised; government pensioners should have no other service; if they are privately employed, their pensions must be stopped. These and such other suggestions will generally be accepted by people without grumble or objection. But the author is not content with these things alone. He gives two other novel suggestions, one that the Nobel prize should be discontinued because it leads to mercenary inventions. Secondly, women should not be allowed to compete with men. The arguments for both these suggestions are not at all tenable. Nobel prize has not led to mercenary inventions and Nobel prize is not such a rich reward as to place a man absolutely above want. The Nobel prize-winners have really been great men. It is very wrong to say that it should be abolished. Secondly, women have not remained spinners in order to compete with men. So we cannot understand why they fail to co-operate in the perpetuation of the race. Madam Curie is not a spinster nor is Margaret Sanger, Amy Johnson or Sarojini Naidu. So, we fail to approve of the suggestion of the writer. Again, if the League of Nations commands an army, national sovereignty will be a thing of the past. National sovereignty cannot exist along with the existence of a world super-state.

On the whole, the book provides much food for interesting speculation and the readers will be thankful to the writer for his interesting suggestions:

SHYAM SUNDAR MISRA.

### INDIAN COTTON RESEARCH.

**COTTON RESEARCH IN INDIA.** BY NAZIR AHMAD. Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay. 1935. 25cm. 100 p. Rs. 2.

THE volume is an account of the work done at the Indian Central Cotton Committee's Technological Laboratory during the decade—1924 to 1935. Though the results of the investigations conducted by the institution were published, a need was always felt for a consolidated and connected account in one volume. Dr. Nazir Ahmed, who is associated with the Committee since 1930, has achieved the object with success.

It is needless to repeat the fact that India is the second largest cotton-growing country in the world. Nearly 8% of the cultivated area in India is under

cotton with a yield of about 6 million bales. The consumption of cotton in about 365 Indian mills approaches to nearly half of the total production. Consequently a technological institution forms an indispensable link in the chain of cotton cultivation and cotton consumption, for cotton deteriorates, being susceptible to climatic and environmental conditions. Moreover production cannot lose sight of the consumer's requirements.

The two main objects of the institution are; (1) to test new strains and improved varieties for cotton breeders and (2) to study the relationships between measurable characteristics of cotton fibre and its spinning value. In pursuance of these objects, fibre properties, spinning value and the relationship between the measurable properties of cotton and its spinning performance form the subject matter of the volume.

After a short narration of the development of the institute the author has described the research work on cotton fibre and yarn in a very free and lucid manner. Further, with a mention of sources of samples, their size, the methods and procedure of sampling, the properties and measures of fibres, such as ginning percentage, lint index, fibre weight per inch etc., and characteristics of yarn, such as twist in yarn, its variation in bobbin, the influence on it of variation in count and unwinding on tension etc., are explained in detail along with appropriate methods adopted, suitable machinery used and statistical formulæ evolved.

Other systematic investigations in connection with the properties of fibre and yarn include variation of fibre strength with humidity, variation in hair weight per inch along the length of a fibre, variation of fibre strength with the length of the fibre. Chemical analysis of standard Indian cottons and spontaneous combustion of cotton are also summarised along with miscellaneous investigations like selection of warp specimens in cloth sampling, manurial experiments, effect of manurial treatment on the yield, fibre properties and spinning value of cotton, field experiments and the application of methods of field experiments for improving the yield and quality of agricultural produce.

Under "Spinning Tests and Technological Research" routine tests on new varieties, on varieties as a result of cultural variations, on trade samples in technological research are amplified. Technological research, which consisted of the study of factors prevailing both outside and inside the laboratory such as storage of kapas prior to ginning, humidification of cotton before pressing, different degrees of compression in a bale, different types of ginning machinery, variation in the moisture content of a bale with atmospheric humidity etc., and the effect of humidity and temperature on the spinning behaviour of cotton, the effect of repeated blow-room treatment, the effect of different spindle speeds, the effect of different twists and drafts in the fly frames, effect of combing different twists in the ring frame, etc., is explained giving short and instructive conclusions from published bulletins.

The relationship between fibre properties and yarn characteristics deals with fibre strength and yarn strength, clinging power and spinning quality, fibre length irregularity and spinning quality, fibre maturity and yarn Neppiness, Wax content and feel and prediction of the spinning value of a cotton from its fibre properties. It is on the strength of this last item only that the author hopes that "the present day subjective estimate of the performance of a cotton which is liable to errors of personal judgment would be replaced by objective and impersonal data."

"Cotton Research in India" should prove a valuable reference book to both scientific workers and the general public, being a concise and connected account of the work of the institution from its very inception.

M. B. GHATGE.

### PROBLEM OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

**MAHATMA GANDHI'S WARNING & FLASHES IN HARIJAN TOUR.** By S. MAHADEVAN. (The Journalist Publishing House, Madras.) 18cm. 1935. 170p. Re.1-4.

**THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF MAHARASHTRA.** By M. G. BHAGAT. (The Author, School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay.) 1935. 24cm. 45p. Re. 1.

MR. S. MAHADEVAN, who was a member of Gandhiji's entourage during his famous Harijan tour of South India, has recorded in this book the interesting incidents that took place in that memorable tour. The book under review covers only four of the nine months of the tour, from November, 1933 to March 1934. We get in this book glimpses of Mahatma's many-sided personality; his assailing his followers with good-humoured railery, white-mailing people for the noble Harijan cause, cajoling young women and children to part with their ornaments like the proverbial Indian juggler, addressing public meetings, visiting Harijan bastis and advising them to lead a clean and hygienic life, worthless articles transmuted into costly ones fetching fancy prices at his hands—all these are vividly narrated by the author. The book is full of human interest and affords entertaining

reading. It is a welcome contribution to Harijan literature.

The social and economic condition of Harijans in Maharashtra is dealt with in this reprint of Mr. Bhagat's article in the journal of the University of Bombay. It is only a summary of the thesis entitled "Untouchability in Maharashtra" which secured for the author the M. A. degree of the Bombay University.

This brochure embodies the results of the economic and social investigations carried on by the author in respect of about 600 families belonging to the untouchable castes in Maharashtra. The value of the book is increased by the inclusion of tables dealing with occupation, literacy, income, marriage expenses, and indebtedness of the families belonging to the Mahar, Chamar, Mang, Dhor, and Bhangi castes of Maharashtra. The number of families taken up for investigation in each caste varies. To that extent the deductions and conclusions arrived at by the author must correspondingly vary, thus not clearly indicating the actual state of affairs in general and therefore, necessitating their being taken only with a grain of salt. For example, on page 3, the table dealing with the size of families gives 7.7 and 9.0 persons as the average size of the 382 Mahar and 31 Mang families investigated.

The author has pressed into service many Government publications. It is strange that there should be no mention in this book of the great national upheaval that is taking place among Harijans and caste Hindus and the repercussions of the movement on the social and economic life of Harijans in general.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

## GOKHALE THE NATION-BUILDER.

### MR. DUBE'S BROADCAST TALK.

*Mr. S. P. Andrews-Dube, Member, Servants of India Society, gave a broadcast talk on Gokhale, on Sunday, January 31. He said:*

**W**ITHIN three weeks of today will be commemorated the twenty-second anniversary of the passing away of that man, of whom truly it can be said that he gave his own life that his countrymen might have life and have it more abundantly. I refer to Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Born on May 9, 1866, in a small village of the Ratnagiri district, of parents who possessed little of worldly goods, for about ten years, Gokhale lived the life of a village boy, in close touch with the beauties and also the ferocities of natural elements. Nursed in the lap of nature, he became acquainted early in life, with the unenviable lot of the village farmer, which knowledge and experience stood him in great stead throughout his career, as he proceeded to unfold his life's mission. The fundamental realities of all India questions, political, social and economic, consist of the relationship of the peasant with the Government, the landlord and the soil which he tills. Gokhale, being at heart a man of the people, a member of the imperishable village community, knew firsthand, unlike many others now in the forefront of India's national struggle, what the real India actually is, what she feels, thinks and wants.

Bereft of her husband's guiding care and material support, Gokhale's mother, an unlettered village woman, with two sons and four daughters to bring up, with no earthly means ready to hand, was forced to shift to another village where a small post on a monthly salary of Rs. 15 was found for Gokhale's elder brother, Govind Rao, still a minor. This small sum was barely enough for the family's elemental needs, what to say of providing facilities for education, but Govind Rao, determined that his younger brother's studies should not suffer, like his own, spared more than half of his monthly income for the support of Gokhale, who was then receiving his secondary education at Kolhapur. Stories current among his contemporaries go to show what a constant hard fight it was for young Gopal to obtain his education. Cooking his own food at times, living frequently on one meal a day, studying often at night by the light of the street lamp were some of the measures he devised to economise the cost of his studies. Quiet and industrious, possessed of an extraordinarily retentive memory, Gokhale is said to have learnt by heart the whole of Scott's "Rokeby", Milton's "Paradise Lost" and large selections from the speeches of Burke and John Bright. This toilsome exercise bore rich fruit later, when he entered public life, in the marvellous command he possessed over the

English language as a vehicle for clear and incisive expression.

Obtaining his Bachelor's degree at 18, hesitating whether Law, Engineering or Indian Civil Service should be his life-work, Gokhale decided finally in favour of education as a career, and became a teacher on Rs. 35 per month. He prepared diligently and well every day what he had to teach in the class, committing to memory English texts, and made an abiding impression upon his students by teaching Grey's *Elegy* without the book in his hands. His marvellous capacity for taking pains for the sake of any cause which he took up was the secret of much of his usefulness to his countrymen throughout life. Agarkar, one of the founders of the Deccan Education Society, along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, exercised great influence over Gokhale at this period of his life, and they were responsible for drawing him into the life-membership of this outstanding educational society of Poona. This was an act of great self-sacrifice for a young man in his position, to accept Rs. 75 a month for a long stretch of twenty years. His multifarious duties in the College did not stop him from finding time for various forms of recreation. Cricket and billiards, chess, cards and other games, he played with a characteristic intensity of concentration.

With Gokhale's first interview with the sage of Maharashtra, Mahadev Govind Ranade, brought about by Agarkar in 1887, began his entry in the political field of India. Ranade perceived the great possibilities latent in Gokhale, and set himself to develop them by a hard and exacting process of training, so that he might be effectively used in the service of the country. Gokhale for his part began to entertain an unbounded affection and respect for Mr. Ranade in whose presence, it is said, that he would never sit down. This relationship lasted for 15 years until death snatched away Gokhale's *Guru* from him in 1901. Ranade insisted on thorough and accurate work, and tried to equip Gokhale with knowledge on all manner of subjects of public interest. He appointed Gokhale as one of the Secretaries of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, which was at that time the chief political association in India. Memorials and representations which this organisation forwarded to the Government were all prepared by Gokhale under Ranade's guidance and supervision. The spirit of constructive statesmanship clothed in a concise and effective style which Gokhale soon acquired shows how readily Ranade's influence was becoming apparent in his disciple. When a rift occurred in the Deccan Education Society and Tilak and Namjoshi severed their connection with the Institution, the duties of both of them were entrusted to Gokhale. We find thus that in 1901 at the age of 25, Gokhale was a Professor at the Fergusson College, Secretary of the Deccan Education Society with the duty of raising funds for it and Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha with the responsibility of editing its Quarterly. These immense burdens Gokhale carried on his shoulders with utmost cheerfulness, never shirking a duty, nor avoiding a responsibility, and through these avenues of public

work, which involved considerable travelling, he gained invaluable insight into the mind of men and the working of institutions, which fitted him for the larger service of his people.

At the early age of 22, Gokhale delivered his first public speech criticising the conduct of a high British official. This speech was very highly spoken of by the people and praised in the newspapers for its force and clearness. This at once secured to him the ear of the educated Indians. Next year he appeared on the platform of the Indian National Congress. Soon thereafter he was elected Secretary of this all-India political organisation. Thus steadily devolved upon him the leadership of politically-minded India, for not only did he bring to the national cause immense powers of industry with a keen practical intellect but also a deep moral enthusiasm and ardent spiritual fervour. What a man truly is, is known by what his ideals are. To appraise Gokhale rightly one has to know what impressed him most in his heroes Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Agarkar and others. It was not their intellectual powers or indefatigable industry or practical application so much as the fact that they possessed saintly character, marked by purity, self-denial, integrity and gentleness. Henceforth, for a quarter of a century, India's stage of public life was occupied principally by Gokhale, who gave every waking hour of his life to tackling the many issues which vitally affected the well-being of his countrymen.

I have time to dwell briefly on two or three of them only. Today men's thoughts in India are centred on the problem of how to better the lot of rural India. More than 30 years ago, Gokhale realised that indebtedness of the agriculturist was bound continually to grow despite the palliatives of cheap and facile credit, suspension and remission of revenue occasionally, distribution of Takavi and other facilities, so long as the peasant did not possess an economic holding. A heavy pressure of the population on the land in the absence of other openings, and the equal division of ancestral holding among the sons and later on among the grandsons actually reduced the holding to such a size as could hardly afford subsistence to a family during the whole year. With an economic holding guaranteed first to the peasant, promulgation of ameliorative measures for social and economic uplift such as rent and revenue legislation, debt relief, compulsory primary education, co-operative movement, temperance reform, village industries and the like, will go a long way in genuinely reconstructing the rural regions. Such a view involves a fundamental reform—a change in the laws of inheritance of the community.

The crux of the Indian political problem lies not so much in the subjection of the country by Great Britain as in the ignorance, superstition, division and conservatism of the people, and in their inability to work in co-operation together for any popular cause for any length of time. Let the proposed National Convention tackle seriously, in a clear-cut and radical manner, this basic problem, and all will soon be well.

with this "sick man" of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Gokhale realised, as happily many do now, that nine-tenths of the work that has to be done before India can take her rightful place in the British Empire or the world, must be done by Indians themselves; and when this major part of the work is accomplished, the few difficulties necessarily inherent in a foreign bureaucratic government will not take long to get over. Divisions and dissensions that exist among the people include also the ticklish minority problem and particularly the Hindu-Muslim schism. Gokhale who played a remarkable part behind the scenes in fashioning the Morley-Minto reforms, acquiesced in the introduction of special communal electorates for the Muslims for the time being in the Government of India Act of 1909, saying that at our present stage of development they could not be avoided. When the history of the evolution of the Indian people under the aegis of Great Britain comes to be told, Gokhale will occupy a high place in it not only for what he actually achieved, but for breathing into the body politic a new invigorating spirit dominated by high moral and spiritual purpose. To him life was not worth, if devoid of right principles and lofty motives. He believed that if his country was to rise again, she can rise only on the sure foundation of righteousness. Spiritualising public life was his mission. His work for the Fergusson College entitles him to the gratitude of thousands of Deccanees. His speeches in the Councils, his political activities in India and England, his championship of the oppressed Indians in South Africa, his advocacy of the cause of the millions of India's Depressed classes—all these will long be remembered by his grateful countrymen.

But what distinguished him from all others and makes him stand out as a world figure is his work in founding the Servants of India Society, an institution conceived on the model of a religious order, the Society of Jesus but charged with patriotic duties. Ranade lamented the fate of India as he found it. In the agony of his soul he burst out, "Where are the workers who clear the heaps of rubbish with which ages of corruption, tyranny and misery had thickly encrusted this ancient land?" Gokhale took to heart these tearful words of his master, and evolved the idea and gave it concrete shape in the Society of the Servants of India of which he was the First Member. From a mere school master to rise to be the acknowledged leader of political India, declining honours and titles, office and position which the King and the Government wished to bestow upon him is, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, undoubtedly unique. Two decades have passed and yet Gokhale's ideals are far from being realised; many wrongs remain to be righted, the struggle for national emancipation within the country and without is still being carried on; mutual understanding between the Britisher and the Indian is not within sight. The place of Gokhale as a unifier, a reconciler between the East and the West, between the Hindu and the Muslim, between

the high caste and the outcaste and between the exploiter and the exploited, still remains unfilled. Gokhale, the great architect and builder of the nation, is gone, having well and truly laid the foundation of the national edifice with his relentless sense of duty, marvellous fund of energy and consecrated spirit of devotion, and now from across the Great Beyond, his wearied and burdensome soul calls for men of intellectual courage and honesty, transparent sincerity and self-sacrifice to complete the work of rearing the new and beautiful structure that India is to present to the world.

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- THE FORMATION OF CAPITAL. By HAROLD G. MOULTON. (Brookings Institution.) 1935. 21cm. 207p. \$2.50.
- CHICAGO. An Experiment in Social Science Research. Ed. by T. V. SMITH and LEONARD D. WHITE. (The University of Chicago Press.) 1929. 21cm. 283p. \$3.00.
- WAR OUR HERITAGE. By JOSEPH P. LASH and JAMES A. WECHSLER. (International Publishers.) 1936. 21cm. 159p. \$2.00.
- FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. A. RADICE. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 21cm. 74p. 3/6.
- POVERTY AND POPULATION IN INDIA. By D. G. KARVE. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 20cm. 127p. Rs. 3.
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