

Registered B.—308.

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Madras Government & Anti-Untouchability Campaign.

IT is reported that the Government of Madras has issued a communique prohibiting its servants from taking part in the campaign against untouchability, because, in the opinion of that Government, this campaign has become, by a conjunction of circumstances, controversial and in many respects a political movement. This is very surprising, because those in the movement have been taking every care to keep it free from all party politics and the Government of India itself gave Mahatma Gandhi, while in jail as a political prisoner, every facility to carry on the campaign. It is, of course, possible to stretch the meaning of any social movement, e. g., marriage reform, so as to give it a political character, inasmuch as it would involve legislative action. But for a Government to declare seriously marriage reform or the removal of untouchability political on such grounds would be utterly absurd. By its servants writing or speaking in public for or against the removal of untouchability the Government of Madras fear that its relations with certain sections of the Hindu community might become embarrassing. This appears to us to be altogether an imaginary fear. Very few are the Government servants who take the trouble to write or speak in public even on social questions. Neither the character nor the volume of such utterances has ever caused embarrassment to Government. Certainly any utterances relating to the removal of untouchability are not likely to do it. Though the prohibition of the Madras Government is in terms only against participation in propaganda, Government servants are

likely to give it a much wider interpretation on account of the movement having been called a political one in many respects. There is absolutely no doubt that the depressed classes themselves stand to gain in every respect by the campaign against untouchability, and the Madras Government which has done more for their benefit than any other Government and whose policy towards them remains unchanged, ought therefore to withdraw this prohibition in the interests of the depressed classes.

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Mr. Sinha's Evidence before the Committee.

"IN response to the invitation" extended to him by the Joint Select Committee, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha submitted to it a statement embodying his views on the proposals for constitutional reform contained in the White Paper. Did the invitation emanate spontaneously from the Committee or did it follow an expression of a desire on Mr. Sinha's part to place the Committee in possession of his views on the constitutional question? Whatever that be, it must be admitted that Mr. Sinha has faithfully represented the nationalist view before the Committee. In the first place, he drew the Committee's attention to the debates on the White Paper that had taken place in the different legislatures. In the course of these debates, as will be recalled, expression was given to the deep dissatisfaction generally felt at the White Paper proposals and an emphatic demand for substantial alterations in them put forward so as to make them less unacceptable to public opinion.

One of the principal causes for this dissatisfaction is, of course, the indefiniteness and uncertainty about the inauguration of the Federation. Mr. Sinha suggested that the States should in the first instance be allowed one year for coming into the Federation, the Crown being empowered to extend the period by another year, if need be. He would also do away with the proposed requirement of a Joint Address by both Houses of Parliament as a condition precedent to the issue of a Proclamation bringing the Federation into being. The absence of any provision for the automatic elevation of India to the Status of a Dominion by the disappearance within a definite period of the safeguards and reservations and of an express prohibition in the case of the States' representatives in the Federal legislature to participate in purely British Indian matters are, in the eyes of Mr. Sinha as those of politically-minded India, two very serious defects in the proposed constitutional arrangements.

Though the legislative council of his province has by a small majority voted in favour of the establishment of a Second Chamber, Mr. Sinha, speaking from firsthand knowledge, does not think that the vote of the Council can at all be regarded as representative of public opinion in the province. In fact he thinks that a Second Chamber for Bihar and Orissa would be "a useless

and expensive luxury." Under the reformed regime he very properly wants the provinces to be fully autonomous. That is to say, he wants them to be responsible for the whole field of administration, law and order not excluded. To the comprehensive special powers proposed to be vested in Governors in fulfilment of their special responsibilities and reservations Mr. Sinha is strongly opposed. All this coming from an ex-member of a provincial Cabinet of Mr. Sinha's standing and experience, cannot be brushed aside as the fulfilment of an irresponsible agitator.

* * *

Separation of Judicial & Executive Functions.

THE recent debate in the U. P. Legislative Council on the subject of the separation of judicial from executive functions has resulted in the Council once more expressing itself in favour of this long overdue reform. At a time when full provincial autonomy at any rate is expected to emerge out of the present constitutional discussions, any discussion of such a comparatively minor reform might appear to many as mere waste of time. But in view of its far-reaching importance it would be wrong to regard the U. P. Council debate in that light. For, however unimportant the reform might strike present-day Indians, it has formed an important plank in the Congress platform during its nearly half a century's existence. In Government circles the reform has been viewed with such strong disfavour that it is doubtful if it can yet be said that they look upon it with a friendly eye. On the other hand, sympathetic Britishers are not wanting who insist upon it as a sine qua non of impartial judicial administration. So much so that no less a person than Mr. Montagu, according to Mr. Chintamani who took a prominent part in the debate, attached such an importance to it that at one stage he was inclined to include it in his scheme of reforms. His failure to do so was, we are told, with a view to buying off bureaucratic opposition to his scheme. That his fear of bureaucratic opposition was not just imaginary but had solid foundation is proved by the attitude which Lord Meston, then member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, chose to adopt with regard to this very necessary judicial reform. His position, so Mr. Chintamani stated, was that rather than introduce this reform the British had better leave India. A reform which has evoked such strong feelings on both sides cannot be passed over as unimportant or negligible and the U. P. Council has done well in once again emphasising its importance, and the desirability of carrying it into effect as early as possible.

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Transvaal Indians.

CONSIDERING the anguish and despair that have come over the Indians in the Transvaal it is not very surprising that at the last Provincial Conference they let themselves go and uttered many thoughts which after reflection they are likely to regret. One of the most unfair charges that were made was that the Government of India and their Agent and the Transvaal Indian Commercial Association willingly accepted or acquiesced in anti-Indian legislation. The Indians in South Africa are not an ungrateful people and are not wanting in appreciation of the persistent and zealous efforts made by the Government of India and their Agents to oppose all anti-Indian legislation and administration. That on this occasion they forgot themselves so far as to make this outrageous charge can only be explained by the sense of despair that has seized them and made them forget all sense of proportion and fairness. It will be as correct to

say that the Indian community in South Africa willingly accepted or acquiesced in segregation on the railways, for instance. It will be as correct to say that they willingly accepted or acquiesced in their exclusion from the municipal and political franchise. They might have submitted to it, most unwillingly, not having the power to change it. The only reasonable question to ask of the Government of India and their Agents is whether they have done all they could to protest against anti-Indian legislation. There can be only one answer to it. They have. To rail at them for not succeeding is as reasonable as condemning Mahatma Gandhi and his passive resisters for not having done away with registration certificates and the anti-Indian laws in the Transvaal and for not securing political rights for Indians on a par with the whites in the Union.

The campaign against the Agency in South Africa is most unwise and suicidal. But for the splendid work of the successive Agents, the position of Indians would have been much worse than it is to-day. If it is not better, it is no fault of theirs. Two reasons were urged for the abolition of the Agency. One was that the Agency cost more than it was worth. The solicitude for the tax-payer in India is indeed most commendable. It is however noteworthy that neither the tax-payer in India nor his representatives have shared or sympathised with that view. No less an authority than Mr. C. F. Andrews urged that the expenditure on account of the Agency in South Africa should be increased, not decreased. The question may be allowed to rest there.

The other reason was more plausible. If the Agent could not secure the repeal of anti-Indian legislation or prevent the introduction of fresh disabilities, he should have the courage to throw up his job and return to India and declare to the world what rotters South African whites are. It did not matter if thereby the position of the Indians was not in the least bettered; it would at least safeguard the honour of India. This sentiment of some South African Indians that they would rather suffer more indignities and privations than let the self-respect of India be hurt, is indeed most touching and elevating. At the same time, India would not be morally great as she is if she did not reciprocate this sentiment of self-sacrifice on the part of her children abroad; nay, as the mother-country, she would better it. She would not hesitate to sacrifice her own self-respect if thereby she could improve ever so little the lot of her nationals abroad or, in the alternative, arrest as far as possible any further deterioration of it. It will do no good to anybody if the Agency is abolished. The Agent is the best friend that Indians in South Africa have. He has his limitations, even as the Government of India and the people of India have to help their nationals abroad—even as Mahatma Gandhi has. It requires more courage to stay in South Africa to help the Indians than to run away from it in despair and disgust.

* * *

No Negligible Crumbs.

THE position of Indians abroad is on the whole so disappointing that we cannot afford to neglect the comparatively small and often overdue crumbs that occasionally fall to their lot. It is of no small significance that the Governor of Uganda announced at Jinja on the 16th June last that the Secretary of State had agreed to the appointment of another Indian to the Uganda Legislative Council, in addition to the one now on it. This will mean that hereafter there will be two Indians and two Britishers on the Council, unless we are mistaken and the number of European members is also raised in order to maintain the old ratio.

If in any Colony the Indians have a better claim for a larger representation than Europeans on every conceivable ground except that of race, it is in Uganda. But all these years the Europeans were given twice the representation that Indians had. And this was defended on the ground that the selection was based on personal merit and not on race: a defence that deceived none, least of all the defenders. Now for the first time Indians are to have the same representation as Europeans, if, as we said above, we are not mistaken. For this piece of justice, we are grateful to the authorities concerned.

From Natal comes the news that the Union Government were persuaded to increase their grant to the Durban Indian Technical Education Committee by £100, bringing the total grant to £350, thanks to the Agent of the Government of India and the Minister of the Interior. We join the *Indian Opinion* in asking the Indian community to do their bit to help the Committee in its most laudable and necessary work.

From London comes the news that, thanks to the intervention of the Foreign Office, the French Government of Indo-China was persuaded to cancel its expulsion orders against two Indian bankers and it was also confidently expected that those who were peremptorily exiled some weeks ago would be allowed to return to Indo-China.

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Travancore.

THE administration report of this State for 1931-32 shows that it fully maintains its reputation of being one of the best governed Indian States whose number is surprisingly small. The ruler appropriates for his use what is described as "only a very modest" civil list. It is seen from the statistics furnished in the report that this constitutes only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the State revenue and far from going up year by year, as in most other States, has actually gone down from $8\frac{3}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in a period of forty-five years. The claim of modesty made for the civil list appears thus to be quite justified.

As is well known, educationally, the State takes a front rank among the Indian States. Educational institutions numbered 3,761—an excess of 62 over the number for the previous year and the number of pupils studying in them exceeded 6,00,000 as against the total of $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to be eventually brought under instruction if there is to be universal literacy in the rising generation. It may be mentioned that the number of pupils at present in school works out very nearly at 12 per cent. of the total population which is doubtless a highly creditable record. A feature of the educational system which deserves to be noted relates to the difference in curricula for girls' and boys' schools, that for the former including such subjects as singing and sewing. In this connection, it is also stated that domestic economy and Indian and European music are also included as optional subjects in the English School-Leaving Certificate and the Vernacular School-Leaving Examinations. How far is this kind of differentiation popular in the State? To this question the report furnishes no adequate answer. May it be hoped that future reports will afford satisfaction in this respect?

In educational institutions for whose conduct the State itself was responsible girl students used so far to be charged only half fees. This concession was withdrawn during the year under report with the result that full fees came to be charged to them in colleges and three-fourths in high and primary schools. It is to be hoped that the withdrawal of the concession will in no way affect the progress of female education in the State. It is a matter for

satisfaction that special steps are taken to encourage the spread of education among the backward and the depressed classes of the State population.

Considerable scope seems to exist for the democratisation of municipalities in the State which number 19. Their total membership is 312, out of whom 179 are elected members. The balance is all nominated and includes as many as 55 State servants. It is true that most of these bodies are empowered to elect their own presidents. But the fact cannot at the same time be gainsaid that their constitution requires to be still further liberalised by increasing the proportion of elective to the nominated element, if they are to be brought into line with their counterparts in British India.

Articles.

CONSULTATIONS IN THE CONGRESS CAMP.

THE Congress leaders who will assemble in Poona on the 12th inst. will be called upon to take a decision which will be fraught with consequences of the greatest moment to the future of our country's politics. It is beyond question that some change is needed in what is supposed to be the ruling policy of the Congress. That policy is one of civil disobedience, but civil disobedience can be discovered now more in name than in practice. Even prominent Congressmen come out of gaol and conduct themselves as if civil disobedience had been called off. It must be remembered in this connexion that all those who owe allegiance to the Congress are under a mandate of its Working Committee to carry on the fight without intermission, but there are hardly any who think of the mandate at all. Members of the Working Committee themselves ignore it and do not seem to be ill at ease on that account. They are not to be blamed. The realities of the situation naturally appeal to them more powerfully than the directions of the Congress given in entirely different circumstances. But this makes it clear that civil disobedience as a practical policy is dead. The question for the Congress leaders to consider is whether they should revive it in full vigour or bring it officially to an end.

Whatever their decision on it may be, we hope that Congress leaders, in considering this question, will keep before their mind's eye nothing but what is required in the national interest in the present circumstances, and we hope that they will particularly put out of mind what is due to them from Government. If they allow the latter consideration to weigh with them even a little, it will make them resentful—we will at once admit rightly resentful—and the sense of injustice will incline them to a view which, as a matter purely between them and Government, may be wholly justified, but which from the broader standpoint of the country's welfare, may be altogether inexpedient and unwise. It is by no means easy to dissociate one's past sufferings from the future line of action; it is not easy either for one to contemplate peace when the other fellow does not abate a jot of his war-like mentality. It takes a really large mind and a large heart to seem to cave in when you

know that your opponent will make the most of his "victory" over you. But, however difficult it is to do so, Congressmen will have to approach the question before them in a dispassionate spirit, which is rarely to be seen among people engaged in combat. If such a spirit can be found anywhere, it is to be found among the more important Congress leaders. Will they exhibit it at this supreme hour of need?

The first question that will engage the attention of the Congress leaders will be: Can the movement of civil disobedience be revived or rather revitalised in the existing circumstances? Outsiders of course must refrain from answering the question, but these have a right to ask to what purpose it is to be revived if it be possible to do so. The original movement of last year had a specific limited objective, which in the altered circumstances can no longer remain its objective. The ordinances against which it was directed as a protest are not now in force, their place being taken by acts passed by the legislatures. Is the movement to be continued (assuming it is revived) till these acts are repealed? Or is it now to have a new objective, viz., the attainment of swaraj, and to be continued till this objective is reached? In neither case will there be any justification, as it appears to us, for starting a movement now. Congressmen will probably ask those who offer such advice whether the Round Table Conferences have succeeded. It has to be admitted that these Conferences have failed miserably and it is no longer open to us to suggest to the Congress, as we did quite a short while ago, that it should take part in the remaining stages of the constitutional discussions. It is reported that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and those who work with him are so disgusted with the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee that they are thinking now of throwing up their hands and coming away. When such a confirmed optimist as Sir Tej gives up hope the prospect is gloomy indeed. Nor can one be certain in the prevailing circumstances that the progressive section of our politicians will necessarily accept the reforms that will eventually be enacted. That matter will have to be decided on its merits when the proper time for it arrives.

But it must not be assumed that the only alternative to the calling off of civil disobedience is meek acquiescence in whatever constitution is offered to us, or conversely that the necessary logical corollary to our expression of grave dissatisfaction is the resumption of civil disobedience. It would mean that civil disobedience was the only resource available to men who are discontented with their present lot. Such a proposition would obviously be untrue. We would therefore humbly suggest to the Congress leaders that they should first formally withdraw the movement for the simple reason that the purpose for which it was at first started is no longer capable of achievement in the present circumstances, and then they should consider, as a separate issue, what measures are demanded by the political situation as it exists in the country. They should lay aside their weapon now, of course reserving to themselves the freedom of flourishing it again as circumstances may dictate.

But one thing they must not do; they must not keep the movement alive in such a form that, without causing any serious embarrassment to Government it would only give them a handle to continue repression. If, e.g., mass civil disobedience is now given up, as unpractical and individual civil disobedience substituted for it just to show the Congress resentment against Government policy, it will only have this undesirable effect. There is everything to be said in favour of bringing the movement to an end; perhaps much can be urged in favour of carrying on the movement vigorously; but we can imagine nothing, whatever that can be said in favour of letting the movement drag along inanelly as at present.

INDIAN REPATRIATES.

FROM the Report of the working of the Indian Emigration Act for 1932 recently published, it appears that there has been a phenomenal increase in the volume of repatriation of Indian labourers from Ceylon, Malaya and South Africa. The number of emigrants repatriated or assisted to return from Ceylon was 14,698, and from Malaya 57,527 and from South Africa 2,478. Compared with Malaya and Ceylon, the repatriation from South Africa seems a minor affair, not worth bothering about. If India must and does receive back over 72,000 Indians from Ceylon and Malaya, she can very well tolerate 2,500 from South Africa. If the objection to the last is that the emigrants are assisted by the offer of bonus, in addition to passage, the same should apply to Malaya also where a similar system obtains. More so since the bonus is much smaller in Malaya than in South Africa, being only Rs. 10 each, while, in the case of South Africa it is £20 per adult. In this respect South Africa, if anything is more generous than Malaya. If economic depression and the consequent unemployment justify assisted emigration to India from Ceylon and Malaya, it must in the case of South Africa also, though it may be very well be maintained that it is most unfair to exploit the labour of Indians in order to build up the prosperity of the Colonies and persuade them to leave them when adversity faces them. A country which owes its prosperity to Indian labour must in ordinary decency and fairness support them in adverse circumstances and not dump them back in India. In this respect South Africa is not the only offender. According to the Annual Report on the economic and social progress of the people of the Federated Malaya States for 1932 issued by the Chief Secretary to the Government of the Federated Malaya States, it appears that all the labourers working on estates which could not afford the reduced minimum wage fixed by the Indian Emigration Committee were mustered together and informed that, if they so desired, they would be repatriated to India, and that on the whole the scheme achieved its purpose.

Notwithstanding this similarity of policy in South Africa and Ceylon and Malaya, the feeling in India against repatriation or assisted emigration

from South Africa is immensely greater than from other Colonies. The cause of emigration from the former is not and need not be economic. As the Special Officer in Madras officially admits, Indian unemployment in Natal was swelled by the deliberate policy of the South African Government of displacing Indian labour by Dutch labour. Even this racial discrimination, however reprehensible, is not confined to South Africa. The same cry is heard from Kenya and from Malaya. Bitter complaints have been made that in effecting retrenchment consequent on economic depression, Indians as such have been unfairly sacrificed. As recently as the 26th June last, the Hon. S. Veeraswamy moved the adjournment of the Federal Council in Malaya to discuss his allegation that the Government's policy of retrenchment was unfairly directed against non-Malays.

What adds to the resentment of India against the policy in South Africa is that most of the assisted emigrants from South Africa were born in South Africa, have their homes in that country and are strangers to India. They are not seasonal emigrants with their roots in India. Their standard of life is far different from that obtaining in India. The

climate of India is decidedly unfavourable to them. But, more than all, there is a most bitter sting in the assisted emigration scheme from South Africa. It is based on the proposition that the Indian is an undesirable in that land and must be persuaded to get out. There is no right of free entry for Indians into that country, nor have they political rights. They are just "helots" in that Dominion. The returned emigrants from Malaya or Ceylon are free to go to these Colonies again and when they wish. But that is practically impossible in the case of South Africa. As the Special Officer in Madras stated in his Report, many repatriates from South Africa would gladly return to the Dominion, but they were unable to do so for want of money to refund the bonus they had received from the South African Government, which spent nearly Rs. 5 lakhs during the year on that account. Even if they could find the money, they would be defeating the purpose of the policy if they returned to South Africa in any numbers. Repatriation from South Africa stands on a far different footing from that from other countries. Its motive is not economic but political and racial.

POLITICAL STABILIZATION.

YOU wish to bring us in as a conservative force, so that we may lend stability to the constitution.

"Very well, we are willing to play that rôle; but if we are to be effective as a check upon emotional radicalism which may possibly raise its head in British India, you must strengthen our position still further. (Thus say the Indian States in effect to the British Government in the memorandum of the Chamber of Princes to the Select Committee.) It is true that you have given us weightage in both houses of the legislature; that our representatives will be our own nominees; that this nomination will never give place to election except when we ourselves so desire; and that, in fact, no constitutional amendment can take place without our free consent. It is a great thing to have got British Indians to agree to all this without demur. We do not dispute it for a moment. But that is not enough. We cannot make the contribution that is expected of us unless something more is done in the same direction. We shall tell you what.

You probably think that since we can appoint as many as 100 members in the upper chamber and 150 in the lower, the federal legislature will be sufficiently loaded with a conservative element, and that nothing else need be done to secure that moderate policies will always be pursued and that existing institutions will not be challenged. When you repose so much confidence in us it does not seem meet for us to express doubts. But see what, for instance, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has been saying. He says, no doubt with a view to silencing his critics, that although all or most of the States' representatives will be selected by autocratic governments, they will go into the legislature with differing mandates and will therefore very likely find themselves in different

lobbies. Their votes will thus cancel out, and the progressive politicians in British India will really be under no restraint. Nomination will not therefore seriously affect the democratic character of our Parliament. Sir Tej has been using this sort of argument to his brother politicians. To the extent to which he succeeds thereby in persuading British Indians to accept nomination, he is doing a useful service. But let us take a hint from his mode of reasoning and improve upon the arrangements now proposed so that we shall be enabled to organise our strength better. Why not let some of us enter the federation, not as separate entities, but as a single unit? We shall then have 'to pool the allocated quota of our seats together and select joint representatives,' who will then necessarily vote *en bloc*. It is possible that, if our forces are allowed to be scattered, they will perchance be overpowered by the progressive elements from British India; but if we can offer a united front, radicalism or progressivism will have little chance. We therefore ask that our constitution should not prevent, as other federal constitutions do, some of the component parts forming one block and acting together as a disciplined force. It is only thus that we shall be able to pull our full weight in the legislature.

There is another safeguard that must be introduced in the interest of conservatism. You have provided a second chamber, it is true, and it has a great stabilising influence; but you have considerably reduced this influence by making it subordinate to the lower chamber. Our Senate ought to have the same powers as our House of Assembly, and in particular, it must have the power of voting supplies. It is really the house which has this power which controls the government, and the White Paper

by withholding it from the Senate where our strength will be mainly concentrated, practically places us under the heels of the popular representatives. Let us say precisely what the White Paper does in this connection. If the lower house rejects or reduces a demand for grant, then only will the upper house be called upon to vote on it, and even then only at the discretion of Government. We cannot allow our power to be so circumscribed. The Senate must be free to vote upon all demands for grant, and even to reject or reduce a demand which the popular house from shortsightedness or inexperience may have passed. The provision about the joint session, which is to be convened for the purpose of resolving differences between the two chambers, must also be altered. A simple majority of the members who happen to be present at a joint session is all that is required by the White Paper to determine the fate of a bill or a demand for grant. But we think that a special majority should be required for this purpose. Without such a provision the constitution will always be unstable. One further point must be emphasised. Votes of non-confidence in the Ministry must be passed in both houses of the legislature, and, in the case of a difference of opinion in the joint session by a special majority, for the Ministry to be turned out. The executive ought to be made responsible to both houses. Nothing will give to a conservative Ministry stability such as you and we desire as a provision to this effect.

Then our numerical strength must be increased in the beginning. For, according to the declaration of Sir Samuel Hoare, federation may be inaugurated even if only States comprising half the population of India come into it. Our representation may in that event be halved, but British Indian representation will be full. Even at our maximum strength, we shall be in a permanent minority in both chambers; but if, while the States are still coming in by accretion, our strength is reduced, we may be swamped altogether and may find ourselves wholly unequal to the task which you have assigned to us of checkmating the British Indian politicians. We would therefore insist upon your giving us our full quota of seats, whatever be the number of States that have joined the federation. Such a provision would be to the advantage of every one of us. It is obviously to your advantage, it is equally obviously to our advantage; but it is no less to the advantage of the country as a whole, for it alone can produce the balanced constitution that is desirable. In the absence of it democracy may run riot. But it is an advantage in another respect. You need not then hold up the formation of federation till a certain percentage of States come in. You know that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others want you to establish federation even if one or two States declare their intention to join it. It will be possible for you to meet their wishes if you fall in with our suggestion. What does it matter if our places are vacant, provided our maximum votes are still at your service? You will thus satisfy all parties concerned and do much to strengthen our influence in the early stages of the federation.

These are some of the most important safeguards that we require, in addition to those that you have already conceded. These safeguards are required in your interest as well as ours. But while you are free to deal in what way you think best with your own interests, we ought to make it plain that, so far as we are concerned, our entry into the federation depends upon the inclusion of these or other equivalent safeguards in the constitution. They are essential. Please understand that when we use the word 'essential' we mean what we say. British Indians too are sometimes found to say that unless the proposed constitution is modified in this, that or other things, they will not accept it. All they mean, however, is that they would very much like the amendments to be made. But their sense of the need of compromise is too keen to allow them even to think of rejection as a possible alternative if eventually the constitution that is enacted does not incorporate any of the amendments they consider to be vital—or even if the constitution is whittled away, for the matter of that. The conditions that we have mentioned, however, are an irreducible minimum that we would insist upon being fulfilled. They are the *sine qua non* of federation; they are conditions precedent to our entry into it. Even if you think a smaller degree of conservatism will do for your purposes, you must agree to our conditions if you wish us to enter the federation. And why should you not agree? Have we joined British Indian politicians in asking for any more powers of self-government than you have yourself chosen to outline in the White Paper? Our memorandum, you will observe, is silent on all these matters. It has not a word to say about them. It only seeks to ensure that the powers that you will give will be in safe hands.

OBSERVER.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, June 24.

THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

THIS week's proceedings in the Joint Select Committee have been of a distinctly more lively character. Hitherto there have been a long succession of witnesses and organisations representing various branches of the public services, who have arrogated to themselves the right and privilege of speaking on behalf of the entire body of their colleagues, Indian and British alike, and also of the subordinate Services manned as they are mainly by Indians. I have reason to know, and it has been so asserted in the Press, that a very considerable section of the British serving officers have not been converted on the text and substance of these representations and I am further in a position to state that evidence will be given by and on behalf of Indian serving officers, which will very considerably modify the views and opinions expressed in the memoranda already submitted. The deep resentment that is felt by the Indian delegation, States and British Indian alike, at allegations of Indian incompetence, inefficiency, incapacity, nepotism and favouritism,

reiterated ad nauseam, either in the memoranda or by witnesses speaking to the memoranda, or in certain sections of the anti-Indian Press is shared heartily by the Indian official witnesses. I am in a position to state that the atmosphere of colour prejudice and racial superiority and arrogance that has been created during the proceedings of the Committee, of which some members of the Committee, by reason of their known partisan affiliations and political associations, are believed or expected to be the mouth-pieces, has aroused in an important section of the delegation gravest doubts as to whether any useful purpose is to be served by their continued collaboration with the Committee after the completion of this immediate stage of the Committee's work. These doubts have been increased by the vigour with which a hostile section of the British Press, voicing the Churchillite and allied views, in a coarse and vulgar way, distorting statements out of their contexts, destroying the perspective beyond recognition, magnifying every hostile comment beyond its proportion and value, and throwing the limelight of publicity upon certain official witnesses such as Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose examination has still to be completed, whilst maintaining a sedulous silence on any matter that might redound to the credit of India or the capacity or qualification of Indians, has conducted a venomous, unscrupulous, and dangerous propaganda.

It is therefore highly probable that, within the next fortnight or so, important developments may happen calculated to throw a strong light upon the effects and consequences of the present procedure, and to focus Indian opinion thereon more correctly and clearly than it has hitherto been.

MR. SAOCHHIDANANDA SINHA'S EVIDENCE.

To some extent a wholesome corrective was given by Mr. Saohchidananda Sinha's memorandum to the delegates, presented to the Committee on Thursday last. Parenthetically Mr. Sinha's personal name appears to be a rook of offence to the entire Press, including *The Times*, and the varieties of misspelling it are many. Mr. Sinha's memorandum renders a very useful service, by forcing the Committee, as it has never before been obliged to do, to realise that Indian opinion is not interested fundamentally in the domestic quarrels of the Tory Party, or in the long, tortuous, and antiquated procedure of Parliament. On the contrary it is concerned with the following fundamental matters. Does Britain recognise the many authoritative declarations, assurances, and pledges made by or on her behalf to India regarding the final aim and purpose of British policy in India? If so, does she intend to implement them in the spirit as well as in the letter? If so, when and how? Mr. Sinha made it perfectly plain, by reference to resolutions of the Indian Central and Provincial Legislatures, that India does not regard the White Paper proposals that are the subject of savage attacks by the Tory rebels, as answering the first two questions affirmatively. He had no difficulty in warning the Committee of the effects on Indian public opinion, by drawing the Committee's attention to an important quotation directly bearing upon the subject, from the *Round Table*, and from a further statement by Sir Alfred Watson on Indian criticism of the inadequacy of the official proposals, to which the witness gave his strong support. He admitted that he himself had described the White Paper proposals as a political imposture, borrowing the language from Mr. Asquith on a well known historical occasion, and in reply to a probing question from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru he declared that by that he meant to convey that the "White Paper scheme proposes to confer self-government on India, but really, its substance is not self-government at all. It is a very limited power

hedged in all round with so many safeguards that it would be impossible for the people to have the real substance of self-government." Pointing to some of the many matters, in which under the proposed constitution, the people of India would be worse off than under the existing constitution, he declared emphatically that the view was widely held, even in Moderate political circles, that the present constitution would be preferable to the unamended proposals contained in the White Paper, and that large and substantial alterations and amendments of those proposals would alone satisfy reasonable men in India, and make them willing to work the new constitution. Mr. Jayakar, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Abdur Rahim, and other British Indian delegates had no difficulty in eliciting from this witness views of an important and valuable character in amplification of the points raised in his memorandum, and I have no doubt that this remarkable piece of work by Mr. Sinha will be regarded widely in India as a signal service rendered to the country, for which the nation's appreciation and gratitude are due to him. In India, at any rate where his status as a public man is well-known, his high character is admired and the representative character of the views that he has expressed will be understood, notwithstanding that he may not directly voice Congress opinion, there will be deep resentment at the attempt made in one quarter of the Committee to throw discredit upon him and to treat him as an unrepresentative person, whose views may be disregarded. It is significant of the gross ignorance of some of our most prominent public men as to the status, influence, and authority of well known Indian public men, that Lord Salisbury should have enquired whether Mr. Sinha is a member of the Indian Moderate Party. Perhaps he may have meant to imply that if these views of Mr. Sinha were those of the Moderates, what must be those of the extremists, with the possible intention of drawing the conclusion that in that case the situation was past praying for. Mr. Sinha was unable to give any official definition of a Moderate, but he replied affirmatively to a final caustic question from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru "Is it, or is it not, a fact that in India a person is a Moderate so long as he agrees with the Governor and the Government, and he becomes an Extremist the moment he differs from them?" I imagine that Sir Malcolm Hailey will not have been any too pleased at this question and answer.

THE COMING TORY MEETING.

It would not be surprising to find that Mr. Sinha's evidence, and the manner in which it was exploited and developed by some of the most prominent British Indian delegates have caused a tremendous sensation in Government circles, on the ground that it may have provided most valuable ammunition for the Churchillite party in their attack upon the White Paper proposals to be launched at next Thursday's conference of the Tory Party organisations, for which some eight hostile resolutions have been set down as against an inspired amendment expressing confidence in the National Government and approval of its policy in submitting the White Paper proposals to the Joint Select Committee. The argument will proceed, that if not even the Indian Moderates will support the White Paper as it is, what is the use of proceeding with it, and why should the Government break the Tory Party, destroy the National Government and abdicate its functions in India by forcing upon India a constitution that nobody wants? The answer of course would be: what is the use of doing even less, and how could that save the situation in India? It is therefore expected that Mr. Baldwin will get his vote of confidence without much diffi-

culty. The real danger will lie during the Parliamentary proceedings on the Government's Bill, which cannot really be discussed until next spring at the earliest when the non-voting members who have suspended judgment will be required to make up their minds. Probably the House of Commons will pass the Government measure, whilst it is generally supposed that the House of Lords will decide its action according to the size of the Tory vote in favour of the Bill in the Lower House.

A LIBEL KILLED.

A very deep debt of gratitude is due to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and to the three ex-Viceroy's, Lords Hardinge, Reading and Irwin for the effective manner in which together they have killed the general allegation that Indians are not to be trusted in high office or in important positions under the Crown because of their proneness to nepotism and family favouritism. A perusal of Sir Tej Bahadur's pungent and ruthless cross-examination of Sir Patrick Fagan will show to what depths some of these retired civilians will descend in order to colour the minds of the British people, and sow prejudice and hostility in their hearts at the expense of the honour and reputation of India's most distinguished sons. Sir Tej Bahadur's dignified and vigorous protest and his appeal for support from the three ex-Viceroy's present will, it may be hoped, have done something at least to relax the tension and reduce the estrangement that has for some time been growing between the two countries and certainly between the two groups participating in the present proceedings at the House of Lords. The generosity, amplitude and completeness, as well as the spontaneity of the response of these three ex-Viceroy's, whilst entirely expected, is most welcome and beyond all praise. They have paid a tribute to the honour and integrity of Indian public men holding high or important office that has long been lacking and whose public expression was never more strongly called for than now. It is to be hoped that as a result of yesterday's episode as great publicity will be given to this repudiation of a gross and undeserved libel as had been given in the Press to this and other equally serious libels upon Indian character and capacity.

Reviews.

RURAL CONDITIONS IN PUNJAB.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF GIJHI. By RAJ NARAIN and BRIJ NARAIN. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1932. 25cm. 313p. Rs. 4.

THIS is the economic survey of a small village in Rohtak District. There are 143 households and 844 persons in the village. They are mainly of Jat Khatri clan. This village is irrigated by a branch of Rajbah Jumna canal. 701 out of 1414 acres of the village land are being irrigated by the channel water, and Gijhi might be said to be typical of the villages of Rohtak District. The village is mainly agricultural and only six families are not concerned with farming. The soil of the village may be said to be fair though settlement officers over-estimate its productivity while the zamindars under-estimate it.

The branch canal gets water for ten days in a month, and the internal distribution is done by the zamindars themselves. There have been no cases of quarrel or litigation about the distribution of water. After the introduction of irrigation the rotation of crops has changed and zamindars now grow wheat, sugar-cane and other money crops. A detailed survey

of the rotation of kharif and rabi crops has been given in the book.

All the cultivable area of Gijhi is not owned by Gijhi-wallas. Only 707 acres are owned by them, and these own a few acres in the neighbouring villages also. The land is most unevenly distributed, and those with uneconomic holdings are more numerous than those with economic holdings. The fragmentation increases in geometrical progression. The craving to have a share in all their ancestral holdings however small, is the cause of such fragmentation. There has been no attempt at consolidation of holdings in the village. The smallest plot is about .06 acres and such plots are only a source of vexation to cultivators.

There are no occupancy tenants in the village. There are no occupancy tenants who secure the land only for one year and their number is increasing. Cash rents which were very popular formerly are now falling into disuse as the landlords want to share the profits of the high price of agricultural produce. There is a system of produce-sharing tenancy called *Betai* and this is becoming more and more popular. The tenants take no real interest in the land as they have no security of tenure. They do not adhere to any fixed rotation of cropping and they rarely manure the lands. Such cultivation does not get them the proper yield and they are the losers. The landlords are the only prosperous people in the village, and the tenants simply get on.

The zamindars do not seem to know anything about *Tacavi* and other Government loans for agricultural improvement. They are regular in paying their land revenue. The Settlement officers have been gradually increasing the assessment for the village and the assessment for Gijhi is now Rs. 2200. In addition it pays Rs. 339 as cesses and Rs. 4619 as occupancy rates.

The problem of indebtedness has been elaborately treated. The non-owners and the poor borrow more than the owners for food and other necessaries, but the zamindars borrow mainly for non-agricultural purposes — marriages and social festivities. The borrowers are mainly ignorant and do not know account-keeping. The usual rate of interest is one pice per rupee per month and interest is collected during the harvest season. Of late agricultural money-lenders are competing with Mahajans in this profitable trade. The rich zamindars who are well off are ever prepared to take land on mortgage.

The price of agricultural produce has been steadily increasing from the commencement of this century. With this the value of land has risen. The village may be said to be self-sufficient as the village Kamins, shoe-makers, weavers, dyers, carpenters, make all the things needed by the villagers. But now with the advent of civilisation other things are being bought from Rohtak or Delhi, and the pedlars also sell to villagers so many petty niceties.

This survey was carried out in 1925-26 and contains nothing about the sad plight of the agriculturist in the present economic depression. The investigator lived in the village and moved with them and gives us first-hand information. He has made use of Government records and gives us long extracts from them. The details, though of no interest to the general reader, provide enough material for a student of rural economics. One decided advantage this survey has over other surveys published by the Board is that in it is given a comparative study of two neighbouring villages, Bensuru Khurd and Bensuru Kalan. The maps, graphs, and the various tables are very helpful for a clear understanding of the book.

N. S. S.

SOCIAL SERVICE IN AMERICA.

SOCIAL WORK YEAR-BOOK, 1933. Ed. by FRED S. HALL. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1933. 25cm. 680p. \$4.00

THE Social Work Year Book is an American publication, of which the 1933 volume is the second issue. According to the preface, the intention of the compilers is not confined to the production of a mere Year Book accounting for recent legislative enactments or special developments in the work, nor is it limited to a survey of the field of social work proper, as the book attempts to cover social work and related activities, without defining the former. It is stated in the preface that in each article an attempt is made to size up a particular problem and to enumerate the counteracting agencies. It is also admitted that the volume as a whole is intended for the use of "those on the fringe of social work proper or just entering it." Specialisation in any form is, therefore, not aimed at.

The volume is divided into two parts—Topical Articles and Directory of Agencies. The first part, however, covers two-thirds of the book and the writer of each article attempts to delineate the problem and to outline the effort being made towards its solution. Each article is thus a statement of *what is* rather than *what should be*, and a sort of bibliography and cross references to other articles is attached.

In endeavouring to assess the value of this book, the overseas reader must recognise that it is primarily intended for American readers with some knowledge of social work in their own country. There can be no doubt but that such a handbook must be of real use for practical reference. The width of ground covered is stupendous and the picture of concentrated study and energetic output of effort in America in dealing with social problems brings home to readers in the Far East the crying need of more similar activities here. One or two particular details drawn from the Social Work Year Book may help to elucidate this point. It is stated that the system of probation is in force in every state except one in the United States and that no less than 34,922 persons were placed on probation within one year in the State of Massachusetts alone. Psychiatric Clinics for the mental treatment of children brought before the Juvenile Court started in America and already no less than 232 Child Guidance Clinics are in existence. Thirdly, in America an attempt is being made to lessen the evils of overlapping of relief work by the institution of Community Chests, Councils of Social Agency and Voluntary Aid. As a whole this Social Work Year Book provides stimulating reading as it presents a clear statement of action being taken on a wide scale to mitigate wide and far-reaching social problems.

The average reader, however, may feel that greater advantage might have been secured by compilation of articles on a different system. Subjects are dealt with alphabetically; each article deals with only one aspect of the whole; and cross references to other articles appear in bewildering multiplicity. Similarly, in the second part agencies are enumerated in alphabetical order, irrespective of subject and despite the meagre prefatory classifications of topical articles, the whole book suffers from the adoption of this system. As a case in point it should be noted that a student in the subject of Juvenile Delinquency would, in this book, have to wade through no less than 31 articles written by different people from different points of view. The bewildering use of cross references due to a mistaken degree of subdivision may be seen from the following:—Problem Children (see Behaviour Problems). Progressive

Education (see Education) Pre-parental Education, (see Education), Public Social Work (see Public Welfare Work) etc. A third defect of the system in use is what appears to be American rather than a standardised terminology. 'Parental Schools' are the name given for special schools for truant children; 'Disaster Relief' is the term given for one department of Red Cross work, 'Housing for Boys and Men' refers to the problem of hostel accommodation only. 'Reformatory Institutions' is a term used irrespectively for adults or children. No social worker can read this book without an inward petition that standardisation of social work terms may be effected in the near future.

Apart from defects in systematic arrangement it must be noted that the colossal task assigned to the compilers in producing a combined encyclopaedia and directory of social work, in its very width of view, tends to confuse the average reader. The very titles of some of the topical articles come as a shock to the system as it is difficult to account for their inclusion in what is a social work handbook. As an example the following should be noted in particular: Speech Disorders, Civil Liberty, Sailors, Marriage Laws, Chronic Diseases, Public Dance Halls, etc., etc. As a contrast to this seeming width of view it should be noted that, in the preface, care is taken to state that such subjects as temperance and prohibition (amongst others) have been purposely omitted as falling outside the scope of the review. Political feeling may be the cause of this omission which cannot fail to astonish any experienced social worker. Another glaring omission occurs in the field of Moral Welfare work, whether it is known under that name or under some other as Social Purity, Rescue or Vigilance work. One article is devoted to the study of Social Hygiene work and another to that of Venereal Diseases but, apart from these, no further space is allowed either for the exposition of the moral problems of today or a description of efforts being made to solve them.

Two other defects may be pointed out. The bibliography terminating each topical article is severely limited to the names of American books on each subject. The average social problem is not relegated to specific geographical limits and the study of foreign literature on kindred problems must be of value. Secondly, according to the intention stated in the preface, the book under review is a statement of *what is* rather than *what should be*. The result is, in certain cases, as in the article on prisons, a statement of many deep existing evils with the barest paucity of criticism, if any.

In conclusion, it is true to say that the Social Work Year Book is a tremendous undertaking and much credit must reflect on the committee of compilers. It must, however, be noted in addition that a narrower viewpoint and clearer systematisation would probably have produced a better work.

I. K. DAVIS.

ENGLISH CONSERVATIVE OUTLOOK.

WHITHER ENGLAND ? BY HUGH SELDON. (Peter Davies, London.) 1932. 20cm. 314p. 4/6.

"POLITICAL questions nowadays are so concerned with the foundations of our economic and social order that they have become a matter of life and death for the people of the country." Particularly at a time when serious and earnest efforts are being made to rescue the world from its present economic and social chaos, any publication which attempts to survey the present and discuss the future of a great political party is welcome. The Conservative Party in England has a glorious past of constructive work

and today it is challenged by another party with equally powerful ideas. It is therefore a matter of great concern to its members and interest to the rest to know what exactly the future of the party is going to be. Mr. Sellon's book gives the views of the present and future position and the function of the Conservative Party as a young Conservative sees it—"with all the elasticity of youth and the outlook of the age he lives in."

Since the close of the war the feeling in England has been that the public affairs are controlled by persons too old for the task. "Is it bankruptcy of statesmanship among the younger generation?" asked a correspondent once, referring to the fact that even in 1932 the direction of the national affairs should be almost entirely in the hands of those who were young in 1912. "It is doubtful", says the author, "whether our difficulties are likely to be solved until the young men and women have a greater say than now in the management of public affairs." This outlook of youth enhances the value of the book, which has been written in a most entertaining form—that of letters written to a number of correspondents in different walks of life.

In future, the English political party struggles are envisaged to be between Conservatism and Socialism. For "Liberalism as a live political force in the land is in any case finished with ... and it is probable that the future will see the majority of the Liberals transferring their allegiance to the Conservative Party thus bringing an infusion of new blood into it, while the Liberals of the Left Wing will by joining the Socialist Party create a new Socialist Right Wing." This struggle between Socialism and Conservatism is based upon fundamental issues and a compromise between the two views of life will not be tolerable. "The gulf between Conservative and Socialist thought is profound and upon the issue of the political struggles in this country may well depend the whole future evolution of social and political thought in Europe."

It is, therefore, not surprising that the views expressed in the book, though clear and unequivocal, are controversial and one-sided. The letters cover a number of diverse subjects and throughout one feels the throb of intense national patriotism, even at the cost of compromising England's international responsibility and position. The contrast becomes more glaring when we read the following in the light of some of the public expressions in recent years:

"Is it really probable that disarmament would help the nation economically? Would it not produce much industrial dislocation and unemployment? The insistence by America on European disarmament is quite understandable, for she hopes that money saved on armaments would be sent to her in the form of war debts." (p. 233)

"However much we hope that the nations may be able to avoid war in the future, it would be criminal folly for England to neglect the up-keep of her armaments." (p. 280)

"The excessive political nationalism of the post-war world has had its reflection in an economic nationalism. So intense are national jealousy and the fear and suspicion of one for another that each nation aims at becoming as economically self-sufficient as is possible and yet, at the same time hopes to enjoy a market in other countries... Nevertheless, while I believe that an unrestricted policy of protection is suicidal, it is clear to me that a policy of moderate protection for England has become essential." (p. 123)

May not other people also claim similar patriotic motives while trying to secure their national interests? In which case, whither, world?

While trying to establish the national ideal according to his view, the individualistic point of

view of the Conservative is carried to mediaeval limits of domination, superiority, and exploitation. Let the author speak:

"Any industrialising of the Colonies will further increase the competition from which England suffers." (p. 294)

"As far as the future of the Indian Empire is concerned one thing can be said with certainty. It should be the duty of any and every Government that may rule England to make clear in unmistakable language that England will never under any circumstances allow India to leave the Empire." (p. 295)

"The French colonial policy", (i.e. holding to the native of the French Empire the prospect of attaining complete French citizenship if he is able to assimilate French civilization) should not be adopted by England, ... for the feeling of race superiority is too strong in all of us." (p. 293)

These seem terrible particularly to those who consider progress to be in the direction of international peace and concord. England has lessons to guide her in her own history and yet she always refuses to learn. Her vanity, fear, distrust, intolerance and consequent desire to strengthen her national security confound the spiritual internationalists. But to the young Conservative everything is so natural. "The British diplomatic method has usually been one of opportunism and so long as the balance of power was maintained in Europe, all means to that end were acceptable, whether or not they appeared to be consistent with the means adopted by past generations."

Setting about in this spirit to find out righteous and just solutions to the numerous international problems spells despair. To the young Conservative, a National Government

".....Ought to steer
A lovely course from all world's currents clear.

* * *
A National Government, in short, should scout
All seeds of war—until the war break out".

(Mac Flecknoe.)

S. GOPALASWAMY.

INTERNATIONAL SOUL OF MANKIND.

THE FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. By S. H. BAILEY. (Longmans, London.) 1932. 17cm. 92p. 1/.

POSSESSING class interests of an international character, the worker more than any body else has need to know the nature of international sense that there is among men. With a perfect understanding of the socio-political impulses of man, Mr. Bailey analyses, for the instruction of the worker, the international soul of mankind as it makes itself felt to-day. The laws of international life, be they written and unwritten, are the outcome of man's international intercourse and "the pacts, alliances, partitionings and wars" bear testimony to the existence of inviolable principles of conduct to which the States conform in their dealings with one another. The unwritten laws embody international experience in the realm of commerce and art. The orthodox view which held sway before the birth of democracy was that the State was the custodian of the security of the people from foreign aggression. The average man composing the State distrusted all extension of his love beyond his frontier where there dwelt the robber of his peace. With his cultural and industrial awakening, his attitude towards the neighbouring State took a charitable turn as a result of the formation or appreciation of intellectual and economic affinities. Strangely enough, as Mr. Bailey explains, man's in-

international amours began in war. It was on the battlefield and nowhere else that two States met and exchanged harsh courtesies. On account of such unpleasant contacts, international relationship came to be associated with war or absence of war. The prevalence of immoral international transactions such as traffic in women and sale of liquor further increased the difficulties in the way of honourable good relations. A healthy conception of man's membership of an international society which is as yet imperfect began with "the retreat of illiteracy and the advance of social freedom coupled with the enjoyment of the means of cheaper and safer communications." The impact of democratic influences in political life untied the apron-strings that bound the citizen too closely to the State and released him for embarking upon a useful international career. In all departments of international life which affected him primarily, he took an active interest and the State itself under his democratic direction intervened to improve his commercial prospects. Apart from trade agreements and cultural ties, the nationals of one country felt the discomfort of conflicting standards of technical appliances employed by different countries and so by scientific and trade necessity they conformed to international requirements. More than the ordinary individual, the members of particular vocations or a coloured community sought international affiliation and to-day, as Mr. Bailey fails to notice, the class consciousness of both labour and capital pervades the world. In the political sphere diplomacy was the first peaceful international gesture that one State made towards another and though the diplomatic offices still persist other ways of political intercourse are in greater favour. Ministers of different countries now exchange visits in the interests of goodwill and international co-operation of governments of our time is a fact sanctified by contract. The League of Nations, which represents the international machinery designed to save civilisation from digging its own grave, exerts its influence to make war impossible in the world more effectively than it has been possible for the Hague to do and it takes active measures besides to safeguard the health and morality of the world. So beneficial an institution needs greater resources of power to enable it to enforce "the rule of the law." Not unless it possesses a legislature and a constabulary of its own to legislate for the States and to keep the peace between them will disarmament of the world be a reality. But such concession of power to what in effect will be an international government presupposes a high degree of cultural development in the States such as will rest content with "collective guarantees of security" and with "renunciation by the State of ultimate authority over the direction of those functions which it can no longer perform in isolation . . . Social development in many of the so-called backward parts of the world may have to advance a considerable way before a consciousness of community is at all possible for the great bulk of India's or China's peoples". In any event, "in the material environment of the modern world independent national action can no longer create security of life or livelihood. The instruments both of modern war and of production, exchange and distribution defy isolated national attempts to control them. In this new world then, the individual can only turn to a corporate international society for the safeguarding of his right to life . . . The foundations of existence and the freedom to pursue the good life in the future, it is held, can only be found in the international society".

Not only the workers but others as well will be incalculably the wiser for reading this useful publication. Where ignorance of the international

contents of life will cause ill-health, a due recognition of them will hasten the advent of universal brotherhood.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE WORLD OF MAN. Ed. by L. J. CHENEY. (Cambridge University Press.) 1933. 21cm. 313p. 7/6.

TILL very recently, every schoolboy knew what history meant. Primarily it was a lesson which began somewhat in this way—Julius Caesar lands in Britain B. C. 55; Romans leave Britain A. D. 410; if you knew your dates, you "went up one"; if you did not, you suffered the indignity of tasks and impositions.

One also learnt another lesson called French, and there one found that "histoire" meant a story as well. It seemed far out from "Once upon a time . . . and they lived happily ever after" to "Julius Caesar lands in Britain." One was certain, however, that the two things were in different categories, one pertaining essentially to the school room and being inextricably associated with tasks and marks, the other being a form of entertainment of a more private character.

Now things are changing. The young student is being attracted to history by more human and sensible means than the dull memorising of meaningless dates. It has at length been realised by teachers albeit slowly, that history is a story of ideas, of the inter-actions of thoughts and feelings and their resultants, as expressed in modes of actuality. The historian concerns himself essentially with estimating the force and direction of those resultants, with recreating the living body of the past from the skeleton of facts just as the expert can rebuild the mastadon from a single bone. "Time which antiquates antiquities and relegates the greatest works of man to the limbo of oblivion has no power over the most ethereal of them all—his thoughts." It is to present this truer aspect of the subject that Mr. Cheney has compiled this book, and the result of his labours has been successfully to approximate the two meanings of the word "histoire".

"History", said Carlyle, "is the essence of innumerable biographies," and this great truth has been well illustrated by Mr. Cheney in this his eclectic and representative selection from the works of the greatest English and classic historians. The titles to the different major section of the book are a good index to the author's methods; "cities of men," "war and peace," "the works of man," "principalities and powers." Here are expressed the feelings and thoughts of men of all ages, their manners, their customs, their achievements and the spirit of their times. Here we have a record of the transient and transcendental, together with comments thereon by the greatest minds of the world culled by an expert with great width of reading and depth of knowledge.

The book should be marked, learned and inwardly digested indeed, not as a meal but as an appetiser. It is one of those valuable books which form an admirable basis for increasing one's knowledge about things that have mattered and will matter so long as there is an intelligent humanity to appreciate them.

A. MENDELOFF.

INDIANS OVERSEAS. By LANKA SUNDARAM.
(Natesan, Madras.) 18cm. 1933. R. 1-8-0.

IN this handy volume Dr. Lanka Sundaram gives an account of the rights, privileges and disabilities of Indian settlers in the Colonies and Dominions of the British Commonwealth and other countries. At this transitional stage in the history of the Indian nation, it was necessary to awaken the interest of the country in its nationals abroad and to place facts and figures before educated Indians. This task, Dr. Lanka Sundaram has ably accomplished. There are ten chapters with a bibliography at the end of the book. They deal with the conditions of Indians in Ceylon, Malaya, West Indies, Fiji, Mauritius, Africa, etc. Referring to Indians in Ceylon, Dr. Lanka Sundaram states—

"Another defect in the Ceylon-Indian programme is the want of proper leadership. In the last elections four Indians contested the same constituency, while several other constituencies, where considerable numbers of Indians are concentrated, were completely neglected. This amounts to demonstrating the fact that potential Indian representation on the State Council has been voluntarily forfeited."

The learned author speaks from personal experience gained on the spot and it is to be hoped that Indian leaders in Ceylon will carefully overhaul their organisation.

Reference is also made to the immediate necessity of creating in the Central Government a Department of External Affairs. There is no doubt that the present arrangement by which the Department of Education, Health and Lands is responsible for safeguarding the interests of Indians abroad is not quite satisfactory. A separate Secretariat unhampered by other duties should be created without further delay.

It will not be out of place to note here that the League of Nations, so far as protecting the interests of Indians abroad is concerned, is a useless machinery. It is argued that it is a domestic problem of the British Commonwealth, and therefore it cannot be taken up and discussed by the Council of the League of Nations. The question of the treatment of the Jews by Germany was recently discussed by the League Council and it is difficult to understand why India cannot place before the League the Boer treatment of Indians in South Africa. Then again there is injustice perpetrated by the League of Nations itself on Indians in the mandated territories of South West Africa and New Guinea. Formerly these were German Colonies and there was no restriction on Indian immigration. Since the War, however, they have been under the South African and Australian mandates respectively and Indian immigration to these Colonies is now totally prohibited. Will the representative of the League of Nations in India elucidate the situation for the benefit of the Indian public?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram has exhaustively treated the subject in this useful book which deserves the careful study of all those who are interested in the welfare of Indians overseas.

S. A. WAIZ.

A STUDENT'S MANUAL OF BIRTH CONTROL.

By LILY C. BUTLER. (Noel Douglas, London.)
1933. 19cm. 39p. 1/6.

THIS little book admirably fulfils its purpose, which may be stated in the author's own words:—

"It is becoming more and more recognised that Birth Control is to be regarded as an important branch of medical science. Unfortunately there has been, and still is, very little instruction given to medical students in the medical schools, and the newly qualified practitioner soon meets with the question in private practice or in public health work and is unable to give any practical help to those patients seeking advice. There are many excellent text-books on contraception available, . . . but the over-worked medical student and the harassed practitioner have not time to go into details of every known method, . . . nor is it essential for them to do so. It is hoped that this small book will fill the gap."

Will medical practitioners take advantage of it? I know a doctor in Bombay who has a Maternity Hospital and objected to Whirling Spray Douches on the ground that they *might possibly* prevent conception! But of course there are doctors and doctors.

R. D. KARVE.

THE WORD OF THE CROSS TO HINDUS.

By EDGAR W. THOMPSON. (Epworth Press, London.) 1933. 23cm. 328p. 7/6.

THE author's purpose, method and conclusions may be stated in his own words:—

"Hinduism is one of the main religious systems of the Eastern world; it was the characteristic product of India, and it remains today the prevalent mode of thought and worship in the country. The Hindu represents one of the great types of the religious mind; and just as the crucified Jesus had something of infinite moment to say to the Jews as Jews, so he has something to say to Hindus as Hindus."

His methods in his words are:

"I hope that I shall be able to avoid that irritating method, as unscientific as it is ungenerous, which selects the worst in one religion and contrasts it with the best in another. If in anything which shall be said hereafter, I shall fall into superficial inaccuracy or into deeper untruth, so that I do injustice to the aim and spirit of any sect or school of Hinduism, I must ask not only for your forgiveness but for also your correction."

In his search for truth he warns his readers thus:

"Let us remind ourselves that it is with Jesus Christ we have to do, and not the western civilisation, nor even, primarily with a Christian Church and Its Missionary. The face and voice of Jesus, His words and His deeds are what we are to contemplate and consider here and now. So far as we have the mind of Christ we shall be careful to abstain from insult and injury from all corrupt persuasion and physical violence. Jesus believed with all His heart in the truth of His Gospel and no threat could restrain Him from the proclamation of it; but His method of teaching was the appeal to reason and conscience."

The Cross and its meaning to the world must be the thought of the moment if we could find the meaning of Mahatmaji's fast.

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