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NOTICE.

It has been our practice to take a holiday in the week following the Servants of India Society's annual celebration on 12th June. We shall follow this practice this year too. There will, therefore, be no issue of the SERVANT OF INDIA on the 17th inst.—Editor.

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Topics of the Week.

Release of Political Prisoners and Detenus.

WHAT with the hunger strike launched upon by Mr. Bakshi, a prisoner in the Kakori conspiracy case and what with the public agitation on the subject in Bengal, the question of the release of political prisoners and detenus has once more been brought to the fore. Mr. Bakshi apparently thought that whatever else the new provincial governments might or might not succeed in achieving, they would at least order a general amnesty in respect of political prisoners and those who are rotting in jail without trial. Other reforms might, he argued to himself, necessitate some financial outlay. But the restoration to liberty of persons suffering imprisonment for the sake of their political convictions would, he believed, cost nothing and should be easy to bring about. But the absence of any action in that direction on a scale worth mentioning in any province save Burma since the establishment of provincial autonomy two months ago has served to shatter his optimism. And by way of protest against the

Government's inaction in this matter he has gone on a hunger strike. This, if anything, should lead to a withdrawal of the unjustifiable and harassing restrictions on the personal liberty of a large number of people.

WHETHER as a result of his fast or due to other causes, the ministry in Bengal is reported to have under its active consideration the question of a general release of detenus. The ministry's final decisions are not yet officially announced. But from indications the unconditional release of about 1,000 detenus appears to be a matter of the very near future. If such a large number of young men is set at liberty without any provision for their livelihood at least till they are able to find employment, their freedom, the ministry must have felt, might result only in an aggravation of the existing political discontent. The provision of a monthly allowance for the released detenus for one year is, therefore, suggested, as a way out of the difficulty. The Hijli detention camp will, it is believed, soon see its end and most of the detenus consigned to detention camps far away from their homes would be brought back and confined as near Calcutta as possible so as to facilitate their relatives keeping in touch with them. Let us wait and see if this unofficial forecast proves to be well-founded.

Orissa States' People's Conference.

IT is gratifying to note that the Orissa States' subjects are shortly meeting in a conference for a second time at Cuttack, under the presidency of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. It is after a lapse of five years that the Orissa States' people are meeting again and we fervently hope that the enthusiasm which has inspired them to action this time may last long and that the Conference may leave behind it a record of commendable work.

IT is the misfortune of Orissa that nearly two-thirds of it is studded with States with varying degrees of income and political development. Most of the States have very meagre incomes and it, therefore, becomes impossible for them to maintain an administrative system of any degree of efficiency. Nevertheless the rulers do not stint their luxuries and go on with their expensive habits so long as they do not come into clash with the Political department. A circular issued recently by the Secretary of the Orissa States' People's Conference gives us information as to how these Ruling Chiefs employ the most heinous and degrading form of labour for satisfying their craze for expensive luxuries. On occasions when human labour can satisfy their wants, they use it mercilessly without thinking of paying for it. It is specified in the circular that one Chief built a palace worth Rs. 2 lakhs exclusively with the help of forced labour. Similarly motorable roads have been constructed in

most of the States with the help of forced and unpaid labour.

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WE wonder whether these forms of oppression have come to the notice of the Government of India. In a statement issued by them on "Forced Labour Prohibition" the Government of India remarked with reference to Indian States that "steps have been taken to induce all States which have not already taken action to enact legislation in regard to forced labour on the lines of legislation now prevailing in British India, and the Political officers concerned have been requested to ask States to ensure that the laws so enacted are duly enforced." But it cannot be gainsaid that with all the concern and anxiety displayed by the Government for the abolition of forced labour, the practice continues merrily in most of the States of Orissa.

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THE authority of the *Statesman* can be quoted in support of the existence of "bethi" in the Indian States today. Commenting on the statement issued by the Government, the paper wrote in its editorial columns of 8th March 1937: "The States have been asked to fall into line; it is common knowledge that some will have far to travel before they do." We hope that the energetic efforts of the Orissa States' People's Conference will bring to the notice of the Government the rotten state of affairs in the States of Orissa.

Orissa Capital Question.

THE Orissa Government has taken the public by surprise in regard to their decisions on the Jones Committee report. Our readers are aware that in June last year, an expert committee was appointed by the Government of India to select a site for the location of Orissa's capital. That expert Committee, commonly known as the Jones Committee, examined a number of sites and expressed it as its deliberate decision that Cuttack, because of its insanitary condition and liability to inundation, was unfit to be the capital. Instead, it recommended a comparatively obscure place called Rangailunda as fit for being the capital of the province. The findings of the Jones Committee raised a storm of protest. The feeling spread among the people that the Government was anxious to avoid Cuttack, because it was politically the most conscious place in Orissa. Again the location of capital at a place absolutely without any historical traditions was strongly opposed by the people on sentimental grounds.

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THE Orissa Advisory Council that met shortly after the publication of the Jones Committee report rejected by an overwhelming majority the recommendations of the Committee. After that, the Orissa Government did not show any activity for a long period of time. Recently they have issued a circular which states that they have appointed another Committee to select a site for the location of Orissa's capital. Only Rangailunda which was rejected by the Orissa Advisory Council and a town called Khurda are not to be considered at all by the present Committee as these two places failed to enlist popular support. Thus the Government has realised at last that considerations of historical tradition and sentiment play a large part in the determination of a province's capital. The opinion has been expressed many times by the Orissa public that whatever may be the technical drawbacks of Cuttack, considerations both of its present importance and past glory demand that it should be made the capital of the province. The public realises that Cuttack is

liable to inundation, and that its drainage system is far from satisfactory. But for these very reasons they demand that the Government should take steps to improve considerably the position of Cuttack and they fear that the shifting away of the capital from Cuttack will make the Government less anxious about it. Let the Government, therefore, take every possible step to improve and better Cuttack's position. The Oriyas will co-operate with the Government in its endeavours in that direction. But they will strongly resent and oppose any move to make a comparatively unknown place the capital of Orissa.

District Boards in the Punjab.

THE observations on local board elections occurring in the latest resolution of the Punjab Government on their working are well worth notice. There is, of course, a general tendency on the part of candidates for election to avoid contest as far as possible and to secure, if possible, an unopposed return. This saves them a good deal of expense and worry and it is understandable that every endeavour would be made by them so to manage things that only as many candidates are left in the field as there are seats. In other cases it is the common experience that election expenses mount up very high. In one district, e.g., the candidates were believed to have individually spent more than Rs. 5,000 on their election. The resolution is perfectly right when it says that expenditure on such a high scale is demoralising to the voters no less than to the candidates themselves. As selfless public service is not always the sole motive impelling people to offer themselves for election, it is quite conceivable that the elected candidates would lose no opportunity of seeing that their work for the public does not go absolutely unrewarded. The reward may not always be obtained by straightforward or fair means, but there is no doubt that reward in some form or other is the governing consideration in most cases. The remedy is to put a strict curb on soaring election expenses and thus indirectly to help in purifying the administration of local bodies.

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IT appears from the resolution that local boards are greatly handicapped in the matter of their work of medical relief owing to the 12½ per cent. cut in the Government's medical grant. With reduced grants the boards were hard put to it even to continue existing dispensaries, not to mention any expansion of existing medical facilities. It is disheartening to learn that the experiment of subsidised dispensaries is not working well in the Punjab. Under the scheme private medical practitioners are encouraged by means of an annual subsidy to settle in villages so as to be able to cater to their medical needs. They are free to charge fees for their service, but residents of rural areas not being yet accustomed to making payments for any medical attention that they may receive, the services of these medical men are not much in demand. It is unfortunate that a scheme whose working is attended with success in other provinces should prove a failure in the Punjab.

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IT is a matter for deep regret to note that the educational expenditure of the boards, in stead of increasing, has gone down by Rs. 4 lakhs during the last six years to Rs. 114.7 lakhs. The number of boys' schools was reduced from 7,704 to 7,479 with the result that the average attendance lessened by nearly 13,000. The Government resolution fails to give any statistics relating to female education in local board areas but expresses the belief that the local

boards must have had their due share in the increase of over 14,000 in the number of girl scholars which had taken place in all schools. This belief is said to derive strength from the reports of Commissioners who testify to the increasing interest on the part of local boards in the problem of a wider diffusion of female education. This is all very well. But it is stating only the obvious to say that mere official beliefs cannot be made to do duty for facts unless they are backed up by telling figures. These, we hope, will be forthcoming in subsequent Government reviews.

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Adult Education in Bombay.

IT must have been observed by our readers from a perusal of our recent article on Indian education that the movement of adult education is nowhere in a flourishing condition. In Bombay, e. g., the number of secondary schools for adult men is only 8, 6 receiving a grant from Government and 2 just Government recognition. Two out of these 8 are located in Karachi so that the Bombay Presidency proper cannot be said to have more than 6 secondary schools catering for adults. The total strength in these 8 schools was a little over 600 or if the enrolment of about 150 in the Sind schools is left out of account, about 450 in the presidency proper. The average annual cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 39-2-0, out of which Rs. 4-13-0 was the share of Government.

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TURNING to primary education, we find that the schools for adult men numbered 111 with an enrol-

ment of nearly 4,000, the average daily attendance being a little over 2,600. 4 of these schools were Government schools, 18 under the management of district local boards, 28 conducted by municipalities, 52 in receipt of financial help from the Government and 9 recognised by Government. It may be mentioned that 5 municipal schools and 6 aided schools were located in Sind, these 11 having an enrolment of about 300. Thus the number of male adults receiving primary instruction in the presidency was not more than 3,700. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 21, out of which Government contribution was not even Re. 1.

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LET us now consider the position with regard to the education of adult women. The number of schools for them in the presidency proper was 9 (8 aided and 1 recognised) there being no adult schools for women in Sind. The total enrolment was 546 with an average daily attendance of only 373. The annual average cost of educating each pupil came to Rs. 31, Rs. 4-5-0 out of which was Government contribution. These figures are eloquent as showing the hopelessly backward state of adult education in this presidency. If, as the report on Indian education pointed out, the employment of teachers who have already put in a full day's work to teach adults at night acts as an impediment to the wider diffusion of adult education in this presidency, it should not be difficult, specially in these days of chronic unemployment, to secure the services of energetic young men who on a moderate salary may be relied upon to regard the spread of education among adults their mission in life. Any way we hope that the matter will not fail to attract the attention of the interim ministry.

MR. NARIMAN WARNS THE PRINCES.

MR. K. F. NARIMAN gave a severe warning to the Indian Princes in his presidential address to the eleventh session of the Deccan States' People's Conference held last week-end at Kudchi. The immediate future of Indian nationalism, he said, was bound up with the prevention of inauguration of the Federal part of the Government of India Act 1935 and if the Indian Princes desired to retain even a semblance of loyalty among their subjects, they must decide not to enter the Federation. Because "once that chain of slavery is twined round political India, it will be extremely difficult to untwine it again. Prevention is better than cure and so far as the Federation is concerned, the chances of preventing its encroachment are far better than the other part of the Act, namely, the so-called bogus provincial autonomy, because there has not been a single political voice in India that has accepted this Federation, and the Princes who are hesitating and halting may be warned in good time to keep off from this dangerous partnership that will provoke the hostility of the whole country including their own people as well as the people of British India. And they will be relying on a broken reed if they think that this foreign patronage and protection of Paramountcy will be able to defend and protect them from the most embarrassing and precarious position which the universal hostility and opposition of millions of their countrymen is bound to create." The sentiments expressed by Mr. Nariman will be echoed by a vast majority in the

amous support which Mr. Nariman supposed they had. Within twenty-four hours of Mr. Nariman's address, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, leader of the Democratic Swaraj Party, addressing the States' Legislators' Conference at the same place, gave expression to his satisfaction at the entry of the Indian Princes into the Federal scheme. He believed that their support of the Federation would bring the Princes into closer contact with the people of British India, a contact which he fondly hoped would result in liberalising their outlook and administration.

Let it not be supposed that the illusion under which Mr. Bhopatkar welcomes the Princes' entry into Federation—and incidentally the illusion weakens his objection to the Federal scheme—is held by leaders who are admittedly of the right wing in the constitutional struggle. Discussing the Congress attitude towards the States' subjects and their demands, Mr. Nariman himself admits that the Congress has gone back on the Calcutta resolution which assured "the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government in the States." This position has been, Mr. Nariman sadly confesses, "slightly altered" since then. This commitment the subsequent pronouncements from the Congress platform "have considerably toned down and reduced it only to the exercise of 'moral and friendly influence upon the States' so that today although so far as in its declarations and intentions,

same form of government for the Indian States, recognising the rights of the people to Poorna Swaraj and guaranteeing the fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person, speech, association and press as for the people of British India and a further declaration that in the proposed Constituent Assembly Indian States' subjects should be included, still instead of promising full sympathy and active support, the Congress holds out a vague assurance of exercising moral and friendly influence." And this change, Mr. Nariman believes, is only a slight alteration! Those who, with us, held the view that the Congress had definitely abandoned the States' subjects to the mercies of the Princes and thereby tacitly acknowledged as permanent the artificial division of India into Indian India and British India, might feel shocked by the revelation which Mr. Nariman makes further in the address, that no less a person than Sardar Vallabhbhai led the group which defeated every attempt to restore the Calcutta position in successive Congress sessions.

Mr. Nariman admits, and we agree with him, that the reversal of the Congress position is a considerable blow to the hopes of the States' subjects, who had entertained high expectations of the Congress. The Congress, which gave a bold challenge to the mighty British Empire, would not, they believed, hesitate to fight the Princes in their reactionaryism. Their disappointment was, proportionately to their expectations, high and Mr. Nariman tried to console them by talking of strategy and tactics, the last resort of unwilling allies in a cause. "It is a matter of tactics and policy," he said, "when an organisation has to fight two mighty Powers, to deal with the greater and stronger one first in the expectation and hope that the wiping out of the more important and powerful opponent would automatically finish the lesser one." Persons who believe in this comfortable theory generally forget the possibility of the more powerful one very cleverly creating a second line of defence by entrenching himself behind it and strengthening of the less powerful one in the very process of a camouflaged retreat. That is precisely what the British Government has done and the gravamen of the opposition to the Federation has in fact been, as Mr. Nariman is well aware, that under the cloak of a transfer of power to Indians, the British Government has, by installing in authority reactionary interests dependent on itself for strength, adroitly outflanked the nationalist elements in the country whose opposition to indigenous tyranny is not as strong as it is to foreign tyranny. In Mr. Nariman's own words, today "the Princes have become not only the trusted allies but also the main prop and support of British Imperialism in India; they are considered better, safer and more reliable agents of foreign domination than the white Civil Service or even the British Army of Occupation. This is a master stroke of British diplomacy." And how does Mr. Nariman advise the States' subjects to meet this master stroke of British diplomacy? By telling them to "win their freedom by their own efforts, by suffering and sacrifice for the cause." The

unorganised, isolated and terrorised subjects of Indian States are to engage in a struggle which even the mighty Congress finds a "tremendous undertaking" and "well-nigh impossible." Can it not be asked whether it is not better strategy and tactics to break the "main prop and support of British Imperialism in India" as a first step towards the destruction of Imperialism itself? Which is easier? To destroy the props of a system or the system itself?

Mr. Nariman, however, believes that the defeat of the Federation should form the immediate task before the country and in this we believe he expects the States' subjects to take an active part. There being a considerable unanimity of opinion on this point between the States' people and British India, neither can expect to keep its struggle against the Federation in mutually exclusive areas. There is bound to be an inevitable identity of methods and even direction as time passes, between agitation within and without Indian States for the realization of this goal, although Mr. Nariman, faithful Congressman that he is, would have it that "the primary responsibility and main burden of the internal struggle must be borne" by the States' people themselves. Unless the States' people get active and forceful support from outside, the message he gives to the States' people that they should "agitate, agitate and agitate" to remove the rot in the existing antiquated regime is difficult of translation into action.

How difficult the creation of a democratic conscience among the backwaters of Indian States is can be seen from the list of very simple immediate demands which, Mr. Nariman finds, still remain unheeded in spite of years of vigorous agitation. Fixed civil lists, a reasonable Palace Allowance, a check on the extravagant entertainment of guests and indulgence of hobbies, establishment of an independent judiciary, liberty of press and speech, not one of these has been granted in most Indian States. Under these circumstances the adoption of "a more aggressive and militant programme and policy that will at once appeal to the imagination of the masses and rouse their interest" is not an easy job, especially when popular political organisations in British India refuse to lend their active support to any programme of "direct action" in the States. Mr. Nariman would have the States' people follow the Congress in non-violent and peaceful direct mass action to enforce their demands. He wants the Working Committee of the States' People's Conference to transform itself into a War Council of Action "calling upon the offending States to desist by entering into necessary negotiations and on their refusal calling upon all States' peoples all over the country to stand by their afflicted brethren in their hour of need and dire distress, threatening the rulers, after giving due warning to desist and redress, with some kind of effective though non-violent mass direct action not confined to the unfortunate impotent weak States' subjects involved, but making it cause for the All-India States' subjects". Such combined pressure, Mr. Nariman hopes, would certainly result in bringing the petty princes to their knees as in the case of Bardoli where

"the mighty British Government was made to yield" by the Congress. It is obvious that Mr. Nariman is envisaging, in a comparatively short period, the development of a great organisation in the States on the lines of the Congress which had the advantage of the successive leaderships of such great personalities as Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi. We entertain no such hope unless the experience and resources of the British Indian leadership are placed at the disposal of the peoples of the Indian states with unhesitating willingness. The lead given by Mr. Nariman to the States' subjects, therefore, can profit them little unless simultaneous efforts are made to resist the weakness of British Indian organisations in their attitude towards the Indian Princes.

II.

A part of his address Mr. Nariman devotes to giving a significant warning to the Indian Princes. The tyrants of the world have fallen by their own sins, by their refusal to recognise the forces of democratic awakening, by their indifference to the poverty and sufferings of their subjects and by their callous extravagance. Would the Indian Princes read the writing on the wall?

We may warn these noble puppet Indian toy kings of the dangers that inevitably follow such unpatriotic games. History has recorded numerous instances when similar tactics by tottering thrones to prolong their existence have all ended in disaster, and such short-sighted policy has always proved suicidal and fatal both to the crowns and their satellites. The mighty Tsar of Russia formed similar unholy pacts with the notorious 'Black Hundred' a motley crowd of the clergy, the Cossack chiefs, the feudal lords, all relics of ancient nobility, but the combined efforts of all could not stem the tide of the fast approaching Russian proletariat. The religious sanctity and orthodox bigotry attached to the Holy Khalifa of Turkey coupled with foreign diplomatic assistance as in India could not save it from Turkish Republican onslaught. The Chinese Throne claimed ancient desecrancy of over 5000 years directly from the Sun, and was considered inviolate and sacred by millions of Chinamen; still it was swept off in a few days before hoards of republican Chinese masses; and what has become of the arrogant and insolent Kaiser? The Egyptian Pashas, like the Indian Rajahs and Nababs, at one time tried the same treacherous game and raised a bogus 'Palace Party' to support foreign interests, but this Party wisely dissolved in good time and ultimately got itself merged in the nationalist groups in the country and thus saved itself from extinction. But the most instructive instance of survival is that of the Mikadoo of Japan with their Royal associates, the Samurais. They still maintain their normal high and semi-divine position only by howing to the will of the people and submitting to their democratic republican constitution. And above all what is the mighty British Crown, the Paramount Power, the overlord of these Indian Kings, what is it but a mere creature of British democracy? Hitherto in all conflicts in history, between the sovereignty of the people's rights and the ancient but dying prerogative of the Crown, the people have always triumphed and mighty thrones have either crumbled down before the onslaughts of Demos or got themselves adjusted to suit the changing conditions and the demands of the people. These Indian States, comparatively insignificant, powerless, occupying the unique, anomalous and inconsistent position, these petty potentates are not going to be the only exception to that universal historical rule.

May it be hoped that Mr. Nariman's warning would not fall on deaf ears?

DEPRESSED CLASS WELFARE WORK IN COCHIN.

AS in some provinces the Cochin State has a special department to look after the well-being of the depressed classes who number about 1¼ lakhs or form one-tenth of the total population. This is a point on which the State deserves to be congratulated. But it is to be regretfully noted from the latest departmental report viz. that for 1935-36, that its budget allotment is showing a consistent decline. From a figure bordering on Rs. 1 lakh three years ago it had come down in 1935-36 to about Rs. ¾ lakh! If the depressed classes are to rise in the social scale, as is obviously the object of the State in setting up this department, it follows that larger and larger funds must be made available for their uplift. It is to be hoped that the reduction in the budget allotment does not presage any backsliding in the hitherto progressive policy of the State in this important field of nation-building activity.

The methods followed by the department in bringing about an improvement in the moral and material condition of these unfortunate people are closely modelled on the usual lines, viz. of promoting a wider diffusion of education among them, securing house-sites for them, improving their economic condition with the help of the co-operative movement, etc. In the early stages of the welfare work for which the department is responsible, special schools used to be started for the benefit of the depressed classes. This was presumably because of difficulties in the way of their unrestricted admission to common schools. It is a matter for gratification, however, to note from this report that the public prejudice against these classes has by now died down to the extent of their joining schools, whether Government or grant-in-aid, without any complications whatever. The problem before the department now is not how to secure unrestricted entry of depressed class children into schools in the State but how to induce more of them to take kindly to education. To this end books, slates, and other school requisites and even clothing are supplied to them gratis. In the forest areas even free feeding is resorted to as an inducement to the children of the hill tribes to attend school. As a result of all these inducements about 19,470 depressed class pupils (9,470 boys and 5,000 girls) were in receipt of education. This works out to about 70 per cent. of children of school age being already at school, which may safely be treated as an indication of the realisation by the depressed classes of the benefits of education. So far as the primary stage is concerned, the number of students went up by about 1,000 from about 12,100 to 13,140.

By way of encouragement, special stipends at Rs. 2 per mensem in the lower secondary classes and Rs. 3 in the upper are given to depressed class children, there being 464 and 60 recipients of the former and latter respectively. The number was subsequently added to by about 250 which is as it should be. Failed students do not as a rule get the stipends, but where the failure is due to uncontrollable causes, the rule

is not strictly enforced. The effect of these inducements is to be found in the increasing number of pupils in the secondary stage and in a growing demand for such help, so much so that the demand is already outstripping the supply. The sequel is easy to imagine. The limited nature of the budget allotment necessitated last year a reduction of Re. 1 in the stipends.

The list of special inducements to depressed class students does not, however, stop here. Those of them that receive college education are given a stipend of Rs. 10 tenable for two years besides an annual lump sum grant of Rs. 30 for the purchase of books and other requisities. They also enjoy exemption from all kinds of fees including caution money and laboratory fees. During the year under report three depressed class students were studying in colleges and one student was given Rs. 25 to enable him to appear for his Intermediate examination. Facilities are also provided for the entry of qualified depressed class candidates into the State service.

Another activity of the department is the securing of house sites for depressed classes. This is done by the assignment, free of cost, of lands either owned by or at the disposal of Government, to needy persons or by the acquisition of private land at Government expense and its allotment in convenient plots to depressed class families. The maximum to be allotted for single families has been laid down in the land revenue manual as 10 cents in backwater and sea-board villages and 20 cents elsewhere, no ground value being charged. Allotments of bigger dimensions need the Dewan's sanction. Trees up to a value of Rs. 10 per acre are not charged. Where the tree value exceeds that figure, only the excess calculated at Rs. 10 per acre is recovered from the allottee. If the applicant is unwilling to pay the excess, all the trees are auctioned off and only the land allotted to the applicant. Since the land is intended for the benefit of depressed class families to whom it is assigned, great care is necessary to prevent their being dispossessed of it on any pretext whatever. To this end any alienation by the assignees is strictly forbidden. In villages where land is available for assignment a portion is necessarily

reserved for the depressed classes and in so doing, the following points are especially considered: (1) its proximity to places of labour, (2) its suitability for cultivation of food crops or for residential purposes and (3) facilities for water supply.

During the year under report 72 families were settled by free assignment on Government land or land at their disposal while 3.27 acres of private land were acquired during the year for the same purpose. The total number of house-sites provided by free assignment of Government or poramboke land since the commencement of work by the Department is 1,279, while that of house-sites in privately-owned land acquired by Government during the period 375. In all 313 houses were built by Government for the use of depressed classes, the expenditure on this item during the year under report being Rs. 2,725. It need hardly be added that the provision of good water both for drinking and bathing also engages the attention of the department, the amount spent on the construction of new wells or tanks and repairs to old ones during 1935-36 being Rs. 1,535.

For the promotion of the economic improvement of the depressed classes the department helps in the formation of co-operative societies, which numbered 45 during the year under report. Their working capital exceeded Rs. 11,000 and the amount of loans issued was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 7,000. These co-operative societies work directly under the Protector, as the head of this welfare department is styled, who is assisted by an adequate staff. As elsewhere the depressed classes form a very considerable proportion of the labouring population in the State. We are assured in the report that the State does its best to safeguard their interests. In the nature of circumstances, however, this cannot be all that is to be desired. Else how is it possible to account for the keen discontent among industrial labourers occasionally expressing itself in strikes to which the report makes a reference towards its conclusion? Thus while considerable scope for the exercise of the department's solicitous care in respect of depressed class and other labour unquestionably exists, the report may on the whole be regarded as a record of solid ameliorative work undertaken by the department for these unfortunate classes.

EXCISE DUTY ON SUGAR.

THE imposition of an additional excise duty on sugar has given rise to bitter criticism of Government policy by the industrialists of the country. They argue that the sugar industry is still in its infancy, though it has taken rapid strides since the grant of protection. They urge that once protection is granted to an industry, it is desirable to allow the effects of protection to exert their full influence unhindered by any interference on the part of the Government. Secondly, the protection enjoyed by the sugar industry is to continue till 1946, though a second enquiry was provided for in 1938. So, any interference with the status-quo

amounts to a breach of contract and should be discountenanced from that point of view.

As against these arguments of the industrialists, the Finance Member pointed out in his last budget speech that the central finances this year were in a very bad condition. The Centre had to discharge the obligations cast upon it by the new constitution. It was to undergo some loss of revenue due to the separation of Burma which, again, was forced upon it by the framers of the constitution. In short, during the financial year 1937-38, the gross deficit of the Central budget was estimated at Rs. 342 lakhs. As against this, the Government had Rs. 184 lakhs in the Revenue Reserve Fund. So it had to find additional

revenue to the tune of Rs. 158 lakhs to balance the budget. As regards the depletion of the Central treasury by reason of protection granted to sugar, the Finance Member pointed out that in 1930-31, the import duty on sugar alone amounted to no less than Rs. 10½ crores. The import duty on sugar is now practically gone. As against this, the excise duty on sugar brings nearly Rs. 2½ crores. On the whole, therefore, there has been a worsening of the budget position to the extent of nearly Rs. 8 crores a year. The Government can no longer view with equanimity the steady deterioration of their budgetary position. They must try to reimburse their resources from the industry which has profited by the decline of the import duty on sugar. Secondly, the Finance Member strongly countered the argument that the enhancement of the excise duty on sugar could in any sense be construed as a breach of contract. Protection was granted to the sugar industry in India with a view to strengthen its position vis-a-vis the position of the sugar industries of the other countries of the world. It never exempted the sugar industry of India from the liabilities of additional taxation. By imposing the additional excise on sugar, the Government is not lowering the quantum of protection given to the industry. In 1931, acting on the recommendations of the Tariff Board on sugar, Government raised the sugar import duty to Rs. 7-4-0 per hundredweight. Closely following this, to make up the deficits in the Central budget, the Government imposed a surcharge of 25 per cent. on all import duties. The sugar industry in India, therefore, enjoyed additional protection to the extent of this emergency surcharge. In 1934, the Government of India imposed an excise duty on Indian sugar to take away the additional protection accruing to it by reason of the surcharge on the sugar import duty. But here again, the excise duty was not equivalent to the surcharge on the import duty. It was eight annas less per cwt. than the surcharge imposed on the sugar. The surcharge on the import duty was Rs. 1-13-0 per cwt., while the excise duty imposed was only Rs. 1-5-0 per cwt. Now from 1937 onwards the excise duty on sugar has been increased to Rs. 2 per cwt. and the import duty on sugar has been raised to the same extent, viz. from Rs. 7-4-0 to Rs. 9-4-0 per cwt. But the advantage which the sugar industry of India was enjoying even after 1934, over and above the quantum of protection due to the excise duty being less by as. 8 per cwt. than the surcharge on the import duty, has now been withdrawn completely by the Government. Thus, the sugar industry of India is enjoying now the same quantum of protection as was originally recommended for it by the Sugar Tariff Board. So there is no point whatsoever in the assertion of those who condemn the excise duty as lessening the quantum of protection.

The only moot point, therefore which requires examination, is whether an excise duty should be imposed on the sugar industry at this stage; and secondly, whether the sugar industry is in a position at present to bear the additional burden cast upon it. While examining these points, it will not be out of place to mention here that the Tariff Board,

while recommending protection to the sugar industry, cast some definite obligations on this industry also. It wanted the sugar manufacturers to pay at least eight annas per maund of sugarcane to the sugarcane-growers. Because the cultivators have very little staying power and because they are most unorganised as salesmen, the Tariff Board knew well that their weak bargaining power would be exploited to their disadvantage by the sugar manufacturers. So, it thought it necessary to stipulate that the cultivators should be assured of a fixed price for their produce. But matters were mismanaged from the very beginning. It was not until 1934 that a move was made by the Central Government to empower the local Governments to fix the price of sugarcane. Only two local Governments, those of U.P. and Bihar, attempted to fix the prices of sugarcane. But in doing so, they were resolutely opposed by the sugar manufacturing interests. The argument was trotted out that as Indian sugarcane contained less percentage of sugar than the Javanese and the Cuban varieties, it would not be possible for the manufacturer to pay as much as 8 as. per maund of sugarcane. Ultimately, the minimum price of a maund of sugarcane was fixed at 5 as. But enjoying all the additional advantages mentioned above the sugar manufacturers did not utilise to the full the opportunities afforded to them. The fact remains that since the grant of protection, production of Indian white sugar has increased in considerable proportion. The production of sugar in India for the year ending March 1932, when protection was granted to the industry was 1,58,581 tons whereas during the last crushing season viz. that of 1935-36, the production of sugar from factories alone came to 9,12,000 tons which together with sugar produced from *gur* and by the *khandsari* process came to 11,66,000 tons. Though, there are no figures of actual consumption available, it is roughly put at 12 lakhs of tons per year. So, during the year 1935-36, the production of sugar in India nearly equalled its consumption. That this has been so is a gratifying fact no doubt. But the manufacturers of sugar cannot be immune from the charge that instead of utilising protection to consolidate their position, they frittered away their energies by entering into a race of cut-throat competition. This has led not only to the instability of the industry as a whole but to a deterioration in the quality of sugar as well.

The All-India Sugar Merchants' Conference, which met at Cawnpore in December 1936, devoted a large part of its attention to this aspect of the problem. The President of the All-India Sugar Merchants' Conference complained that "the freedom which the Sugar Protection Act gave to the manufacturers had deteriorated into license. The Protection Act worked one-sided in the interests of the millowners". The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the said Conference spoke even more bitterly. He said: "It is hardly necessary to state that the irregularity of (frankly the disparity of) quality has ranged from the Indian Sugar standard (1935) No. 26 to No. 15 colour and A to C crystal, though the description of sugar has been white crystal No. 1 and the price paid the same." He

then went on to say that the "merchant's capacity to bear losses also knows limits. Six years of protection should be a sufficiently long period when standardisation of qualities in the very interests of the mills themselves should be within the practical programme of the mills". Thus, to recapitulate, the sugar manufacturing concerns have misused much of the advantage accruable through protection by (1) cheating the cultivator of his due share of protection, (2) rendering the industry unstable by entering into a race of cut-throat competition, and lastly (3) by a marked deterioration in the quality of sugar.

This chaotic condition of the sugar industry has affected adversely not only the cultivators of sugarcane and the traders of sugar but the traders and producers of *gur* as well. While the Tariff Board appeared to be alarmed at the prospect of "about 40 million tons of cane being available for *gur* manufacture, if no steps were taken to increase the output of white sugar as against 25-45 millions available in 1927-28" the amount of cane which is actually used for *gur* manufacture at present when the white sugar industry has developed to the farthest limit of expansion is estimated at something like 44 million tons. Thus, the Tariff Board's remedy of providing an outlet for surplus cane in the form of the white sugar industry has made the malady worse than before by increasing the surplus with the result that there has been a surfeit of over-production all round. The production of white sugar has come to a stage when it nearly equals its consumption in India. There has been over-production in the case of *gur* resulting in a fall in its price ranging from 40 to 66 p.c. as compared to the level in 1929. The price of sugarcane has registered a similar decline. Though the cane prices had been fixed in U. P. and Bihar, still the fact should not be forgotten that the sugar factories crush only 12 p. c. of the total cane produced. The rest of the cane is either turned into *gur* or is consumed in the raw stage by both men and cattle. Where sugarcane is converted into *gur*, the return per maund of cane converted into *gur* does not work out at more than as. 4½ while the minimum price to be legally paid by factories is 5 as. per maund of sugarcane. It follows, therefore, that there should be a mad rush on the part of the cultivators to get their cane sold at the gates of a factory. Under these circumstances, the maintenance of a minimum price becomes extremely difficult. Both the manufacturer and the cultivator find it to their advantage to circumvent the law of minimum price. But recently even this minimum price law has been considerably altered to the great disadvantage of the poor cultivator. Because of the glut in the supply of sugarcane and the consequent unwillingness of the manufacturers to pay the legal price, the Ministers in U. P. and Bihar have reduced the cane price to about 2½ as. to 3 as. a maund. The Sugar Committee of 1920 worked out the cost of production of sugarcane at about 6 as. a maund. The present price of sugarcane, therefore, does not cover, nay falls far short of, its cost of production. This alarming condition of the sugarcane

growers should open the eyes of the protagonists of sugar protection. It is beside the point to argue that the sugar industry pays at least Rs. 8 crores annually to the cultivators as the price for their cane. If the cultivators had not grown sugarcane, they would not have left their fields fallow. How far they would have succeeded in growing alternative crops is, of course, a very debatable matter. But this at least must be said that they are growing sugarcane at present not because it is a paying proposition but because they have gone too far to retrace their steps.

Apart from its failure to protect the cultivators the sugar protective duty necessarily penalises the consumers of sugar. It is wrong to argue that because the price of Indian sugar has progressively gone down, therefore the consumers have profited by the developments of the sugar industry. In order to ascertain the actual burden of sugar protection on consumers, we must find out what prices the consumers of sugar would have paid had India been a free-trade country with regard to sugar. The price of Java sugar is about Rs. 13-7-0 per cwt. Allowing for the duty of Rs. 9-1-0 the ex-duty price works out at Rs. 4-6-0 per cwt. The price of first grade sugar made in Cawnpore factories is about Rs. 11-6-0 per cwt. Allowing for the excise duty of Rs. 2 per cwt. the net price of Indian sugar comes to about Rs. 9-6-0 per cwt. That means that the Indian consumer and tax-payer is paying Rs. 5 more for every cwt. of sugar made and sold by the Indian factories than he would if protection to sugar were withdrawn altogether. Of course, this figure is only a rough one. But it gives some idea of the extent of sacrifice undergone by consumers because of the protection given to sugar. This is not all. Because of heavy protection enjoyed by the sugar industry in India, the customs revenue has dropped by Rs. 8 crores. This decrease in revenue is not offset in every case by a reduction of expenditure. More often than not, the Government expenditure remains what it was and additional taxation is imposed to make good the deficit. It is thus clear that because of the grant of protection to the sugar industry, the consumers and the tax-payers of India are saddled with a heavy financial burden. So, the opinion is gaining ground that in the interests of all concerned, it is time for the Government of India to cry a halt to the further development of the sugar industry.

The question is, in what way can this object be best realised? It is not for the first time that the Government is imposing an excise duty to restrict the production of sugar. When Sir George Schuster proposed the imposition of an excise duty of Re. 1-5-0 per cwt. in his budget proposals for 1934-35, he had exactly the same intentions in mind. "Taking a view of the more distant future" he said "we have been compelled to the conclusion that if the present conditions are allowed to continue, there is a danger of over-production which might in the long run bring disaster to the interests of the cultivators and manufacturers alike." One may argue that the excise duty of 1934 has not, absolutely speaking, reduced the number of sugar mills. But the fact cannot be gain-

said that since the imposition of the first excise duty, there has been a proportionate reduction in the number of sugar mills. In 1932-33, the number of sugar factories in India was 57. It increased to 112 or nearly double the previous figure in 1933-34. In 1934-35, when the excise duty was imposed, the number of factories stood at 130. But from 1934 upto the present day, the increase in the number of factories has been only 16. Thus, it cannot be argued that the excise duty would not have the desired effect of restricting "overproduction". Besides, excise duty is not the only method which the Government has devised to place the sugar industry on a stable and sound footing. The recent recommendations of the Sugar Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research show that there will be a "zoning" of sugarcane areas in the neighbourhood of each and every factory. The zone would be designed to meet 75 per cent. of the normal requirements of each factory. In return, the factories would undertake to purchase a corresponding percentage of cane within their zones at not less than the minimum legal price. This attempt, if successful, will lead to the localisation of the production of sugarcane and will discourage those areas from growing sugarcane which have no sugar factories in close vicinity. Besides, the Government is also trying to make useful the by-products of sugar. As a result of experiments carried out at the Cawnpore Technological Institute, the possibilities of utilising molasses as fodder are being explored. Experiments with molasses in road-making have also been made. Along with all this experimentation, efforts are being made by the Agricultural Department to improve the quality of the sugarcane grown. The Government has during the last six or seven years contributed something in the neighbourhood of Rs. 90 lakhs to help the industry as also the cane-growers. So, the charge that the Government is out to destroy the sugar industry cannot hold water. The Government is trying every means to put a stop to the evil of overproduction which is the bane of the sugar industry at present. If in doing so, it places an additional responsibility on the millowners or makes it difficult for the inefficient mills to survive any longer, then the country should feel grateful rather than otherwise to the Government.

The fact is that the sugar manufacturers were given a free hand in the moulding of the industry upto the present day. But instead of increasing efficiency or lowering the cost of production, they dissipated the advantages of the heavy protection in cut-throat competition. The present low prices of sugar, had they been due to an increase in efficiency, would surely have filled with pride the heart of every Indian. But the present low prices are only a temporary phase and will disappear as soon as the factory-owners cease cut-throat competition which they cannot in any case practise for a long time. It is regrettable that even after six years of continued protection, the sugar manufacturers of India have not succeeded in lowering the cost of production. During the three years ending 1936 the average extractive

efficiency in India worked out at 8.80, 8.66 and 9.05 per cent. respectively. This cannot be said to be a very remarkable achievement. It does not bear comparison with the average extractive efficiency in Java which was reported to be as high as 12.5% in 1934. Secondly, if we examine the figures for a few years before protection, it would appear that a similar percentage was reached even then, the figures for 1929-30, 1930-31 and 1931-32, for example, being 9.07, 8.95 and 8.89% respectively. It is thus clear that protection by itself has not increased the efficiency of the sugar factories of India. Only the lure of high profits brought into the industry a number of amateurs whose further continuance would prove a financial burden to the country. The sugar industrialists, as we have seen, have fulfilled none of the obligations cast on them. They have mulcted the cultivators of their due share of protection, they have failed to satisfy the sugar merchants and they have been instrumental in imposing a heavy burden on the consumers of sugar and the tax-payers of India. Under the circumstances, the Government has a right to see that inefficiency is punished and overproduction checked and no amount of clamour and interested propaganda on the part of the sugar manufacturers will lead the public to oppose the methods adopted by the Government.

SHYAM SUNDAR MISRA.

Reviews.

ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY.

ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY. BY FERDY-
NAND ZWEIG. (King.) 1936. 22cm. 252p. 10.

WE are today witnessing a revolution in industrial technique comparable in many respects to the Industrial Revolution of a hundred years ago and attended with similar strains and stresses in the sphere of social and political relations. The revolution in question has a particular bearing on the present problems of poverty and unemployment. Technological progress has added enormously to our productive power. But social progress is not keeping pace with technological progress and owing to the defective character of our system of distribution we are unable to consume a large part of what we produce. The adjustment between technical progress and social progress has become all the more difficult because liberal capitalism is giving way more and more to monopolistic capitalism. Grave doubts have arisen as to whether the present wonderful development of technology has made any real contribution to human welfare. Is it not rather being put to most ignoble uses so that military, social and economic warfare has become more ruthless and devastating than ever before?

In this book the author is chiefly concerned with tracing the interrelation between technology and economics. The book consists of an analytical part (Analysis of Technological Progress), a theoretical part (Problems of Compensation for Technological Unemployment), a sociological part (Sources and Limits of Technological Progress) and a practical part (Remedies for Technological Unemployment).

The author attaches special importance to the analytical part of his work in which he shows that "technological progress" includes a number of distinct phenomena dissimilar as regards the influence they exercise on economic life. For example, "progress in novelty" (i. e. development in the production of novelties) is different in nature and extent from "progress in productivity" (i. e. advance in industrial output). Again, progress resulting in saving of capital has a different economic significance from progress resulting in a saving of labour. Unless each of these different phenomena covered by the term "Technological Progress" is carefully analysed and assessed our conclusions will be lacking in perspective and are likely to be misleading.

In the discussion on the problem of unemployment, the possible remedies have been grouped under the following headings :

1. Remedies belonging to the sphere of technology involving adjustment of the direction and rate of technological development.

2. Remedies belonging to the sphere of social reforms, such as democratization of ownership, agricultural schemes, etc.

3. Remedies such as reduction of working hours, restrictions on the employment of women, children and aged persons, elimination of double employment, etc.

4. Remedies concerned with making economic activity more elastic and profitable, especially by increasing the elasticity of the labour market, the profitability of production and stimulating capital investments.

5. Credit and money operations, large-scale public works, etc.

All this discussion is useful but rather slight and perhaps not always well grounded in theory. The questions raised by the author are far numerous and too complicated to be treated adequately in a small book of about 250 pages. However, Professor Zweig has undoubtedly produced a competent piece of work and succeeded in his object of *preparing the ground* for a better understanding and a wider and more thorough treatment of the subject and it is to be hoped that at some future date, he will cover it in deliberate and leisurely fashion.

G. B. JATHAR.

NOT SOCIALISM THIS.

INDIAN SOCIALISM. By BRIJ NARAIN. (Atma Rama & Sons, Lahore.) 1937. 19cm. 158p. Rs. 2. SOCIALISM is a live issue in India at the present moment. Though we do not agree with the author in believing that its origin is to be found mainly in the discontent following upon the recent depression, we accept without reserve Prof. Brij Narain's competence to write on the subject. Not only is he an eminent student and teacher of economics, but he has always interested himself in the practical side of economic reform. Not very long ago he was himself interested in socialism as a solvent of communalism and caste restriction. It now appears that he is convinced that progress does not lie that way and that nationalism must be utilised as a counteraction to the narrowness of caste and community. There is thus some conversion in Prof. Brij Narain's thought, and it would be strange if the process did not unconsciously yet inevitably lead him towards the other extreme.

Prof. Brij Narain's criticism of the special claims to scientific merit preferred by Marxian socialism is

along approved lines. Surplus value, labour theory, class war, materialism—all are neatly exposed. Prof. Brij Narain finds the Darwinian principle of struggle for existence to be more potent than that of class struggle, and he rightly forecasts that even with socialisation of economics international struggles will not vanish. Socialism of a sort, however, has irresistible fascination for the author who avers :

The genesis of Indian socialism does not lie in the labour theory, which is dead; in the theory of surplus value, which is equally dead; in the theory of class struggle, which is worse than useless, since it ignores the struggle for existence; or in the economic ideal of classless society, which can never be realised. My conception of socialism is built around a national state, actively interfering in all economic matters and taking deliberate steps to develop the country's resources according to plan.

All this sounds very much like interventionism without much of socialism in it. Prof. Brij Narain feels that the problem of distribution might be neglected for the time being and that we should concentrate on planned production. There is, from one standpoint, that of traditional nationalism, much to be said in favour of this view. But then why should we call it socialism so long as the essential institutions of private property and individual initiative are left substantially untouched? It is better to call this policy by its proper name: regulated and planned capitalism.

It appears that in this respect Prof. Brij Narain's ideas are yet in a flux. Having demonstrated the theoretical and historical hollowness of class struggle, he still opines: "There would be little objection to class war if India were a free country, and isolated from the rest of the world. But the struggle for existence and the necessities of the political situation demand a different course of action." It is not clear whether Prof. Brij Narain opposes the characteristic doctrines of socialism as being inherently unsound or practically inexpedient. He says that the chief content of Swaraj is economic, and hence the class struggle might wait till the advent of Swaraj. If, however, class struggle is inherently sound such a course would appear to be unjustifiable. If the content of Swaraj is economic, is it not so for all classes including the propertyless? Does the practical experience of Prof. Brij Narain lead him to hope that the mass of the Indian people, except by a process of irrational mass suggestion, can be rendered enthusiastic in the cause of Swaraj unless they are assured of a just sharing of the fruits of the same?

Prof. Brij Narain contends that "All controversy about the form of the future state is futile. When the new state comes, it will know what to do and how to do it." Such a fond faith may be good enough for a convinced intellectual, but the people at large must know definitely how their economic and other claims are going to be adjusted in the new order. The tendency towards the other extreme evinced in this book of Prof. Brij Narain is well marked in his defence of the moneylender, which is overdone, and in the implication that the state is the only instrument of exploitation. Even the recent sliding scales of revenue introduced by the Punjab Government, so as to adjust revenue demand according to price fluctuations, is described as a fraud. Admitting with Prof. Brij Narain that the inelasticity of other costs reduces the mathematical significance of the new reform, it cannot be denied that the Punjab Government's lead is in the right direction. Prof. Brij Narain himself favours the abolition of land revenue and its supersession by income tax, but so long as the theoretical and practical justification of his rival plan have not been proved it is clearly incorrect to speak of the sliding scale as a fraud.

Indian socialism has derived its theoretical inspiration from the writings of authors who had an altogether different surrounding before them than what obtains in India. Equally true is the experience, here as well as in other countries, that periods of economic depression increase the popular interest in radical movements like socialism. But it is unjust in our opinion to deny the existence of a good deal of economic and social exploitation in India and the genuineness of its inevitable product, socialism. No less unjust is the plea of expediency based on the priority of the political struggle. Political, economic, social, religious—these are not watertight and mutually exclusive compartments of human thought and experience. The new enlightenment that is coming to the people of India is bound to express itself in a comprehensive demand for all-sided improvement. It will not do to ignore the claims of redistribution as less pressing, or to look forward to increasing prices weakening the cause of the socialists, or to leave the future state to do the right thing at the right moment.

It must be definitely admitted that socialism is included among the several adjustments that have to be made in Indian ideas and institutions. Its theoretical and practical claims are too one-sided and hence unacceptable in the form in which propagandists present them. But a restriction on the rights of private property, of inheritance, of unchecked profiteering, of unregulated production, of sweating labour and of driving the hardest bargain against debtors must not only form an integral part of the future planned state, but must come here and now. Nationalism at the cost of social justice and planning at the cost of equal freedom of all classes are neither desirable as ends of Indian policy nor are they calculated to make an effective appeal to the Indian people. Prof. Brij Narain has written in criticism of the socialists, but he still adheres to the name socialism. Perhaps this is expedient, but we feel that his place is no longer with the socialists. Unless he makes a special effort to see the drawbacks of Indian capitalism and social hierarchy he might very soon be with the opponents of socialism.

The introduction of large-scale planned farming with the help of modern appliance makes a strong appeal to Prof. Brij Narain. How this can be introduced without expropriating, if not in name at any rate in substance, the peasant proprietors who occupy about one half of cultivated land in India is not clear. Moreover, if the difficulties of Indian agriculture are due in large measure to the autarchic policies of our erstwhile customers, how a planned agriculture is going to maintain and develop our export markets is a mystery. A planned economy in India under a socially wideawake government is urgently to be desired. Prof. Brij Narain has in his present book put in a strong plea for planning. We hope it will not be long before he couples it with greater social justice. He might not then feel called upon, like the Nazis, to describe as socialism something which in essence is the very reverse.

The present book of Prof. Brij Narain bears the stamp of his usual scholarship and independence of judgment. The somewhat critical note of this review is in response to a hope expressed by him in the preface that the book would provoke a discussion. Prof. Brij Narain's book ought to be read by everyone interested, from whatever angle, in the prospects of socialism in India.

D. G. KARVE.

**IMPERIAL & INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.
LETTERS AND ESSAYS ON CURRENT
IMPERIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; 1935-36.** By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.
(Oxford University Press.) 1936. 23cm. 233p. 2/6.

THIS is an extremely informative, interesting and instructive collection of letters and essays on current imperial and international problems during the period 1935-36.

The book is divided into two sections. The first deals with the question of Imperial Relations. In this section Prof. Keith contributes a number of letters on varied and various questions relating to Imperial Relations and disposes of some of the most technical and intricate questions in a manner and a language which makes delightful yet serious reading, and facilitates understanding of intricate and difficult problems.

One may not agree with all that Prof. Keith has to say on some of the problems, but this does not detract from the appreciation of some of the letters in this section which are written in a manner which is at once original and thought-provoking. However, I must say that when Prof. Keith asserts in his letter on Indian Reforms that the mere membership of the League of Nations has given India an equal status to that of the Dominions, he winks at the fact that it is not so. His second letter on the Indian Civil Service is a fair and masterly treatment of one of the difficult questions in this country and exposes the new method of recruitment and the disabilities imposed upon the Indian candidates. The learned professor rightly holds that the treatment meted out to Indian candidates entering the service is difficult to defend.

The second section of the book deals with International Relations. In treating questions of International law and International Relations, Prof. Keith has shown remarkable courage and understanding. He tackles the thorny question of "sanctions" with lucidity, directness and courage. In unmistakable language he has blamed Italy, France and even England whenever they have deviated from the code of international morality and law. He brings it home to the British Government that it is not only the Continental Powers who have violated international law but that England is also guilty of traversing the code of international law and morality. Writing of the effect of the withdrawal of "sanctions" on international law, Prof. Keith rightly holds that "it destroys the British record for adherence to international obligations and the maintenance of good faith". He has the courage to tell Britain that the German claim to overseas territories is justified because "statesmen should place principles above popularity."

Prof. Keith deserves to be congratulated on his staggering industry, his keen sense of discernment, his microscopic observation, the courage of his convictions, his balanced comments and criticisms on some of the most delicate and complicated problems of the day which he has dealt with in the present volume. The book will prove not only interesting, but informative and also instructive to statesmen, scholars and students of international, imperial and colonial problems the world over.

INDRA DUTT.

SHORT NOTICE.

**THE MARKETING OF AUSTRALIAN AND
NEW ZEALAND PRIMARY PRODUCTS.**
BY W. MILLER SMITH. (Pitman.) 1936. 22cm.
352p. 12/6.

THIS volume is a splendid piece of work which gives a complete picture of the working systems of market-

ing of primary products in Australia and New Zealand—the countries important in inter-imperial and international trade. The subject matter is divided in six chapters—the impulse to large scale marketing, legal aspects of marketing, organisation of marketing control organisations, the structure of the markets, the problem of maximising returns to producers, the marketing prospect. The author has been careful in explaining the developments in pre-war, war, post-war, depression and post-depression periods. The first four chapters are more or less descriptive wherein the existing state of affairs is brought home with the aid of adequate statistics. In the last two chapters Dr. Smith tries to give vent to his own opinions.

Dr. Smith points out very clearly and simply the social conditions of the effective marketing of Australian and New Zealand primary produce in their greatest markets. The nature of suggestions and conclusions can well be judged from the author's general attitude towards developments in recent years. He says :

I welcome any measures of rationalization and social control which will redound to general good but am opposed to the widespread attempts to manipulate the economic system for the advantages of sectional interests. It is, however, impossible in these days to maintain any strict uncompromising view of economic policies. For between what appears valid by test of economic theory and what is impossible in practice and tolerable to the electorate there is much to choose. We are in fact compelled to rely more and more upon broad social judgments and less and less upon theories which no longer seem to fit the needs and tendencies of the age.

In the treatment of the subject Dr. Smith is critical and getting down to root principles. This volume is indeed an able application of theory to practice. It should, therefore, prove of great benefit to concerned all.

M. B. GHATGE.

Miscellaneous.

CONGRESS AND OFFICE ACCEPTANCE.

DUTCH auction is the public offer of property at a price beyond its value, then gradually lowering the price, till some one accepts it as purchaser. By a process somewhat analogous to it, the Congress condition for accepting office has now been defined as being that Governors should request their Ministers to resign when they find themselves unable to accede to their policies. First, it was that Governors should undertake not to interfere with the constitutional activities of Congress Ministers. When this was refused, it was explained with pained surprise that nothing more was meant than that Governors should undertake not to do what neither the Act nor the Instrument of Instructions required them to do, and that the Governor-General's and the Secretary of State's powers were not in question: when this proved inadequate to move the gubernatorial mountain, a further explanatory gloss, explained that, in case of difference with Ministers, Governors should dismiss the latter and not wait for the latter to resign. A suitable interval of waiting to see if this had any effect; and now the Teethal com-

mentary that it is enough if Governors request Ministers to resign—they need not kick them out—in such a contingency. The gulf between the first and the last position may not be apparent to 'practical' politicians who are playing the game. But to the onlooker it seems unbridgeable by any logical process. The first contemplated making Ministers entire masters of the situation; the last does not even leave them free to retire with dignity without being called upon to do so by Governors. In passing, we cannot help feeling that the freedom of judgment, not to say the self-respect, of Ministers, seems to be the very last thing that receives attention at the hands of those controlling Congress policy. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world if he loses his own soul in the process? In our opinion, the last condition appears to be more derogatory to Ministers than to Governors. The latter need feel no qualms about accepting the privilege gratuitously offered to them of calling on the Ministers to resign. If they accept it, they will have to find some way of dismissing their present emergency Ministers. If they do so they might find it difficult to get others to act in that capacity when the next emergency arises. Meanwhile the Ministers in possession are consolidating their positions by carrying the war into enemy-country. They are publicly challenging the right of Congressmen to claim the monopoly of patriotism and self-sacrifice; and as some of them have worn khaddar habitually more than recent recruits to the Congress camp, and have even been to jail in the early stages of the Civil Disobedience movement, their attack has to be reckoned with. If there is further delay in Congress assuming office in provinces where it has a majority in the Legislatures, emergency Ministers will have made commitments and created situations which will make the task of Congress Ministers hopelessly impossible. The emergency men today are speaking with much greater confidence than they did when they took office. —*The Indian Social Reformer.*

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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