

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Three New Governors.

THREE appointments to the Governorships of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam which will become vacant a few months hence were notified last week. With a Conservative Government strongly entrenched at Whitehall, nobody had any right to expect that the wholesome precedent laid down in 1921 by the late Mr. Montagu by his appointment of Lord Sinha to the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa would be followed on the present occasion. We do not know whether the idea was even so much as thought of. Two out of these three prize-posts are carried off by the British members of the I. C. S. who, as we saw in connection with the recent cut in their salaries, generally do not fail to have things their own way. Precedent is said to play an important part in British administration. Yes, only in so far as it conduces to the benefit of the members of the ruling race. Else India would have had more Indians as Governors.

But let that pass. Of the three appointments, that of Sir John Anderson to be Governor of Bengal is having a hostile reception in the Indian press which need cause no surprise. His antecedents have created the fear that his lustrum in Bengal would be characterised by "strong" rule and his descrip-

tion by Anglo-Indian journals as "strong", "firm", "a man of courage" also goes to support this impression. As the right hand man of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the troublous days of 1920, the prospective Governor of Bengal is generally believed to have dealt with the terrorist movement there by methods which by no means erred on the side of softness. A similar problem awaits him in Bengal; in fact it was his experience in Ireland that is said to have earned for him the Bengal Governorship. His reputation as an efficient administrator to which he seems to have added by his nine years as Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office in England must have also been a contributory factor. But with the I. C. S. in control India never suffered from lack of administrative ability; at any rate there was no urgent need to import it in the person of the new Bengal Governor. Doubtless the main consideration of those who made Sir John Anderson's choice must have been his capacity in their eyes to suppress the terrorist organisation there. And so long as he does that, the Conservatives at any rate now installed in seats of power at Westminster will be the last to ask any questions as to the methods by which he brings about the desired result.

### The Burma R. T. C.

SINCE the close of the first Indian R. T. C. it has been a moot point even among those who were delegates to the Conference whether the principle of separating Burma from India had been accepted. The Prince of Wales' speech in opening the Burma R. T. C. on the 27th ult. was expected to clarify the situation but is disappointing from that point of view. The circumstances in which the doubt arose were somewhat like these. The Burma sub-committee of the first R. T. C. asked the British Government to "make a public announcement that the principle of separation is accepted." The only authoritative pronouncement that followed this sub-committee's report was Mr. MacDonald's speech on January 19 in bringing the proceedings of the Conference to a close. The only reference to Burma that is noticeable in that speech is where the Prime Minister said that the findings of the sub-committee had been noted and that the Government would pursue its decisions, "separating Burma and making the necessary enquiries as to the conditions upon which the separation is to take place." This cannot be regarded as the kind of declaration suggested by the Burma sub-committee.

The Prince's speech is also not too explicit on the point. After mentioning the sub-committee's recommendation in favour of separation, it merely goes on to refer to "the further constitutional implications of this far-reaching recommendation" for the examination of which the Burma R. T. C. was convened. This too is no declaration accepting the principle of separation, and it is equally clear that until such an authoritative and unambiguous declaration is forthcoming, the principle of separating Burma from India cannot be said to have been accepted by the British Government. That being so, what is going on now in London and has been going on in India since the R. T. C. adjourned on January 19 last is only collection of material required by the British Government to enable them to make up their mind on the subject. The speeches of Burmese delegates at the opening session, to judge from the cabled reports, do not seem to have addressed themselves to the question of separation but merely to an expression of the strength of feeling existing in Burma in favour of the early attainment by her of full responsible self-government. An influentially supported demand for Indian representation at the Burma R. T. C. was turned down, which in our opinion is unfair; seeing how large are Indian interests in that country.

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#### Finance Bill in the Council of State.

THE supplementary Finance Bill has gone through its appointed course. After its rejection by the Assembly in the form recommended by the Governor-General it was taken to the Council of State. By passing it in the form in which the Governor-General wanted it to pass it, the upper chamber has fully lived up to its unenviable reputation of being the handmaid of the Government. The Bill has since received the Governor-General's assent and has become law which, in view of the special procedure adopted to secure its passage, is nothing more than the Governor-General's decree. As in the Assembly, so too in the second chamber the discussion on the Bill was throughout invested with an air of unreality, the Government spokesman assuring the Elders in advance of his inability to accept any amendments. The discussion was thus sheer waste of time and of public funds which is all the more deplorable in view of the financial crisis through which the country has been passing. But though the Council was unable to effect any changes in the Bill in the direction desired by public opinion, it must be said to the credit of some of its members that they utilised the opportunity for voicing public dissatisfaction with some of its more objectionable provisions.

The speech of Mr. Miller, the representative of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, once more brought out the well-known fact that European opinion is not less dissatisfied with the Bill than Indian opinion. The main grounds of its dissatisfaction are that the possibilities of retrenchment were not explored to the fullest extent and that public opinion was not allowed opportunities of suggesting alternative sources of raising revenue, sources less obnoxious to public opinion. But what really must have come as a revelation to many was Mr. Miller's criticism of the comparatively small amount of sacrifice expected of the services drawing fat salaries. Though encomiums without end are rained on these services in certain quarters for this great act of sacrifice, it does not need much knowledge of economics to understand that the flat 10 per cent. cut imposes a heavier burden on the low-paid than on the highly paid servants of Government. Mr. Miller

did not at all overshoot the mark in saying that in agreeing to that cut, the latter "have not entered quite so fully into the spirit of retrenchment" which "is generally the case in other circles." That expresses in none too strong language what Indian opinion feels on the point. But in the circumstances in which the discussion took place, even such reasonable criticism as was made by the members of the Council could produce no effect on the Government. However, the fact that the criticism was going to be unavailing should not have been used as an excuse for not making it, as seems to have been quite mistakenly done by some members who should have known better. All the greater credit therefore to those who took the trouble of giving expression to the popular view of the Bill.

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#### "Drastic" Action in Bengal.

WHAT was described as "drastic" action—and the ordinance promulgated by the Viceroy a couple of days ago fully deserves the appellation—by Lord Lothian, Under-Secretary of State for India, in the recent debate in the House of Lords was foreshadowed with a view to deal with the terrorist menace in Bengal. And the information was also vouchsafed that the Provincial Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State were agreed as to its urgency. We in India have been prepared by the recent doings of the European Association for some such result. The Governor of Bengal was expected to take the public into his confidence on the point on the last Armistice Day; but whether the time chosen for making the announcement was considered inopportune in view of the pendency of the R. T. C. or whether the plans for such action were not properly laid, the expected did not happen. The Associated Press obligingly came out with the explanation that in view of the non-controversial nature of the Armistice day celebration Sir Stanley Jackson had made up his mind to choose a more suitable occasion for giving publicity to the intentions of his Government towards the terrorists. This must have been a sore disappointment to Europeans in Calcutta who have for some time past been actively engaged in egging on the local Government to such action and have been asking the public to expect it almost any moment. We observe from the proceedings of a recent meeting of Calcutta Europeans that their deputation had been having frequent interviews with the Governor of Bengal in connection with the menace of terrorism, when, we are told, "the plainest speaking was the order of the day." As a result of two such interviews, "the Government of Bengal," we read, "put themselves in telegraphic communication with the Government of India" and the deputationists were asked to form "definite and concrete proposals" on the steps they wanted taken with a view to suppress terrorism and "submit them to Delhi through the Government of Bengal on a clear-the-line wire."

But we need not take the reader through the different stages through which these negotiations passed. At the final interview "His Excellency, having pledged his audience to secrecy, sketched out for the benefit of the deputation the result of the very considerable telegraphy which had passed between Calcutta and Delhi and roughly outlined steps which we might expect to see taken by the Government of Bengal towards suppressing terrorism and restoring peace to the province as soon as preliminary arrangements had been made." This is what Mr. Miller, who presided over a meeting of the Calcutta Branch of the European Association said so far back as the 13th ult. while the debate on the subject in the Lords came eleven days later. Mr. Miller also announced

that because of some hitch between the local and the central Governments, the *communiqué* outlining the measures to be taken by the Government which he was given to understand would be issued that morning had not seen the light of day. He even went the length of definitely assuring his audience that they would see the *communiqué* in the press "in the course of the next day or two." We have referred to Mr. Miller's disclosures at such length in order to show that it is the Calcutta Europeans that are principally instigating the Bengal Government to action against the terrorists. Not that we wish to imply that left to itself the Bengal Government would not have bestirred itself in the matter or that the situation did not need to be suitably dealt with. Far from it. The activities of the terrorists certainly deserve to be checked. But what we do wish to urge is that the Bengal Government, under pressure from the Europeans, should not succumb to panic and make themselves responsible for measures which their better and cooler judgment would disapprove. It remains to be seen how far the new ordinance satisfies the Calcutta Europeans.

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#### Municipalities in C. P.

THE slackness in the collection of municipal dues in C. P. is strongly commented on in the C. P. Government's resolution reviewing the working of municipalities during the year ended on 31st March 1930. In spite of the fact that attention was pointedly drawn to the matter even in the previous year's resolution the municipalities have been unable to give a better account of themselves. If 95 per cent. is looked upon as the standard of good collection, only six out of the 68 municipalities in the province could be said to have successfully stood the test. In three municipalities as against two in the preceding year the collections exceeded 90 per cent. while in the case of one municipality it stood as low as 22 per cent. owing to causes not beyond its control. The average collection for the whole province showed a deterioration which was luckily slight, from 71.6 per cent. in the previous year to 71.1 in the last year. But if the Government resolution is to be believed, for this want of efficiency in the matter of collection none but the municipalities themselves are responsible. The fact seems to be that they do not make full use of the powers given to them by law for making recoveries of their dues. The observations in the Government resolution give one the impression that if only they were to overcome their nervousness in the matter of the use of coercive action, recoveries would show considerable improvement. There is no doubt that that is a method which, if judiciously used, is sure to yield better results. But this unwillingness to pay municipal dues, blameworthy in any case, becomes far more so in the case of municipal councillors who are expected to set a better example to the rate-payers. In the case of one municipality at least, we are told, the arrears due from members related to 1921-22 and in another case even the President himself was in arrears! This is highly objectionable. It is a pity that those concerned do not show a better sense of responsibility and a cleaner civic conscience. Coercive action in such cases is eminently deserved; but the municipal executive being amenable to the control of the president and his colleagues cannot obviously be expected to incur their displeasure by any action it might take against them, in order to facilitate the collection of municipal taxes. The real remedy is of course the pressure of public opinion which must be educated to be too sensitive to tolerate such abuses of their privileged position by members of local bodies.

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## Articles.

### STATUS QUO.

THE second session of the Round Table Conference has come to an end, but the Conference itself is kept in being. It will go on working in business-like fashion through a Committee in India and then meet in a final session to gather up and adopt reports of all the Committees. Before adjourning the Conference, however, the Prime Minister reaffirmed in the name of the so-called National Government his declaration of 19th January last. The very completion of this Government, which is predominantly Tory, cast doubts on the adherence of the new Government to the broad principles contained in the declaration. It was believed that the Government would content itself for the time being with the establishment of provincial autonomy. Even provincial autonomy in the absence of a communal settlement would necessarily be shackled with many restrictions. And even if it were cast in a more generous mould, it would certainly have meant an indefinite postponement of responsibility at the Centre. The Premier has now announced a definitive abandonment of this particular plan and of the plan generally of proceeding on the instalment system and has pledged the new Government to work out in detail the federal scheme with central responsibility as its pivotal feature.

Considering the block which communal differences had put upon any considerable measure of reform, this was all that could reasonably be expected of the present Government, that they should not capitalise these differences and declare that the Conference has by its failure left them free to deal with the whole problem as it might please their fancy. At any rate the *status quo ante* has been maintained. The work done by the Conference so far will be taken note of and furthered. It is yet open to us to sink our differences and present to the British Government a truly national demand. If this happy consummation is reached, it will be still more difficult, aye, impossible, because of the ventilation of Indian views in London itself within the hearing of all imperial statesmen, for this demand to be cavalierly treated. Indian statesmanship will have yet another chance of bringing our internal dissensions to an end and so attaining our political salvation by peaceful means. If it does not seize this last chance, we may be sure that our political liberty will be very cramped and will always be precarious. The Premier has given an earnest warning on this score. He said: "If you cannot come to an agreement on this amongst yourselves, it will add considerably to the difficulties of any Government here which shares our views of an Indian constitution, and it will detract from the place which that constitution will occupy amongst those of other nations." The warning becomes all the graver because it is uttered in a friendly spirit. Our keenness for freedom can only be measured by our readiness to

approach the communal problem in a reasonable spirit.

The second session of the R. T. C. might have been expected to elaborate the general principles enunciated at the first session. Last year there was not enough time to set out in detail the limiting conditions under which the broad principles could be carried into effect. The first Conference was certainly justified in concentrating its effort on hammering out an agreement on the major aims and ideals; for unless a large measure of agreement was forthcoming on these, it would have been idle to descend to details. But we feel that there was no excuse for the second Conference to be engaged all the time in scanning these principles over again—without either considering them more deeply or winning larger agreement for them. A great many of the speeches made by those who were members of the last year's Federal Structure Committee might just as well have not been delivered, for they were mostly a rehash of the speeches made before. Somewhat new ground was broken only on two subjects: Federal Court and Federal Finance. For the rest the discussions did not serve any obvious purpose, except that the newly added members expressed their own views. From this point of view the session of the Conference now brought to a close has not been very fruitful, but as we said it has at least left matters where they were at the end of the first session, with this added advantage that the view of the most advanced section of Indian opinion is now known to Englishmen. Now that the Conference has survived the many dangers that threatened it, we can make of it if we are wisely inspired just what we will.

#### BOMBAY'S FINANCIAL POSITION.

A SPECIAL session of the Legislative Council was called in Bombay on Monday to consider the Succession Duty Bill. This measure was published for the first time last July and was then on the agenda of the Council. It was, however, not introduced at the time and was considered in this special session in a slightly modified form. The Bill was received by the Council in a manner hitherto unprecedented in its annals. All the non-official parties were united in opposing the bill and they all resolved to give a silent vote on it. In spite of the special appeal of H. E. the Governor on the opening day and the frantic efforts made by ministers and official whips the solidity of the resistance was not broken and the special session came to a premature end on Tuesday. It may be admitted that the natural inclination to oppose all taxation measures played some part in the overwhelming opposition offered to the Bill. Even so there were obviously very sound reasons why this particular taxation measure should have been handled in this summary fashion. It was extremely unwise of the Finance Member to propose a Succession Duty as a measure of emergency taxation. The subject is, in the peculiar Indian conditions, highly controversial and complicated. Inheritance taxes as a potential measure of raising revenue have from time to time been proposed in India for many decades past.

The difficulties in the way of their levy have, however, at each examination proved formidable. They are specially acute in dealing with the question of survivorship in the Hindu joint family. Proposals have been put forward suggesting means of getting over this; there is the proposal, for example, sponsored by the Taxation Committee for making it obligatory on even a Hindu joint family to take out letters of administration on the death of the manager of the estate and making thereby the levy of an Estate duty possible. In view of this history of the question it was surprising to find the Finance Member attempting to grapple the question on its most difficult side. The Bill proposed to levy not an estate duty but a succession duty entailing the preliminary determination of the exact share of each member of a joint family. The proposal also meant the taxing of each surviving member of a joint family on the death of every coparcener and the absurdity and the needless complications of the proposal were well brought out by the provision that the duty would not be leviable in the case of the death of a coparcener below the age of 18. The machinery provided for collection was also clumsy and would have proved extremely harassing, especially in the rural tracts. And with all this we are doubtful whether the duty would have yielded any substantial revenue. The Finance Member nowhere in his speech indicated what the Government expectation of the yield was. The duty was to be levied on each individual share and not on the estate as a whole and there were in the schedules three distinct types of graduations of rates: graduation by amount of the share, graduation by consanguinity and graduation according to whether the property was agricultural or non-agricultural. As an extreme instance of the low rating we may take the example of a son inheriting agricultural land worth Rs. 10,000 from his father. In this case the duty leviable would have amounted to Rs. 4!

There was thus ample justification in the nature of the proposal itself for the Legislative Council to reject the Bill. We believe, however, that a wider consideration of general policy would justify the Council in taking, at this juncture, a similar attitude towards all taxation proposals. This consideration is the record of Government in the matter of economy and retrenchment. This leads us to the work of the Retrenchment Committee appointed by Government last March. The ad interim report of this Committee dealing with means of retrenchment that could be realised in the current year was presented in July and the final report making recommendations of economy of a more permanent nature was published on Monday at the opening of the Legislative Council. Large economies were proposed by the Committee in its ad interim report by way of reducing the expenditure on Police and Jails to its normal level. The speech of the Governor on the opening day of the Council, however, made it clear that Government had no intention of effecting cuts in this direction. The cut in salaries was on the other hand perhaps the most substantial of the economies proposed. The Committee had proposed a scheme for a graduated cut.

In effect, however, we have got not a progressive but an apparently proportional cut which in actual practice works out in a most regressive fashion. We are glad to find in the final report of the Retrenchment Committee a table prepared by Mr. Rahimtoola showing the exact scale of this regression. The table shows that while the effective cut in the salary of a clerk drawing Rs. 60 p. m. is the full 10 p. c., it reaches in the case of the Executive Councillors of the Government of India the level of 3'62 p. c. only. It is in its dealing with this crucial question of the salaries that the true nature of the present governmental machinery has been fully revealed. Where the interests of the European official are concerned our Government always exhibits the most barefaced disregard for public opinion and the true principles that should govern public policy. The one important recommendation contained in the ad interim report on which some effective action may be taken is the proposal regarding the reduction of the number of Executive Councillors and Ministers. H. E. the Governor told the Council last Monday that this question was receiving careful consideration at the hands of the Cabinet. We still feel doubtful whether the exigencies of the political situation will allow Government to bring about this reduction in the number of Cabinet members.

The final report of the Retrenchment Committee is extremely disappointing. The Committee began well by preparing and circulating widely an elaborate questionnaire. But this work was not followed up and no non-officials nor even retired officials were examined as witnesses. Even so the Committee has not been able to go into the details of the expenditure of individual departments and it is difficult to see how the Committee could helpfully perform its work unless it did this. Economies of a permanent nature can only be effected if considerable adjustments in the present method of working the governmental machinery take place. The general nature of the work of this Committee may be indicated by a brief examination of the nature of some of their proposals. The Committee recommend that the Lee concessions should be withdrawn; they also propose that all increments should be stopped for one year, coupling the proposal with the inevitable condition that this should be done simultaneously in all services and posts. The Committee must have known full well what the fate of these recommendations would be and we wonder why they bothered to pen them at all. In General Administration the Committee reiterate the age-long recommendation that the number of districts and talukas should be reduced. No definite proposal is put forward and mere suggestions for investigation are made. If we remember aright there was a special officer appointed some years ago who specifically went into the question and yet no action has been taken by Government in this direction. Special Pay has been a target of general criticism for many years now, but the Committee contents itself by recommending this question for consideration by the Finance Department. Special pay benefits chiefly the class of high officials and it is too much to expect

effective departmental action in such cases. In a large number of cases the Committee record their conviction that retrenchments could be easily effected. They, however, propose a lump sum cut and leave its distribution to the departmental head! One of the most peculiar examples of the Committee's procedure is to be found in its remarks on the expenditure on education. Here it is pointed out by the Committee that the proportion of total expenditure spent in this Presidency on secondary and higher education is much smaller than in the other provinces and hence no retrenchment is proposed. But surely even a small proportionate expenditure may be wastefully spent. We do not see why the Committee paid no attention to such questions as the abolition of the Deccan College or why when the Bombay University is aimlessly amassing balances year by year its statutory grant may not be cut for a year or two as an emergency measure.

It is possible to maintain that even within the limits of its sphere and even looking to the short time that it actually worked the nature of the Retrenchment Committee's proposals is disappointing. It must, however, be conceded that the position in which the Committee was placed was always a difficult one. For the financial difficulties of the Bombay Government have been chronic for the last ten years and there has been little scope during this period for any extravagant increase in activities and establishments. Barring such directions as the Development Department or the Andheri College, staffs and expenditure have been continuously reduced and no considerable scope for retrenchment of the usual nature now remains. Further financial difficulties will only lead to a progressive closing down of important activities until at last, perhaps, merely the bare bones of Law and Order machinery may remain. This is not to say that there are no alternative means of bringing about financial adjustments in India. But they are certainly not the means which would be adopted in the present political circumstances, nor are they the means that could be proposed by a Committee such as this.

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## Reviews.

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### A MIRACLE OF GAIETY.

DO YOU REMEMBER SINCLAIR STEVENSON? By MARGARET STEVENSON. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford.) 1931: 22cm. 257p. 6/—

THIS is the life of a missionary who worked for many years in the Irish Presbyterian Mission, in Surat, Ahmedabad, Deesa, Parantij and Rajkot. The book is written by his wife, and she has succeeded in giving us a life-like portrait of her husband. One feels, to be sure, that, as might be expected, the book reveals the author as a hero-worshipper rather than as an impartial historian. To look for the latter is perhaps expecting too much. At the same time there are obvious exaggerations here and there such as, "I do not suppose in his whole life he ever wasted thirty minutes," which mar a most interestingly written book, and one gets the idea of a life looked at through

rose-coloured spectacles. Yet the portrait is that of a real man, and a man of very fine ideals and characteristics.

Perhaps what strikes one more than anything else is the "*joie de vivre*" which was such an essential part of the make-up of Sinclair Stevenson. "He never grew up," Mrs. Stevenson tells us, and this seems to describe him exactly. His best literary work was for children and he never lost the faculty of making peoples' faces brighten. Even the mention of his name was enough to do that. A passenger on a boat on which he and his wife were travelling once said that he was such an inspiration. It was not his preaching. It was the sight of him getting the baby's bottle ready that did them so much good.

He once said, "It is God's work to make people good. Our part is only to try to make them happy." It is a rule that most of us would be well-advised to follow. Mrs. Stevenson explains that playing with children with the greatest abandon was the way her husband did his missionary work. His method explains why he found his way to the hearts of the people among whom he worked.

The picture Mrs. Stevenson gives us is that of a broad-minded man with a great passion for his work, and a great love for his fellow-men; a man with no racial pride; one in whom is seen a practical example of the truth of the saying, "Except ye become as little children ye shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven."

Whatever our religion may be, the example of this man with the child spirit cannot but give us a message as we seek to make the world a brighter and better place. In showing us this so clearly, Mrs. Stevenson has placed everyone in her debt.

W. M. RYBURN.

## ETIOLOGY OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

**UNEMPLOYMENT: ITS CAUSES AND THEIR REMEDIES.** By RUPERT TROUTON. (The Hogarth Press.) 1931. 20cm. 51p. 1/6.

THIS booklet treats of the present phenomenon of unemployment and trade depression and its causes and proposes certain remedies which are well worth a trial. Mr. Trouton divides the causes of unemployment into world-wide causes, national causes and international financial causes, including in the first over-production, under-consumption, deflation and rationalization; free trade and foreign competition, reduction of immigration, the dole and excessive taxation in the second category; and security of gold and credit in the third. He explains in right orthodox fashion how each of these causes contributes to the prevalence and spread of unemployment.

One point to note is that Mr. Trouton is against the bankers being allowed a free hand to determine the currency policy of the Government, a statement which is interesting in view of the generally prevalent opinion that it was the bankers with the Bank of England at their head that precipitated the currency crisis in England leading to the suspension of the gold standard. "So long as the world is to rely on the haphazard decisions of the bankers as to their individual gold requirements" he writes, "so long will its industries and its trade be perpetually liable to interference and oppression in the name of sound financial policy." The bankers cherish gold for foreign trade and refuse to use it for this purpose. "The moment a demand arises for gold to be exported in any quantity, they resort to all the expedients in their power to prevent its export. They are content to see high money rates, depressed trade, unem-

ployment and everything else rather than the loss of a few millions of gold."

As regards remedies, Mr. Trouton suggests a general tariff as opposed to a protectionist one and a drawback on exports to compensate the loss of the export trade. This is a sound proposal and as Mr. Keynes says in his foreword, one must find increasing fascination in it the more one looks at it, because while it serves to find a home market for the products of industry, it satisfies the traditional feeling of Englishmen in favour of the free trade principle. Secondly, he suggests a dole to employers who increase the number of their employees together with the provision of permanent forms of work for the unemployed to be known as national works. This remedy, though original to a certain extent, may not fully accord with the conditions existing now, wherein there is already too much of over-production and glutting of the market and when goods do not move on owing to several barriers, national and international. Thirdly, increased credit facilities primarily to increase consumption are recommended. This is bound to be a far-reaching proposal provided it were guaranteed that those who receive credits are put in a position to take full advantage of them. Mr. Trouton also recommends cheap capital for industries and the establishment of a national mortgage bank. Fourthly, there should be a reduction of the burden of taxation by bigger depreciation allowances, the suspension of the sinking fund and by alterations in the rates of taxation. Fifthly, the financial basis of the currency of the country should be increased by increasing the proportion of fiduciary issue. Lastly, an international gold policy should be followed by the convening of a Gold Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations to decide the proportions of gold required by each country and to examine the prospects of increased gold production and to adjust needs to supply.

Mr. Trouton is optimistic about the possibility of the evil of unemployment being cured, though he admits that it is a complex problem. But has he considered the necessity of adopting a more rational and radical policy than the one he and others usually suggest, a policy which will go to the root of the matter and remove the basic and root causes of the phenomena of periodical trade depression, over-production, unemployment and other allied economic ills? Obviously, he has not. Even as it is, however, some of the remedies proposed by Mr. Trouton are undoubtedly good in their own way, though, as has already been said, some of them are a bit unpractical and difficult to carry out into practice. Mr. J. M. Keynes who contributes a small foreword says that one of the remedies most potential of good results is that relating to the levy of a duty on all imports combined with a rebate or bounty on all exports. The development of a home market, while duties are levied on all foreign imports, is another scheme commended by Prof. Keynes. On the whole, Mr. Trouton's book contains a good analysis of the problem of unemployment, its causes and remedies.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

## THE RUSSIAN FIVE-YEAR-PLAN.

**MOSCOW HAS A PLAN. A SOVIET PRIMER.**  
TRs. From the Russian of M. Ilin. BY G. S. COUNTS & N. P. LODGE. (Cape.) 1931. 21cm. 218p. 5/-

THE book before us is a translation in English of a primer about the Five-Year-Plan designed in Russia for the masses and the young people. It is not, as stated in the Publisher's note, epoch-making, but epoch-indicating. It narrates in an easy manner

what Russia aims at in the Five-Year-Plan, the methods that have been employed, and the success that has so far been achieved.

As the book is intended for the average Russian and the young people with a view to get them interested in the work of industrialisation of the country undertaken by the U. S. S. R. we find the hand of the propagandist throughout the book. The aims of the Soviet Republic are praised. While we cannot say that Russia will reach the millennium sooner than other countries, we certainly are happy at the objective that Russia claims to have set before her. The end of Russian industrialisation is set forth as follows:

We build factories that there may be no poverty, no filth, no sickness, no unemployment, no exhausting labour—in order that life may be rational and just. We build factories in order that we may have as many mechanical helpers as possible—machines in order that these mechanical helpers may belong to all and work for all equally. We build in our country a new unheard-of order, a socialist order.

The first step in building this new order is the Five-Year-Plan.

The Five Year Plan is a project; not of one factory but of 2400 factories, but also cities of electric stations, of bridges, of ships, of railways, of mines, of Government farms, of schools, of libraries. The Plan was first discussed in December 1927 at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party. On the 1st of October 1928 its fulfilment was begun. And before the end of 1929 it became clear that the Plan will be achieved, not in five years but much more quickly.

We get a very interesting account of the various economic developments that have been attempted. The reader is not wearied by elaborate details or statistics. The descriptions are general and are amplified by catching illustrations. No attempt is spared to impress on the reader that what Russia is attempting is unique in history. Moscow has a plan, a plan for bringing happiness to all, while other countries have none except that of increasing the misery and degradation of humanity. Machinery which has enslaved the people of other countries, Moscow is using for the liberation of people from poverty. And the success achieved is nothing small. For we are told that the raw materials of the country are all being exploited, that coal production has increased, that the oil resources are being vigorously pressed into service, that the country will soon be electrified and that a large number of machines are being now used.

It is not possible to examine the claims made in this book. The accounts of Russian conditions are so various and contradictory that no book can be said to be portraying the whole truth about Russia. And particularly as the volume before us appears to have been designed for propaganda in Russia in favour of the Five-Year-Plan, it may not be giving us an impartial account of conditions there. But it does indicate what exactly Russia is attempting to do. None, we trust, can deny that Moscow has a plan, and a noble one at that.

We are sure the book will be found highly interesting by all students of Russia. Lay men who may not find it possible to wade through the mass of literature on Russia, will find this volume very profitable reading. The easy narrative style and the interesting illustrations add a special charm to the book.

K. S. VISWANATHAN.

## INDIAN FISCAL RECONSTRUCTION.

**SOME ASPECTS OF FISCAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.** By GYAN CHAND. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 20cm. 169p. Rs. 2/8.

MR. GYAN CHAND is nothing if not ambitious and optimistic. His language in the preface smacks more of the visionary than of the sober analyst of the present. It is often difficult to understand what the author means by the 'future' in India.

Mr. Gyan Chand's book is a reprint of a course of lectures delivered by him at the Patna University and contains an examination of the tax and non-tax revenues of the Government as also of the distribution of the tax-burden.

Mr. Gyan Chand's language requires considerable pruning in a number of ways. He writes more as an official apologist than as an unbiassed student of facts, as e. g. when he writes on p. 4: "It is not possible to promote clear thinking or foster the habit of taking a really broad view of the problems of taxation, when it is taken for granted that the scale of expenditure, its distribution and methods by which public revenues are raised for meeting it are primarily responsible for the extreme poverty of the people." Clear thinking is no monopoly of people of Mr. Gyan Chand's way of thinking, but a gibe comes with ill grace from a student of economics, who gives very few facts but only opinions.

In p. 5, the author says that the question of land revenue as an impersonal levy assessed on considerations other than the capacity to pay, of the individual tax-payer has hardly received the attention of the general public. Such a sweeping statement is hardly fair; and the apathy of the Indian thinkers is in large measure due to the realisation that they are not masters of their own finances and any contribution would not have even a sporting value. "In the theory and practice of taxation we have to bring ourselves in a line with the modern developments of fiscal science," says the author; but he forgets that modern fiscal science fits very poorly with irresponsible government. The author's statement that the recital of the sins of others is not an assertion of our coming freedom, but its negation, and an index of intellectual ineptitude shows a certain amount of hiatus in his intellectual appreciation of the present condition of things.

The author's observation that "the common belief that we have already reached the limit of taxable capacity may be correct, but it will be extremely shortsighted to starve the vital services of the country by banning all proposals for taxation" indicates that the author does not realise what he says, for if the taxable capacity has been reached obviously further taxation would be futile. He cannot have it both ways.

Mr. Gyan Chand wants that the small cultivator must be exempted from the payment of land revenue as an act of elementary fiscal justice (p. 83.)—a theoretically sound, but hardly a practical proposition. Mr. Gyan Chand must yet realise that taxation is more than 50% out and only in some way an approach to science. We do not have a clean state and a new colony to start on.

Mr. Gyan Chand's defence of the cotton excise duty starts on the assumption that the cotton industry does not require protection—an impossible position in the present circumstances of the country. Even the Government have moved quickly since 1929 and the author should have taken note of that. His defence of the salt tax is again characteristic of himself as an official apologist. The incidence, he says, is 3½ as. per head. And for a normal family of man, wife and three children we

"may put the amount at a rupee—for salt alone." Mr. Gyan Chand must also calculate other expenditure for the family and the total average income. It is a difficult thing to express a justification off-hand without a close examination of the number of poor families who are likely to suffer cumulatively. It is no principle of taxation that everybody should be taxed somehow.

We are however in entire agreement with the author that some understanding ought to be arrived at with the Indian States in the matter of the imposition and division of customs duties; and if the proposed Indian Federation materialises there is no doubt that some practical way may be found.

Mr. Gyan Chand's criticism of Mr. K. T. Shah's estimate of the incidence of taxes is justified and must serve as a warning to ambitious writers who do not pause to examine, what they have written, in cooler moments.

S. V. AYYAR.

### SERVER-UL-MULK'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

**MY LIFE. BEING THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF NAWAB SERVER-UL-MULK BAHADUR.**

Trs. by his son NAWAB JIWAN YAR JUNG BAHADUR. ( Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. )

20cm. 342p. About 7/—

STRICTLY speaking, this autobiography is, as the translator puts it, more an epitome of the political and social history of Hyderabad State between the years 1869 and 1897 than merely Server-ul-Mulk's life. It is the view of many that autobiographies are generally wanting in sincerity and frankness in the true sense of the term 'autobiography' and that this has been the cause of their failure to make a lasting impression on the mind of the reading public. The autobiography under review cannot be said to be free from these defects. This is perhaps due to the fact that it is the life of a person caught in the intricacies of political and palace intrigues and that his quasi-public position in the State did not permit complete frankness. The impression created by the book on the whole is that much that should have been said in an autobiography has been left unsaid by the Nawab for reasons best known to himself.

The work admits of three main divisions viz. the Nawab's life (1) before leaving for Hyderabad, (2) at Hyderabad and (3) the part he played in shaping the destinies of the Hyderabad State.

The Nawab's life before departure for Hyderabad had been very smooth except for the occasional thrills he encountered during his travels in the various parts of Northern India. He was born at Delhi nine years before the Indian mutiny. Very early in life he lost his father and was brought up by his uncle. In due course he was sent to school but does not seem to have derived much benefit from his attendance there.

But what really concerns us is his association with Hyderabad which began when he was twenty-four. His first appointment there was as tutor to the sons of some of the nobility including the Prime Minister. By his patience and hard work the Nawab gained the good graces of his employers which led to his being appointed later on as tutor to His Highness. This position he held till his departure from Hyderabad in 1897. As tutor to His Highness, he laboured hard towards the education of the prince and was well rewarded for this by the latter. It should be said to his credit that although his work even as tutor was not allowed to be smooth, and he got involved in many palace intrigues, he was able to come out practically unscathed. He seems to have had a winning tongue

and some conversational power together with a capacity to grasp things easily, which qualities stood him in good stead all through his life. The book reveals an interesting picture of the Hyderabad State at this time of its history which has been vividly portrayed. There were not many farsighted and efficient statesmen and the few that were could not manage the unruly team that worked under them. The detailed account given of the administration as existing at the time and of the various persons concerned therein is worth reading.

Passing on to his work for Hyderabad it is seen that His Highness often relied on the Nawab for help. But the constitution which was drawn up by His Highness with his aid and duly promulgated by a Firman did not work. The Nawab made the best of his influence with His Highness by trying in vain to reconcile and bring together the various opposing forces in the Nizam's court at the risk of his personal position and safety. It would appear that some of the important changes which the administration of the State underwent during the years 1895-97 necessitated his retirement at the comparatively early age of 49, with a pension of Rs.700 per month. He was one of the many who migrated to Hyderabad and were ranked among the noblemen of the State. The Nawab's life teaches the lesson that anybody, though endowed with ordinary attainments and intellect, can attain to eminence through hard work, sincerity of purpose and devotion to his master. The life must also be read for the amount of light it throws on the past history of Hyderabad told in an interesting manner.

The book lacks a list of contents which is felt as a great handicap by the reader. Its publishers deserve congratulations for the attractive size, the handsome appearance and the fine get-up thereof.

R. S. NAIK.

### A PEEP INTO MARATHA HISTORY.

**STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY.** By SURENDRANATH SEN. ( University of Calcutta. ) 1930. 22cm. 266p.

THE major part of the matter contained in this volume originally appeared in the form of articles in various magazines such as the *Calcutta Review*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* and *Bharat-Varsha*; but it also contains important new matter like 'Marquis of Alorna's Instructions to his Successor' and Portuguese Records on Hyder and Tipu. In fact Dr. Sen may be regarded as the pioneer worker from outside in the records of Goa from the standpoint of Maratha history; and it is due to his writings that English readers have come to know the importance of the Goa records in Indian history. The independent Maratha State founded by Shivaji in 1674 was no doubt confined to a small strip of territory in Maharashtra and as such was regarded as a provincial concern. But the war of independence forced by Aurangzeb's invasion on this newly founded kingdom brought to the fore a rather unnoticed feature of Indian politics. It impressed upon the Maratha statesmen the utter impossibility or rather futility of maintaining their independence by confining their activities to a particular province. Maratha policy was inextricably intertwined with the web of the entire Indian society. There was no doubt scope for territorial autonomy, but the autonomy could not maintain even its own existence by an attitude of indifference towards the traditional centre of power at Delhi. It was the knowledge of this feature combined with the peculiar conditions of Shahu's release that transformed the independent Maratha power into a subordinate portion of the declining Moghul Empire and after the death of Shahu, this subordinate portion



gradually and insensibly assumed the part of the dominant partner. The result was that the Marathas undertook the responsibility of carrying out the policy of the Moghul Empire. The Emperor of Delhi was vested with powers of sovereignty by a tradition or fiction which enjoyed a standing of several centuries. The fiction conferred several advantages as it imposed various disabilities. Marathas, Musalmans and the English tried their hand in the scramble for power created by this fiction; and the special feature of the Marathas was their contribution to the solution of the intricate question of the share of the Musalmans and Hindus in the central government. They had to fight for rescuing the Emperor of Delhi from the clutches of Ghulam Kadar in the north and at the same time to deal with two powerful rebel powers viz. the Nizam and Hyder. They could not carry on a fight to the finish with any one; but they could defeat each of them severally. A consideration of all these circumstances can explain the title of the book under review viz. "Studies in Indian History". Dr. Sen, though, strictly speaking, a student of Maratha history, has to deal with Indian history in its general aspect. The growth of the Maratha power in the eighteenth century makes it well-nigh impossible to draw a line of demarkation between Indian and Maratha history. A student of Maratha history has to offer his contributions to the Indian history. Dr. Sen can be said to have made a methodical beginning in this direction by this volume and we eagerly await the results of his further studies.

D. V. APTE.

#### FIVE-MINUTE LESSONS.

**MY BEST TEACHERS.** By JAMES ARTHUR DUPRE. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1929. 21cm. 324p. \$3.50.

TO popularise the study of philosophy and psychology, including the knowledge of the various elements of our mental faculties and qualities, laid out in the tasteful and agreeable form of short lessons, to present unquestionable precepts of the world's best teachers including the choicest ethical or moral principles free from denominational or sectarian dogmas, to impart to the youth's mind a most beautiful selection of sound precepts easily understood and readily accepted—these are the objects of this book. It gives the views of many of the world's famous men on right thinking, right living self-mastery, and related topics—over four hundred topics in all. In developing a sound philosophy of life by means of five-minute lessons, this book would be as helpful as the constant hearing of snatches of good music would be to the impressionable child in the early formation of its taste for that art. Whether the author has succeeded in his attempt very largely depends upon the individuality of the reader. The terms "philosophy" and "psychology" are suspect in the eyes of the cynical majority of modern youth; and to such this combination of Marcus Aurelius and a philosophical lexicon (without alphabetical arrangement) may be less alluring than Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrases and Fables*. But it is written more for the thoughtful few than the intellectually ennuied many.

"A sort of religion is needed in every school in so far as it presents only scientific aesthetical elements free of fallacious doctrines. The purity of morality is better understood and offers possibilities so great that it can confidently act upon the intellectual and spiritual affairs of life without mingling it with myth or impracticable legends." One may not agree with so much of "scientific religion" as the author prescribes; a single personality like Buddha, or

Jesus Christ—miraculous and mythical in their grandeur—stir up more religion than any amount of exact thinking, however bracing. But the Teachers who are vastly drawn upon in this book must certainly reassure and attract the most indifferent—Seneca, Bacon, Samuel Johnson, Cicero, Carlyle, Ruskin, Rochefocauld, Hume, Plutarch, Bovee, Addison, Aristotle, Voltaire, Emerson, Pliny, Diogenes, Montaigne, to name only a score where there are hundreds of such luminaries to be found in the book in a wonderfully majestic array. If for nothing else, the author should deserve thanks for the consummate task of having brought together so much of the cream of the world's best and highest minds. Of such a book, the best commendation is to give plums and prunes from here and there, but it is a hopelessly tempting procedure—there would be no end of selecting.

There are many misprints and evidence of bad proof-correcting: which is strange when it is remembered that the book comes from America where the art of book-production is so highly developed. We cannot prepare an exhaustive errata here. To give a confusing example, on p. 260, in the selection from Goldsmith, there is a jumble of sentences, the eleventh and twelfth lines being before the thirteenth while they should actually follow it, thus causing no amount of impatient and puzzled poring over the page.

A. MADHAVA MENON.

#### RUSSIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

##### THE SOVIET PLANNED ECONOMIC ORDER.

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1931. 20cm. 258p. \$ 2-50

THIS book is a very instructive one from every point of view. It is comprehensively planned and interestingly written and contains an account based upon personal observation, official records and other authoritative sources, of the highly prognostic experiment in planned economy now being worked out in Soviet Russia. It gives a historical exposition of the Soviet economic development since the Bolshevik Revolution culminating in the adoption of the Five-Year-Plan, which is one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken by any country for its industrial and economic regeneration.

In the first chapter, an account is given of the Soviet State economic planning, its origin and background. The main point stressed by Mr. Chamberlain in it is the achievement of the communist ideal of State control over all branches of productive activity and the elimination of the capitalistic order, individualism and all those other factors inimical to that ideal. The fundamental feature of the Soviet system being the introduction of a planned economy under State direction in every phase of activity, the Gosplan or the State Planning Commission which was in charge of the planning assumed a position of correspondingly enhanced importance. There are about 11 sections of the Gosplan each concerned with one branch of the economic planning, from the laying out of the outlines of each work till its completion but all working in close and intimate cooperation with one another. The author mentions two five year plans, the first being organized to cover the period 1926-31 but which was later merged into the second plan for 1928-33, the outstanding motif behind both being the intensive speed of the drive towards industrialization. The second five-year plan received official confirmation at the 5th All Union Congress of Soviets in May 1929 and it has since been worked out, thorough-going measures being adopted to stamp out

all private initiative and to introduce a regimented discipline to push forward the programme chalked out.

In the second chapter Mr. Chamberlain discusses the five-year plan in operation in the fields of industry, wages, transport, finance, etc. and says that the projects have not in most cases developed according to original forecasts, the results in most instances hardly coming up to the standards, while in others they have considerably exceeded the requirements and expectations. In industry, for instance, the achievements have been most striking and encouraging, there being an enormous increase in the number of new projects started and in the capital invested in them, though paradoxically enough there has been felt an acute shortage of industrial goods available for sale and consumption. The reason for this feature is to be found in the fact that most projects till now concerned themselves with the manufacture of machinery and other preliminary requirements. Even in the products available, quality is often sacrificed to quantity and as Mr. Chamberlain says, "low quality has always been the Achilles' heels of Soviet industrial production." But although, as he says, quality is not a thing which can be measured very adequately in a statistical sense, there can be no doubt but that failures in this field partially nullify some of the quantitative gains, which furnish part of the answer to the perpetual paradox of Soviet economies, the failure of supplies to keep pace with the demand.

The third chapter deals with the methods pursued to remodel Russian agriculture and Mr. Chamberlain shows how the Soviet agricultural policy is the most powerful point in the Russian socialist offensive against the individualist old order. The ideal was to establish collective farms in the place of the old individualist farms and the introduction of large scale agricultural operations in the place of the small farms cultivated by peasants. The greatest impediment to the progress of Soviet plans in regard to agriculture was the peasant himself, who is individualist to the core and whom it has been found a difficult matter to get into the Soviet communist system. But through various inducements in the shape of concessions, exemptions and so on to those who enter into collective farms, and owing to the policy of ruthless exploitation and expropriation of the "Kulaks," the prosperous peasant class, the movement has gained ground. Mr. Chamberlain says that the farms are divided into three classes, State farms, collective farms and co-operative farms, classified according to the degree of communist influence which is exercised over each and according to the degree of the absence of the principle of individual ownership. Two drawbacks of the Soviet agricultural system are:—(1) the deficiency of livestock owing to the wholesale slaughter of cattle indulged in by the middle class peasants when they were forced into the "Kolhoz", and (2) the disequilibrium between the products of agriculture and the products of industry to be exchanged for them. In the concluding chapter, Mr. Chamberlain says that "the sweep of the collective and State farming in the Soviet Union is a matter of national and international significance." It is a landmark in the history of Soviet economic development because it has broken down the stagnation and under-production of Russian agriculture and brought it into the orbit of planned economic life by making it subject to the processes of mechanization and socialization, while for the outside world, the remaking of Russian farming carries with it the promise or rather the threat of steadily increasing competition in the export of grain.

In the fourth and last chapter, Mr. Chamberlain

speaks of "results and prospects" of the planned economic life. There has undoubtedly been a vast psychological change noticeable in the Russian people as the result of a planned and systematised scheme and equally undoubtedly there has been an imposing numerical and quantitative increase in the number of Russian industries and the products of those industries. And these gains are reckoned by the Soviet authorities as substantially outweighing any difficulties and set-backs they may have experienced in the execution of the plan both from within and without. Thus there are those who think that industrialization and collectivization are being pushed rather too fast and that better and certainly more enduring results would be achieved by a slower and more cautious procedure in this regard. But the vast majority are thoroughly convinced of the fruitfulness and advantageousness of what has been done and what is proposed to be done, while every means, including theatres, cinemas, workers' clubs, radio, etc. are utilized to make their own contribution to the pushing forward of the Plan. In conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain states that while the Russian experiment has vast potentialities for itself and for the whole world, there can no longer be any reasonable expectation that Russia will revert to capitalism.

The author has added towards the end a number of appendices containing extracts from relevant documents in connection with the five-year plan and its working and the measures for reconstructing the agricultural system.

On the whole, the book is readable, comprehensive and sympathetically written.

C. V. H. R.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE INVARIABLE STANDARD AND MEASURE OF VALUE.** By J. TAYLOR PEDDIE. (King.) 19cm. 241p. 7/6.

THE thesis of Mr. Peddie is that "no gain of wealth and welfare is so certain as that which proceeds from self-reliance and development of the resources we already have. For this we require freedom of trade by regulation without the restrictions imposed by gold money and a better standard of value than gold."

Mr. Peddie does not believe in fixing the purchasing power of money nor in stabilizing the price level as instruments of national prosperity; but he advocates the principle that production and trade should control currency and not vice versa. The currency of a country should move pro rata with production or even later than production but in no case should it anticipate production. The maladies of the world today are the results of the deliberate policies of inflations and deflations followed by governments.

The present free trade gold standard system, says the writer, has no solid basis in history or in fact and that in its present position it is not only false but untenable. (Chapters X, XI and XII.) He quotes Adam Smith, and Ricardo to show that they were no advocates of free trade gold standard system. The cause of the present depression in England is attributed by him to her orthodoxy and devotion to free trade gold system.

Though one cannot agree with all that the author says, the book will be found to be interesting and thought-provoking especially at this juncture when the whole world is faced with a currency debacle. Prices have been continuously falling, gold is being cornered, country after country is going off the gold standard and the one question is how to maintain the stability of prices as the security to currency and prosperity of nations.

K. S. V.

**FEDERAL POLITY.** By B. M. SHARMA. (The Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow.) 1931. 23cm. 266p. Rs. 6/—

THIS book has appeared at a time when the future constitution of India is being framed. India is going to be a Federation of all the provinces and the Indian States. This is something new in the history of the country. So, naturally a layman as well as a student of politics wants to know, what federation really means and implies. On this account we welcome this book which deals with all the aspects of federation. Valuable chapters have been added on the history as well as the structure of ancient as well as modern federations of the world. This enables the reader to make a comparative study of the merits and demerits of federation. We might, after that, be in a position to know what modified form of federation would suit this country. This book will certainly be a useful addition to the libraries of the colleges, where comparative politics is taught.

M. S. CHEEMA.

## Miscellaneous.

### EAST AFRICAN SITUATION.

#### MR. KUNZRU'S CRITICISM.

*In his interview with the LEADER, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Vice-President, Servants of India Society, discussed the more important recommendations of the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee on the Closer Union of East African territories, the report of which was published early last month. He said:—*

THE first point that should be considered in dealing with the East African problems is the character of the policy followed with regard to native interests. The native policy does not merely determine the spirit and temper of the administration but has a very important bearing on the relations between the immigrant communities. If a right native policy is laid down and firmly pursued, it will tend to reduce the causes of friction between them by limiting their political ambitions. It is gratifying, therefore, to find the Joint Select Committee on closer union in East Africa has upheld the doctrine that "the trusteeship of natives must remain the function of his Majesty's Government." It is of opinion that "the assistance of non-native communities in carrying out this obligation should be encouraged to an increasing extent," but it observed that this association is "not necessarily synonymous with increased political control in native affairs." It is further of opinion that the non-native settlers should be given adequate security for their future but it regards native interests as paramount in the sense that "the interests of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population should not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race, however important in itself." The recommendations which it makes with regard to natives follow naturally from the acceptance of the doctrines of trusteeship and paramountcy. European immigration into Kenya is not to be encouraged for the time being and no more land is to be alienated to non-natives except with the special permission of the Secretary of State.

The political development of the natives is to be encouraged by promoting the establishment of native councils; but natives are not to be segregated, and a unitary form of government is to be maintained. The early and sympathetic consideration of the Kenya Government is invited to native grievances with regard to the Registration Ordinance, the hut and poll-

tax and the restriction on the cultivation by natives of coffee, etc., The Committee have thus endorsed the policy laid down by the late Government last year and its decision will give unalloyed satisfaction to Kenya Indians.

The proposals for a closer union of the East African territories find no favour with the Committee. Its view is that for the present every colony should develop on its own lines. The Europeans themselves opposed the idea of closer union before the Committee. They supported federation for a while in the hope that it would be a means of securing increased political power for them in Kenya. But they withdrew from this position when they saw that there was no prospect of the realization of their ambitions under a Labour Government. The native witnesses from Tanganyika and Uganda also objected to closer union as they were reluctant "to be more intimately associated with Kenya as they know of it by hearsay today." It was inevitable, therefore, that the Committee should decide against a federation. This will give great relief to Indians and in particular to Tanganyika Indians who were naturally afraid lest closer association with Kenya should prove detrimental to their interests.

#### NATIVE REPRESENTATION.

The Committee discusses the future constitution of Kenya in the light of its decisions on the two large questions of policy mentioned above. It follows inevitably from the doctrine of trusteeship accepted by the Committee that the present character of the Kenya Legislative Council should be maintained. Two changes in its composition are proposed: The first proposal is that "the nominated representation of native opinion be increased, without prejudice to the power of the Governor and his discretion to nominate for inclusion among them persons of African descent when he considers suitable representatives are available." The Africans have asked for the nomination of men of their own race to the Kenya Legislative Council. This will be welcomed by Indians, but Africans are likely to be nominated only in rare cases. For the most part African interests will be represented by non-natives. The future composition of the Council may therefore be profoundly affected by the manner in which the Governor exercises his power of nomination. The balance of power will be considerably modified if the nominated members are selected from the European community only, as in the present circumstances there is not much to choose between elected and nominated Europeans where Indian interests are concerned. In view of this danger the Kenya Indians have always demanded that non-native representatives of African interests should be chosen equally from the Indian and European communities. This demand was endorsed by Mr. Sastri in his report to the Government of India on his mission to East Africa. I believe it was also put forward by him in his evidence before the Joint Committee. The Committee has, however, left the choice of representatives entirely to the Governor. The matter will have to be carefully watched by the Government of India so that Indian interests may not be indirectly injured.

#### ASIATIC REPRESENTATION.

The second proposal of the Committee relates to Asiatic representation. The Committee feels that "it is open to question whether any increase of the Asiatic representation on the Council might not with advantage be considered." A great injustice was done to Indians in this respect in 1923. The Wood-Winterton agreement provided for 4 Indian and 7 elected European representatives. The Government of India regarded the Indian proportion as inadequate and urged its increase. Yet in the final

settlement the Indian share was further reduced. The Indian community which is twice as numerous as the European community was accorded less than half the representation (5 Indians as against 11 Europeans) allowed to Europeans! Elementary justice requires that the Indian proportion should be raised, but increased representation can be no adequate substitute for a common roll.

Increased representation of the Indian community would by itself have given satisfaction to Indians in Uganda and Tanganyika, but these two territories have been completely ignored. Indians greatly outnumber Europeans both in Uganda and Tanganyika. The Uganda Indians dominate the situation by reason of their wealth and capacity. In Tanganyika also Indians occupy an important position in trade and commerce. Yet while Europeans are represented in the Legislative Councils of Uganda and Tanganyika by two and five nominated members respectively, the corresponding numbers for Indians are one and two only.

#### COMMON ROLL.

The main question which exercises the mind of Indians is the establishment of a common electoral roll. They feel on this question as they do on no other and are prepared to make great sacrifices to attain the object they have in view for the common good of all races. The Labour Government had raised hopes that at least the first step would soon be taken towards the fulfilment of their long-cherished desire. After referring to the decision of 1923 they stated: "It is, however, felt by His Majesty's Government to-day that, in principle, a common electoral roll cannot fail to commend itself generally for adoption in Kenya, as in any other colony where there is a mixed population, and they regard it as an object to be aimed at and attained." The opposition of Europeans to a common roll was well known. The declaration by His Majesty's Government, therefore, justifiably gave rise to the belief that they would be prepared to deal with the question on its merits notwithstanding European opposition. The Government of India also urged the adoption of a common roll. They had hesitated at first to ask for its establishment without European consent, but it is a matter of great satisfaction to find that Mr. Sastri, who represented them before the Joint Committee, supported the Indian demand unconditionally. The Committee have delivered judgment against the Indian community, and upset the policy of the Labour Government. They perhaps felt that as no constitutional changes had been recommended in Kenya and His Majesty's Government continued to be the arbiter between different interests the method of electing the representatives of the various communities was not a matter of fundamental importance. They are of opinion that if changes are made at some future date in the constitution of Kenya "the decision of the Committee as recorded above should not be allowed to militate against the adoption of the common roll should it later be deemed desirable", but they regard it as "impracticable" for the present. They have not told us why it is impracticable but the tacit assumption underlying their conclusion seems to be that joint electorates cannot be introduced without the consent of the European community. It is pleasing to find that men like Mr. Roden Buxton and Dr. Drummond Shiels supported the Indian demand, but it is a painful surprise that Sir Robert Hamilton who is a Liberal and whose attitude towards India has been regarded as being friendly voted against Mr. Buxton's amendment in

favour of a common roll. The Committee, in pointing out the importance of the East African problem, say, "It is impossible to isolate East Africa and not take into account its connection with other parts of Africa, and even with Europe and India. . . The action of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom must inevitably be watched very closely by His Majesty's Government in the Union of South Africa and the Government of Southern Rhodesia as well as by the Government of India." One is amazed to find that the Committee should have thought that the interest of South Africa in East Africa was comparable to that of India. Has South Africa influenced the judgment of the Committee as it influenced the decision of His Majesty's Government in 1923?

The declaration of the Labour Government in favor of the principle of a common roll, which has been quoted above, is not confined to Kenya. It has a wider reference and applies to "any other colony where there is a mixed population". It therefore covers Fiji where the Indian members of the Legislative Council resigned some time ago as a protest against racial electorates. The effects of the Committee's reactionary recommendation will therefore be felt not only in Kenya but also in Fiji. The Committee has dispelled the menace of increased white domination in the immediate future but in the most vital matter it had done a clear injury to the Indian community and the cause of Imperial reconciliation by turning down the policy of the late Government.

#### INDIAN DISAPPOINTMENT.

The Committee's decision must have given rise to profound and bitter disappointment in Kenya. So intense was the feeling among Indians on the question of a common roll that Mr. Phadke said at a public meeting held at Mombasa to honour him and his colleague, Mr. Patel, after their return from England: "The time has come when non-payment of taxes may have to be resorted to. Politics are always fluid and what may be poison at one time may be the remedy at another and I have come to believe that non-payment of taxes is going to be our remedy against this contagious disease of "administrative exigencies." It will not be surprising if the Indian community exasperated by the Committee's decision declare themselves ready to take extreme measures for the vindication of their self-respect. I hope that they will bear in mind that the success of any steps that they may take to protest against the Joint Committee's decision will depend largely on the support of the mother country. They will be well advised if they act with self-restraint at this juncture. The question of their status is bound up with the future constitutional position of Indians in their own country. A free India alone can solve their problem. They may rest assured that India will not fail to run to the help of her children abroad as soon as the battle for her own rights is won.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- THE UNITY OF THE WORLD. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. (Trs. by Howard Coxe.) (Cape.) 1931. 20cm. 188p. 5/-.
- LABOUR AND TEXTILES. A STUDY OF COTTON AND WOOL MANUFACTURING. By ROBERT W. DUNN & JACK HARDY. (International Publishers, New York.) 1931. 20cm. 256p. \$1.00.
- LABOUR AND LUMBER. By CHARLOTTE TODES. (International Publishers, New York.) 1931. 20cm. 208p. \$1.00.