

# The Servant of India

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## Copies of the Week.

### Civil Disobedience Suspended.—

MAHATMA GANDHI carried everything before him at the meeting of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee at Patna. He met with some difficulty in other directions. But no difficulty whatever was encountered by him in suspending civil disobedience. Indeed he expressed surprise that there was not a soul to plead with him for the continuance of the civil resistance movement for any length of time. Only last year there were many who egged him on to it—Rajaji, Malaviyaji and others. Malaviyaji in fact promised to contribute 30,000 soldiers to the non-violent army. Now he too wants the army to be disbanded like everyone else. The only difficulty that Mahatma Gandhi had to face in getting his statement on this subject ratified consisted in the fact that Congressmen felt it embarrassing that they should all sneak away from the fight and Mahatma Gandhi alone left to carry on the fight single-handed. The Mahatma did not reproach them with one word for this general desertion of the cause, to which they had consecrated themselves in the sight of God and man, but the disgrace involved in it was apparent to all, and they proposed that civil disobedience should be stopped as much for Mahatma Gandhi as for themselves.

—Except for the Mahatma.

BUT the Mahatma stood to his guns. He said that all that Congressmen could do by suspending

the movement for every one including himself was that he would be unable to offer civil disobedience in the name of the Congress; but that no one had the right, and certainly no one had the power, of preventing him from taking the action in his own individual capacity. He regarded himself as unalterably committed to that course, and no one would be able to move him from his resolve. The Congress organisation therefore felt that there was no alternative but to except Mahatma Gandhi from the suspension of civil disobedience which had been procured for Congressmen in general. We may thus perhaps witness a rather incongruous spectacle next year of the dictator of the Congress being lodged in gaol and minor leaders occupying Ministers' positions in the provinces. Mahatma Gandhi's own position apparently is, as it is that of Malaviyaji, that civil resistance by one section of the Congress is compatible with parliamentary work by another section of the Congress. It will be compatible only if the parliamentary work is done in the spirit of consistent and persistent obstruction which actuated the Das-Nehru Swaraj party. In fact the party was driven to adopt this formula only because they were still in the Congress which was pledged to non-co-operation. But surely the Congress will cover itself with ridicule if the most eminent of its leaders calls the British Government satanic and feels that it is his religious duty to offer it civil resistance on every possible occasion and the other leaders give their co-operation and even become Ministers, possibly, as Mr. Abhyankar said, to sign a warrant of arrest for Mahatma Gandhi himself. Civil resistance and parliamentary activity of the normal type are clearly inconsistent with each other. The Congress can adopt one or the other. Either Mahatma Gandhi must give up civil disobedience or the parliamentary wing of the Congress must follow the policy of indiscriminate obstruction. We would of course ourselves like civil disobedience to be dropped by Gandhiji and normal parliamentary methods adopted by the Congress.

### Non-Official Europeans as Mr. Churchill's Allies.

THE non-official Europeans in this country are apparently determined to play the role of Mr. Churchill's allies in securing a considerable whittling down of the White Paper, if not at the hands of the Joint Select Committee, at those of Parliament itself. This in effect may be said to be the substance of Mr. Page's recent utterance in Calcutta. For their part they would prefer Bengal to be treated differentially in the matter of provincial autonomy by the reservation of law and order; but in view of Sir John Anderson's publicly expressed strong dislike of any such arrangement it seems very doubtful if the European community would be able to carry the day on this point. It is the realisation of the impossibility of such a demand being accepted that has made them press only for stiffer safeguards in regard to

that department than are provided in the White Paper. Naturally enough, Mr. Page was cautious in the use of his words; but his remarks leave one under the impression that the Europeans are fairly certain of the Joint Select Committee suggesting an arrangement which would greatly cripple the minister in charge of law and order in the discharge of his responsibility.

If by any chance these expectations should fail to be realised, Mr. Page took the opportunity to prepare the people of this country for vigorous propaganda in England on behalf of the European community with a view to ensuring such a deduction from provincial autonomy, at any rate for Bengal. But obviously there is no need for the European community to work itself into such a fury. For it is now fairly certain that the White Paper will not emerge unamended from the Joint Select Committee. Information from London is pointing to a definite hardening of British opinion against India so that a considerable restriction of the scope of provincial autonomy in general may be expected as a result of the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee.

Mr. Baldwin's recent speech promising a lead which will avoid a division in the Conservative party on the India issue is generally interpreted as presaging substantial concessions to diehards with a view to securing an easy passage of the India Bill through Parliament. It need hardly be pointed out that this will make the White Paper, for which no political party in India has a good word, still more unacceptable to Indians. But it is too much to expect the British Government as constituted at present to show any concern for the feelings of Indian nationalists when minority communities can be conveniently relied upon to work the new constitution, however reactionary and unprogressive, and when progressives out of sheer desperation can be relied upon to give their co-operation.

#### U. P. Situation in 1932-33.

BESIDES being as usual a record of different departmental activities during 1932-33 the U. P. administration report enables one to know what the official mind thinks of the Congress and other political organisations in the land. While the activities of the non-Congress organisations consisted mainly in passing resolutions about the reform proposals, the Congress alone possessed "a single policy and programme and an organisation with some effective hold over large numbers of its followers." In this connection it is of interest to note that out of the 930 delegates to the prohibited Calcutta session of the Congress last year nearly half, or 440 to be exact, were contributed by U. P. alone. No reference is made to the charges of rough handling levelled against the Calcutta police by some U. P. delegates beyond an attempt to question their veracity by their characterisation as "grossly exaggerated." In the eyes of the public this is hardly enough to establish the guiltlessness of the Calcutta police. An inquiry into the whole affair by a Committee as demanded by public opinion would have been the right thing to do, but the Government contented themselves with issuing a one-sided whitewashing reply to the non-official charges. At one time the idea of the prosecution of Pandit Malaviya, who took a prominent part in exposing the police misconduct, with a view to giving him an opportunity to substantiate his allegations seems to have been in the air. It would have met the needs of the situation if it had been translated into action. But though none of the charges have so far been withdrawn the official search after truth by means of such a judicial trial seems to be

as far as ever. In these circumstances how can anybody be blamed if he believed that the doings of the Bengal police in connection with the prohibition of the last Congress session were such that they could not have successfully stood the test of an inquiry by an impartial tribunal.

The part of the report summarising the public reactions to the constitutional proposals embodied in the White Paper should serve as an eye-opener to those in authority who want to delude themselves with the belief that the White Paper commands a large measure of support in India. Barring the pro-Government press which is bound to applaud anything bearing the Government stamp, there was no section of opinion which was wholeheartedly in favour of the Hoare reforms. And yet unless something most unexpected happens, the White Paper constitution promises to be enacted into law before very long! It is however some consolation, though a very poor one, that the strong opposition of the public to the services safeguards in the White Paper on the ground of their being a mockery of responsible government avowedly proposed to be set up in the province has been officially taken note of. Can it be pretended after all this that the Hoare constitution was not being foisted on this country despite popular opposition to it?

#### The Bombay Devadasi Bill.

THE devadasi bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council in its last session has emerged from the select committee in an improved form. It must be said however that the amendments for which the committee has made itself responsible are not of a substantial nature but relate only to details. The custom of dedicating young girls to the service of a deity, temple or religion virtually amounts to training them to a life of shame under the cloak of religion. This is generally looked upon as flagrant contravention of the trend of social thought at the present day and deserves to be stopped without delay. Thanks to the exertions of that well-known social servant, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Madras already boasts of an anti-devadasi law, which has largely served as an inspiration for the proposed measure in this presidency. As in Madras, the Bombay Bill seeks to invalidate any dedication ceremony, whether it takes place with or without the consent of the girl, and makes the participants in it liable to punishment. The select committee has done well in specifically excluding the unfortunate girl from such liability, which seems to be what had been contemplated all along. The fiction is sedulously maintained that a girl once wedded to a deity cannot afterwards marry anybody else. The bill lays the axe at the root by declaring any marriage contracted by a devadasi as being perfectly valid. In some cases, as is well known, lands are assigned to devadasis in consideration of the services they are expected to render to the temple or deity to which they are attached. With the abolition of the system of devadasis, power is proposed to be given to the Collector to release such lands, after proper inquiry, from such services and to assess them to land revenue to be paid by their holders. The cases of conscientious objectors among devadasis are however not overlooked. Thus if a devadasi holding any land as a remuneration for her services to a deity objects to its release, presumably on religious grounds, and therefore refuses to pay the land rent the Collector is bound to show deference to her scruples and susceptibilities. While there is everything to be said for a provision which prohibits action which may in the remotest degree have the appearance of religious

interference, it is to be hoped that every care will be taken to see that the exemption clause is not light-heartedly availed of.

\* \* \*

**Cochin during 1932-33.**

THE administration report of Cochin State for 1932-33 contains little that calls for criticism. The general awakening in favour of the depressed classes could not leave the State unaffected with the result that there was a quickening of public interest in the well-being of these unfortunate people. The year was characterised by the adoption by the State of special steps aimed at the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes. These included the creation of the post of a Labour Inspector to be in charge of their welfare. The activities of this department seem to be modelled largely on the lines of similar work undertaken in the neighbouring Madras province by the Labour Commissioner. It opened special colonies for depressed classes, organised co-operative societies for their economic improvement, secured land for cultivation by them and for the building of houses for them and looked after the interests of depressed class labour. There were 30 Harijan colonies at the end of the year and the expenditure incurred on them was nearly Rs. 16,000; while depressed class co-operative societies numbered 43 with a total membership of 1600. Attempts to inculcate in them a taste for education were as usual in progress with the result that the number of depressed classes' children in schools stood at about 8000, a number smaller by nearly 1800 than during the preceding year. It is noteworthy that 3 boys and 1 girl of these were receiving collegiate education and 1 boy was in the Sanskrit College. It may be stated that the total expenditure of the department for the year exceeded Rs. 90,000.

The educational statistics appended to the report fully bear out the claim made for Cochin about its being educationally one of the most advanced States. It is seen from these statistics that as many as 98.6 per cent. of boys and 68.7 per cent. girls of school age were actually at school during the year under report. Very few provinces, and still fewer States, can give such a satisfactory account of themselves and Cochin therefore deserves our heart-felt congratulations all the more on this extraordinary achievement. Out of the four communities, viz. Christian, Jew, Hindu and Muslim, the first two are educationally the most go-ahead, the last-named with its 62.6 per cent. boys and 25 per cent. girls of school-age in receipt of instruction being the most backward. According to the experience of the State authorities, night schools seem to have proved a failure owing to unsatisfactory attendance and improper management; and there was nothing for it but to close the inefficient ones among them. Thus we find that 29 out of the 40 that existed during the previous year were abolished, which caused a drop of nearly 1200 in their strength.

Though the educational progress achieved by the State evokes our genuine admiration, we are sorry we cannot say the same about its abkari policy. This is antediluvian and a blot on its otherwise progressive administration. The usual justification of abkari revenue being a financial necessity does not hold good in the case of Cochin, whose finances, it is satisfactory to note, are in a flourishing condition. If such a State does not yet see fit to adopt prohibition as its goal to be attained in a definite number of years, we do not know which can. It is to be hoped the Maharaja will find it possible to bring the abkari policy more into line with public sentiment.

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## Articles.

### CONGRESS POLITICS.

THE All-India Congress Committee has not sanctioned the revival of the Swaraj party but has instead decided to allow Congressmen, in supersession of the Congress resolution to the contrary, to fight elections and work in the legislatures under the control of a Parliamentary Board specially appointed for the purpose. This will be an advantage in one respect from the point of view of those who wished to resuscitate the Swaraj party, but a disadvantage in another. The Swaraj party will now be an integral part of the Congress and will have at its back all the prestige and all the influence that the long history of the Congress and the sufferings its leaders have undergone have earned for it. But the Swaraj party leaders will now have to work under the complete control of the Congress. If the party had a separate existence, it would have become possible for it to develop an independent policy of its own, and there is no doubt that some leaders of the party would have preferred to be in that position, being in the Congress and yet in all essentials free from its discipline. One thing is now certain, viz. that all chances of a merger between the Democratic Swaraj party in the Deccan and the Congress Swaraj party of Dr. Ansari have been destroyed; that is to say, there is no possibility of the Democratic Swaraj party disbanding itself and carrying on its parliamentary activities as part of the Congress. Because this party is above all anxious to maintain its independence in order that it should be free to pursue such policy in the Councils as would appear best to its members.

But it is somewhat strange that the A.I.C.C., while sanctioning Council entry for Congressmen, has not prescribed any definite programme which they are to follow in the legislatures. The Swaraj party had defined its attitude to the White Paper. The attitude was to be one of determined hostility to and wholesale rejection of the White Paper. Its constructive policy also was adumbrated in broad outlines. But the Congress will have no settled policy in respect of the White Paper, which is the one overshadowing problem which its members will have immediately to deal with in the Assembly and the country. When this omission was pointed out to Mahatma Gandhi, he said that the Congress attitude towards the White Paper was well-known. As a matter of fact it is not known at all. The kind of reforms that the Congress requires is known; they are embodied in Mahatma Gandhi's speeches at the R.T.C. But the question really is whether, when it finds that nothing more substantial than the White Paper reforms can be got out of the British Parliament, it will make it its aim to destroy these reforms or to accept them such as they are. On this point the Congress policy awaits definition. The Swaraj party candidates knew on what programme they were to seek a mandate of the electorate. In its case the programme was to be one of doing everything to

prevent the Hoare constitution from becoming effective. The Congress candidates will have no programme to place before the voters. They will have to say: Just return us to the Assembly first and then there will be time enough to think of what to do when we get there. This is unfair to the electorate. Will the Congress, like the Swaraj party, try to end the reforms altogether or will it make an effort first to mend them and if the effort is unsuccessful, settle down to use them? We would like it to follow the latter policy in the interest of the country and to reject the rejection policy.

The anomalous position which the Swaraj party took on the question of the communal award and the Indian States is not cleared up by the A.I.C.C. either. The Swaraj party would neither accept nor reject the communal award, though it had decided to reject the whole of the White Paper. Nor would it say whether it endorsed the Mahatma's policy of allowing the States' representatives to be appointed by nomination or whether it insisted upon election like the Liberal Federation. Both these matters it left over for decision by the Constituent Assembly. This would have been justifiable if the Constituent Assembly had been given a clean slate to write upon. But the Swaraj party, by accepting the views on reforms which Mahatma Gandhi propounded on behalf of the Congress at the R.T.C., left very little discretion to the Constituent Assembly. Does the Swaraj party want the Constituent Assembly to accept nomination by the Princes, as was done by the Mahatma, is a pertinent question that arose at Ranchi, but to it there was no reply. Similarly, Mahatma Gandhi, by having secured an amendment in the communal award in one particular, has by implication given his consent to other parts of the award. Does the Swaraj party too accept the communal award impliedly or does it reject it? To this also there was no answer. Nor do we know what the Congress will do about it. So far as we are concerned, we need hardly say that we would like it to accept both the communal award and princely nomination, for it is only if we do so that the road to any kind of constitutional reforms will become open. And although we do not at all like the Hoare constitution we would rather have it than go without it. On such important points the Congress policy ought to be placed beyond doubt, but we are afraid no occasion will arise for taking decisions on them till the Congress meets in October in Bombay.

### INDEPENDENCE.

IT would appear that now we can safely lay aside at least one of the many controversies that have caused divisions amongst nationalists in this country in recent years. "Dominion Status vs. Independence" is a question that need never have been raised, and being raised, it need not have caused so much acrimony as it did for some time. The question lost all its significance when Mahatma Gandhi at the R.T.C. interpreted Independence to mean exactly what Dominion Status has been universally acknowledged to mean. Dominion

Status of course signifies complete freedom, both in internal and external affairs, for every country on which Dominionhood has been conferred. In that respect a Dominion constitution is of no less calibre than the constitution of an independent State. In fact it may be that the so-called sovereign independent States may enjoy a lesser degree of self-government than the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Such instances will come readily to the reader's mind. From the point of view, therefore, of fullness of power, Dominion Status does not suffer in any way in comparison with Independence. Its inferiority, however, arises from the fact that every Dominion owns allegiance to the British Crown, and allegiance does involve, theoretically, the relationship of a subject nation to a sovereign nation. The actual incidence of such juridical inferiority may be nothing whatever; in fact it may enable a Dominion to receive many practical benefits which are denied to an independent country. Even so it has to be admitted that Dominion Status, considered in the abstract, falls short of the status implied in titular Independence.

When both Dominion Status and Independence were equally remote from practical politics it was obviously idle for us to discuss the question whether we should have one or the other. But the Congress raised it as a major issue of policy and made avowal of Independence as the country's goal part of its creed. By discarding Dominion Status and adopting Independence, it declared in effect that India cannot remain an integral part of the British Empire but that it must go out—not immediately perhaps, but eventually. On the desirability and necessity of secession, in order that India may reach her full stature as a nation, the Congress had no doubt whatever; the only matter for consideration was when secession would become practicable. These conclusions Mahatma Gandhi accepted as his own but, as he has done in several other matters, while professing faith in Independence, he promptly explained it away. At the R.T.C. in London he interpreted Independence for India to mean merely a power to go out of the Empire *if she so chose*. Now if rejection of Dominion Status in favour of Independence has any meaning at all, it is that India's desire to secede is no longer in question and that she will give effect to the desire the moment she has the power to do so. The power of secession, it is admitted on all hands, is implied in Dominion Status as well. Where Dominion Status differs from Independence is in this, that while the power of secession exists in countries possessed of either kind of status, it is actually exercised by an independent country, but is kept in reserve for possible future use in a Dominion. Mahatma Gandhi, by asking merely for potentiality and not for actuality of secession, and by representing that India may prefer in certain circumstances to remain within the Empire, converted the Congress goal of Independence into one of Dominion Status; and by agreeing to federate with Indian States, who are perpetually

to remain under the paramountcy of the British Crown, he virtually withdrew his claim both for Independence and Dominion Status. India can have no power of secession such as is implied even in Dominion Status, if one part of it is tied to the British Crown by treaty which cannot be unilaterally altered. Having bargained away our right to Dominion Status, it is obviously futile for Mahatma Gandhi any longer to raise the cry of Independence. It is only political blindness which leads the Congress to ask for Independence, while accepting what is clearly incompatible with it and with Dominion Status as well, viz. federation.

So far we have urged the Congress not to press for Independence and create unnecessary schisms in the ranks of nationalist politicians. But now we can ask non-Congress parties also not to boggle at the word Independence and make that a matter of controversy between themselves and the Congress. We are prompted to offer this advice, seeing what has recently happened in South Africa. In that country the Nationalist party led by General Hertzog and the South African party led by General Smuts fought fiercely on this question of Dominion Status vs. Independence for a number of years. General Smuts's position on this question was like that of the Liberals in India. Dominion Status amounts, in substance, to Independence, but, in juridical form, it can never be Independence. A Dominion, so long as it is a Dominion, cannot renounce allegiance to the British Crown, and such renunciation of allegiance is necessary for the attainment of the status of a sovereign independent country. After the Imperial Conference of 1926, which defined the constitutional position of Dominions, General Hertzog claimed that South Africa, like all other Dominions, "had been openly acknowledged as an independent free State" but, as General Hertzog himself admitted, the word Inde-

pendence was deliberately omitted from the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Conference as inapplicable to a Dominion. The objection that General Smuts took at the time was entirely valid, for, strictly speaking, Dominion Status is not Independence. Dominion Status is possible only within the Empire and Independence is possible only without. Still, General Smuts has recently agreed, in the interest of unity, not to take exception to the description of the South African Union's legal status as one of a sovereign independent State. The present Coalition Government, comprised of both Nationalist and South African parties, has now promoted a Bill defining South Africa's constitutional position in the light of the Statute of Westminster. This Bill describes the Union as a sovereign independent State in its preamble. General Smuts has now dropped his previous objection to the use of the word Independence in describing the Union's status and in fact now defends what he objected to before. The Statute of Westminster has placed South Africa on a footing of equality with Great Britain, and if Great Britain is a sovereign independent State, so is South Africa. This is his line of reasoning now. Sticklers for accuracy of language may still object to Dominions being described as independent countries, but General Smuts recognised how unprofitable it was to be carrying on a controversy over a matter of mere phraseology and no substance. Non-Congress parties in India may do likewise, and if the Congress insists upon calling Dominion Status Independence they may agree to it without much searching of heart. If an all-India federation is brought about neither Dominion Status in its full significance nor Independence will be possible in this country. It is then no use our quarrelling as to which of the two inaccurate expressions we shall use in defining the goal of our political ambitions.

OBSERVER.

## ANGUL AND ITS LESSON.

ANGUL is a non-regulated district of the province of Orissa and consists of two sub-divisions, Angul proper and the Khond Mahals, the latter being a purely aboriginal area. Angul came into British possession in 1848, as a result of "a long career of disobedience, mismanagement and oppression" on the part of the Raja of Angul. The Khonds, a primitive tribe, were for a long time past given to practising human sacrifice known as 'Meria' and the area was, on that account, annexed by the British in 1855, seven years after Angul. The two areas are separated from each other and divided by a wedge of the State of Baud, the distance between the chief town of each being as great as 90 miles. The total population of both the sub-divisions is a little less than two lakhs and a quarter. The country is hilly and ever green even in the hot season and very beautiful. It has not been fully developed on account of the sparseness of population and want of means of communication. The recent construction of the

railway to Talcher coal-fields has brought Angul within 15 miles of the railway and the Khond Mahals is still about 100 miles off the railway, but the country has recently been opened up by motor buses.

### AUTOCRACY IN EXCELSIS.

This much with regard to the description of the country, its history and geography. But, politically speaking, it must be said that its administration is in an ante-diluvian state. It is governed by an autocratic Deputy Commissioner, who is guided by a special regulation called the "Angul Laws District Regulation of 1894" modified as Act III of 1913, and framed on the lines of the laws prevalent in the more autocratic Orissa States. This law enacts that "any court in the District may construe any enactment in British India with such alteration, not affecting the substance thereof, as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court." As if this was not enough, it is further provided that "no finding, sentence, judgment or order of any Court shall

be reversed, set aside or modified on appeal, revision or otherwise, by reason of any irregularity in procedure, unless such irregularity has, in the opinion of the Court, caused a failure of justice." No appeal lies from the Deputy Commissioner to the High Court of Bihar and Orissa at Patna, but to the Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatory States up to March 1933 and thereafter to the Commissioner of Orissa Division. The Executive combines the functions of the Judiciary, the Revenue Courts and the Criminal Courts as well. In addition to these, it is laid down that the "Local Government may make rules to prohibit, restrict or regulate the appearance of legal practitioners in cases arising in the District." In the daily administration of the district any visitor may be disallowed admission and any house-owner may be prohibited, without showing any reason, from receiving as guest any person from outside.

#### UNWELCOME VISITOR—GANDHI.

Recently the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Angul and the event of a house-owner of Angul being prohibited from quartering him, even for a few hours, has been a glaring instance of the supreme autocracy of the Executive. This fact has been an eye-opener to the country. The powers arbitrarily placed in the Deputy Commissioner have been exercised to the full by him and he has thus prevented the most respected citizen of India and a world figure from residing for a few hours in a house offered to him in the town of Angul, and that too without showing any reason whatsoever. It was very well known to the whole country, including the Deputy Commissioner, that Mahatmaji was out on a campaign against untouchability, and on no political mission whatsoever. It must be considered a stroke of good luck that Mahatmaji was not prohibited from entering the Angul district, or asked to leave the district having once entered it.

So far as one can judge, there seems to be no desire on the part of the Government to bring the district under ordinary rule. Both Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms did nothing to lessen its original autocracy.

#### WORSE FUTURE.

But what is far worse than the present state of things is that even in the 1933 proposals for constitutional reforms, unsatisfactory as these are, there is not the ghost of a chance for such areas coming into their own for a long time to come. Sec. 106 of the reforms proposals lays down that "His Majesty will be empowered to direct by Order in Council that any area within a province is to be 'excluded area' or 'partially excluded area' and by subsequent Orders in Council to revoke or vary any such Order." Thus it lies within the discretion of His Majesty by an Order in Council to create many more Anguls than at present. At present Angul is fully excluded from the operations of the ordinary constitution. Further under sec. 108 the Governor will be empowered, at his discretion, to make regulations for peace and good government of any excluded area and will be competent by any regulation so made, to repeal or amend any act of the

Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature which will be applicable to the area in question. Thus the Governor can supersede any Act of the Legislature at his sweet will without assigning any reason or without allowing any question in Council to be asked. In other words, he can arrogate to himself the powers not vested even in His Majesty in Council and may act as a most irresponsible potentate.

Sec. 109 of the proposals is even still more dangerous. It contains a provision prohibiting the discussion in the provincial legislature of, or the asking of questions on, any matter arising out of the administration of an excluded area. Thus if a crowd is fired upon by the police in any part of Angul, or if any massacre, like the Jallianwalla Bagh, takes place in Angul, say, in the year 1950, even the asking of questions about the event will be prohibited in the Orissa Council or the All-India Assembly. In short, the whole chapter in the White Paper on Excluded Areas consisting of four clauses from 106 to 109 is pregnant with forebodings for the aboriginal tribes of India, who number as many as 25 million people, and who inhabit such wholly or partially excluded areas. The Santhals of Chhota Nagpur, the Gonds of the Central Provinces and the various tribes of the hills bordering the Brahmaputra Valley are probably for ever to be kept in non-regulated areas under the direct administration of the Governors, and to be kept absolutely unaffected by a democratic constitution.

Thus for all we know these backward tribes may be shunted off for the next half a century or a century from civilised government. If such is the meaning of the section, can there be any greater injustice to posterity than this?

A. V. THAKKAR.

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## Our London Letter.

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( BY AIR MAIL )

( From Our Correspondent. )

LONDON, May 4.

#### THE REFORMS.

IT seems pretty clear that one of the most difficult things will be for British public men to take a long view of Indian constitutional reform, and to realise that nothing less than a substantial advance upon the present official proposals will induce Indian politicians of virtually all schools to look upon the new Indian constitution with a friendly eye. Lord Lloyd and his friends are pointing to the fact that the existing proposals have received in their present shape no vocal support in any representative quarter in India as being a justification for rejecting the White Paper, and going back to the Simon Report, minus Law and Order. It has been pointed out by competent critics in the Press that the Churchill-Lloyd combine and the progressive Indian opposition have no common ground. Unfortunately the general tendency among British people is to take a middle road between two contrary points of view.

The probable date of the Report of the Joint Select Committee seems to be gradually receding and the latest indication that I have received is that the Report will be issued only after Parliament has risen for the summer recess. This will be both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand it will give an opportunity here for quiet consideration of the Committee's recommendations, and will avoid an immediate raging tearing propaganda throughout the country. On the other hand, however, it will considerably curtail the time in which the Government will be able to launch effective and powerful counter-propaganda, so as, at least in part, to undo the mischief already created by the diehards, and in time to deal with the situation that may develop at the Annual Conservative Conference in October. The Government's real problem is not so much how to conciliate diehard opposition, and it is very improbable that they will make the attempt to conciliate them so as to prevent a landslide among the moderate members of the Party. In order to prevent this they may feel compelled, upon a consideration of the Committee's Report, to throw a sop or two to Cerberus.

As to the Committee of Privileges, it has now taken all its evidence and has already begun drafting its Report, which it is expected to present to the House, before the Whitsun recess. It is, however, unlikely that the Report will be discussed until the House resumes. I am still strongly inclined to doubt whether Mr. Churchill will have been able to produce more than a storm in the teacup.

#### THE ATTACK ON SIR JOHN ANDERSON.

Every one here breathed a sigh of relief when it became known that the criminal attack upon the life of the Governor of Bengal had failed. Had it been otherwise and events had taken a different shape, this act of folly on the part of a few misguided youths, surcharged with ill-directed emotion, might well have been a turning point in the history of India. For it would have undoubtedly played straight into the hands of all the reactionary, unsympathetic, and unimaginative elements here. Naturally the episode has provided in the minds of most people the complete justification for the maintenance, and even possibly the strengthening, of the repressive legislation in Bengal, and the refusal in official quarters to consider the release of the detenus. The one bright spot in the whole affair, apart from its complete failure, is the unanimous reprobation in Bengal Congress quarters of the attack upon the life of a Governor whose good intentions are generally recognised, and whose efforts to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the Province have already created in the public mind the impression of a man sincerely and energetically anxious to probe into the real causes of political unrest and political excess, and to try to find in non-political activity a remedy for a condition that is to so large an extent itself non-political in character. It says a great deal for Sir John Anderson that in the short time since his arrival in India he has been able entirely to live down the prejudice that attached to him when an announcement of his appointment to the Governorship was first made.

#### GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR.

The news that Gandhiji has decided to carry on in future his Harijan campaign on foot has not come altogether as a surprise to those in more intimate contact with him in this country, and who are familiar by long association with his mental and spiritual processes. Already private correspondence had made them aware that his mind was not at ease in regard to his rapid methods of progression from place to place, with its attendant inconveniences and dangers, and with the doubts that lingered with him

that by the use of the motor car, notwithstanding the familiarising of the Indian villagers of to-day with motor transport, he was maintaining a barrier between himself and those whom he hoped to persuade and also that he was merely touching upon the fringe of the problem. The example of Buddha has, to the knowledge of the present writer, been for many years before Gandhiji's mind, and his aversion to mechanical transport and many of the other aids to and association of modern civilization has undergone no real change since his first condemnation of them a quarter of a century ago in "Hind Swaraj," as the *Manchester Guardian* rightly points out in an editorial this week. Moreover it seems clear that the two recent events in the tour involving him in grave personal danger, and in one case at least, in estrangement from Sanatanist opponents, made a very powerful impression on his imagination. He has always had a strong sense of the dramatic and his greatest strength has always lain in his adoption of some simple and direct method of expressing the conviction lying within him. The immediate consequences of his latest decision are somewhat incalculable, and it is perhaps too early to estimate them, but whilst it may well be that his Harijan work will be rendered the more intense, personal, and therefore effective, it is also likely that it will be much more limited in its scope and operation, and that he will increasingly find himself precluded from consultation with his colleagues, and therefore from active participation in political events. Fortunately, for the time being he has given his political message, and it is now for others to apply it to the facts, and no doubt they will do so at the forthcoming Congress conference when important decisions of a far-reaching character are expected.

#### THE *Daily Mail* BLUE BOOK.

Now that the *Daily Mail* India Blue Book has been published, one can realise how mischievously facts can be distorted and figures juggled with, to the creation of popular prejudice. It includes a Foreword by Lord Carson, and a prefatory article by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, on "The Betrayal of Our Trust," in which he denies that any binding pledges in regard to India have been given since Queen Victoria's Proclamation in 1858, and declares that Mr. Baldwin has supported a Socialist policy and that the White Paper proposals provide for the elimination of the British official. A picture illustrating the burning of Lancashire cotton goods immediately follows, and precedes a statistical argument in which all kinds of incompatibles are made to depend upon each other. An article on "The White Paper and Its Consequences" by H. W. Wilson is prefaced by an illustration of animal sacrifices at Kaligat. The footnote to this disgusting picture is deserving of commemoration, for it includes more inaccuracies in three and a half lines of type than I have seen compressed in a similar space for some time. It runs as follows: "The blood-thirsty cult of the Goddess Kali involves the daily sacrifice of hundreds of goats at her temples throughout India. The animals are beheaded and replace the human sacrifices which the British regime in India suppressed." Next follows a picture of the late Mr. Burge, the District Magistrate of Midnapore, and his wife. Then follow a series of five articles taken from the *Daily Mail* and written by Lord Rothermere. Their contents are already known and do not need examination. Finally we get a symposium on "Why I oppose Surrender in India" by fourteen well-known Conservatives. They include the Duchess of Atholl, Viscount Fitz-Alan, Viscount Sumner, Lord Wolmer, Lord Lynton, Lord Amptill, Field-Marshal Sir Claude Jacob, Lt. General Sir George MacMunn, Sir Henry Page-Croft, Sir Alfred Knox, Mr. Esmond

Harmsworth, Sir William Wayland, M. P., Mr. Brendan Bracken, M. P., and last, but not least, Mr. Randolph Churchill, who was recently badly defeated at a large gathering of junior Conservatives, who refused, without waiting for the Joint Select Committee's Report, to condemn the Government's India proposals outright. It only remains to be added that Sir Grimwood Mears seems to have joined the reactionaries and to have condemned the judicial proposals altering the composition of the High Courts, under clause 170 of the White Paper. He offers no opinion of value on the political changes foreshadowed in the White Paper.

Sir Hugh Macpherson has made mincemeat in the *Daily Telegraph* of Lord Lloyd's argument that the supporters of the White Paper are throwing over the dumb millions of India and leaving them to the tender mercies of political agitators. Characterising his claim to a monopoly of admiration for British achievement in India and for solicitude for the Indian masses as bordering on the impudent, Sir Hugh draws attention to and emphasises the splendid work done by Indian Ministers and Councillors in the interests of the illiterate masses in all the nation-building departments. It is time that something was said in this country in defence of those bravely engaged on the Indian side in the day to day work of social and economic reform.

#### THE SWARAJ PARTY.

The re-formation of the Swaraj Party, the current *New Statesman and Nation* writes, "represents a large section of Hindu opinion, and a considerable element from amongst the Muslims. Now that the Government have wisely decided to hold elections it would have been absurd if the view of this important group had not been expressed. Nor is it possible to find anything very revolutionary in their programme. Their general ideas resemble those of moderate Left Wing organisations throughout the world. They naturally dislike the White Paper, and leave themselves free to agitate for a better constitution from within the Assembly and the Provincial Councils. No sane Englishman can object to this attitude, nor to their proposal to work for a revision of their country's indebtedness abroad. This can hardly alarm those Conservatives who applaud our refusal to pay another instalment of the American debt, nor need it disrupt an Empire in which several Dominions are using a possible default in interest payments as a bargaining counter for better trade relations. An interesting feature in the policy of the Swaraj Party is its emphasis upon the question of internal debt. An excessive tenderness towards the agricultural money-lender was a weak spot in the Congress policy. The emergence of the Swaraj Party may well mark the beginning of political divisions along economic rather than racial lines."

#### A MARE'S NEST.

Sir Henry Page-Croft must, it is to be hoped, by now have regretted his highly intemperate letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he made the suggestion that the adoption of the proposals of the White Paper policy might lead to the suppression of Christian missions in India, and to the ill-treatment, or even massacre, of Indian Christians. Since I wrote last week, Father W. H. G. Holmes, of the Oxford Mission of Calcutta, has written to the *Church Times* denying *in toto* Sir Henry's suggestions and allegations. Since then, he the Rev. Herbert Anderson, Canon Arthur Davies, Dr. A. J. Hogg, Principal of the Madras Christian College, and Canon W. E. S. Holland, formerly of St. John's College, Agra, the Rev. C. H. Mohanan, Senior Methodist Missionary of the Madras Synod,

the Rev. Dr. W. Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, the Rev. R. L. Fellie, formerly of Bishop's College, Calcutta, the Rev. G. E. Phillips, London Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society, Mr. Shoran Singha, the Rev. C. E. Wilson, Foreign Secretary, Baptists' Missionary Society, and the Rev. G. W. Thompson, one of the Secretaries of the Methodist Missionary Society, have issued a challenge to Sir Henry Page-Croft, in which they dissociate themselves and the Indian Christian community completely from Sir Henry's allegations. The following passage from their letter is of the utmost significance and ought for once and all to put an end to this kind of disgraceful propaganda, designed to make the hair of the religious minded stand on end, with fear of the consequences of constitutional reform in India. It is to be wished, however, that the signatories had made it equally clear that Indian public opinion expects and requires a very substantial advance upon the present reform proposals:—

"While missionaries in India are grateful to the British Government for that ideal of toleration and justice which it has maintained for more than a century, they also recognize that, with the uprising of Nationalist sentiment, Indians have often identified the Christian Mission with the British Raj and with the European civilisation. Under an Indian Administration this confusion of sentiment and thought will no longer be possible and Christian Missions will stand forth more clearly in their true character. One great obstacle to the work of the Christian missionary will thus have been removed. With regard to the menace of massacre, if it existed, is it credible that the representative Indian Christian organizations should not have spoken clearly and strongly about the danger? So far from this being the case, the fact is that the All-India Christian Conference urged that the safeguards should be made less, rather than more, stringent, and this, we believe, represents the general view of the Indian Christian leaders and of the community. Our confident expectation is that under the Reform Scheme the principles of toleration and religious liberty will be effectively maintained."

## Reviews.

### CAPITALIST VIEW OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

**UNEMPLOYMENT: CAUSES AND REMEDIES.** By GEORGE WHITEHEAD. (John Bale, 1933. 22cm. 434p. 10/6.)

THE challenge that unemployment offers to the continued stability of the social order has naturally set many minds to the task of devising adequate remedies for this social ill and, in consequence, we have had in recent years a plethora of books dealing with the problems of unemployment. The book under review cannot, however, be lightly dismissed as just one more contribution to the prolific literature on the subject, distinguished as it is by a markedly different viewpoint from other recently published books of the same genre. In these days of advanced socialistic thought, it requires courage of a high order to be blazely pro-capitalist in outlook, and to lay the blame for the growing incidence of unemployment on Labour which, according to the author, is guilty 'of demanding conditions of labour so impracticable that the attempt to satisfy them has led to hundreds of thousands of persons being thrown out of employment.'

The book is characterised by the most outspoken animus against socialist economic thought. Labour's plea for reduced hours of work so that greater numbers of the unemployed may be re-absorbed into

industry and for higher wages so that the purchasing power of the workers may be augmented is anathema to the author. The programme of public works, so strongly advocated by expert bodies like the I.L.O. as a remedy for unemployment, is airily dismissed as "grandiose" and "impracticable" on the facile generalisation that state public works schemes are expensive and unprofitable luxuries. Discussing the distribution of the national income, the book boldly asserts: "Capitalists and *entrepreneurs* are receiving too little for their services and the workers are receiving, if not too much, at least far more than industry can stand if employment is to be found for a normal number." The author also urges reduction of expenditure in connection with social services such as unemployment insurance, widows', orphans' and old age pensions, housing and poor relief on the ground that "the more the remedy of improvement of labour conditions at the expense of capital has been tried the worse has become our unemployed problem." The increasing mechanisation of industry and the progress of technocracy have no terrors for the author, who endeavours to turn the tables on his adversaries through the corrective supplied by the following conversation between two unemployed men watching the operations of a steam navy. Said one: "If that work were being done with spades it would find employment for a hundred." The other replied: "Yes, and if it were done with spoons it would find work for a million." Pursuing the advantage gained by so neat a hit, the author clinches his argument thus: "Faith moves mountains, but a contractor chooses navvies, preferably steam navvies." The increasing apprehension manifested by front-rank social thinkers and economists regarding the inroads made by machinery into the field of employment cannot certainly be disposed of so cavalierly. The quotations given are indeed typical of the spirit animating the book!

One has, however, not to search far for the mental processes behind this outspokenly anti-socialist outlook. Despite the title of the book "Unemployment: Causes and Remedies," implying a general treatment of the unemployment problem along a broad and world-wide perspective, the author is only concerned with the unemployment situation in Great Britain and on how best to achieve a solution for it. It is this insular outlook, reinforced by pronounced economic imperialism, that leads the author to find a cure for unemployment in efforts to reduce cost of production "so that *British* exports can be offered at a price the foreigner is willing to pay," ignoring possible adverse repercussions on infant industries and employment conditions in other, particularly Asiatic, countries. Is it therefore surprising that the book prescribes, possibly in keeping with the fashion of the day, a slimming diet for the British worker—the ideal menu suggested being increased hours of work, reduced wages, accelerated pace of mechanisation, ruthless rationalisation, and a determined pruning of the social services?

The author complacently compares present-day efforts to elevate workers' standards at some expense to industry to a dog's effort to live on its own tail and predicts an early dissolution of the canine victim for having dined too well, but not wisely. Though not many outside the ranks of the capitalists would agree with his conclusions, Mr. Whitehead is certainly to be congratulated on having produced a thought-provoking book.

K. E. MATTHEW.

## BRITISH ECONOMIC HISTORY.

**A SURVEY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GREAT BRITAIN.** By J. F. REES. (Pitman.) 1933. 23cm. 330p. 7/6.

HOW very inaccurate publishers can be while advertising their books is strikingly illustrated by the descriptive note on this book. The book is mainly an introductory volume on British Economic History. The title suggests that though special reference to Great Britain is admittedly to be a feature of the book it is also concerned with general economic development. This, however, is misleading as the book is almost entirely concerned with British Economic History and allusions to non-British incidents are confined to a few broad events concerning Western Europe, which are a familiar feature of all such books. The publishers go to the limit of 'exaggeration' when they refer to this book on Economic History—not on History of Economics—in the following terms. "This authoritative work traces the development of economics from the earliest times to the present day. The principles expounded by leading economists, and their influence on economic thought, are ably discussed." The book, as a matter of fact, has nothing to do with economic science or any of its exponents and it is curious that such an experienced firm of publishers as Pitman should have been so inaccurate in the description of their publications.

Within the actual limits of the book it is a very able and useful production. The economic development of Great Britain is briefly yet ably surveyed in its pages. The broad features are strikingly outlined and the entire process of economic change from the almost prehistoric times to the present day is laid bare. Mr. Rees rightly abandons the attempt to interpret history, economic or other, as a process of divine unfolding. He is equally sound in his caution when he asserts that the subjective factor cannot altogether be excluded from the writing of history, which requires a constant reinterpretation in the light of fresh experience. We have seen a number of historians who write history as though it were a chronicle of the exploits of a single race of 'supermen' e. g., the British, the German, the American or some other. Prof. Rees is immune from any such bias and it must be admitted that he has attained a substantial measure of objectivity in writing his book. So far as Great Britain and to a lesser degree Western Europe are concerned the book is marked by careful selection and accuracy.

It must, however, be observed that the entire process of economic development in the East and in America, both of which fields are fruitful for a student of economic history, are ignored. Russia, modern Russia in particular, has received no attention from the author, even though its reactions on economic history are significant. The part played by its colonial possessions, particularly by its empire over India, in building up England's fortunes is not adequately appreciated. The new movements of rationalisation, autarchy and planning and their varying effects on the economic fortunes of Great Britain, other Western nations, and on the comparatively backward countries are significant signs of a new stage in economic development. Even in a broad outline of the subject, such as the present one, they should receive more attention than what the author has thought fit to spare. We, therefore, feel that the book is too wide in its professed scope and too narrow in its actual presentment.

This has to be recorded with a view not to detract from the real merits of the work but to put the reader on his guard against the inaccurate descri-

ption of the book implied in the title and elaborated by the publisher's note. The book is an excellent introductory volume on British Economic History and we recommend it to all interested in the subject.

D. G. KARVE.

### HISTORY OF FASCISM.

#### THROUGH FASCISM TO WORLD POWER.

By ION S. MUNRO. (Alexander Maclehose & Co., London.) 1933. 22cm. 420p. 12/6.

MORE than ten years have passed since Mussolini's famous March on Rome and at this distance of time it is safe to take stock of the achievement of Fascism. Ion S. Munro, who has long been resident in Rome and is in touch with all the leading statesmen of Italy, gives in this admirable book the history of the Fascist Revolution in Italy and what it has accomplished during the last eleven years. The author has made use of all the numerous publications on Fascism and no work lately published seems to have escaped him. The result is a splendid contribution to the understanding of a very important period in history of Italy and, we may even say, in the history of the world.

In part I of the book, the learned author describes the political and economic conditions of the pre-war and post-war Italy which led to the Fascist movement. The author points out that those who marched on Rome were genuine Romans and those that marched out of it were pseudo-Romans. The parties which grew in number in the latter part of the 19th century to the end of the Great War were not sufficiently patriotic and had a neo-European mentality. In the field of politics they believed in the rights of man and worked democracy, while in the field of economics they tried to adopt Marxian Socialist ideas and organised labour into trade unions and syndicates. The multiple party system with the frequent change of cabinets prevented any consistent policy being followed. The author points out how from 1848 to 1922, during a period of 74 years, there were as many as 67 changes of government, a record which is excelled by France which sees a new ministry almost every fortnight. The ministers of the liberal-democratic regime were unable to prevent the spread of disorder and lawlessness at home.

In their conduct of foreign policy the pre-Fascist Governments were equally incompetent. The author points out how Italy was forced into the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria in 1881 owing partly to Napoleon III's Peace of Villafranca with Austria in 1859 and partly to the conflict of interests between Italy and France in Tunis. When the Great War broke out Italy remained neutral. It was over the question of intervention that Mussolini, originally a Socialist, left the Socialist party and formed the 'Fascio of Revolutionary Action.' The Fascists under Mussolini and the Nationalists under Gabriel D'Annunzio were for intervention on behalf of the Allies, and we agree with the author when he says that they reflected popular feeling and not the Parliament. We are taken through the Secret Treaty of London of 1915 and the fateful decision to join the Allies. But as Italy's entry into the war was due to popular feeling and not to Parliamentary decision, soldiers had to fight not merely foes at the front but also enemies in the Chamber. Socialists and pro-Germans had their own way in Italy. The war was won despite the inefficiency of the liberal-democratic regime, but inefficiency continued to exist in post-war Italy. Ministers such as Giolitti, Salandra, Facta were unable to prevent the Socialist

disorders at home and to put up a strong fight for the fulfilment of the Secret Treaty of London at the Peace Conference Table. It was then that Mussolini struck and struck for the benefit of Italy. 'He came, he saw and he conquered.' It should be noted that his famous march on Rome could not have been the success that it was had he not the support of the nation behind him.

In part II of this book the author deals with the Fascist political philosophy and in part III with the constitutional framework of the Fascist state and the means adopted to inculcate the Fascist spirit through the School and through the Balilla, Avanguardisti, and Giovani Fascisti organisations.

The achievements of Fascism during the last eleven years are enumerated by the author in the course of his brilliant survey. Italy is now in a sound economic position and while several countries have gone off the gold standard Italy has refused to join the majority. Fascism has also removed corruption in public services and has undertaken a great programme of ruralisation and completed public works and works of land reclamation on a vast scale, thus diminishing the number of the unemployed. It has utilised the Roman sense of social solidarity and established a corporate state. Finally it has encouraged the sanctity of family-life.

A study of the book will show that Fascism is 'Planned Economy' and is a via media between old individualist economics and state control as envisaged by Bolshevism. It is midway between capitalism and socialism; it recognises the right of property on condition that the owner of property makes a right use of it for national good. The author shows that while democracy was suited to Italy, Fascism, being an expression of Italian mass mind, has proved a very successful experiment.

But we are of opinion that though the Fascists achieved success in 1922 owing to popular support, their basis of power today is not the consent of the governed. By coercion, by weeding out of the country all anti-Fascist elements, by keeping an efficient system of espionage to suppress attacks against the Fascist regime, the Fascists are ruling today. We have no admiration for a system of government which denies its citizens even the elementary rights of liberty of thought and speech. Italy has become a cemetery and prison for those who do not agree with Mussolini. We are here reminded of a story which forcibly draws attention to the fact that the people are afraid of saying or doing anything except as the Government dictates. The story goes that some time back Mussolini was delayed in a roadside village for more than two hours by the breakdown of his motor-car. To while away time he entered the local cinema theatre unobserved while a film was being shown. When the news bulletin depicted him on the screen and the audience rose with shouts of 'Viva il Duce' 'Viva Mussolini' he naturally remained seated. Then came a gentle tap on his shoulder and his neighbour whispered, "I quite agree with you, my friend, but it is safer to stand."

In the field of foreign affairs Fascism stands for nationalism and on more occasions than one (of the Corfu incident) Mussolini has shown the 'mailed fist' to the League of Nations.

While Wilson was able to ignore the Treaty of London of 1915 because it was secret when the Liberal democrats were in power, Italy was able to obtain almost all the frontiers promised by the Secret Treaty after the advent of Fascism. The success of Italy in the field of foreign affairs is due to the fighting mood of Fascist Italy and well may we ask 'Is this conducive to international cooperation and peace?' We are not surprised to hear of the latest move of

the Fascist Dictator to reform the League so as to subserve the interests of the big powers.

Ion S. Munro is to be congratulated on his production of this book. Its merits are a happy mixture of erudition and brilliant writing and the reader is carried on from beginning to end without an effort of his own. We have no hesitation in saying that this is a splendid book on the history of the Fascist Movement.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**INDIA ANALYSED, VOL. II: ECONOMIC FACTS.** By VARIOUS AUTHORS (Victor Gollancz.) 1934. 20cm. 5/-.

THIS book is the second of a series of four volumes to be published under the expressive title given above. The scheme of the series makes it clear that the enterprise is, like many others of a similar nature, the product of the wide curiosity excited throughout the world by recent political earthquakes in this country. It is common ground among all students of the Indian question that the ultimate problem of India is economic. This volume presents a very general and rapid survey of that problem. The notorious poverty of the peasantry with its burden of the land-tax and unsatisfactory tenant-landlord relationship, the partiality of the existing political authority for Capital as against Labour, the decline of manufactures and the disequilibrium between agriculture and industry, the significance of foreign trade to the welfare of the country, the probable lines and available means for industrial development—these are the themes on which articles have been elicited from well-known publicists drawn almost entirely from this country. To the Indian reader, the material is neither new nor particularly striking. But to the foreigner, for whom the book is primarily meant, it ought to bring home the vastness and intricacy of the problems. The constitutional issues are to be set forth in the fourth volume. But the articles under review ought to impress the reader with the urgent need of political changes which will endow the future government of the country with the willingness and the power to embark on very drastic action in all fields of national endeavour. This volume furnishes the acid test by which all proposals for constitutional reform will have to be ultimately judged.

S. K. M.

**CHARLES LAMB. HIS LIFE RECORDED BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES.** Ed. by EDMUND BLUNDEN. (Hogarth Press.) 1934. 21cm. 256p. 7/6.

THIS is a notable contribution to the little-known biographical knowledge of Charles Lamb who loved

to hide himself behind thick folds of obscurity. For all the scrupulous care he took to remain anonymous, there was no restraining the few friends he had from surrounding him with the lustre that was his due. Silent and uncommunicative as he was, he managed to steal unnoticed under misleading names, "a veritable guy, but no man of staw." "I have no recollection of Lamb" was what his admiring contemporaries said of him which explains why biographical studies of him are so thread-bare.

Welcome is the exhaustive light that is shed by the commemorative documents of intimate origin that Mr. Edmund Blunden has now unearthed. Out of the book there emerges a portrait of Lamb in clear outline, his personality becoming distinctly fuller by lapse of time.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

**THE WORK OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE MYSORE STATE AND BRITISH INDIA.** BY G. RUDRAPPA. (Bangalore Press.) 1934. 20cm. 38p.

THIS booklet is the reprint of a speech delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Civil Services Association, and contains a brief survey of the problem. The booklet does not contain many details of Rural Reconstruction work in Mysore State, though the title suggests it. Civil Service men have their significant role to play in this very important work, but mere platitudes are of no avail. This book does not reveal any personal knowledge or experience of the author. In endorsing the scheme for creating new voluntary boards of economic surveys in villages advocated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the author is expecting too much of the villager, who has not made proper use of village institutions organised so far.

N. S. S.

**MOHAN-JO-DARO.** By BHERUMAL MAHIR CHAND. (The Author, D. J. Sind College-Karachi.) 1933. 20cm. 93p. Ra. 1-4-0.

THIS small brochure is an attempt to summarise the history of the excavations at Mohan-Jo-Daro and the importance of the archaeological discoveries made there. The narrative, though brief, is clear and sure to interest the lay reader. The various articles that have appeared in the press since the excavations started as also Sir John Marshall's volumes on the results of the survey have all been laid under contribution. The author does not claim to offer any solutions of his own for any of the problems that require clearing up in connection with the momentous discoveries made at this ancient site, but faithfully summarises the different points of view. The booklet might have been printed better and a few photographs might have been added with advantage.

K. A. N.

## ASIATIC LABOUR CONGRESS.

### MR. N. M. JOSHI'S SPEECH.

*At the Asiatic Labour Congress recently held at Colombo, Mr. N. M. Joshi spoke explaining the history and aims and objects of the Congress. He said:*

**A**S one who has taken part in the movement for the establishment of the Asiatic Labour Congress from the very beginning I may be permitted to place before you its short history. During

my presence at the first International Labour Conference held at Washington and its next two sessions held at Geneva some facts and experiences were often bringing home to my mind the necessity of a separate organisation to bring together the workers of Asia. In the first place the inferior conditions of life and work of the workers in the Asiatic countries were considered, admittedly with good justification, as a drag

upon the progress in the improvement of the labour conditions in the European countries. This was a very humiliating situation to those of us from Asiatic countries who were taking part in these conferences. Secondly, we experienced that unequal labour conditions existing in Japan, India and China created difficulties in securing improvement in these conditions in the various Asiatic countries themselves. Thirdly, we found that the Delegates from Asiatic countries did not exercise much influence in the discussions and decisions of the conferences. This was the result of our weaker position in the International Organisation. The number of Delegates from Asiatic countries was smaller as some of our countries, being in the position of Colonies and Dependencies, are not independent members of the International Labour Organisation. Out of the countries which are members, only Japan and India were regularly represented by Delegates representing workers although the conferences are not complete unless there are delegates representing Governments, employers and workers from different countries. China sent its labour delegates only twice and Siam not even once during the last fifteen years. Similarly our representation on the Governing Body and on other Permanent Committees and in the Secretariat was also inadequate. On account of this weakness the Asiatic countries, naturally, could not exercise their due influence in the work of the International Labour Organisation. We are thus forced to think out some measures to remedy the difficulties which are in our way.

So in 1925 when Mr. Bunzi Suzuki represented the workers of Japan and myself the workers of India at that year's Conference, we met together and decided upon holding an Asiatic Labour Conference wherein the representatives of the Labour Organisations from Asiatic countries should meet together to discuss questions of common interests. At the 1922 Conference I had attempted without success to get a resolution passed by the Conference asking the Organisation to study and report on labour conditions in Asiatic countries, but the resolution was passed in 1925. As a result the Organisation has already published a report on conditions in Japan and a report on conditions in India is in preparation. The proposed Conference of the representatives of the Trade Union Movements could not, however, be held on account of various difficulties. At the Conference held in 1928, Mr. Yunekobo, the Japanese Workers' Delegate, and Mr. R. R. Bakhale signed a memorandum recommending that the Conference should be held if possible, in 1929. But it could not be held even that year. In 1930 Mr. Yunekobo halted in Bombay on his way to Geneva and discussed the question with the representatives of the All-India Trade Union Congress and even prepared a draft Constitution for the Asiatic Labour Congress.

While these efforts to bring together the Trade Union Movements in the Asiatic countries were being made, the idea of holding a tripartite Asiatic Labour Conference under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation itself was being seriously considered. At the Conference held in 1929 at Geneva, I attempted, without success, to get a resolution passed recommending the holding of such a Conference. Similar attempt with the same result was made at the Conference held in 1930 by Mr. S. C. Joshi, who was the Indian Workers' Delegate that year. However, a resolution on the subject moved by Mr. R. R. Bakhale at the Conference held in 1931 was adopted by the Conference and the

Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation at one of its meetings has authorised the Director to take the necessary steps to hold the Conference. Unfortunately on account of political complications in the Far East this Tripartite Conference has not yet been held. I have every hope that it will be held soon.

Comrades, it is true that we have been very slow in giving a practical shape to our cherished dream but we did not waver in our efforts and did not lose hope. When I learnt from Mr. Bakhale that our Comrades from Japan were anxious to hold the Asiatic Labour Congress of the representatives of our Trades Union Movements at Colombo this month, I was delighted. The Working Committee of the National Trades Union Federation under the guidance of Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta agreed to the proposal of our Japanese Comrades and we requested the All-Ceylon Trade Union Congress to make arrangements for holding the Congress and today we have met as the First Asiatic Labour Congress. Having taken part in initiating this movement from its very beginning, it is a matter not only of pleasure but of pride to me to be able to be present on this historic occasion. Our beginning is small, but it has the seed of a great development.

Before I conclude I may be permitted to say one word more. I wish to make it clear to our Comrades outside Asia that those who conceived the idea of this movement and those of us who are meeting here today are not inspired by any spirit of separatism. We are convinced that the salvation of workers of the world lies in the world-wide international solidarity of workers. Some of us are already connected with the International Federation of Trade Unions on account of the affiliation of the National Trades Union Federation of India with that organisation. This movement of the Asiatic Labour Congress is only intended to enable the workers of Asia to come into line with the workers of the other parts of the world so that instead of being a hindrance to the progress of the world we shall be able to march hand in hand with them towards the achievement of our common goal.

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- Records of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Series B. Minutes of the General Commission. Vol. II. Dec. 1932 to June 1933. (1933. IX. 10.) 33cm. pp. 207-643.
- Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition. (C. 92. M. 35. 1933. IX. 6.) 33cm. 396p.
- Report of the Technical Committee. (Conf. D. 158. 1933. IX. 3. Vol. I; and II.) 33cm. 271p. and 166p. 10/- and 6/-.

- LORD READING AND HIS CASES: THE STUDY OF A GREAT CAREER. By DERET WALKER SMITH. (Chapman & Hall) 1934. 21cm. 400p. 15/-
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- TRIFLING WITH WAR. By RAY DEWILT HERRING. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1934. 21cm. 378p. \$2.00.
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