

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Dominion Status vs. Independence.

THE recommendations of the Conference on Dominion Legislation and Mechanat Shipping Legislation, a very brief summary of which has been cabled to India by Reuter, seek to remove the last vestiges of any inferiority complex that may still be associated with Dominion Status in the British Commonwealth. It is the final consummation of the processes which the Balfour Report did so much to speed up. The power of the British Cabinet to invoke the King's veto over Dominion legislation is to be abolished altogether even in theory, and any alteration in the law of succession to the English Throne should require the assent of the Parliaments of all the Dominions. England is to be just one Dominion among others. The Dominions are Free States held together by the one single link, the Crown. In the freedom of each of its constituent members the Commonwealth approximates to the League of Nations. But there is this one great difference between the Commonwealth and the League: war between the Dominions is unthinkable; the Commonwealth has armed sanctions behind it and the combined forces of the Commonwealth are available for the defence of each Dominion against aggression. Those, who, in India, profess to spurn Dominion Status and prefer independence may well ponder over this development of the the Commonwealth and see if India will not be safer and happier within the Commonwealth as a Dominion than as an independent nation outside.

Why not a Fair Chance for Co-operation ?

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU had very good reason for uttering the solemn warning which she did on the eve of her departure from Bombay upcountry. “I would in deep earnestness reiterate my warning and entreaty to the leaders of the Congress to pause and consider the tremendous, and almost terrible, implications of their responsibility in regard to the vast masses of men in whom they can so readily evoke great emotional response.” The Red invasion of the Chowpatty Independence-Day meeting, and the disturbed condition of Dacca are ominous portents, though small at the moment. The Mahatma has repeatedly acknowledged and deplored the existence of a party bent on violence. He complains that the progress of his non-violent revolution was being impeded by the activities of the violent revolutionary, and he says, “Let him realise too that he has never yet given me a fair chance.” If the Mahatma believes that the violent non-co-operation was impeding his own non-violent non-co-operation, there are those, like the Liberals, who believe that his policy is impeding their policy of non-violent co-operation. He too has not given the Liberals a fair chance. If the country had been allowed to make the most of the Montagu reforms, we would have been much nearer our goal than we are today. May we suggest to the Mahatma the full suspension of his activity and that he should give the country a fair chance to to make the most of the Round Table Conference? If the results of the Conference do not meet with his approval, it will be open to him to revive his own policy.

* * *

Guarantees for Sterling Debt.

THE Secretary of State authorised a few days ago the publication of a letter to a correspondent by the Permanent Under-Secretary in which the latter explained that His Majesty's Government has no intention of allowing a state of things to arise in India in which the repudiation of debt could become a practical possibility; further that it was inconceivable to the Secretary of State that in dealing with any scheme of constitutional changes in India Parliament could fail to provide safeguards against any breach of the conditions under which the loans have been issued. All this was clearly in view of the resolution of the I. N. Congress claiming a right to repudiate such debts as were not proven to be incurred in the true interest of India. Considering the slump in Indian securities recently caused by the

resolution, it is not possible to deny the mischievous character of that part of the proceedings of the last Congress which gave a lie direct to the adoption of the Nehru Report by the Calcutta session of the same body. The Nehru Report unambiguously provides for the taking over by the new Dominion Government of all expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of India as well as all the debts of the East India Company. It can hardly be said, therefore, that those Indians who still stand by the constitution adumbrated in the Nehru Report can have the least idea of the repudiation of any portion of the public debt of India. It is just possible that the cry raised about statutory guarantees by the British Government of the Indian sterling securities has some sinister motive behind it, and that the obvious one of discrediting the grant of self-government to India and throwing a cold douche on any further attempts at constitutional advance. If the guarantees contained in the Nehru scheme are found to be inadequate or unsatisfactory, others can be supplied in their place in any ultimate constitution which may be arrived at by mutual agreement. But to make the possible repudiation of public debts into a bogey and a false scare is only worthy of financial scare-mongers and diehard opponents of Indian aspirations and not of responsible statesmen who ought not to lose faith in the efficacy and the resources of diplomacy.

Reviewing the public debt of India and its constituent items, one can easily see that the major portion of it is productive in the sense that the interest charges on it are easily paid by the concerns in which it is employed. As Sir George Schuster said in his Budget speech last year, "Whatever is borrowed is more than covered by sound productive investments, producing a larger revenue than is required to meet interest charges". There was a time when the unproductive debt of India was a large amount, but it was steadily reduced by the time of the Great War. Whereas in 1888 the funded debt was Rs. 109 crores, it was reduced to Rs. 19 crores in 1914, the first year of the War. Since then it increased to nearly Rs. 300 crores during the next years mostly owing to the emergency calls of the Great War including the free gift of Rs. 150 crores made by the Indian Government to the British Government. With regard to the last it has to be noted that the gift was made with the consent of the Legislative Council in virtue of a resolution passed by a striking majority. As for this period of War the *Hindu*, by no means an unfriendly critic of the Congress doings, says that it was "a period in which it will be remembered many Congressmen, far from repudiating any obligations arising from the war, actually offered their willing co-operation in many directions." The only part then to which some sort of objection may be taken is the remaining portion, some 150 crores for which principally the increasing permanent charges in the military department since the War, are responsible. The total debt today is Rs. 1074 crores out of which the rupee portion incurred in India is Rs. 604 crores and the sterling portion is equivalent to Rs. 470 crores approximately; as against this the total productive assets are nearly Rs. 873 crores. It is true that there are economists who say that the total debt at the close of the Company's administration which was incurred for the conquest of India and which was saddled on India when the Crown took over the government from the Company should in justice be exempted; but that is a matter for settlement by friendly negotiation when the whole question is discussed at the time of initiating the new constitution and not a subject for repudiation resolutions. India must consent to

meet all her obligations scrupulously if she desires to take a rightful place as an important member of the comity of nations. Whether the burden imposed by the interest charges is heavy or light and whether it is necessary to effect a speedy redemption of the public debt of India are questions which are beside the point so far as the question of honouring your pledges is concerned.

* * *

The Land Revenue System on its trial.

MR. C. J. O'DONNELL, formerly of the I. C. S., in a communication to a Labour journal in Scotland, attributes the poverty of the peasantry in India to the rigours of the land revenue system, and declares that we are confronted with what is at the bottom a great Land League movement of the Irish type. Again the report of the Economic Enquiry Committee appointed by the Madras Government to examine the condition of the cultivators in East and West Godavari districts definitely lays down that there ought not to be a resettlement for another two periods, which means sixty years. The signatories of the report say that, although prices of produce had risen by more than cent. per cent, one should also note an equivalent rise in the cost of cultivation and the cost of living. Even as regards the rise in prices of produce they found that the official manner of collecting figures was incorrect; besides the prices had been steadily falling during the last six years. It is further pointed out that maintenance of cattle had become a serious drain on the resources of the peasant. From the schedules of the cost of cultivation prepared by them, the Committee are able to deduce the conclusion that in many cases the rayats were not in a position to get net return from lands. They calculate the interest charge on the average debt per acre at Rs. 15 per annum, which further reduces the net return. Almost in the words of the Broomfield Committee they say that the Settlement Officer's investigations were "crude in method, unreliable in results and inaccurate in facts". The persistence of the rayats in cultivating land when there were losses, they explain by the absence of other occupations and the necessity for finding some work to do for themselves and their cattle. Finally, they assert that sale-values and rental-values are no indication of the net income from land; the rental values in fact indicate the economic weakness of the cultivator. If the case of the Godavari districts is typical, then the increase of land revenue by resettlement is certainly out of the question. Fresh land revenue legislation based upon a thorough examination of all the factors cannot be delayed any further without rousing serious discontent; pending such legislation, however, it is incumbent on Provincial Governments to suspend resettlement operations.

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Maintaining the Great Indian Market.

IN an address given before the Royal Empire Society, a full report of which has just been received, Mr. Ainscough, Senior Trade Commissioner in India, reviewed the position of British trade with India and advised the British merchants and manufacturers to secure their rightful share of the trade prosperity associated with the economic progress of India. He attributed the decline in the United Kingdom's share of India's imports by 18 per cent. during the last decade to the fact that India had not adjusted herself to the higher post-war level of imported goods, and to the menace of foreign competition from various countries, including Germany and U. S. Most of the lost trade was in articles in general use by the common people in which low price counted for a

great deal; he therefore laid stress on rationalisation as a means of reducing prices and regaining the lost trade. He referred to the new policy of the purchase of Indian Stores by Rupee tenders as a likely source of a further reduction of British imports and called upon British suppliers to develop an efficient sales and service organization in India. Now, Mr. Ainscough may well remember that, although the new policy may be prejudicial to British trade interests, it is vitally necessary to the development of Indian industries. His complaint that the weakening of the London connections have placed the foreign competitors in a position of greater equality is well-founded, but surely India must be allowed to buy in the cheapest market instead of, as heretofore, buying the bulk of her stores in London at any cost. He, therefore, rightly stressed the need for a drastic overhaul of British marketing methods in order to bring them into line with changed conditions; so far so good. He recommended opening of branches in India and attaching their own experts to the staff of the agents by British manufacturers and appealed to them to take a personal interest in the market. Mr. Ainscough referred to the repudiation of their liabilities by Indian merchants during 1921, but he forgets that the step was forced on them by the Government who suddenly changed their currency policy and disowned their own legal rate of exchange. Mr. Ainscough does not believe that the reactions of the political agitation in India on British trade have been very serious; and with regard to the curtailing of the railway programme he said that, in his opinion, it was a mere temporary phase. Believing that India stood to-day on a firmer economic basis than ever, he does not think it is too much to expect that the British share of the economic development of India and increased trade would be retained. The chairman agreed with the lecturer that British traders should not be supercilious about cheap prices in these days of keen competition.

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An apologia for the Imperial Bank.

THE present and the future position of the Imperial Bank of India are very carefully examined in an article contributed to the Banking Inquiry number of *Indian Finance*. The Imperial Bank is a hybrid institution combining the functions of a commercial bank with those of a Central Bank. As certain liberal terms were proposed to be offered to the Imperial Bank for doing agency work of the Reserve Bank when the scheme for such a bank was under contemplation, various criticisms were made by Indian businessmen and politicians and these are reviewed by the writer. To begin with, the special prestige attached to the Bank by a special charter was criticized and a suggestion was made that it should, like the Joint Stock Banks, be brought under the Indian Companies Act. Owing to the responsible position occupied by the Bank as the sole agent of Treasury work the suggestion is rejected by the writer. The criticism against the monopoly given to the Bank for doing Government business is, in his opinion, futile owing to the immense advantage of a unified system of control of Government balances and their transfer through currency chests. Another criticism relates to the unfair competition of the Imperial Bank owing to its stronger position resulting from the use of large balances free of interest and free remittance facilities; as against this he quotes Sir Norman Murray who said, in his evidence before the Currency Commission, that the facilities enjoyed by the Bank of having free balances are set-off by the large amount of work done for Government without payment. In addition, he points out the advantages to the public from the activities of

the Bank by bringing down rates and preventing existing banks from charging monopoly rates; he however advises the Imperial Bank to have due regard for the high rates offered by Joint Stock Banks for attracting deposits. With regard to the continuance of the privileges the writer thinks that the Bank has a moral claim to generous treatment at the hands of Government; besides, he thinks it impossible to bring any future Reserve Bank into effective operation except in partnership with the Imperial Bank. We think, however, that this is an exaggerated claim as in many places the existing Joint Stock Banks would transact successfully more than half of the work at present done by the Imperial Bank. The writer supplies a table to show that there is no foundation for the charge that the Bank favoured the Europeans at the expense of the Indian Commercial community; according to this the total advances to Indians are Rs. 48,26 lakhs and those to Europeans are Rs. 28,17 lakhs. The charge of extravagance against the Bank has special reference to the suggestion for Indianising the staff, and the writer meets it by saying that from 1921 to 1928 the number of Indians in the higher grades has risen from 90 to 294 and now constitutes fifty per cent of the total for these grades.

* * *

Competitive Examination for I. M. S.

THE passing of Mr. Jayakar's Resolution recommending the holding of a simultaneous examination both in England and India for recruitment to the I.M.S. is an indication that the Assembly is dissatisfied with the present method as well as the strength of Indian recruitment to this prize service. In pressing his resolution on the attention of the Assembly Mr. Jayakar pointed out the anomaly of a system of nomination which shut out able Indians on the ground of the failure to possess a British qualification. He referred to the resolution on the same subject passed by such a weighty body as the Inter-University Conference and by the All-India Medical Association. With regard to that part of his resolution which made it obligatory for entrants to the competitive examination to hold medical qualifications registrable in India he had to urge reciprocity since 2000 practitioners in India held European degrees. Mr. Macworth Young as usual dilated on the advance in the number of Indians recruited since 1910, as if that were any reason why there should not be a still further advance henceforward. The fact is that the ratio 2:1 between Europeans and Indians fixed in the 1925 scheme of reorganisation is unjust as well as inadvisable owing to the fact that India turns out nearly 500 medical graduates every year; it is high time in our opinion to reverse the proportion and make it one European to two Indians. In any case the resolution is calculated to effect an amount of searching of conscience and we are glad to have an assurance from the Army Secretary that the Government was prepared to examine the whole matter in the light of the debate. Col. Gidney in supporting the resolution spoke in favour of the principle of competition which he expected to give better results from the point of view of the quality of the British officers of the service, and in theory at least endorsed medical swaraj. One thing comes out of the debate and that is an assurance on behalf of Government that they were seriously thinking of the institution of an Indian Medical Council and that they would shortly place before the House proposals on the subject; it is good that after all the authorities have been brought round to the proposal insistently put forward for many years by medical opinion in India.

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Articles.

"CHILDISH".

THE impressive revolt of the renegade Congressmen has set the Mahatma athinking. The result is an amazing confusion of thought, a medley of contradictions and inconsistencies and a pitiful loss of self-confidence. In the latest issue of "Young India" he repeats to Lord Irwin his "childish"—nothing could be truer than this, how own, description—offer to Lord Reading, the acceptance of which will dissolve Mr. Gandhi's vow of civil disobedience and Independence for India, and non-participation in the Round Table Conference. Only in the previous issue of "Young India" he confessed to his "English Friends" that the critical date of the 31st December last determined the fate of the Round Table Conference as far as the Congress was concerned. "Organisations, like men," he said in pathetic heroism, "if they are to command respect and grow, must have a sense of honour and must fulfil their promises. Well, the Congress promised at Calcutta to change the creed to Independence if Dominion Status was not forthcoming by the 31st of December 1929. It did not come nor was there any prospect of its coming for certain in the immediate future. The Congress therefore had no other course open, if it was not 'to commit suicide', but to declare its immediate objective to be Complete Independence instead of Dominion Status". The very next week he offers to lift the boycott of the Round Table Conference provided the Viceroy initiates certain administrative reforms, emphasising the while that the Viceroy's speech made it clear to him that "Dominion Status was never to be the immediate objective of the proposed Round Table Conference". The Mahatma does not pause to explain how the sense of honour of himself and of the Congress will be satisfied if, when the 31st of December 1929 is past without Dominion Status appearing as the horizon, he agrees to attend a Round Table Conference which is not to discuss even Dominion Status, not to speak of Independence.

Has this apostle of non-violence and truth been guilty of violence to truth itself? Why, there was a time when the Mahatma described co-operation with Government, even attending schools, whether receiving Government grant or not but recognised by Government, as sin. Now he has agreed to drop the boycott of schools and law courts, etc., on the ground that there is no atmosphere for such boycott. Has sin anything to do with atmosphere? Does sin cease to be a sin because people will not desist from it?

It is true that the Congress prefaces its resolution regarding the boycott of the Conference with the words, "in the existing circumstances",—words deliberately used to cover a retreat from an untenable position. The Mahatma himself envisaged one such circumstance, and that was to discuss Independence! He reiterated the view when in his "Young India" of the 23rd January, he said "Let those that

have faith attend (the Conference), and if they bring anything worth looking at from the Independence standpoint, the Congress will capitulate." What, then, has happened during the week that had made the Mahatma willing to go to a Conference which is not even to discuss Dominion Status? The Viceroy's speech has, according to Mr. Gandhi, only justified the Congress resolution of boycott.

It is a favourite way of the Mahatma to ask for a change of heart in the Government; and the initiation of the reforms that he enumerates will, obviously, satisfy him of the necessary change of heart in the Government, which the offer of the Round Table Conference, and with it, of self-determination, did not! There is yet another amazing somersault on the part of the Mahatma. The Congress in the old days, before he captured it, recommended such individual reforms; it asked the Government, the foreign bureaucracy, to carry out the reforms that the Congress desired, pending the transfer of power to effectuate the reforms to Indian hands. But since then, the Congress has disdainfully spurned the "mendicant" policy of begging for reforms, and instead made a bid for power. And now the Mahatma himself suggests certain reforms in the administration in the name of the Congress. There is hardly a Moderate or even a Loyalist who would fall so low now-a-days!

And what are the reforms that he requires? Total prohibition comes first. With all his contempt for the existing constitution, Mr. Gandhi cannot be unaware that the British Cabinet cannot enact prohibition in India. The matter is already in Indian hands: it is for the Ministers in the Provinces to enact prohibition. If it has not already been introduced, the blame largely rests on ourselves and not on the British Government. If our people were sufficiently keen on it and if they had sent the proper men to the legislatures and if they were prepared to finance it, prohibition would have been in operation today. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress would have done better if, instead of boycotting the Councils, they had used their influence with the country to send into the Councils the best men of the land, pledged to bring about prohibition. At the time Mr. Gandhi favoured the accomplishment of prohibition by non-Governmental action, by voluntary effort; and made boycott of drink a plank in his non-co-operation programme. The attempt failed as it was bound to. Seeing that the people have failed to bring about prohibition by their efforts, Mr. Gandhi now asks the British Cabinet and the Viceroy to do it for them and over their heads. A very hopeful anticipation of Dominion Status, rather of Independence!

Mr. Gandhi's second point is the reduction of the ratio to sixteen pence. It is a very debatable point; and we believe even those Indian businessmen, who fought a desperate battle for this ratio, will now hesitate to ask for a reversion at this stage. At best, Indian opinion is sharply divided over this question. The reduction of land revenue by at least 50 per cent. is too sweeping to be practicable. Would he wish that the land revenue now paid by the large land-owner should also be halved as that of the small-

holder? There are those who urge, and with greater justice and sympathy for the poor, that land revenue should, in the matter of incidence, approximate to income-tax, that the small-holder with small profits should be taxed much less than the large-holder with large profits. There is unanimity in Indian ranks regarding the desirability of abolishing the salt tax, and almost every year the matter is pressed in the Assembly. But it may be remembered that some years ago Sir Basil Blackett, then Finance Member, gave the Assembly the alternative of reducing the salt tax or of the provincial contributions. The non-official members, including the Swarajist-Congressmen, for all their tearful sympathy for the suffering poor, preferred the reduction of provincial contributions!

Another fiscal measure that the Mahatma asks for is a "protective tariff on foreign cloth". Here again is another surprise. There was a time, not long ago, when the Mahatma burnt foreign cloth for which the people had paid hard cash. Now he asks, not for the exclusion of it, but for a protective tariff! To protect what? The products of mills or of charkhas? Presumably the latter, for we remember his ecstatic songs of the glories of the charkha. The "Khadi Guide", published by the All-India Spinner's Association, says that even when the khaddar industry has been fully organised and all possible economies effected, the price of khaddar will be higher than mill cloth. At present it is much higher. A protective duty to safeguard khaddar will have to be crushingly high; the mill-owners will profit by it and the poor people will have to pay through the nose for their cloth supply. Sympathy for the poor is incompatible with taxing their food and clothing.

But the most amazing items in Mr. Gandhi's eleven points are the reduction of military expenditure by at least 50 per cent. and the issue of licenses to use fire arms for self-defence, subject to popular control. The Mahatma is an apostle of ahimsa: he has often set it above every other virtue. He had compunction to chase away by violent means the monkeys that destroyed his orchard and would not be lured away by a Pied Piper's non-violent songs, though it is true that he permitted the diseased calf to be put to death. In his latest issue of "Young India", the very number in which he asks for the reduction of military expenditure, he says in reply to a correspondent, "But the military schemes now being considered by the great Indian leaders are highly likely to appear even to them to be wholly unnecessary, assuming that we have come to our own demonstrably through non-violent means deliberately chosen and used." Why then have any military expenditure at all? And why arms for self-defence? Will not non-violence do? If, instead of provoking the peaceful Indian masses to civil disobedience, which will only drive the Government to increase its military expenditure, Mr. Gandhi and his non-violent Congress volunteers, will only preach their doctrine to the frontier tribes and convert them to non-violence, the Government of India will, we fancy, be glad to reduce the military expenditure almost to vanish-

ing point. The success of the Congress in keeping the peace in Dacca after the Independence Day must stink in the nostrils of the Mahatma.

But enough has been said to show the Mahatma's confusion of thought, flat contradictions, and precarious principles. Setting out for independence, democracy, mass-action, self-help, and non-co-operation, the Mahatma begs of a foreign bureaucracy that it may introduce petty administrative reforms, forgetting all the while that at the very moment some of the reforms are in our own hands to secure, and that it is only by sending our very best men to the Councils that we have any hope of securing the rest. By standing out none of these reforms, even the desirable ones, have any chance of materialising. If we go to the Round Table Conference we do not go there to oblige the Viceroy or the British Government but to win for ourselves power by peaceful and non-violent means. By our non-participation in the Councils and the Conference we stand to lose more than the Government.

"STATES' SUBJECTS AND THE SAPRU CONFERENCE."

IN the SERVANT OF INDIA of last week a writer pleads for patience on the part of the Indian States' subjects if the promoters of the proposed All Parties Conference find it impossible to extend an invitation to them, and exonerates in advance the Liberal Party and other parties who may join in convening the Conference in the event of such a contingency. Indeed he goes further and appeals to the leaders of these parties not to put the success of the Conference into peril by including the subjects along with the Princes in their invitation if by so doing the Princes, as seems certain, will refuse to attend. He admits the moral right of the subjects as well as the Princes to be represented at this preliminary Conference in Delhi as at the Round Table Conference in London, to which it is meant to pave the way; but the stubborn resolution of the Princes, which he does not seek to justify, not to sit round the same table with their subjects, leaves no option, according to this writer, but to exclude either the subjects or the Princes. Faced with such a dilemma, the organizers of the Conference can only decide, in his opinion, to exclude the subjects. The Princes cannot be left out on any account, for, in the present state of the constitutional development of the States, they alone have the authority to decide, so far as the States are concerned, questions concerning readjustment of relations with British India, and, therefore, the preliminary negotiations must be with their representatives, if with anyone. On the other hand, the presence of subjects, he says, though useful, is not necessary, for, as it turns out—a very happy coincidence, it must seem to him—there will be at the Conference others who will voice everything that they would conceivably like to give utterance to on questions at all likely to be placed on the agenda of this Conference.

On the constitutional question "Practical Politics" sees no possibility of the States' subjects being let down by British Indian representatives at

the Round Table Conference. For have not the Nehru Report and discussions in the public press on the Report of the Harcourt Butler Committee made it abundantly clear that the British Indian public as a whole is immovably determined to resist the pretensions of the Princes that their relations are directly with the Crown and that their assent would be required as a condition precedent to the placing of the Political Department, which deals with them, under popular control? Being reassured on this aspect of the question, the subjects of the Indian States have little cause for alarm on any other. For what else matters? Such is briefly the reasoning of our writer. He can however be answered in two ways. First, in the particular point raised by him the British Indian people are even more vitally interested than the States' subjects; for while to the former the admission of these claims of the Princes would mean a definitive rejection of their claim to Dominion Status, to the latter it would only mean continuance of the overlordship of a British Government instead of its replacement by the overlordship of an Indian Government—no very great matter, after all, from the point of view of the people of the States. It is therefore no wonder that the British Indian public show very keen resentment at the Butler Report, which in fact amounts to a negating of their demand, in advance of the Simon Report. Indeed, may it not be that the presence of the Indian Princes at the Conference is held essential precisely on the theory propounded on behalf of the Princes, viz. that no steps towards democratizing the Government of India can be taken without their consent being previously obtained? May it not be that the Simon Commission has already accepted this theory, and, having done so, was impelled to advise His Majesty's Government to let the Princes meet the British Indian people in conference so that the latter may win the consent of the former to such advance in the British Indian constitution as it may recommend? If it be so, the British Indian leaders will find themselves confronted at the Conference with a *fait accompli* which they will have no means of undoing. But I confess that this is a novel view of the matter. I have always felt this apprehension about the main purpose of the Round Table Conference proposal, but, seeing that it is not shared by others, I am prepared to drop it as something not worth considering. But my contention is that it would be wrong to infer, from the opposition which the British Indian leaders offer to the Butler Report, that on all aspects of the constitutional question, the interests of the people in the two Indias will appear to their representatives at the Conference as necessarily identical. And there are other aspects of the question which are from the point of view of the States' subjects of even greater importance than the one mentioned by "Practical Politics."

To take but one illustration, there is the question of intervention in the internal administration of Indian States, in which the States' subjects are far more interested than the British Indians can be, and on which for this reason their views are likely to be not only different but, in the conversations at the

Conference, conflicting. If the question takes the form of whether the existing British Government or the future Indian Government should exercise the power of intervention, we know that the British Indians will claim the power for themselves. But the question is likely to appear in a different form in the discussions at the Round Table Conference: should the Government of India, be it bureaucratic or popular, exercise any power of intervention at all? Or, should not this power be drastically reduced? This question is sure to be raised at the Conference by the Princes, and it is not only possible but very likely that the British Indian people will return to it a different answer from the one that the States' subjects will. The Princes will appeal to the British Indian leaders in this wise: "We are met here to see how far in the direction of autonomy British India can go. We are prepared to help you all we can to travel the longest distance on that road. You have certain proposals for bringing the army somewhat under popular control. You know that those proposals have no likelihood of being accepted if there is the slightest opposition in any quarter. Our support on the other hand will compel the British Government to make at least some concession to you on that score. We will not be obstructive; we will on the contrary give you every help. But, look here, there is just this small matter which affects us in which you can give us material assistance. You know the British Government, which keeps us down no less than you, intervenes quite unjustly in our domestic concerns in season and out of season. We want to get rid of this external control as well as you. And when we do you a good turn by supporting your army proposals, are we not entitled to expect you to do us a good turn by supporting us in our demand, if not for complete abolition, for sweeping curtailment of the power of intervention? We are no less devoted to autonomy than you are. When the British Government is parting with the power it possesses, it ought to be made to part with it to us as well as to you. You surely would not like us to stand high and dry in our present humiliating position when you attain freedom? We are not now saying that you have no right to exercise any power on behalf of British India which the British Government exercises. We only plead for a voluntary abandonment of the power. We make no doubt that you will agree to it, seeing how helpful we are likely to be in making the British Government abandon the power it has in respect of you."

What will be the response that British Indians will make to such a plea on the part of the Princes for a "claw me, claw thee" policy? Nine politicians out of ten, I am convinced, will think it only fair and just that they should agree. The tenth will possibly see the danger it involves to States' subjects, but the odds are that he too may think that the interests of British India require for the moment the sacrifice of the interests of the States' people. The sacrifice would of course mean utter ruination to the States' subjects. For the question of the internal reform of the States is to be excluded from the purview of the Conference; it is in fact excluded from all British

Indian politics. The subjects can look for no aid in that respect from any quarter. While British India can give the States' subjects no assistance in making the Princes share their power with them, it would only help, by striking this kind of bargain with the Princes, to eliminate all outside control over the Princes and thus rivet more firmly on them the fetters that they are wearing. The representatives of the States' subjects must be at the Conference to shout "No" every time such a proposal is made. For it is hard to think of even half a dozen British Indian leaders who can be trusted to resist the Princes' appeal which would have such a disastrous effect on the subjects.

It is not for me to say what the Liberal leaders or leaders of other parties should do if the Princes cannot be moved from their refusal to participate in the Conference along with the subjects. I would in their position do the right and the just thing and face the consequences. But in any case let no British Indian politician delude himself into the comfortable belief, while he is actually doing them a grave wrong, that he is championing their cause. For the sober truth is that he is not!

NO DREAMER.

THE NEAR EAST.

II. PALESTINE.

WHAT seem to be the characteristics common to the countries of the Near East give way, so soon as one approaches them, to impressions of chaotic diversity, hostility, and misunderstanding not only between the nations which rose from the break-up of the old Turkish Empire, but also in each of them. When some thirteen years ago, led by Colonel Lawrence, the Arabs were sweeping the Turks from South to North, inspired by the idea of a new and free Arabia, no one except a few confirmed pessimists could have foreseen that the mosaic of little states separated by tariff barriers, innumerable policemen, defiance and mutual hostility, would now constitute the Levant. Everywhere there is a feeling of discontent and bitter disillusionment, and it is frequently expressed, oddly enough, by the remark, "It was better under the Turks" even in responsible quarters. The complaints are mostly based on the economic situation and on the administration of mandates. The setting up of tariff barriers between small countries which cannot be self-supporting and unfounded hopes about improved methods of agriculture account for the first, and the lack of disinterested and straightforward administration for the second complaint.

The situation is at its worst in Palestine on account of such additional factors as Zionism and the prevailing fierce hostility between the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs are absolutely determined to reverse the Balfour Declaration, and the Jews are no less zealous about conserving their position. The consequence is that in a country smaller than Switzerland there are two nationalisms (as distinct from nationalities), each of them raised to a pitch and invoking rights and authority, thanks to Great Bri-

tain's habit of promising more than she can fulfil when confronted with political emergencies. The British as well as the Zionists are learning their lesson. The former are finding out that the price of encouraging the schism between Arabs and Jews, after securing the military assistance of the one and the financial assistance of the other during the war with the same promise, has to be paid after all. And the Jews are discovering that they did not come to a "terra virgina," that the Biblical descriptions of the riches of the promised land are not sober fact, and that it is not easy to "create" a National Home after twenty centuries of wanderings. Yet, both the British and the Zionists hold that they have brought and are bringing civilisation to a primitive and ignorant people and without them the ungrateful Arabs would know nothing of the higher standards of life, hygiene, electricity, and so on. The Arabs on the other hand do not brook being called "savages" and being bullied into "civilisation"; they resent being thrown out of their poor mud huts under the pretence of "scientific management."

The remarkable thing in this crisis is that, notwithstanding these recriminations and, doubtless, the most unpleasant experiences, the Arabs are being moulded into one and they are finding their strength. The acquisition of land by the Jews has put an end to a mediæval regime of big estates which brought little profit to the owner and less competence to the tenant. For the moment, it is true, the peasant as well as the Effendi find themselves both breadless and homeless, but when the inevitable adjustment will have taken place an old and stagnant evil will also have been done away with. The present crisis has moreover been instrumental in shaking the secular sleepy traditions to their foundation, which is visible from the fact that a deputation of Arab women tore off their veils in the presence of the High Commissioner in Jerusalem as a symbol of the abandonment of their customs for the cause of their menfolk, as one of them told me. Last and not least, there is abundant evidence that the presence of the Europeanised Jews and of the British in the country is, sometimes even in spite of himself, making the Arab alive to the value of modern administration and social organisation. The Arabs have a quick mind and grasp things easily. There is little danger of their falling back into the ways of the old Turkish Empire. The young generation of both sexes which can afford education gets it, either in Europe or in Syria where there are two great Universities, one French and one American. Numerous girls receive training in teaching and nursing; schools are being improved and attendance is regular. Everywhere dispensaries and hospitals are being opened, often with a view to offset Jewish institutions, but they serve their purpose.

A great deal of this educational work, I must not fail to add, is due to the initiative of philanthropic agencies. In this country of political chaos and internal struggle the visit to a welfare centre is like coming upon an oasis in a desert journey. An Englishwoman directs a well-known welfare centre

in Haifa, and her primary motto is "Let us be friends with the people"; she is by no means an isolated instance. It was an Englishman who told me, "A little kindness goes far with these people. They are proud and sensitive. They resent disdain and superiority, but courtesy and affection they give back a hundredfold". British officials and some of the arrogant Jews do not have this understanding, and when this lack of comprehension is added to the disillusionment about their promised independence, the Arabs are embittered. Above all they have lost their faith in British justice and latterly also in the capacity of the British for administration. Their awakening has begun and it expresses itself just now in one wish, to be left alone even to their poverty. That of course is not likely. There will be strife and organisation, roads will be built, forests planted, schools set up, and experience acquired. The present crisis has brought the Moslems and Christians together, and maybe another turn in the political wheel will bring the Arabs and the Zionists closer. Meanwhile, Christian, Jew, and Musalman, each goes his own way and works. One day perhaps that cradle of the three great creeds will be prosperous again, and Jerusalem will find peace.

JULIETTE RAO.

SIXTY MILLIONS OR THIRTY ?

UNTOUCHABLE POPULATION IN INDIA.

IT is very much to be regretted that even after six consecutive decennial censuses taken in this country, 1872 to 1921, the Government of India are not in a position to tell the people as to the exact total population of the so-called untouchable communities in the various parts of the country. Of course the degree of untouchability or unapproachability varies in different parts of this vast country, but the lines of division which mark them off from the orthodox section of the Hindus are clear and unmistakable. In this country where everybody has his caste by birth, it is not at all difficult to name the castes that are considered by the people in general of that locality as causing pollution, either by touch or proximity, and to add up their numbers at any census. But it is only during the last decade or so that the untouchable castes have come into prominence from a political standpoint: and the question of their uplift has come into limelight, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, and so the census officers were not careful enough to sort out such castes and find out their exact population for every district, province and State. It is hoped that the very wide divergence found in different official estimates of their population will be a thing of the past after the census operations of 1931 and that proper instructions for sorting such castes will be issued in good time to all provincial and State census officers.

The confusion about the untouchable population figures arises from two causes. One is the want of precision as to whether the figures refer to British India only or to British India *plus* the small States that do not prepare their own census reports but have their figures included in the British provincial figures,

or to the whole of India, including all the States, small and large. The figure of sixty millions given by Mr. Marten, the all-India census officer of 1921, (vide para. 193 of his Report) quoted often by the Government of India in its annual publications presented to the Parliament, is for the whole country, including all States, large and small, and not for British India alone.

The other cause of confusion is due to the term "depressed" classes being used rather loosely. It is used sometimes to denote only the untouchable castes, and at other times the aboriginal, hill and forest tribes and wandering and criminal tribes as well. Almost all educational statistics and some provincial census officers use the term "depressed" in this wider sense, and thus give no indication of the number "untouchables" proper. In February 1928 Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Secretary to the Education Department of the Government of India, gave to the Legislative Assembly the number of untouchables proper as 28½ millions in the nine major or Governors' Provinces, two of which—Burma and Assam—he said, had no untouchable population. Thus the two Government estimates are 28½ or say 30 (if we include the areas directly administered by the Government of India) for British India alone at one end, and 60 millions for the whole of India at the other end.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M.L.A., gives a very interesting table in his note on the Depressed classes appended to the Report of the Indian Central (Nair) Committee, showing the five various estimates of the untouchable population formed by different Committees at different times during the last ten years.

The table is quoted below:—

POPULATION OF DEPRESSED CLASS (untouchables) IN MILLIONS.

PROVINCES	Franchise Committee's Figures, 1919	Marten's Census figures, 1921	Reforms Enquiry Committee's figures, 1924	Hartog Committee's figures, 1928	Nair Central Committee's figures, 1929
1 Madras.	6.4	6.4	6.4	6.53	6.50
2 Bombay	0.6	2.8	2.8	1.46	1.47
3 Bengal.	9.9	9.0	9.0	6.64	11.50
4 U. P.	10.1	9.0	9.0	7.89	13.00
5 Punjab.	1.7	2.8	2.8	1.70	2.80
6 Bihar & Orissa.	9.4	8.0	8.0	2.53	5.00
7 C. P.	3.8	3.3	3.3	3.01	2.67
8 Assam.	0.3	2.0	2.0	0.00	1.55
Total	42.2	43.3	43.3	29.76	44.50

As can be seen from the above table, the first three and the fifth estimates very nearly agree. The fourth estimate, which is practically the same as that given by Mr. G. S. Bajpai to the Legislative Assembly in 1928, is the lower estimate of about 30 millions. So it can be said without much fear of contradiction that the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes, 30 and 44½ millions, but not in

any case 60 for British Indian population of 247½ millions.

Let us try to dive a little deeper into these provincial figures. The provinces in which there are wide divergences of figures, comparing the fourth and the fifth columns above, are (1) Bengal, (2) U. P., (3) Bihar and Orissa, and (4) Assam. Surely when the differences are so large as 11.50 against 6.64 and 13.00 against 7.89 millions, there must be something evidently wrong. Even a casual reference to detailed figures of caste population, and to the list of castes scheduled as untouchables, in each of these four provinces will reveal where the mistake lies. Speaking of Bengal, a reference to pages 365-8 of the census report of 1921 shows that the aboriginal tribes of Mundas, Oraons and Santals and the large cultivating caste of Chasi Kaibarttas are included in the list of depressed classes and therefore in the figure of 11½ millions. This figure is obviously incorrect and must be reduced. The difference in the two estimates for the U. P. is as large as for Bengal, i. e. over 5 millions. Here too the list of castes taken in the two estimates may be compared and the mistake detected. With regard to Assam, it is a patent fact that there is a very large aboriginal population of hill tribes in that Province and very often this is included in the depressed (or untouchable) classes by educational officers. As a matter of fact, they are not untouchables, and hence cannot be included in these figures. Simply because the Governor of Assam appointed in August 1929 one member of the depressed classes to the local Legislative Council, Mr. Rajah jumps to the conclusion that that fact alone is an irrefutable testimony to the existence of a large untouchable population in Assam. But here Mr. Rajah loses sight of the difference in the meaning of the two terms—depressed and untouchable—and hence his conclusion cannot be taken as accurate.

The case requires further and fuller investigation, province by province and state by state, in order attain accuracy in the matter of these figures, especially for the four disputed provinces of Bengal, U. P., Bihar and Orissa, and Assam. Local knowledge is very necessary for this purpose, and the help of local officials and non-official public men should be taken to settle this question once for all. The figure should not be unnecessarily swollen, nor the gravity of the problem of the untouchables minimised by quoting a low figure. The truth must be found out, in fact lists of untouchable castes should be published by provincial governments, thus preventing some touchable (though backward) castes taking undue advantage of concessions offered to untouchables for educational and Legislative Council purposes. Some officer must make it his business to give the public correct and authoritative figures, province by province and district by district, and set the controversy at rest.

A. V. THAKKAR.

THE S. I. S. IN ORISSA.

IT is now ten years since the Servants of India Society established itself in Orissa. There occurred in 1919 a severe famine in the Puri District of Orissa. At the time Mr. Laxmi Narayan Sahu,

along with Messrs. Amritlal Thakkar and R. Suryanarayana Rao, was engaged in social welfare work in Jamshedpur, which included the running of cheap grain shops and a cloth store controlling the prices of market produce, organising co-operative societies and free primary schools for the children of the employees, besides sports of various kinds for healthy recreation and exercise. While thus engaged, their attention was called to the distress caused by famine in the Puri District. Mr. Sahu was at once deputed to reconnoitre the situation. Failing to secure the co-operation of local leaders and social workers in adequate measure, Mr. Sahu set out by himself to tour the affected area and submitted his report to Mr. Thakkar and gave publicity to it in the "Searchlight" of Patna and in the Calcutta press. Hardly had the relief work commenced when Messrs. Thakkar and Suryanarayana Rao were called away from Jamshedpur, and Mr. Sahu was left alone to carry on the work of relief. Subsequently, at the instance of Pandit Govind Misra, Mahatma Gandhi induced Mr. Thakkar to return to Orissa, with the cordial consent of Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri and the Servants of India Society. Mr. Thakkar was the Secretary of the Relief Committee, Pandit Gopabandhu Das the President and Mr. Jagbandhu Sinha the Treasurer. Other whole-time workers included Mr. Sahu and for some time Pandit Govind Misra. Pandit Nilkantha Das and several other teachers of the Satyabadi School as well as batches of students of the School rendered gallant services during the relief operations. One lakh and twenty thousand rupees were spent in relief work.

Soon after the completion of the work Mr. Thakkar left Orissa for good and Mr. Sahu established himself in Cuttuck and conducted for several years the "Sahakar" originally a journal of co-operation and the first of its kind in Orissa. But later, when the Government Co-operative Department started their own co-operative journal the "Sahajog Samachar", the "Sahakar", was converted into a literary journal. Mr. Sahu took keen interest in the co-operative movement, was made a Director of the Cuttuck Central Co-operative Bank and was for some time Hony. Organiser of Co-operative Societies in Orissa.

Finding that there was no journal in English in Orissa at the time, Mr. Sahu revived the English weekly, the "Star of Utkal" and ran it for over two years, when it changed hands. Mr. Sahu was instrumental in organising the All-Orissa Science Association with the cordial co-operation of Profs. P. K. Parija and S. C. Tripathi and Babu Birajmohan Senapati and several others. He ran it for two years and Babu Birajmohan Senapati has since been its Secretary. Mr. Sahu resuscitated the All-Orissa Students' Conference, and was its Secretary for two years. He resigned the place in order that his political associations may not hamper or embarrass the institution which counted among its friends many educationists in Government service.

The famine of 1919 left a legacy of orphans; and the Arya Samaj started an Orphanage at Satyabadi under the influence of Pandit Gopabandhu Das.

The Orphanage was removed to Cuttuck and Mr. Sahu for some time in charge of it. It is now a well-established institution with Babu Bichitranda Das as Secretary.

In the heyday of the non-co-operation movement Mr. Sahu took advantage of the cult of the charka to popularise the fly-shuttle; and in this work he had the cordial co-operation of the Weaving Demonstrator, Babu Ganesh Pujari. Considerable success attended their joint efforts. Mr. Sahu introduced spinning and weaving in the Cuttuck Shelter, an organisation for girls managed by the Church of God Mission. The spinning section failed but the weaving section is growing strong, and produces cloth sufficient not only for the use of the 80 inmates but for sale to the public.

When there was a riot in Kanika and as a consequence some people were shot down, and when the atmosphere was tense with excitement and fear, Mr. Sahu ran up to the scene of trouble all by himself, conducted investigations, gave publicity to them in the "Star of Utkal" and other papers, and finally invoked the powerful aid of Mahatma Gandhi in the cause of the oppressed tenants. It is gratifying to record that, as a result of the disclosures and agitation, the tenants of Kanika received some substantial relief.

The Phillip-Duff Commission was appointed by Government to enquire into the question of bringing together under one administration all the Oriya speaking peoples now distributed in several administrations. Mr. Sahu undertook an extensive tour to carry out an intensive propoganda in favour of union. He organised public meetings, got up monster petitions and brought home to the Oriya-speaking people the advantages of a union.

In 1928 October the floods in the Vaitareni devastated large areas of fertile land and destroyed many villages in the Koenjhar State and in the Bhadrak Sub-division. Mr. Sahu, on behalf of the Servants of India Society, immediately organised relief operations in the Anandpur sub-division of the Keonjhar State at a cost of some twenty thousand rupees besides distributing many bags of old clothing to the sufferers.

For the last two and half years Mr. Sahu has been engaged in rural uplift work in the Chowdwar near Cuttuck. The work had made favourable progress and it is anticipated that this successful experiment in rural reconstruction will stimulate similar efforts on a wider and larger scale. It must be gratefully acknowledged that Mr. Sahu has received the co-operation of the officials of several Government Deprtments in this work of rural reconstruction, though it must be admitted with regret that the general public have not yet evinced adequate interest in it.

Mr. Sahu has brought together a fine collection of books to form the nucleus of a Library. It has yet to be properly housed by an appreciative public. Mr. Sahu published a life of Mahatma Gandhi, the first of its kind in Oriya. He has besides brought out the lives of great Indian public workers like Tilak, Gokhale and Mr. Sastri. As Group Secretary of the Theosophical Society, Mr. Sahu organised meetings

at which prominent Theosophists from other parts of India spoke on social reform and stimulated interest in social service. Mr. Sahu maintained keen interest in the Hindu Widows' Training Home at Cuttuck. By his talks and speeches and writings, by his own personal conduct and example, and by his bold championship of the rights of the depressed classes. Mr. Sahu has during the ten years he has been in Orissa done a great deal to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes and bring about a change in the outlook of the higher classes.

Represented by a single member, Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Sahu, the Servants of India Society has during the last ten years it has been working in Orissa helped in no small degree to build up public spirit and an all-India outlook in Orissa; it has attempted constructive work on many and equally important fronts, political, social, educational and industrial. Much of it was of a silent and quiet nature, but not the less useful and necessary on that account. It now remains with the public of Orissa to make full use of the Society's initiative, to rear a fine structure on the foundations that the Society has laid; to find more recruits and support them adequately, so that in the new era that is dawning on us Orissa shall not be found wanting.

A FRIEND.

Reviews.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CO-OPRATION.

LABOUR AND INTERNATIONALISM. By LEWIS L. LORWIN. (The Institute of Economics Series.) (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 20cm. xvii + 682p. 12/6.

DR. LORWIN has placed students of the international labour movement under a distinct obligation by the publication of this book. The social radicalism of our times has assumed such Protean aspects, both in its thought-forms and in its manifestations in the world of action, that it has become increasingly difficult for the lay student to distinguish between socialists and communists, and between the Red and the Yellow Internationals. One of the tasks that has yet to be performed by the intellectual sympathisers of the labour movement is to critically analyse the theoretical assumptions and implications of international labour action. In spite of the prolixity of books, treatises and pamphlets which still continue to appear on various topics connected with international labour, no volume has yet taken for its subject differentiation between the various schools of labour thought and the diagnosis of their distinct features. Similarly, till the publication of this book, we have had no clear objective statement regarding the origins of the idea of international labour co-operation, the successive attempts to embody it in international organisations, the effect that it has had on world history, and the complex system of international associations which seek to make the idea a living reality.

To those who would like to know something about the persons and motives behind the various In

ternationals, and the work accomplished by these bodies, Dr. Lorwin's book cannot fail to be of absorbing interest. Historic figures stalk across its pages and it will not be too much to say that the history of the International Labour movement is a history of the schisms brought about by the conflict of personalities. Marx and Bakunin of the First International, Jaures and Bebel of the Second International, and Stalin and Trotsky of the present day are some of the figures into whose mental workings and activities we here obtain a glimpse and the contrasts represented by these types will be found existing even in the various national labour movements.

The outbreak of the war spelt the death-knell of internationalism for the time being; and to feel the full force of its shattering effect on the socialist movement, one has only to turn up the socialist literature of that period. Nevertheless, the international labour movement has sprung up with renewed vigour from the cinders of the war, as is attested at the present day not only by the various international labour secretariats, but also by the three organisations which to-day represent the three most important aspects of that movement. The Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions and the Third International of Moscow stand respectively for social-reformist internationalism and social-revolutionary internationalism, while the International Labour Organisation of Geneva stands for a method of ensuring international social progress which was but indistinctly envisaged in the pre-war days. Amsterdam has all along realised the potency of the Geneva methods, and had the leaders of Amsterdam had their own way in 1919, the International Labour Conference would today be legislating directly for all the countries which have adhered to it, instead of merely passing draft conventions to be ratified or rejected by the various national parliaments. One of the most hopeful signs of the future is the increasing co-operation between these two great institutions, and it is not generally realised that in the Workers' Group of the International Labour Conference, the representatives of Amsterdam and of the Christian Trade Union work in close collaboration with representatives of various national movements not affiliated to either and produce in effect an *ad hoc* group which can claim faithfully to represent more than 30 millions of organised workers throughout the whole world.

Though Dr. Lorwin's main aim is to present to his readers a connected account of the activities of the various international organisations, in so doing he has also shown us the inevitable under-current which runs throughout his entire narrative. Submerged beneath his descriptions of arresting personalities and dramatic episodes is the story of the perpetual struggle for mastery between the revolutionary fanatics and those who stand for ordered progress. There are certain passages in the book which, with the alteration of names and dates, may be applied to the existing situation in India. Although Dr. Lorwin does not seek to draw conclusions or to point out a moral, the truth is writ large across this book that hasty and impatient ventures to introduce a millin-

nium have always put back the hands of the clock of progress, whereas less dramatic methods of bringing about social improvement have always resulted in augmenting the sum total of human happiness. Special attention should in this connection be drawn to his last chapter dealing with the "Horizons Ahead", in the course of which he gives us a clear and well-thought-out estimate of the tendencies of the future. Altogether, we have here a volume which will prove of absorbing interest and profit both to the lay reader and to the student of social problems.

P. P. PILLAI.

PRURIENT !

TROUSERS OF TAFFETA. BY MARGARET WILSON. (Cape.) 1929. 20cm. 285p. 7/6.

WITH the passing away of classical satire from literature, the American journalist-literati of the scorpion family have substituted the language of biting slander in its place. Living in the new continent where sex looms large and sex-complex or suppressed sex are bred in the bones of the thinkers, whatever issues from their pen has the imprimatur of a lewd psychology. Nothing meets their eye but carries a sinister suggestion of sexual abnormality. For the last two years they have lavished on India all the pathological imagination of their being and left her smarting under it. "Trousers of Taffeta" is the latest sting to ooze out of their poison-pouch. Out of the rich store-house of Indian life and customs, which perhaps are un-American in their ethical composition but not immoral for that reason, they draw the material for writing stories in a manner that the unoffending fact undergoes a most uncharitable distortion and assumes an offensive character.

Margaret Wilson, a member of that literary Ku-Klux Klan, lifts the veil off a Mohammedan household in a way that discloses, not an unconscious, though indefensible moral irregularity, but a contemptible obscenity. Her whole novel is replete with erotic touches. A Moslem Raja, who is deeply attached to his wife, marries another for the reason that the former is unable to bear him children. Round this harmless incident, she gathers a tissue of indecent associations, intended to create the impression that the business of Moslem women was to bear and in fact force children into the world and that the glorious Christian women doctors played the saintly rôle of turning the barren women into prolific breeders. Thus does Margaret Wilson bear false testimony:—"In this place, where the climate and the civilization and the religion seldom grant men a respite from desiring women, so they seldom grant women a respite from desiring children. Here frustrated breasts, it seems, can never cease acting and hungry wombs, instead of succumbing to starvation, cry on always for food." (p. 35).

Her description of the second wife of the Raja is only worthy of a voluptuous and sensual mentality:—"I had never seen a young girl who at fourteen looked so entirely fit for motherhood. She was enchauntingly pretty and shy before me and she stood there slender but strong-looking, her lovely young

body just ready, her beautiful round breasts alert, waiting." (p. 96) The whole book is composed of such nauseating imagery. It is worth reading in that it throws an awkward light on a weak spot of our social life. The polygamous Indians, however, have little to learn from the promiscuous Americans, shall we say? And as the wearers of a pernicious social shoe, we know to our cost that it pinches us to destruction. We feel there is a pressing need for instituting a literary Purgatory (as also a Paradise for the deserving) to which must be consigned all vicious books, particularly those written by American authors who are venally inspired.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD. By JAMES DREVER AND MARGARET DRUMMOND. (Partridge, London.) 20 cm. 222p. 6/-

It is now becoming clearer everyday that parents and infant school teachers should pay more attention and care in the upbringing of the young. For this purpose it is essential that they should make more than a bowing acquaintance with child psychology and the findings of experts. Those that do not possess this knowledge already cannot do better than begin their study with this book. It is intended to be an elementary outline of the psychology of the pre-school child. Along with the psychological information, useful hints and advice for the training and the care of the young will be found scattered throughout the volume. After going through it one will cease to look down upon children as the most commonplace, insignificant things and much less treat them with scant courtesy. The old mental outlook will now be tempered by a new air of sympathy. For the fact is made clear that children live and move in a world, an ever-changing world, of their own. Mere love and affection alone will not ensure the sound development of their minds and bodies; it should be coupled with knowledge and imagination of the proper kind.

The first three chapters of the book by Mr. Drever form a simple theoretical background to the more practical and descriptive account of the remaining seven chapters by Mr. Drummond. A set of useful Intelligence Tests for infants and children below five will be found in the last chapter. By using them enthusiastic parents may watch the unfolding of the minds of their young hopefuls—and may we add, their potentialities also?—with that glow of satisfaction and parental pride with which they always watch their physical growth.

R. K. SANGAMESWARAN.

DANGER ZONES OF EUROPE. A STUDY OF NATIONAL MINORITIES. By JOHN S. STEPHENS. (Hogarth Press, London.) 1929. 19cm. 86p. 1/-

THIS is the third Merttens Lecture on War and Peace published in book form. It shows how narrow ideas of nationalism in polyglot states are dangerous to the peace of the world. Such danger zones are not in Europe alone. They can be found in any vast country or continent. India is also riddled with them. The interests of the Native States and the so-called special interests of the pampered minorities in

India present a problem very much akin to that of the Eastern Europe. This lecture is well worth perusal by those who want to study it.

V. M. B.

Miscellaneous.

MADRAS LIBERAL PARTY NEWS.

THE Annual Meeting of the Madras Liberal League was held on Sunday 26th January and the office-bearers were elected.

A memorandum is being prepared from the standpoint of the Liberal Party on the Independence Day resolution and the statements and implications contained therein. The memorandum will be published as soon as it is ready.

A few selected, able and earnest public workers will be requested to do full time work to carry on propaganda work on behalf of the party in the several districts of the Presidency and the announcement on the subject will be also made shortly.

It is reliably understood that leading political workers in Madras will give an enthusiastic response to the All Parties Conference that is proposed to be convened by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in pursuance of resolution on the subject adopted at the last session of the National Liberal Federation.

E. VINAYAKA RAO.
Hon. Secretary.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- YEAR BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1929. Ed. by the Horace Plunkett Foundation. (Routledge.) 1929. 21cm. 476p. 10/6.
- BRITISH INDUSTRY TO-DAY. By BEN M. SLEKMAN and SYLVIA KOPALD SLEKMAN. (Harper.) 1929. 21cm. 290p. 10/6.
- THE CONSUMPTION OF WEALTH. By ELIZABETH ELLIS HOYT. (Macmillan.) 1928. 20cm. 344p. 8/6.
- MUSSOLINI, THE WILD MAN OF EUROPE. By JOHN BOND. (Independent Publishing Co., Washington.) 1929. 20cm. 206p.
- IN THE LAND OF COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. By ANATOLE V. BAIKALOFF. (Cape.) 1929. 19cm. 285p. 7/6.
- MARRIAGE AND MORALS. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. (Allen & Unwin.) 1920. 20cm. 254p. 7/6.
- THE FREE WOMAN. By IRENE SOLTAU. (S. C. M.) 1929. 20cm. 207p. 6/-
- CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION, 1789-1870. By H. C. THOMAS and W. A. HAMM. (The Survey of History Series.) (Hamilton.) 1929. 20cm. 312p. 5/-
- MORALITY IN THE MAKING. By RCY E. WHITNEY. (Macmillan.) 1929. 20cm. 167p. 6/6.
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