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Topics of the Week.

Conscription of War Wealth

AS a counterpart of military conscription introduced in Great Britain, the Government is now engaged in introducing a measure for the conscription of war wealth. Already there are two checks provided, which will operate to limit the profits to be made out of the country's defences against war. First, the whole system of giving out armaments contracts is being revised, so that by a proper modification of costing methods the prices at which armaments are to be purchased will be fixed at a reasonable figure. Second, under the Ministry of Supply Bill, the Minister is entitled to prescribe standardised forms of costs accounting and to make the closest scrutiny into the profits that have been made. Further, he is given most stringent powers for ordering work to be done at reasonable prices. So much has already been done to prevent excessive profits.

BUT, however fair the terms of contracts and however reasonable the rate of profit may be, the very magnitude of the contracts and the growth of the turnover as a result of the great rearmament programme of the Government may lead to such a large "total profit made by armaments manufacturers as may appear, and in fact be, extravagant. This increase in profit is now proposed to be taxed. Those manufacturers whose armament turnover in the year will be £200,000 will be subjected to an Armaments Profits Duty, which will be 60 per cent. of the excess profits measured by the extent to which the profits made

in the year exceed those of certain calendar years given. This duty is to have a life of three years. It is hoped in this way effectually to prevent armament firms from making unreasonably swollen profits.

OPINION is unanimous in England that this is a grossly inadequate measure. Col. Wedgwood called it an "eye-wash" and "window-dressing." Mr. Noel-Baker thought that the future would interpret the initials of the duty (A.P.D.) to mean "A Political Dodge," which it really was, and similar bad names were given to the tax by the radicals. This was perhaps to be expected; but what is more convincing is that there were many Conservative members who described their sentiments in like manner and pleaded earnestly for devising an effective scheme for taking the profit out of war altogether, instead of merely limiting it to a small extent. Even as a limitation scheme, it is of meagre proportions. In the first place, the limit of £200,000 worth of armaments order is much too high. The *Economist* has suggested a limit of £50,000. Secondly, the rate of 60 per cent. of the excess profits is too low; but the effective rate, the *Economist* has said, would be only 41¼ per cent. after allowing for Income Tax and National Defence Contribution, though the Government denies it. The Excess Profits Duty at the time of the last war was 80 per cent. plus 5s. Income Tax, or 85 per cent. Thirdly, the years selected as the standard years are the very years in which the armaments production had vastly increased (from £103,000,000 in 1932 to £230,000,000 in 1937, more than 100 per cent.) The yield of the tax is estimated at the most at £5,000,000, and the only comment of Mr. Noel-Baker on this was: "A yield of £5,000,000 on an armament expenditure of £400,000,000, a year!"

IT would be enough if we gave the opinion of Sir George Schuster, our former Finance Member, about the A.P.D. to indicate the general consensus of opinion. Sir George urged that the tax ought to cover a wider area and ought to be stiffer if it is to serve even its limited purpose, and said it was "no more than a small step in a general plan." His idea as to the general plan that should be followed is far more radical. It is no less than that industry should cease to operate in a crisis like this according to the rules of "the money game." He said:

I feel that if we are to get through another war efficiently and maintain unity among the people of this country it can only be done if all the main industrial enterprises are being operated not for private profit but for the public purpose. . . . Supposing we were

involved in war, I should like to be able to put above every branch of the business for which I am responsible, "This business is being carried on for the duration of the war on account of the Government, and all profits will accrue to the Government." In circumstances of war the essentials which directors should seek to preserve in the interests of the shareholders would be that the property and the good will of the company should be preserved and that each shareholder should get reasonable regulated return upon his investment.

Finally, he made it clear that if he personally gave his support to the measure it was only because "I cherish the hope that all the steps which are necessary to give effect to the wider ideas which I have mentioned may receive some consideration from the Government." The tax may make an inroad into the profit of the armament industry; it does not take the profit out of the industry, it does not take the profit out of war, as it ought to do.

Franchise in Sangli

THE Report of the Franchises and Constituencies Committee, which was appointed by the Sangli Durbar and which was presided over by Principal D. G. Karve, is of first-rate importance. The principles which guided the Committee in its recommendations deserve to be accepted not only in Sangli, but in all Indian States. How different would have been the situation in British India if such principles had informed the constitution-makers there. The Committee aimed at the widest possible extension of the franchise consistent with "the twin considerations of administrative facility and political responsibility." It felt that in the present stage of political evolution adult franchise was impracticable, but aimed at the enfranchisement of at least 10 per cent. of the population, which would amount to a third of the adult population. Failing adult franchise, it recognised the need for special electorates for certain *functional* interests like landlords, industrialists and labour, but set its face firmly against separate communal electorates and weightages for the women, Harijans, Muslims and Indian Christians. It gave them reserved seats through joint electorates. It provided for the representation of expert knowledge and important social interests by nomination. On the question of separate electorates and weightages, which disfigure British Indian politics, the Committee said:

Having secured to each important minority community just representation, any further weightage constitutes an unjustifiable encroachment on the proper share that ought to be open to competition without reference to any communal appeal. We are persuaded, by our own reasoning as also by experience in British India, that apart from weightage being an inherently unjustifiable practice, like the other principle of separate electorate, it defeats its own ostensible purpose and, in fact, works to the injury of the classes who seem to be favoured by it.

It is highly to the credit of the Muslims and other minorities in the State that they themselves did not ask for separate electorates but were agreeable to have reservation through joint electorates. It is greatly to be hoped that the Sangli Durbar will give effect to the principles recommended by the Committee, and that other Indian States, which have so far escaped the evils of separate electorates, weightages, indirect elections and the Poona Pact, will religiously avoid them in their constitutional evolution.

Ministerial Ordinance

THE Madras Premier has made a departure by enacting what is the first ordinance issued by a popular Ministry. Under the old constitution ordinances could be issued only by the Governor-General. The present constitution provides for ordinances to be issued not only by the Governor-General, but also by the Governors as well as by the Ministry. This provision has come in handy to the Madras Ministry.

IT will be recalled that on the 8th July some Harijans entered the Madura temple against all existing conventions. Some orthodox Hindus, who objected to it, filed a suit against the temple authorities and others. With a view to protect the temple authorities the Madras Ministry promptly published a bill indemnifying them. But the case in the Madura Court came on for hearing on the 17th July when the legislature was not sitting and could not, therefore, consider and pass the Indemnity Bill. The Madras Ministry met the situation by promulgating on the 17th July an ordinance with a similar object and thus forestalled the hearing of the case.

NOTHING daunted, the orthodox Sanatanists have questioned the legality of the ordinance itself. However that may be decided and whatever be the merits of the indemnity itself, the ordinance postpones the consideration of the case in court till the next session of the legislature when the Bill itself will be considered. Though ordinances have an evil odour about them and instinctively rouse antagonism in lovers of civil liberty, there is no reason to resent the promulgation by a Ministry a temporary ordinance for a very short period.

Inamdars in Mysore State

AMONG the Bills passed recently by the Mysore Legislative Council is one amending the Land Revenue Code, of which the chief object is to place the relations between inamdars and their tenants on a better footing. At present many of these tenants are old ones, some of them being on the land even before the inams were confirmed, and yet they have no permanent right of occupancy nor any protection against enhancement of rent. Section 79 no doubt provides that continuous possession or payment of fixed rent for twenty years on the part of a tenant will raise a presumption in his favour that he is a kadim or permanent tenant. Now the Bill reduces the period from twenty to twelve years.

THIS is good so far as it goes, but the main difficulty from which the raiyat suffers remains, viz. that very often he, not being given receipts for the rent paid by him, is unable to make good his claim. The Bill does not make any provision in this behalf. The Government themselves had noticed this deficiency, for Mr. N. Madhava Rau, First Member of Council, in introducing the Bill in January last, remarked:

The main thing is not so much the period (this was said in answer to those who objected that twelve years' continuous occupation was too long a period) as the proof that is available, and members have pointed out that in many cases there may not be any accounts kept and receipts might not have been given by the inamdars. One of the defects which the Government order (of 1935) was intended to

remedy was the absence of accounts which was so often noticed in inam villages. Even according to the old rules, the accounts had to be sent to the taluk office with regard to tenancy, but I suppose that in many cases this is not done. Now, Government in this order have reiterated the necessity of ensuring submission of tenancy accounts every year. It might be open to the Select Committee to consider as to what special rule of evidence could be adopted in case such accounts have not been furnished by the inamdar.

But although Mr. Madhava Rau was himself the Chairman, the Select Committee made no recommendation in the matter, and no special provision is made to enable the raiyats of inamdars to prove their occupancy right. There is no reason to believe that the new order of Government will be better observed than the old one, and it is much to be feared that, in the absence of a provision like the one which the First Member had in mind, the tenants will have no sure defence against insecurity of tenure or arbitrary enhancement of rent. This is apart from our objection to the duration of tenancy fixed as a condition of the accrual of permanent right, which is too long.

THE Bill gives power to Government to introduce survey and settlement compulsorily into inam villages. At present in many cases the tenants do not even know the extent of the lands they are cultivating, there being no survey made of about 1,500 inam villages, and as to rents these are settled only by private negotiation. For "under the existing law, while survey might be introduced in an inam village, settlement could be effected only on the application of the inamdars or the tenants", and the Bill, in order to remove the uncertainty of demand, provides for the compulsory introduction of survey and settlement. These operations would be followed by a Record of Rights, which would enable the rights and liabilities of inamdars and tenants to be ascertained. The costs of survey and settlement are apparently to be borne by Government. Mr. Madhava Rau explained: "Even under the existing rules a good portion of the cost is borne by the Government. For instance, when survey is conducted in a village along with the survey of the particular taluk in which the village is situated the cost is borne by the Government, and in other cases only half is to be borne by the inamdar; and if settlement of the village is agreed to by the inamdar, the cost of settlement as distinguished from survey is always borne by the Government."

WHEN settlement is introduced tenants cannot hope for a reduction of rents even if they are excessive, for it is provided in the Bill that the income of the inamdars will be maintained intact; but the tenants will be afforded some protection against further enhancements of rent. Under the Bill the tenants in inam villages, as in Government villages, will get the benefit of the general rules as to the maximum extent of increase permissible over the existing assessment for the village and for the individual fields. The Bill also provides for the application of the system of remissions to inam villages. "The present rules of remission in Government villages do not apply to the tenants in inam villages, and consequently the latter do not get as a matter of right any concessions by way of remission although their crops might suffer by reasons of adverse

seasonal conditions. The amendment is calculated to extend to the tenants in inam villages the benefit of remissions in vogue in Government villages." The loss thus suffered is to be divided between the Government and the inamdars in the proportion of *jodi* and *jari*, i. e. in the proportion of the land revenue payable by the inamdar to the Government and the total assessment of the village less this land revenue. But this concession is given by the Bill only to kadim tenants, and Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharaiya, at whose instance much of this reform is being effected, rightly suggested in the Select Committee the extension of the concession to all tenants, gutta as well as kadim.

THE Bill also gives power to Government to assume the management of inam villages, not only as at present when Government revenues are in arrear or when there is proved mismanagement of villages during the period of minority, etc., but also for any other cause if in the opinion of the Government it is in the public interest to do so. The present policy of the Mysore Government is, when the inam villages come for sale, to buy up their rights and convert them into Government villages. For some years past Rs. 15,000 is being provided in the budget for this purpose and during the last three years 16 inam villages were thus purchased and their inam tenure was extinguished. This policy will continue, and it is also intended that, whenever possible, Government will acquire inam villages with the consent of the inamdars and give to the latter annual payments in lieu thereof. No provision is made in this Bill for enabling the Government to acquire inam villages, because the Government are advised that no such provision is necessary when the consent of the Inamdars is to be taken.

A USEFUL provision that formed part of the Bill as it was framed was later removed. It ran as follows:

All disputes relating to the nature of tenancy under this Chapter shall be decided by the Deputy Commissioner. If during the introduction of survey and settlements, disputes relating to kadim and permanent tenancy rights are brought to the notice of the Settlement Officer, he shall make a list of such cases and send it to the Deputy Commissioner for adjudication.

This was a very important clause and its deletion is much to be regretted.

Moratorium in Assam

A Moratorium Bill was introduced in the Assam Legislature last year. Now the report of the Select Committee on the Bill has been published, but it has made few alterations of substance in the measure as was originally framed. The benefit of the moratorium will be given to the poorer classes of agriculturists (e. g., those who are liable to pay land revenue not exceeding Rs. 100 per year), and to all persons who live mainly by manual labour. The period of the moratorium is limited for the present to two years but may be extended by one year more. The Select Committee has recorded its opinion that "there will be no justification for bringing forward this Bill unless it is proposed to follow it up with definite and well-planned measures calculated to improve the financial condition of the agriculturists and others—within the period during which the Bill, if enacted, will be in

force—to such an extent as to enable the judgment-debtors to meet their liabilities without undue hardship." This places on the Ministry squarely the responsibility for adopting permanent legislation which will do away within a period of three years at the most with the necessity of taking temporary measures like the present one.

* * *

THE Bill provides for the stay of execution of decrees for money or for foreclosure or sale of mortgages passed against all manual labourers and smaller agriculturists; and if the agriculturists are above this limit, the Bill gives power to the court to stay execution if they deposit one-twelfth of the amount of the decree or one-fifth of the instalment of the decree that may then be due. All attachments of growing crops, agricultural produce, live-stock and other moveable property of a perishable nature will be withdrawn; similarly, all insolvency proceedings against agriculturists will be stayed. And all persons in detention in civil prisons will be released, provided these persons come within the definition of the Bill.

* * *

Kolhapur

THE administration report of Kolhapur State for 1936-37 reached us only a few weeks ago. The one thing that prominently thrusts itself on the attention of any careful student of the report more than another is the excessive proportion which the Palace expenses bear to the income of the State. In 1935-36, the net revenue of the State was Rs. 55½ lakhs, out of which nearly Rs. 11 lakhs or about 20 per cent. was consumed by the expenses of the Maharaja and his family. This was bad enough in all conscience. But the year 1936-37 discloses even a worse state of affairs. In this year, the net revenue fell from Rs. 55½ lakhs to less than Rs. 50 lakhs. But, curiously enough, the fall in income did not lead to a fall in Palace expenses. On the contrary, these went up from Rs. 10,86,236 in

1935-36 to Rs. 10,99,830 in 1936-37 which works out at about 22 per cent. of the State revenue. And, in both years, for a wonder the budget provision for Palace expenses was Rs. 8,60,000! One looks in vain in the report for an explanation as to why in the first place the budget provision was exceeded in both years and why in the second place in one year the Palace expenses went up by Rs. 13,000.

* * *

NOR is this all. In the chapter on the Public Works Department is given a list of works carried out by the Department. If this list is carefully scanned, it will be found to contain items which have everything to do with the upkeep of the Maharaja and his family. Such works swallowed over Rs. 45,000. If this amount is added to that shown under Palace expenses, the proportion of the Civil List to the net revenue of the State would be found to be 23 per cent. This is without doubt scandalously excessive, and it is high time the Maharaja seriously went about reducing his expenses and those of his household to reasonable proportions. If 10 per cent. is considered a reasonable proportion, it follows that the Kolhapur Privy Purse would have to be reduced to less than one half of its present size.

* * *

THE number of educational institutions in the State increased by 2 to 703 and the number of students by about 600 to 46,332. This number might appear imposing but actually represents even less than a third of the total school-age population of the State. The total educational expenditure in 1936-37 was less than Rs. 6½ lakhs. If, as suggested above, the Maharaja in response to public criticism cuts down his Civil List by more than 50 per cent. and if the savings under Palace expenses are devoted to the cause of the spread of primary education in the State, whose importance, we are asked to believe, is fully realised by the State, it will considerably accelerate the pace of educational expansion in the State.

SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

I

IN view of the grave decision of a section of Indians in the Transvaal to embark on passive resistance or *satyagraha* from the 1st of August as a protest against the passing of the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Bill and the suggestion to the Government of India to recall the Indian Agent-General, it is worthwhile to understand as fully as possible the significance of the Bill. A perusal of the *verbatim* report of the debates in the South African House of Assembly on the Bill shows that it is not as simple and innocent as the Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Stuttaford, made out when he said that it was an *interim* "pegging" measure. The implications of the Bill are even more reactionary than its provisions. There can be no doubt that the situation today is far more serious than it ever was in South Africa, for the spokesmen of the Government and the Opposition alike taunted each other with having

been 'liberal' in their past attitude towards Indians and non-Europeans and solemnly recanted their 'liberalism' and vied with each other in holding out the prospect that, dark as has been the white policy towards the darker races in South Africa, it shall be darker still! There were only a handful of members, Messrs. J. H. Hofmeyr, Leslie Blackwell, Maurice Alexander and Mrs. Ballinger among them, who stood out for justice, humanity and liberalism, for sanctity of the word of honour and for the larger interests of the British Commonwealth. All honour to them. But they were powerless to stem the tide of reaction.

The provisions of the Bill may be briefly summarised. In the first place, it is an *interim* measure due to last only till the 1st May 1941. The first clause extends till that date the protection already given to Indians in technically illegal occupation of proclaimed land which had expired on the 30th April 1939. Other clauses

provide that, without the Minister's permission, no new trading license shall be issued to an Asiatic as such, no Asiatic shall occupy an area not occupied by Asiatics on the 30th April 1939, and no Asiatic shall transfer his place of business.

Opinion was fairly unanimous that inasmuch as the Government failed to implement the Feetham Commission's recommendations, it was essential that clause 1 of the Bill should be enacted. Otherwise, as Mr. Hofmeyr estimated, some 12,000 Asiatics and probably 20,000 Coloureds would be adversely affected, as the protection of their illegal occupation expired on the 30th April last. This clause was not, however, altogether immune from criticism. Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger, who was opposed to the whole Bill, said that the Government ought to have implemented the Feetham Commission's recommendations rather than extend the protection by another two years. On the other hand, Dr. D. F. Malan, the Leader of the Opposition, accused the Minister of the Interior of indirectly giving effect to the Feetham recommendations and going even beyond.

II

The failure of the Government to implement the Feetham recommendations is somewhat of an enigma. The Minister of the Interior repeatedly said during course of the debates that the Feetham recommendations should be given effect to. He said on the 4th May :

Now I do not wish the House to think for one moment that I do not consider that it is very important that the Feetham resolutions should be carried by this House. It seems to me one of the fundamental things that we have to do before we can clear the decks for dealing with the rest of the problems of Indian occupation, that we should adopt the Feetham resolutions. . . .

Dr. D. F. Malan, who as Minister of the Interior in 1932, set up the Feetham Commission and gave it its terms of reference, emphasised the *inevitability* of the Feetham resolutions. When, in 1932, he had attempted to eliminate all the illegal occupation of proclaimed land by Asiatics, the representative of the Transvaal themselves objected to it. He said :

Their objection was that if you closed the hundreds and possibly thousands of businesses which had been illegally established on the Witwatersrand you would get an impossible position. You could not deport the people, because a large section of them were born in South Africa — the Government of India refused to accept them, and so they had to remain in South Africa. In such circumstances you will only drive the thousands of Asiatics to the countryside, and the countryside does not want them. Accordingly there was no alternative to appointing a Commission, and so the Feetham Commission was appointed to go into the matter to see what could be done on the lines of segregation.

Dr. Malan himself did not make clear in the debates what his attitude was towards the Feetham resolutions; he simply charged the Government with not having arrived at a final decision on

the matter, and attributed it to a division of opinion within the Ministerial party itself. Mr. Hofmeyr, who succeeded Dr. Malan as the Minister of the Interior, profoundly regretted that the Feetham resolutions were not given effect to during the session. He said :

I believe that this House is under a moral obligation at some time or other to pass the Feetham resolutions or resolutions on similar lines. I say that in view of the history which I have set forth . . . and I say with greater confidence because that select committee of 1936 was representative of all possible points of view on this measure, and was, except on one or two points of details, *absolutely unanimous*. I say it also because the Act of 1936 was passed *unanimously* by this House. On that account I believe, and I think the Minister agrees with me, that we cannot get away from the obligation at some time or another to pass these resolutions. (*Italics ours.*)

This remarkable unanimity has since broken down, and the opposition to the resolutions was apparently so strong that the Government decided to play for time.

III

The second part of the Bill, as has been already explained, refers to the prohibition of the grant of new licenses to Asiatics, of the occupation by Asiatics of areas not occupied by them on the 30th April 1939, and of the change of business premises by Asiatics, without the permission of the Minister of the Interior. This part of the Bill was most strenuously opposed as not only uncalled for, but as a violation of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement and the Cape Town Agreement, and as going beyond the Minister's own professed intention of "pegging" the Indian interests and as anticipating the Government's policy of compulsory segregation, notwithstanding protestations to the contrary, and as introducing for the first time discriminatory legislation against Asiatics as such. From the debates it would also seem that the Minister of the Interior and his supporters were at cross-purposes on the question of residential vs. commercial segregation.

The Minister defended his proposals in this behalf on the ground that he wished to "stabilise" the position during the *interim* period, pending a final solution of the problem. The question was debated at length whether there was any need for pegging, considering that such action interfered with the existing rights of Indians. The Minister of the Interior, as has been pointed out in the previous articles on the subject, confessed that he had no evidence and that the Murray Commission was asked not to enquire into the question of penetration by Asiatics of European areas. Dr. Malan emphatically denied that any penetration had been proved. Speaking on the third reading on the 2nd June 1939, he said :

This Bill, furthermore, tries to circumscribe the holding of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal, land which they desire to hold for occupation or for

trading purposes. I feel that so far as that is concerned—at any rate the necessity of dealing with it by a temporary measure of this kind—I feel that that necessity has not been convincingly proved by the Minister or anybody else; where in a temporary measure of this kind a provision of that kind is laid down, where one has a circumscribing measure, one should prove that the condition existing at the moment is urgently in need of reform and is very dangerous. That has not been proved.

He quoted statistics from the Government's own *Year Book* to show that the proportionate growth of Indian licenses was smaller than that of the Europeans, and that, in some respects, Asiatic licenses had actually decreased. Mr. Hofmeyr was also of the view that pegging was not necessary. He said:

The rest of the Bill deals with the other aspect of the matter in respect of which pegging is proposed. . . . There it cannot be said that pegging is essential. In reality it is a concession to a contention which has not been established.

When he was Minister of the Interior he had caused enquiries to be made of magistrates as to whether the situation had changed since the Lange Commission reported in 1921, and the evidence so collected showed that "there had been no substantial change." Regarding the Murray Commission, he said:

Evidence was also laid before the Murray Commission in regard to this question of penetration. I do not think that evidence can fairly be adduced as proof. That Commission has not pronounced on that evidence because it was outside its terms of reference, but the evidence, if one reads it, tends clearly and definitely to confirm the contention I have put forward this afternoon. I think, then, that the statement about excessive penetration, which is alleged to have taken place, has not been established and cannot be established.

It is thus clear from the negative and positive statements of three successive Ministers of the Interior that there was no penetration which needed pegging.

Apart from the lack of proof of penetration, the circumstances of the Transvaal militate against

such penetration taking place. As Dr. Malan said, the grant of licenses in municipal areas is in the hands of municipalities whose policy is to reduce Indian trading licenses, and "municipalities in the Transvaal feel much stronger in this matter than the Government." As Mr. Hofmeyr put it, "There is no need for a single new license to be issued to an Asiatic to-day, except with the consent of the municipality or the Rural Licensing Board, and in practice the policy adopted by these bodies has been a most restrictive policy. This confirms what I have said that there has been little increased penetration in recent years." Furthermore, as Mr. Leslie Blackwell pointed out, the Act of 1932 laid down that "no person might obtain a license if he is not entitled legally to occupy the premises in respect of which the license is issued. If there is illegal occupation there can be no license issued." These double safeguards render penetration practically impossible. If, in spite of these stringent hurdles, some licensing authorities occasionally grant a new license, "it is because," as Mr. Blackwell said, "they are convinced that there is an overwhelming public demand for such a license." In which case, it is unfair to speak of penetration.

Flashing out a telegram he had received, the Minister said, "I ask the hon. member, when I am in possession of a telegram from at any rate one portion of the National Congress, saying that they are going to queer this Bill by all means they can, am I not right to take powers to put up a fight?" He was promptly asked if he had not taken that power even before he had received the telegram! As Mrs. Ballinger very rightly pointed out, it was the threat of segregation that provoked penetration. As she herself puts it, "The natural impulse of people threatened with isolation in areas which will give them very little chance of economic advance, is rapidly to buy any property that they can buy up in the hope that they may thus stake claims for the future."

P. KODANDA RAO

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX IN ASSAM

THE Agricultural Income-Tax Bill of Assam passed the Legislative Assembly more than two months ago, but on account of differences between the Assembly and the Council (and our benignant British Government has endowed the small province of Assam with a second chamber!) the Bill will now be considered in a joint sitting of the two chambers, which the Governor has convened on 3rd August. The Assam Bill is modelled on the similar Act of Bihar which was the first province in India to impose an income-tax on agricultural income. The conditions of Assam are distinguished from those that prevail in Bihar in the fact that in the former province there is a large tea industry established,

owned for the most part by Europeans, who will bear the brunt of this taxation. The European tea planters, however, did not oppose the tax in principle; on the contrary, they recognised it as "a sound and reasonable method of raising revenue." Their Leader in the Assembly said: "We have no hesitation in supporting the principle of agricultural income-tax, for we believe the exemption of agriculture from taxation in the past was based upon unsound and fallacious reasoning." The objections of the European group were confined to the rate of taxation, which is higher than in Bihar, and to double taxation which they feared vitiated the Bill. On the latter point they received satisfaction, but on the former they did not.

The Central Government subjects 40 per cent. of the business income of tea companies to its income-tax, and the Provincial Government can levy an agricultural income-tax only on the remaining 60 per cent. of the income derived from the cultivation, manufacture and sale of tea. Even so, it is claimed that most of the revenue to be raised from this source in Assam will be contributed by the tea industry, and the planters complained that, tea being subject to severe competition not only from foreign countries but also from other Indian provinces like Bengal and Madras, the new income-tax will place it under a heavy handicap. The tea industry, again, it was pointed out, differs from other industries in the fact that it has to pay land revenue as well as income-tax. Thus the Assam tea industry pays Rs. 15 lakhs in land revenue and Rs. 12 lakhs in central income-tax, and with the levy of provincial agricultural income-tax it will have to pay an additional income-tax of Rs. 18 lakhs, or Rs. 45 lakhs in all, whereas a non-agricultural industry earning the same income would have to pay only Rs. 30 lakhs. Thus the incidence of taxation on the tea industry would be about 50 per cent. more than that on other industries. Some individual tea companies would have to pay a 75 per cent. increase in direct taxation. All this is true, but there is no reason why an industry like tea should not pay both land revenue and income-tax on the whole of their income instead of only on 40 per cent. as at present, and the question is on what scale tea companies have been making profit, and incidentally also where the profit goes. Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Finance Minister, said on this point: "The profits earned by British-owned tea companies in Assam are all taken out of the province. Computing the average profits earned and taken away, Assam's tribute to British capitalists during the last thirty years has not been less than 5 per cent. of the capital invested, i. e. one and a half times the capital has already been taken away in profits alone."

The question of United Kingdom relief assumes great importance in the case of the tea industry, and the European planters made much of their complaint that the Bill does not provide for this relief. The arrangement now in force between the Central Government and the United Kingdom is as follows: Where the same income is taxed twice over, that is to say, once in the United Kingdom and then again in British India, both taxes must first be paid, but later on a refund may be claimed to the extent of the smaller of these two taxes, and the limit to which a refund can be claimed from each country is half the rate chargeable in that country. The Assam Government refuses to give this tax relief so far as its own tax is concerned, and the planters complained that, the relief being reciprocal, if they obtained no relief in Assam the relief to which they would be entitled in the United Kingdom would also be withheld from them, and that that would be a serious

matter for the industry inasmuch as the bulk of the relief came from the United Kingdom. The Assam Government, however, rejected the plea on the ground that Assam was in need of money and must get it, and that if the industry required any relief it should be sought in the United Kingdom without any obligation on the Assam Government to give similar relief. After all, the Finance Minister argued, the United Kingdom has no right to levy, and is not justified in levying, a tax on income derived in our country. Why do not the planters then get the United Kingdom to exempt them from its taxation rather than call upon us to give up a part of the revenue which properly belongs to us and which we badly want? It is true that no man should be made to pay a tax twice on the same income, but, Mr. Ahmed said, "We are not doing them any injustice, and if they complain of any such injustice the complaint is directed more against the British Government than against us. We want that the tax from income derived in our country should be paid in our own country. If these gentlemen want any relief from taxation levied in the United Kingdom, they should raise a protest in their mother country." And the United Kingdom has provided for cases in which Dominions are not willing to make a sacrifice by giving relief in respect of its own taxation. For the Finance Act, 1930, in section 27(4)(b) provides:

Where under the law in force in any Dominion no provision is made for the allowance of relief from Dominion income-tax in respect of the payment of United Kingdom income-tax, then in assessing or charging income-tax in the United Kingdom in respect of income assessed or charged to income-tax in that Dominion a deduction shall be allowed in estimating income for the purpose of the United Kingdom income-tax of an amount equal to the difference between the amount of the Dominion income-tax paid or payable in respect of the income and the total amount of the relief granted from the United Kingdom income-tax in respect of the Dominion income-tax for the period on the income of which the assessment or charge to United Kingdom income-tax is computed.

That is the source from which the Assam tea planters may obtain relief. And the Finance Minister added further: "We are prepared to come to some sort of an arrangement with the United Kingdom if a portion of the benefit accruing to the United Kingdom as a result of the United Kingdom relief is transferred to our province." Although no provision is made in the Act against double taxation on this score, if it can be called double taxation, it is made in other respects. Section 3A effectively prevents double assessment between a company and its shareholders, a firm and its partners, a Hindu undivided family and its members. There is no such provision in the Bihar Act.

In the incidence of income-tax the Assam Bill differs very much from the Bihar Act. First, the latter puts the limit of taxable income at Rs. 5,000, whereas the former puts it at Rs. 3,000. Secondly,

the rate of income-tax is fixed once for all in Bihar, while in Assam it is to be determined every year by the Finance Act, it being provided that the Assam tax shall never exceed the central Act, and this year it is to be the same as the rate based on the slab system which is fixed by the Central Government. This is higher than the rate prescribed in the Bihar Act at any rate on the lower brackets of income, as will be seen from the amount of tax that will be paid respectively in Assam and Bihar on stated incomes :

INCOME	AMOUNT OF TAX IN	
	ASSAM	BIHAR
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5,000	164-1-0	nil
10,000	554-11-0	312-8-0
15,000	1,179-11-0	546-14-0
20,000	1,960-15-0	833-5-4
30,000	3,523-7-0	1,562-8-0
40,000	5,085-15-0	2,500-0-0
75,000	10,554-11-0	5,859-6-0
1,00,000	14,490-15-0	9,375-0-0

It will be clear from the above table that the difference in the incidence of taxation of Assam and Bihar tends to be less as the amount of income increases until when one comes to an income of 20 lakhs the tax payable in Bihar actually becomes larger than that payable in Assam. The question of super-tax does not arise, as both in Bihar and Assam agricultural incomes are not liable to super-tax.

In this connexion it would be interesting to see how the Bihar Government originally proposed a steeply graduated tax (stage 1), later agreed to reduce the rate of tax on bigger incomes owing to the pressure of larger landlords (stage 2), and finally adopted, in deference to the vigorous demand of smaller landlords, a lower rate for smaller incomes and a higher rate for larger incomes (stage 3).

INCOME	RATE OF TAX PER RUPEE OF INCOME		
	Proposed at stage 1	Agreed to at stage 2	Finally adopted at stage 3
	Rs.	Pies	Pies
below 10,000		9	9
" 15,000		12	12
" 20,000		16	16
" 30,000		19	19
" 40,000		24	23
" 75,000		26	25
" 1,00,000		28	25
" 1,50,000		30	26
" 2,50,000		30	26
" 5,00,000		36	26
" 10,00,000		42	26
" 15,00,000		42	26
above 15,00,000		48	26

The annual yield of the agricultural income-tax is officially estimated at 40 lakhs in Bihar, but no such official estimate of the yield of the Assam tax has been given, an unofficial estimate being about 25 lakhs. Apart from tea planters, the zamindars of Assam also objected to the rate of tax in Assam and in fact, unlike the planters, they objected to the principle of the tax also. It was said that the permanently settled tracts of Goalpara and Sylhet were not only legally entitled to be immune from the tax, but would suffer more in comparison to the temporarily settled tracts if the tax were levied, because the latter have received the concession of a 33 per cent. reduction in land revenue, while the former have received none. But the Minister could easily point to the exceedingly lower pitch of rent that the permanently settled tracts paid to Government. He said: "In the Goalpara permanently settled area the landlords hardly pay a pice per acre as land revenue, while the zamindars make as much as a rupee out of that acre."

AGRICULTURAL DEBT RELIEF

THE BOMBAY BILL

III.

THE methods of giving relief to agricultural debtors by scaling down debts and by providing for their repayment in instalments are effective in countries where the agrarian economy is self-sufficient. But they fail to give relief where it is deficit economy. Unfortunately, the majority of agriculturists in the Bombay

Presidency belong to the latter category. It is not, therefore, wrong to conclude that the Bill not only fails to give adequate relief but gives no relief at all in the case of the vast majority of agricultural debtors.

One of the objects of the Bill seems to be to protect the land of the indebted agriculturist. The Bill tries to check the process of expropriation.

of the peasant. Government seem to be under the impression that the condition of the indebted peasant will improve if he is deprived of the right to alienate his land. But they forget that land is simply a means of production. The protection of the means of production cannot ensure security of livelihood. Along with the means of production, unless the minimum product necessary for the maintenance of the peasant is protected, the condition of the peasant will not cease to be wretched. A bill which protects only the means of production but fails to protect the product in reality protects the interest of the money-lender and not of the indebted agriculturist. The Bill attempts to protect land as it were with the object of enabling the cultivator to till his soil for handing over the produce to the creditor. The following remarks of the Deccan Riots Commission are illuminating :

Land, as far as it is valuable, annually takes the form of movable property when the crops are out and sold and the power of attaching and selling this movable property practically amounts to sale of land. The creditor can take all the profit of the land, leaving nothing to the debtor but the trouble of cultivating.

Mr. V. M. Bodas, a member on the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act Commission, says:

The object of exempting land from attachment is evidently to leave some means of support to the agriculturist. But if effective attachment of standing crops is made methodically year after year, what good is the land to him? Only to raise crops for being attached and taken away by others?

The Bill withdraws the most valuable concessions which the agricultural debtors enjoyed under the Small Holders Act which will be repealed on the date on which the Bill comes into operation. The Small Holders Act protected the grain necessary for the maintenance of the agriculturist's family and other necessities of his life. This Bill reduces the poor peasants to the condition of a slave who, in the words of Sir G. Wingate, "toils that another may rest and sows that another may reap."

The most harmful provision in the Bill relates to the method to be employed for recovering the debts. Clause 57 lays down that, if a debtor makes a default in payment of the amount due under the award, such amount shall be recoverable as arrears of land revenue. Section 160 of the Land Revenue Code lays down the following process for recovery of arrears:

An arrear of land revenue can be recovered by the following process:

- (a) By serving a written notice of demand on the defaulter under section 152;
- (b) By forfeiture of the occupancy or alienated holding in respect of which the arrear is due under section 153;
- (c) By distraint and sale of the defaulter's movable property under section 154;
- (d) By sale of the defaulter's immovable property under section 155;
- (e) By arrest and imprisonment of the defaulter under sections 157 and 158;

(f) In the case of alienated holdings consisting of entire villages, or shares of villages, by attachment of the said villages or shares of villages under sections 159 to 163.

The result of this provision is bound to be that the wretched lot of the poor peasantry will become only more so and thus utterly unbearable.

There is not the slightest justification for the provision in the Bill that the scaled down debts should be recovered as arrears of land revenue. The present powers with which the law invests the decree-holder for recovering his dues are themselves excessive. It will suffice my purpose to quote the remarks of the Deccan Riots Commission on the subject. The Report says:

In order to recover a debt it is obvious that resort can only be had to the property, present and future, of the debtor or to the labour of the debtor and his family. A law with an unlimited resort to all these means of recovery gives that greatest help to the creditor that it is physically possible to give. The law of India appears to be the only modern law which allows such unlimited resort, and we find that under it the debtor and his family are liable in person and property to an extent which practically is unlimited. ... The power utterly to ruin and enslave the debtor is a power which clearly the debtor ought not to have. ... When we compare the law of India with that of other countries, we find that not one is so oppressive as the Civil Procedure Code in this respect, not even the oldest law in the world.

Though Section 60 was later added to the Civil Procedure Code, it did not affect materially the powers of the creditor, and the observations quoted above are as apt to-day as they were before the Code was amended.

The process of collecting arrears of land revenue are universally condemned as the harshest. Barring a few articles protected by section 60, the Civil Procedure Code gives unlimited powers to attach and sell both moveable and immoveable property of the peasant. There is no reservation even of the simplest necessities of life either of the debtor himself or of his wife and family. Further, the law allows the State to strip his debtor bare not only at one time by selling all that he possesses. This may be done again and again so soon as the debtor is able to earn a few rupees worth of property. Though the vast majority of cultivators all the world over has deprived the creditor of his power to imprison the debtor long since, in India this reform was introduced only very recently. This penalty which used to be so long enforced by the creditor and which was recently abolished will now be enforced by the State in the form of the provision that the scaled down debts will be recovered as land revenue arrears. Commenting on the right of the creditor to imprison the debtor, the Report of the Deccan Riots Commission says:

At first sight this clause does not appear to authorise slavery, but on further consideration it will be found that it does authorise it. The power to imprison clearly gives to the creditor power to compel the debtor to do whatever would be less

grievous to bear than imprisonment would be and undoubtedly most cultivators prefer to be allowed to work in their native villages and on their ancestral lands to being sent to jail, which has to them all the terrors of the unknown. Although slavery is not directly mentioned in the Code, it is indirectly declared by giving the creditor practically unlimited power to imprison. This clause will reduce the vast strata of poor peasants to the state of serfs.

Land Revenue is the first charge on the product of the soil. This clause promotes the dues of the moneylenders to the status of land revenue. Dues of the moneylender are given precedence over the right of the tiller of the soil to exist. To raise the dues of private individuals to the status of dues to the State is absolutely unwarranted. By doing this the State identifies its interest with the interest of the moneylenders. This clause insists that agriculturists shall satisfy the claim of the State and the moneylender out of the value of the crops he raises before he is entitled to satisfy his claim and the claim of his family members to live. A provision more inhuman than the one which maintains that the right of the agriculturist to live is inferior to the right of the moneylender to receive his dues from him can hardly be conceived.

The clause seems to be intended to recover those debts which have been found to be irrecoverable by the moneylenders even with the help of the enormous powers which they enjoy under the Civil Procedure Code. A large section of moneylenders had taken it for granted that a large portion of debt due from poor peasants was bad debt. This clause will bring into operation extraordinary methods for recovering debt dues and will arouse in the moneylenders the hope of realising what was, for all practical purposes, unrealisable. This clause cannot be explained on any other ground. The Report of the Deccan Riots Commission gives interesting statistics to show that a considerable portion of the debt was found to be irrecoverable. A large number of decrees passed by the civil courts in areas affected by the riots remained unexecuted. Hardly anything was recovered even after several attempts were made to execute the decrees. This clause will enable the moneylender to recover such dues as arrears of land revenue.

The consequences of this clause are mainly twofold. It creates a new class of people whose income will be as secure as that of the Government, since their dues are to be recovered as arrears of land revenue. It will result in increasing the number of agriculturists who have to starve and in reducing to the level of starvation those who have managed to escape it somehow. The Land Revenue Administration Reports reveal that a number of agriculturists find it beyond their capacity to pay even land revenue. It has to be recovered by having recourse to coercive processes. This clause adds the debt charge to the already heavy burden of land revenue. The number of people who will be unable to bear the

consolidated burden will naturally increase. The number of coercive processes will consequently increase, and with the increase in their number the number of starving peasants will also increase. Whereas it will worsen the condition of agriculturists who belong to the poorest strata of the peasantry, it will do distinct service to the cause of moneylenders by making a desperate effort for them to recover what they themselves with all their enormous powers have found it difficult to recover.

The scheme of the Bill seems to be to recover the debt of the agriculturist by employing the harshest measures. But when it is found that even the measures fail to realise the debt, the peasant is to be sold out. Clause 62 (2) lays down that if a debtor is in default in payment of two consecutive or any three instalments payable under the award, the Court may make an order adjudicating the debtor to be an insolvent. When he is declared insolvent the Collector can sell his property on which the debt is secured. As a consequence of this provision, the agriculturist who will be found to be unable to repay the debt will be deprived of his land. The number of insolvent peasants will be considerable. This Bill accelerates the pace of expropriation of the poor peasantry. They will be deprived of the land which is their only means of maintenance and will be reduced to the level of a class of people who will have to maintain themselves by selling their labour power in the labour market. This Bill fails to afford any relief to the poorest class of peasantry. On the contrary, it is most harmful to their interest.

One more important question which requires to be considered in connection with the Bill is whether the interests of the creditors are in any way adversely affected. The provisions of the Bill are such that the moneylenders have not only nothing to lose but also a good deal to gain. No moneylender can ever recover more than the value of the property of the debtor. This Bill reduces what can be recovered from the debtor to 80 per cent. of the value of his property. The actual loss that the moneylender is asked to submit to is to the extent of 20 per cent. of the value of his debtor's property. But in return for this the moneylender gets valuable concessions. He will no longer be required to incur expenditure for recovering his debts. The Bill saves him a good deal of trouble, anxiety and effort. The price he is asked to pay for the advantages he will enjoy under the Bill is not only low but only nominal.

The positive advantage which the Bill shows upon the moneylender is that the debt of the poor peasant which was insecure becomes quite secure. The Bill also secures the easy recovery of debt. The dues of the moneylender are, as it were, turned into Government Securities yielding 4 per cent. interest. The moneylender wants nothing more, and he will be full of gratitude to Government for serving his interest.

In short, the Bill excludes a vast mass of agriculturists who most need relief from the scope of its benefit. The relief which the poor peasants are likely to secure is inadequate. The Bill attempts to recover debt with the help of ruthless measures. And when it cannot be recovered even so, the peasants will be sold out. The Bill does not recognise the peasants' right to existence. It is, therefore, harmful to the interest of the poor peasants, beneficial so far as the upper strata of the peasantry are concerned, and of considerable and definite advantage to average moneylenders.

S. V. PARULEKAR

(Concluded)

Reviews

THE LAST OF THE PESHWAS

BAJI RAO II AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1796-1818. By PRATUL C. GUPTA. (Oxford University Press.) 1939. 22cm. 219p. Rs. 7.

THIS is a thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The author, Dr. Gupta, belongs to that band of young and energetic students of the Calcutta University, which is the direct outcome of the great change in higher studies brought about by the late Sir Ashutosh Mukarji. We know in what varied branches of knowledge Bengali scholars are distinguishing themselves, particularly in the study of Maratha history, which has been so culpably neglected in its home, the University of Bombay. Let us hope the Deccan College Institute, which is soon going to be started, will make up the deficiency in full measure.

Dr. Gupta's thesis is a very creditable performance, which fully details the varied events of the last days of the Maratha Raj. It is based entirely on first-hand sources, both Marathi and English, which have been judiciously selected and cleverly woven into a running narrative. The author has spared no pains in exploring all available materials, either printed or manuscript, existing not only in India, but at the India Office and the British Museum in England. Parliamentary reports, official and private correspondence of British and Indian writers have been carefully ransacked and cautiously utilized. The overwhelming nature of materials has not daunted the writer, nor marred the accuracy of detail or brevity of narration. While he indicates every authority in his footnotes, he has avoided long and unnecessary quotations, so that the reader gets in a compact little volume of 200 pages all that is essential in that eventful chapter of Indian history covering a period of a quarter of a century and culminating in the collapse of the Maratha power.

Incidentally, one notices a curious result when Maratha history is being handled. It should ordinarily be a Maratha student's task to interpret his own history to the world outside; but the fact is that this task is being successfully accomplished by Bengali scholars. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is the first to write a full biography of

Shivaji and describe in detail the story of independence in his last volume of Aurangzeb. Dr. H. N. Sinha of Nagpur published his *Rise of the Peshwas* long ago. Sir Jadunath is at present engaged in writing a history of the *Falls of the Mughal Empire*, of which three volumes are already out. These mainly refer to the history of the Peshwas and now comes the last phase in Dr. Gupta's thesis. There may be much in all these works with which Maratha scholars may not agree. If that is so, the remedy lies with the Marathas themselves.

One cannot expect in a small work of this type a discussion of the causes of the fall of the Marathas, or of the consummate ways of British diplomacy conducted during the period by some of their greatest representatives such as Wellesley, Malcolm, or Elphinstone. The author has wisely limited his scope to a rapid survey of important political transactions and a graphic narration of the ill-advised policy of the last of the Peshwas. The book is written in a charming style and not a single page is dull. One may reasonably expect from this first promise of the writer regular works in the field of Indian history.

G. S. SARDESAI

THE PROBLEM OF ANTI-SEMITISM

THE JEW AND HIS NEIGHBOUR. A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF ANTISEMITISM. (2nd Edn.) By JAMES PARKES. (Student Christain Movement Press, London: received through Y. M. C. A. Calcutta.) 1938. 19cm. 182p. 3/6.

AT a time when Dictators are persecuting the Jews and when genuine statesmen are attempting to solve the Jewish problem, the book before us dealing with the Jews will be of topical interest. In this book Dr. James Parkes examines the causes of anti-Jewish feeling which has persisted in all countries through all centuries. After narrating how the Jews from Palestine were dispersed in the various parts of the world, particularly in Europe and in recent years in America, he examines the causes of anti-Jewish feeling. He rightly points out that religious, economic, political and racial factors have been responsible for this anti-Semitic feeling. We consider the economic cause as the most potent factor for hostility displayed towards the Jews. No doubt individual priests at the time of the Crusades, and later on the Church, thought it their religious duty to persecute the community which had crucified their Messiah. Though this may have been the cause of their persecution in the Middle Ages, it is the part played by the Jews in commerce and finance, the enormous profits they make either by successful business methods or by devious methods, and their hold on the learned professions in certain countries out of all proportion to their population figures that have been responsible for the popular fury against the Jews.

The author's treatment of the Jewish problem is impartial. He rightly points out that the concentration of the Jews in finance was accelerated by their gradual exclusion from other occupations.

In the last chapter the author suggests what he calls a solution of the Jewish problem, but on reading it carefully we are inclined to feel that it is no solution at all. The author at first takes up two solutions suggested by many publicists and politicians, namely, 'assimilation' and 'nationa-

lism'. Assimilation means that the Jew demands no separate recognition as an isolable entity within the state, but wishes rather to be recognised fully as an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a German who professes the Jewish religion. The author points out that while in England and France it is easy to be an assimilationist, it is not so easy in Eastern and Central Europe where the anti-Jewish feeling is strong. Nationalism means that the Jew claims the rights and accepts the responsibilities of citizenship in the state in which he lives. At the same time he does not wish to be submerged but to be recognised. He does not want to adopt the life and language of the majority but to be allowed the full enjoyment of his own life and language. The author points out that assimilation may not be liked by the non-Jew as it will affect his culture considerably. Nationalism implies the perpetuation of two cultures within the same geographical limits. "Neither solution is going to be easy", says the author. "Nor is Palestine a solution."

Then what is the solution, one may ask? The author says that the Jewish problem will never be solved until anti-Semitism disappears. But anti-Semitism cannot be removed by Jewish action alone. The author concludes by saying that steps must be taken by Jewish initiative, but non-Jewish co-operation is necessary.

Is this a solution? How can the down-trodden Jews take the initiative? Will the non-Jews cooperate? We had expected the author to suggest a practical solution, but the concluding chapter is disappointing.

We may venture to offer our solution. Those Jews who are in America, England, France and Russia may get themselves assimilated with the local population, for in those countries they do not suffer any disability whatsoever. In countries like Poland where they form a decent percentage of the population nationalism is the only solution. The Jewish minority may demand a constitutional guarantee of minority rights.

With regard to the expelled Jews from Germany, Italy and other countries, Britain must see that they settle down in the sparsely populated areas of the British Empire like Australia, Canada and some Crown Colonies. We believe that Britain has a moral and legal responsibility in providing lands for the Jews within her Empire after Malcolm Macdonald's torpedoing the Balfour Declaration. If Britain is not able to make Palestine the National Home of the Jews owing to Arab opposition, she must help the Jews to settle down in parts of the British Empire. In the controversy over Palestine, it is assumed that Palestine is Arab territory. Our opinion is that the Jews have as much right as the Arabs to Palestine and that the former have ever a stronger case, for while they are a race without a 'Home' the Arabs have large areas to settle in. If Britain therefore on account of fear of the Arabs and their Middle Eastern Muhamudan Alli's is not able to stand by the Balfour Declaration, let her at least give places within her far flung Empire for the children of Israael to rest their heads.

Though the last Chapter of the book is disappointing, we regard this volume as a most interesting contribution to the history of a remarkable people, and we are sure that it will be of

much service in familiarising the reader with the difficulties inherent in the Jewish problem.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM

SHORT NOTICES

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT. By CARLO SCARFOGLIO. (Putnam.) 1939. 22cm. 338. 7/6.

THIS is a book by an Italian journalist who criticises English foreign policy from the continental angle. The author in a historical setting all his own scathingly reviews the principles of Whig foreign policy. The final justification of his indictment is found in the Tory wisdom of Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

The English habit of "self-righteousness" comes in for an extensive examination in great good humour. However unpalatable be this continental point of view, Protestant England should read how the Catholic continental tradition views the whims in English foreign policy. The motives of the English people in promoting continental wars are fearlessly scanned.

Having been a very active journalist from 1906-1929, his is the view of a fervent Italian who cannot appreciate the diatribes of democracy against totalitarianism. "The democrats," according to the author, "have mourned over the peace, and are still mourning." There is plenty of room for controversy in the author's arresting historical survey of English foreign policy.

K. R. R. SASTRY

INDICTMENT OF PATIALA. (All-India States' Peoples' Conference, 138, Meadows Street, Bombay, 1.) 1939. 24cm. 126p. Rs. 5.

THE indictment is indeed formidable and if the Maharajah whom it indicts had been alive, and a Commission had been appointed by the Paramount Power to try him for the grave charges of crimes and mis-demeanours, he would certainly have merited deposition and confinement in prison all his life. But unfortunately for the victims of his misrule and misconduct, he died long before the publication of the indictment, and the only purpose which the publication might now serve is to illustrate what is happening and can happen in several States in India under personal rule of their Princes, who are allowed to enjoy and exercise full and absolute powers without responsibility. The indictment makes a complete case for a radical change in the forms of government prevailing in far too many States in India and for substitution of them by full responsible government, which is the only means to prevent atrocities such as those described in the indictment.

The bulk could have been easily reduced, if the evidence had been published in a brief summary, and the price kept down so as to make the book available to a much larger public.

P. L. CHUDGAR