

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Mahatma taken at his word !

WITH the quick intellect that he is known to possess, it was only to be expected that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer would not be long in taking a cue from the Mahatma. The Mahatma has laid down the principle of non-interference in Indian States' affairs on the part of British Indians, and as an advisor of one of the biggest Indian States, viz. Travancore, it suits C. P. very well to invoke the Mahatma's authority in keeping the pestilential agitation of British Indians out of his State. Only, by a curious irony of fate, he just now gives the principle an application which the Mahatma would hardly relish !

MR. N. C. KELKAR, speaking on behalf of the States' people, had said to the Mahatma. The Congress includes in its membership both the people of British India and the Indian States. Nor are they asked to keep to their different pens either : the States' people to the States and British Indians to British India. On the contrary, British India had freely drawn upon the States' people for support in an agitation conducted in its own confines and in its own interest. The agitation was of the most drastic character too, both in intent and method. It aimed at the overthrow of the system of government in British India by defying the laws of the British Indian Government and challenging it to do its worst. The States' people were asked by the Congress to take part in such an agitation directed against what to them is a foreign government. Is it not then the duty of the Congress, asked Mr. Kelkar, to instruct its British Indian members to go to the Indian States and work

actively for the establishment of responsible government there, courting prison if necessary by disobeying the laws of Their Highnesses? Mr. Kelkar was discreetly silent about offering civil resistance in the States, but his question certainly implied as much. He expressly asked the Mahatma, however, whether British Indians must not, as a matter merely of requiting the favours received by them, actively associate themselves with the constitutional agitation that the States' people may set on foot—to establish not independence as in British India, but merely popular government under the aegis of their rulers.

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To this the Mahatma said No. In saying this, however, he did not put a ban on the Indian States' people giving help to British India. He seemed to argue : It is not our fault if outsiders give us help. It is open to us to welcome help from whatever quarters it may come. It is open to us even to ask for such help. It is the business of the States' people to refuse it or the States' Governments to forbid it. But it does not follow that because the former are so foolish as to give it or the latter so blind as to allow it, we shall implicate ourselves in the States' people's affairs. No, that shall never happen. International law is on our side there. We can plead that we could not give active help to outsiders even if we would. That is quite enough. The aim of the Congress is to win swaraj for British India alone. The Congress will therefore consist mostly of British Indians. We include the Indian States' people too, no doubt, as associate-members, so to say. Why should we not? For the matter of that we can include inhabitants of—Timbuctoo, if they are bent upon working for a country which is not theirs. But the thing which one has to bear in mind constantly is that the Congress can receive help from outsiders, but not give it !

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SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER has now seen the implication of it all. He will never be under a necessity of preventing the intrusion of British Indians into Travancore. The Mahatma's fiat has done it more effectively than the law of any Czar can do. All that C. P. now need do is to see that the people of Travancore shall not enrol themselves as Congress members, nor take part in the internal politics of British India. This has now been done by the Travancore State. The Mahatma's reply to Mr. Kelkar was not exactly an invitation to the States' Governments to put the screw on the States' people. He would not in fact like it, for his non-violent forces would be seriously depleted if, following Travancore's lead, the Kathiawad States prohibited Kathiawadis from taking an active part in his civil disobedience campaign. But there was a distinct hint for those who could read between the lines that if the Durbars of the Indian Rulers were so minded as to put the non-interference principle into force in the States as the Mahatma himself has done in British India, there is every

justification for such action. The Mahatma at all events cannot object to it, however deeply he may regret it. And no wonder that the Congress press has taken no exception to the order of the Travancore Durbar, for it realises that Travancore has only taken the Mahatma at his word!!

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Muslims have seen through it!

AT Madras Sardar Sardul Singh gave a strange and by no means convincing justification of the enigmatical Congress attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award. In its fight against the White Paper, whose rejection the Congress wants to bring about, the Congress cannot obviously do without Muslim support. This would, he said, have been forfeited if it had decided definitely to set its face against the Award. Nor is it, according to him, "large-hearted wisdom" to go on harping on the Award. So the Congress attitude towards the Award is intended by way of a sop to the Muslims to come and help it in ensuring the rejection of the White Paper.

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THEN it comes to this, that the Congress refrains at the moment from rejecting the Communal Award only with the object that it may be the better able to reject the White Paper. This may be a good enough argument to address to the Hindus; they may perhaps be mollified by it. But to address it to the Muslims is nothing less than to offer an insult to their intelligence. For have they not the sense to realise that, if they be bribed in this way into rejecting the White Paper, the Communal Award too will be automatically rejected along with the White Paper? If the Muslims want the Communal Award at all costs, they will strive their best to preserve the White Paper at all costs. For the fate of the former is indissolubly bound up with the fate of the latter. And whatever the deficiencies of the Muslim community may be, they are not known to lack the modicum of intelligence that is necessary in order to understand that the best way of saving a part is not to proceed to destroy the whole.

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THE Congress cannot have it both ways. It cannot turn to the Hindus and say: Don't like the Communal Award? Very well, we will destroy it. But we will cause its destruction in an indirect way. Let us first get the Mahomedans to destroy the White Paper, and will the Communal Award remain if that is destroyed? Have no anxieties on that score. We can't get the co-operation of the Muslims if the Communal Award is openly attacked. We must therefore use a strategem. Let us show as if we are not hostile to the Communal Award which they prize so much, and thus obtain their help in getting the whole of the reforms scrapped. By pretending to give in a little we secure a better result, and if you will only keep quiet for a little while, we can get the Mahomedans, the simpletons that they are, to reject the Communal Award by implication.

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AFTER saying this to the Hindus, the Congress cannot turn to the Mahomedans and say: We know you are keen on preserving the Communal Award. We will not touch it at all—unless you join with us in substituting another scheme in its place. If the Hindu leaders are so narrow-minded as to bring forward a motion rejecting the Communal Award in the next Assembly, we give you our word for it, they will not have our support. This communal question is after all a minor matter, which we will give you a guarantee in advance we shall solve in a way satisfactory to you. The more important thing is the

White Paper. True, you do not consider it quite so unsatisfactory as we do. But you consider it unsatisfactory all the same. Won't you join with us then in rejecting—not the Communal Award, oh no! that is safe—but the other accursed thing the White Paper? We will preserve for you the Communal Award; you destroy for us the White Paper. Let's close the bargain on that!

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THAT would be good strategy if we were dealing with people utterly devoid of reasoning faculty. The Muslim leaders however are much too shrewd to be taken in in this way, as the manifesto issued by Muslim political bodies published elsewhere shows. If the Congress is really in a mood for a big gesture of conciliation to the Muslims, it must say to them "We will accept the Communal Award. We don't like it at all; but you want it. Very well, please yourselves. We shall use all our influence with the Hindu and Sikh communities and get them to agree not to oppose the Communal Award. If they don't agree, they will have to part form us." After all, this is what the Congress has done. Only it has done it in such a way that it loses all grace for the Muslims. It has already lost the Muslim community; there is no possibility of its winning it back. But it now loses the Hindus and the Sikhs too. This is the net result of the Congress diplomacy. After all, honesty is the best policy.

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Reforms in Cochin.

THE singular unanimity with which non-official members of the Cochin legislative council supported the cut motion to impress on the State Government the urgency of a grant of further constitutional reforms should conclusively prove to the authorities concerned the strength of public feeling on the subject. On the day the motion was discussed, 24 non-official members were present and it is worthy of note that all of them without a single exception voted in favour of the motion—a rare occurrence in any legislative body. The ten years that have elapsed since the constitution of the present legislative council have witnessed no greater advance than the conferment on the council of the right of electing not its president—that would have meant some step forward—but the deputy president. Nor has the scope of the legislature's control been further widened by the transfer of some subjects from the non-votable to the votable list.

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THE illiteracy of the generality of the people is frequently used by unprogressive rulers elsewhere as an excuse to delay their people's political progress. Such an excuse cannot avail in the case of Cochin where education is far more widespread than in many parts of British India. In fact if education is to be regarded as the sole test of fitness for political power, Cochin must be said to deserve a far more liberal constitution than has so far fallen to the lot of British India. And yet, in spite of the fact that the entire demand under General Administration was rejected by the Council five years ago and that all the non-official members combined in passing the present cut motion with no other object than that of convincing the administration about the genuineness of the popular demand for a big step on the road to the goal of constitutional reform, the Council could extract nothing more from the administration than a promise of consideration of the representations made by non-officials. Let us hope that the promise is meant seriously and that the consideration of the popular demand for reforms will really materialise into something tangible and that too without avoidable delay.

The Devadasi Law.

THE Bombay legislative council which has been in session for over a week is to be congratulated on its passage of the Devadasi Bill into law. The Bill was introduced last year and underwent little modification of substance at the hands of the select committee—a testimony to the forethought and care expended by its framer, Mr. Bole, on its preparation. The ceremony of dedicating a woman as a Devadasi, even if it were to take place with the consent of the woman, is invalidated by the new law and she will enjoy the right of marrying anybody she likes, just the same as any other Hindu woman. The necessity for this provision will not be obvious at first sight; but it will be properly appreciated in view of the belief tenaciously held in superstitious circles that a woman once married to a deity was debarred from contracting marriage with a human being. With the evil custom of Devadasis declared unlawful by the Bole law, it follows that participation in a dedication ceremony should be made penal. The punishment in such cases has been laid down as a maximum of one year's imprisonment or fine or both.

IN some cases Devadasis are allowed to hold land in return for the services they are supposed to perform to the deity, such lands being exempt from payment of revenue. The new measure empowers Collectors to revoke this exemption after due inquiry and to assess the lands to land revenue. The cases of conscientious objectors among the existing Devadasis are, however, thoughtfully provided for. If any of them take their stand on their vested rights and object to the payment of land revenue, the Collector may allow the continuance of the status quo in their case. The procedure to be followed at such inquiry will be laid down in the rules which the Government is empowered to make. All rules are generally subject to the sanction of the legislature which has made itself responsible for the principal legislation. But in this case the Government went out of

its way to take to themselves the power of determining their final form after acquainting themselves with the legislature's views on them. Why they should have been so particular about making the legislature realise its comparative impotence in this matter it is difficult to say.

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Workmen's Compensation in the Punjab.

THE working of the Workmen's Compensation Act in the Punjab in 1933 must be said to be satisfactory on the whole. The only disquieting features connected with it were the increase in the number of fatal accidents from 6 to 10 and that of accidents involving permanent disablement from 26 to 36. For the rest the year witnessed a distinct improvement in its operation—a fact which will gladden the hearts of all labour workers. The number of accidents involving payment of compensation was also smaller than during the previous year and of these 89 per cent. as against the previous year's 83 resulted in payment of compensation. The employer also seems to be better alive to his duty in the case of fatal accidents so that only in one case did he fail to deposit compensation, the reason advanced for the omission being the absence of anybody to claim it. It is also satisfactory to note that the number of accidents involving temporary disablement was smaller than for the last year. Out of 414 such cases, only 30 remained unsettled at the end of the year and all the 57 cases outstanding from the previous year were disposed of. The amount of compensation paid during the year too showed an improvement, having risen by nearly Rs. 5,000 to about Rs. 31,000. We hope these figures betoken a permanent improvement in the working of the administrative machinery set up for the payment of compensation for industrial accidents. And in so far as they do that, all those who had any hand in running it deserve to be complimented for the promptitude with which they settled compensation claims.

TAKING STOCK OF OTTAWA.**I.**

AT the time of the debates in the Central Legislature on the scheme of Ottawa preferences the Government of India had promised that a Report on the working of the whole scheme would be submitted to Committees of the two Houses. The Report, which Dr. D. B. Meek, the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, has prepared in fulfilment of that promise, has now been published. It relates mainly to the fiscal year 1933-34, but also touches on the periods from 1st January 1933 to 31st March 1933, so far as the preferences granted by India are concerned, and from March 1932 to 31st March 1933 for the preferences granted by the United Kingdom to India, by the Import Duties Act of 1932 in the former country. The principal portion of the Report, comprising the first two chapters, attempts a stock-taking inquiry, between the advantages secured by India in the English and the Colonial markets, and those obtained by the English and Colonial producers in the Indian markets. As the preferential principle bids fair to be a normal feature of our trade policy it is essential to examine the first fruits of the Ottawa system with some care.

At the outset we must offer a fundamental objection to the way in which this stock-taking has been attempted in the Meek Report. Dr. Meek says: "From the Indian point of view the most important part of this enquiry is that connected with the exports on which India enjoys preference... It was hoped that the preferences which India received in the United Kingdom and in some Colonies would increase her total export trade and thus help her production... The effects on export of the preferences received by India have, therefore, to be carefully examined in order to see how far these expectations... have been justified." This view of our interest in the post-preference trade figures is inadequate and misleading. That the preferences granted to Indian produce, in common with the products of the other parts of the British Empire, by the Import Duties Act of 1932 will help in preserving our share in the English markets and will generally tend to improve it was accepted as an obvious prospect. It was, however, urged that this improvement in our position in the British market was likely to be attained at the cost of a worsening in our relations with other countries. It was also urged that the preferences to

be granted by India involved a greater sacrifice of Indian industrial, consumers' and tax-payers' interests than was justified by the net advantages to be secured on our total export trade.

For an adequate and helpful examination of the position created by the Ottawa preferences, it is, therefore, necessary to do a good deal more than merely to ascertain the extent of our share in the British markets. Firstly, it is necessary to find out how we are faring in our non-British markets. If our increased exports to U. K. are a mere diversion of trade, this movement can have no favourable significance. Is our total foreign trade added to by Ottawa? This is the principal question. So also we must inquire as to the cost that we as a nation are paying for such advantages as are being secured by our exporters to the British market. This cost must be measured in three and not only in two ways, as the official report suggests.

"The growth or otherwise," observes the report, "of the import in the articles on which India has granted preferences is a matter of more direct importance to the United Kingdom and to her foreign competitors in the trade than to India. India's main interest in the import trade arises from two other aspects of the scheme of preferences. Firstly we have to see whether the preferences have affected the Indian consumer of imported articles adversely or not, i. e. we have to examine the course of prices as a result of the preference. Secondly, the effects, if any, of the preferences on the position of the Indian industries have to be watched.

We do not think that this attitude towards British imports is quite justified. It is not proper to proceed on the direct or implied assumption that it is a matter of unconcern from whom we buy so long as we buy cheap. There would be some validity in this view if the purchase and the price resulted from the natural forces of demand and supply. But when we go out of our way to create a sheltered market for a favoured country, the advance of that country's goods in our markets cannot be treated as an unimportant matter. Nor is our interest in imports confined only to the prices that we have to pay.

It is a well-established truth about international trade that in the long run import and export currents by reacting upon one another tend to an equilibrium. This proposition applies principally to the total foreign trade of each country. It is not, however, without its significance for the trading relations between any two countries. If we encourage British imports into India by special inducements, a favourable influence on Indo-British trade and an unfavourable one on the trade between India and foreign countries are bound to follow. Increasing imports from the United Kingdom entail a diminishing share for foreign countries, first in our imports and then in our exports.

It must, further, be observed that the argument based on prices of imported commodities has no justification, when the resultant prices are due to tariff manipulation. When the preferences granted by India were framed, a deliberate lowering of the

prevalent tariff in favour of British goods was resorted to. Besides, during the period of the working of the scheme the trend of prices has been by no means normal or towards a steady rise. Even if, therefore, we grant the reliability of Indian price indices as a guide to the actual burden on the consumer, the mere fact that prices of imported commodities on which preference to British goods has been granted have not risen appreciably during the period of report has by itself no significance. If the consumer has not lost as a consumer, the resultant loss of the customs revenue consequent upon the lowering of the tariff for British goods has been probably passed on to the general taxpayer. That in some cases at any rate it is passed on to the internal consumer is indicated by the new enthusiasm of the Government of India for the much criticised excise duties.

The emphasis that the Meek Report places on the improvement of our exports, particularly to Great Britain, and the comparative negligence shown about the imports of British goods into India are not justifiable approaches to the subject. The whole of our foreign trade must be observed and the effects of Ottawa not only on our entire foreign trade but also on our internal economy must be studied. The official report supplies us with too scanty information to undertake this really helpful survey. Even within the sphere that the Report has carved out for itself the data used is utterly unreliable as a guide to dependable conclusions. It is a trite saying that classifies lies under three forms, each of increasing unreliability, viz. plain lies, black lies and statistics. When the statistics used are so incomplete, unsystematic and irrelevant as some of those contained in the official report on Ottawa, this classification appears to be somewhat justified.

In fairness to Dr. Meek and his staff it must be admitted that they are conscious of these defects, as all who have any experience of using figures will naturally be. Our criticism is aimed not at the Statistical Department of the Government of India, which we know to be in very able hands, but against those who would try to deduce conclusions from these statistics which in themselves are mostly unreliable for the purpose. It is well-nigh impossible even in normal times only with the help of statistics to ascertain the influence of a single factor like tariff preference on the movement of trade. But when the period is exceptionally abnormal the presumption is definitely against relying upon the testimony of a few figures. Thus the Report itself says that "the depression in the last four years has acted on trade very adversely and any tendency of the preference to increase our trade may quite well be swamped by action in the opposite direction resulting from the depression." The reference to the disturbing influence of the course of depression is well merited, but it is just possible that other people might feel that in the year under report, 1933-34, the course of the depression had definitely turned and instead of counteracting the influence of the preferential duties in some cases the reviving trend might actually accentuate it.

The increasing adoption of the policy of national self-sufficiency and large scale fluctuations in exchange are also important disturbing factors, the actual direction and measure of whose operation it is well-nigh impossible to ascertain from the figures of trade extending over a year or so. There is a very significant side to the operation of both these influences which has escaped the notice of the authors of the Report and which on that account, it is possible, will not receive the consideration that it deserves. That the countries outside the Empire are becoming more and more autarchic may be a just and convenient argument to explain away a comparative falling off of our trade with them. We must not on that account forget that this result is contributed to by the policy of a closed Empire economy adopted at Ottawa. The non-Empire nations are the more autarchic for Ottawa and the increasing trade relations between India and Great Britain are also an inevitable effect of the policy of Empire self-sufficiency which was accepted at Ottawa. The significance of currency fluctuations in this matter is to be noted as an instance of the same tendency towards creating an Empire ring. Since September 1931 India has been definitely linked to sterling, which has moved in all directions in terms of other currencies, either on a gold or a paper basis. The countries which have the sterling standard, that is to say, chiefly the British Empire countries, are naturally drawn together on account of the greater uncertainties of trade with countries on a non-sterling basis.

A still more pertinent factor of statistical administration vitiates the significance of the information supplied in the Report. The imports of British goods into India are always definitely known because when they are shipped at British ports their destination is definitely declared and at any rate in the Indian Customs returns they are accurately recorded. But when goods are sent from India to foreign countries and to Great Britain the system of declaration of final destination is not very reliable. A large quantity of goods is entered as only exports to order, and it is only after a lapse of considerable time that either through British authorities or through the exporters themselves the exact destination is ascertained. It is a common practice of Indian exporters to despatch goods in the first instance to a British port from where they are diverted to the final destination. The report now presented to the Legislature has not been based on the figures for last destination and as such the figures for Indian exports to the United Kingdom as given in it are definitely an exaggeration. The extent of this error will not be known till full information as to final destination is collected, and in the meanwhile it will be improper to judge on the incomplete data now published. In fact we feel that the Government were wrong in timing the presentation of so important a document at a time of the year when they are not in possession of so much vital information.

In the light of all these limitations on the contents of the Meek Report it is doubtful whether we will be justified in spending much thought over the

details of each item of import and export. Still it is desirable that the principal articles of our foreign trade affected by the Ottawa scheme should be closely watched. We propose in a later article to undertake this inquiry. For the present it is enough to draw the attention of readers to the summarised position with respect to the influence of Ottawa on our foreign trade.

The following table adapted from the report will give a fair indication of the general results which we propose to analyse in detail in a later article.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE.						
(Lakhs of Rupees.)						
	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Imports into India from U. K.	113,24	103,10	61,29	44,81	48,80	47,59
Percentage of total imports into India.	44.7	42.8	37.2	35.5	36.8	41.2
Percentage of total exports of U. K.	11.6	10.7	9.3	8.3	9.3	9.1
Exports from India to U. K.	69,04	66,56	51,77	42,88	36,96	46,58
Percentage of total exports from India.	29.9	21.4	23.5	27.5	27.9	31.8
Percentage of total imports into U. K.	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.3	4.6	

It would appear, as the official report states from a superficial perusal of the Table given above that although after the Ottawa Trade Agreement the United Kingdom has improved her position in the Indian market, the extent of the increase of India's share in the British market is considerably larger. How far such a conclusion is borne out by a closer observation of the detailed figures and what significance to attach to such a conclusion we leave over for being discussed in a later contribution.

THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

AN eleventh-hour effort was made by Mahatma Gandhi to dissuade the Aney-Malaviya group from forming a separate party, but this effort was bound to fail. For his compromise proposal only amounted to this, that he would extend to some other Congress leaders the freedom which he had offered to give to Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney to oppose the communal award and vote against it in the Legislative Assembly, if on the ground of conscientious objection they felt it necessary to do so. The proposal could not be acceptable to the dissident group, inasmuch as the freedom they were to receive was to come from Gandhiji as a matter of grace rather than as a matter of right. We are not surprised to see that they considered the proposal unbecoming for them to agree to.

But there was another objection to it. If any one, desiring to offer himself as a candidate at the Assembly election, felt a conscientious objection to the acceptance of the very equivocal policy of the Congress on the communal award, he was to mention that fact in the application to be submitted by him to the Parliamentary Board, whose function it is to nominate the Congress candidates—so that the Board may note that fact and select its candidates accordingly! If the Mahatma really wanted to give more latitude to conscientious objectors, he might have said, the Congress as a body is for non-acceptance cum non-rejection, but it does not want to suppress freedom of opinion on this question. It is quite willing to leave individual Congressmen free either to accept or reject the award. This position one can very well understand. The communal decision would then be a non-party issue. The Congress candidates would be nominated without reference to their views on this question, and being nominated, they would be given all the help in the elections that the Congress machinery is capable of giving.

But this is precisely what the Mahatma does not do. He requires the applicants for candidature at the Assembly election to state in their applications whether they are or are not prepared to follow the Congress policy on the communal award. The Parliamentary Board is thus to be put upon its guard against the selection of those applicants who declare themselves to be unable to accept the Congress policy. The Board, being warned in this manner, may still choose some of them if it likes, but it will be quite within its rights in rejecting all of them. Leaders like Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney are not likely to ask their followers to submit to such an arrangement, which in fact virtually involves the suppression of their opinion.

The Nationalist Party has thus come to be formed. It adopts in most matters the Congress line of policy, but it insists upon dealing with the communal award as the Congress itself proposes to deal with the White Paper. It will reject both the White Paper and the communal award, while the Congress rejects the former and neither-accepts-nor-rejects the

latter, a wholly illogical and indeed an impossible position. It is to be noted that on the communal question the new Party has been able to enlist a large measure of support; and among its supporters are such men as Acharya P. C. Ray and Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. Acharya Ray was considered so long to be one of the most eminent leaders of the Congress and a devoted follower of the Mahatma. He now finds himself compelled to break away from his old associations and join the Nationalist Party. It is yet to be seen whether the opposition to communal electorates, which is the Party's one distinguishing plank, makes an appeal to the people, and whether the Party is able to attract so large a following as to force the Congress to alter its policy, even as the Swaraj party obtained mastery over the Congress and drove orthodox Congressmen to confine themselves to handspinning.

There is one item in the Nationalist Party's programme to which strong exception must be taken even by those who are disposed to agree with its communal award policy. It declares its disapproval of legislative interference in matters of religion. It is true that Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Aney and Mr. Kelkar all stand for abstention from using the machinery of the legislature in socio-religious affairs. But there are others in the Party like Dr. Munje, Acharya Ray and Babu Ramananda Chatterjee who, we are certain, do not support this policy, but who have apparently joined the Party on the understanding that it will be regarded as a minor item, in regard to which freedom will be allowed to those who wish to join the party. No social reformer can ever afford to dispense with the possible support that he will receive from the legislature in carrying through any reform.

If the new Party is sufficiently active it has no mean chance of securing a majority at the next Congress session, for the rank and file Congressmen are certainly opposed to the communal award, but whether it will show the activity that is demanded of it at this crucial period in the country's history is more than one can say with certainty.

AERIAL REARMAMENT OF BRITAIN.

GREAT BRITAIN has decided upon more than a 50 per cent. increase in her air strength, from 77 to 118 squadrons, to be effected within the next five years at a cost of £20 millions. This clearly means, notwithstanding its protestations to the contrary, that His Majesty's Government has thrown up the sponge in regard to an international understanding about disarmament being reached as a result of the Disarmament Conference, and has made up its mind to enter upon an armaments race which cannot but have an ill effect on world peace. Such action was bound to produce resentment in all progressive circles, and the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, had consequently to face a censure motion in the House of Commons on 30th July, which, though defeated, served to show how utterly weak was the Government's position in this respect.

The chief contention that was put forward by Mr. Baldwin on behalf of the Government was that Great Britain had for several years past been pursuing disarmament unilaterally, which had resulted in her holding fifth place in air strength whereas before she was the first Air Power, and that as years went by her weakness would increase more and more, because other nations were increasing their aircraft far more rapidly than England was. In support of this argument he cited an array of figures concerning the Air Forces of the leading countries of the world, but the Opposition subsequently showed how utterly misleading these figures were. The guiding principle that the British Government has adopted in this respect is that of parity in the air with the strongest Air Power within reach of British shores. If this is the principle on which British air policy is based, then it

is idle to point to increases in the air armaments of Russia and Japan and the United States, in which countries the increases are most serious. These countries are very differently situated from Great Britain, and any addition to their air strength is no valid reason for a similar addition to Great Britain's. For instance, as Sir Herbert Samuel pointed out, Russia "has great interests in the Far East and the Pacific. Her communications from her metropolis to the distant provinces are extremely difficult. There is a formidable competitor in the Pacific in Japan, and Russia has been immensely increasing her Air Force in the Far East in order to deter any possible act of aggression on the part of her neighbour there." Similarly with Japan and the U. S. A. Increases in the aircraft of these countries may or may not be justifiable, but they certainly afford no justification for a corresponding increase in the British aircraft. The only two countries whose increases should affect Great Britain are France and Germany. France has increased the number of machines by 300 to 400 in the last four years (England's addition amounting to only 42 machines) and has provided for £15 millions in her budget for her re-equipment programme over and above the annual air estimates. But the point to remember about this is the one which Sir Herbert Samuel put so pithily to the House, viz. that France is building up an air fleet "in common purpose" with England.

It is true that German rearmament is causing a great deal of concern in England. Officially she has no military Air Force at all, for she can have none under the terms of the Versailles Treaty. But there is no doubt that she is building one, which if not military can be used for military purposes, at break-neck speed. Sir John Simon put it in a very general way when he said: "Germany's interest in air development is very marked, and the sums proposed to be spent upon it under the proclaimed heads of 'Civil Aviation' and 'Passive Air Defence' are very striking." But other members in positions of less responsibility and greater freedom were more explicit. For instance, Mr. Churchill stated that Germany had already, in violation of the Treaty, created a military Air Force, which was nearly two-thirds as strong as the present home defence Air Force of England; that by the end of 1935 the German Air Force would be nearly equal; and that in 1936 it would be definitely and substantially stronger. Then he added:

But in this connection we must face some of the facts about German civil aviation and British civil aviation. I am assured that the German civil aviation is three or four times as large as our civil aviation; but that is only a part of the story. The British civil aviation is in its character purely commercial, and the machines cannot be converted for military purposes without falling far below the comfortable standard of war machines. Our civil machines would have little war value, if they were to be converted. We are, I think, the only country whose civil aviation is so completely divorced from the technical and military aspects. The German machines, on the other hand, have been deliberately and scientifically planned by the Government for the express purpose of being converted into war machines. Not only have they a speed and a design suited for this purpose, with

machines going at over 200 miles an hour, but the whole scheme of conversion has been prepared and organised with minute and earnest forethought. I am perfectly ready to be corrected, and no one will be more pleased than I to hear a convincing, an overwhelming, answer on the subject, but I am informed that the bombing racks which would be substituted for the passenger accommodation in a great number of these fast German civil machines have already been made and delivered, and it would be a matter of only a few hours to unbolt the one and fasten in the other.

The same story can be told about the pilots. Germany has a trained personnel of pilots which is many times more numerous than our own. Gliders are a wonderful process for training pilots, giving them air sense, and there are, I believe, over 500 qualified glider pilots in Germany.

Captain Guest gave more figures. "The number of civil aircraft which are capable of immediate conversion number over 1,800. The number of pilots they possess to-day is more than 3,000, as well able to fly military machines as any of the pilots in any other country. We possess, at the present minute, about 1,500 war pilots and a reserve of about 1,000. So it will be seen that on the basis of pilots alone there is very little difference between the strength of the two countries even to-day. The rapidity with which the great factories in Germany can turn out aeroplanes is known to everybody who has ever visited that great country, and that capacity for turning out aeroplanes, if the order were once given, has been quoted at something like 1,000 a month. . . . The gliding certificates, Class A, obtained in Germany number 10,000; similar Class A licenses in England number 350. . . . Germany spent last year 177 million marks, which, translated into pounds, is £17 millions. She is spending it nominally on civil aviation, but we have tried to show that that is really war aviation in very thin disguise." It is true of course that, as Sir John Simon said, "there are no treaty limitations on the development of German civil aviation so long as it is purely civil in character. (But) many machines are capable of a double use. . . . Commercial machines of sufficient lift and range, especially if they have also the quality of high speed, are able to lift bombs just as they can lift passengers and luggage, and that consideration must manifestly be borne in mind in any estimate of contingent air power in any country in the world." All this may be at once allowed, but still it cannot be pretended that Germany has become too great a power for the present British Air Force to cope with. As Sir Herbert Samuel remarked, "Nothing that we have so far seen or heard would suggest that our present Air Force, which is not a negligible body, which is highly efficient, a most devoted force, and well equipped, is not adequate to meet any peril at the present time from that quarter." It is not necessary to adopt an air standard equal to that of France in order to meet a possible menace from Germany. The proposed addition is therefore not justified by the needs of England's own security. For it is entirely untrue to speak, as Lord Londonderry, did of that "dangerous weakness of Britain in the air."

But the claim of the British Government is that the contribution which England is under a moral

and legal obligation to make to the system of collective security cannot be made in full measure unless her air power is increased. "Without the additions now proposed," said Mr. Baldwin, "to our air defence we should be unable a few years hence, when the foreign programmes of which I have spoken have all been completed, to carry out in such a world as would then exist the Locarno commitment." This is pure buncum, as was shown with convincing logic by Mr. Attlee and Sir Herbert Samuel. The Covenant and the Locarno Treaty do not require any of the countries which subscribe to them to add to their own forces in order to afford security to others. The Treaty of Locarno only pledges them to employ all their resources, whatever they be, determined by the single consideration of their own individual needs, in defence of a country against which an aggression has been committed, England need not feel as if the sole responsibility for punishing disturbers of peace rests on her. Sir Herbert Samuel put it very well when he said: "We are not universal policemen to carry out all the obligations of the League. . . . The opinion that when we signed the Covenant of the League we thereby covenanted to make ourselves into a more powerfully armed nation is one which is wholly antipathetic to the whole spirit of that document and of its purpose. . . . When we signed the Locarno Treaty we were not of the opinion that it would mean that each of the signatories was to arm against each other, and that if any one increased its forces the other must do the same in order to fulfil the obligations of Locarno."

The plea put forward by the Government on this score is obviously and manifestly absurd; but its spokesmen reinforce the plea by other arguments. As in tariffs, they say, so is in armaments. You cannot go to a Round Table Conference and negotiate a convention for the reduction or limitation of armaments until you have some kind of weapon in your hands. You must first of all increase your own armaments and then offer to make a reduction provided other countries agree to reduce theirs. If you do so, you will be listened to; but if you went to a Disarmament Conference and said, "We have already reduced our armaments to the lowest limit compatible with safety; now you must do likewise," then you will be treated as the late William Graham was treated in the matter of tariff reduction. Being pledged to free trade, he had nothing with which he could bargain with the protectionist countries; so it happens in disarmament talks to the countries which carry out a unilateral disarmament without reference to what others do. Sir John Simon expressed himself thus on this point. He said: "With one-sided disarmament in any future agreement for reduction we have less to give. I remember that Lewis Carroll in one of his poems described a curious creature that he called the Snark as having the unhappy quality:—

At charity concerts he stands at the door,
And collects, but he does not subscribe.

It is extremely difficult to carry through a successful negotiation of an international agreement for limitation and reduction of armaments if as a matter of fact, with the best will in the world, you have carried

your own disarmament in advance to such a point that you cannot make a contribution to it. For these reasons, the programme of air expansion (announced by the Government) cannot prejudice a disarmament agreement and may very possibly assist it." This reasoning leads to the conclusion, as the *Manchester Guardian* sardonically remarks, that England must double her battle-fleet to get rid of submarines; otherwise she will have nothing to bargain with!

It is true, as Mr. Baldwin said, that "the British Draft Convention went so far as to propose the complete abolition of military and naval aircraft, subject to an effective supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes." But the British delegation has been very half-hearted in pursuing this aim. It does not boldly attack the difficulties that may stand in the way of attaining the desired object; it rather seems to delight in raising all sorts of difficulties of its own. That Sir John Simon and his coadjutors have played this negative part at Geneva was adversely remarked by several members of the House, the most prominent attention being drawn to it by a Liberal member, Mr. Mander, who, with all his appreciation for the excellence of the British Draft Convention, said: "The contribution of the British Government, so far as they have made any contribution, has been in the way of obstruction and the pointing out of difficulties" in considering proposals mooted by men like M. Madariaga in the Air Committee, and they put forward no constructive proposals themselves. Sir John Simon's mind works in that way; he cannot help it!

IMPASSE IN CEYLON.

THE action of the British Government in imposing on Ceylon a scheme of quotas in respect of the imports of cotton and rayon piecegoods has created widespread indignation there. After a prolonged debate, the Ceylon State Council carried *nem. con.* a resolution protesting against the arbitrary action of the British Government and calling upon the Ministers to take immediate steps to nullify its injurious effects and the island is bubbling over with similar angry demonstrations which find expression at public meetings and in writings in the press. Why did the Government draw all this wrath upon itself?

The failure of the Anglo-Japanese trade negotiations last May was followed by the British Government trying to impress upon different Colonial Governments the necessity of taking steps for the protection of British trade from uneconomic Japanese competition. If, as in India, Ceylon had a textile industry whose products Japan was trying to undersell, Ceylon would have of her own volition followed India's example and entered into a trade agreement with Japan with a view to averting its unfair competition. But there being practically no such industry there, the trading interests of the two countries have no conflict to face. On the other hand, Ceylon has every reason to welcome the unrestricted imports of cheap Japanese goods which are regarded as a god-send by the poorer sections of the Ceylonese population, specially in their present economically depressed condition. And if nothing but the poor consumer's interests were to be taken into account, the Ceylon Ministers would hardly have deserved any blame if the British Government's appeal had left them absolutely unmoved. As a matter of fact how-

ever they expressed their earnest desire to co-operate with the British Government in the achievement of its object. Only they objected to the quota system proposed by that Government as being harmful to Ceylonese interests and submitted counterproposals which, while safeguarding local interests, were also calculated to afford ample protection to British trading interests. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to examine the Ceylon Ministers' suggestions beyond noting the spirit of cordial goodwill and co-operation which they evidenced. The Ministers did no doubt try to exploit the situation for striking a bargain with the Imperial Government for the purpose of securing an improved market in the United Kingdom for Ceylon's staple commodities, coconut and plumbago, whose prices are at present abnormally low. Even so, the genuineness of the Ministers' intentions to go to the rescue of the British Government in shielding British trade from Japanese competition can hardly be called in question.

What has been the British Government's response to this gesture by Ceylon? After vainly trying to convince the Ceylonese Ministers that the end in view could be attained only by a system of quotas, it has, in exercise of the special powers vested in it, imposed the system on the island. And strange to relate, resort to the special powers is made in the name of "peace, order and good government"! One can perhaps excuse the British Government invoking its exceptional powers for the satisfaction of its own ends, for it is the sole judge of the circumstances in which the powers are to be called into play. But its pretence that unless they so act, peace and order of Ceylon would be jeopardised is utterly unjustifiable and can deceive nobody. Whether, as is contended in some quarters in Ceylon, its action is unconstitutional and illegal, it is difficult to say. The point can only be finally decided by a judicial court to which those who feel inclined to doubt its validity may be trusted to refer it. But the imposition of the quota system, far from helping in the maintenance of peace and order in Ceylon, has only served to fan the flame of public discontent there with the possibility of very unpleasant repercussions on its peaceful and orderly life.

A measure of the public abhorrence aroused by the British Government's action is furnished by the proposal, popularly advocated, to boycott goods manufactured in England. The idea does not however promise to share a better fate than it has done in India so far; nor, if past experience is any guide to the future, is the British Government likely to allow the agitation to spread unchecked. But whether the boycott fails or succeeds, the Ceylonese people can in no way be blamed for precipitating a crisis or for being unduly harsh on the Imperial Government. They feel, and rightly too, that in a clash of Ceylonese with British interests, the former have been heartlessly allowed to go to the wall. It is this consideration which has angered them all the more against the British Government, which should, if it is wise, lose no time in devising means of resolving the present impasse in Ceylon.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, August 10.

BRITISH MESSAGE TO INDIA.

IT is interesting to note that Mirabai, who is now touring the country in an endeavour to interpret the Mahatma in particular and the Indian

national demand in general, has sponsored the following "Message from Men and Women of Great Britain to the Indian People and their Leader, Mahatma Gandhi", which she is getting signed by those whom she is addressing at her various meetings:

"We, the undersigned men and women of Great Britain, send you, the people of India and your, Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, this message of brotherhood and goodwill through your National Congress, which is to re-assemble at the end of this coming October of 1934. We associate ourselves with your desire to control your own destinies as a nation. We deplore the causes of your deepening discontent, and believe that one of the serious reasons why public opinion is so dissatisfied in your country is because you, as a people, have never yet been able to treat with us as a people, through a body of your own elected representatives for the purpose of settling a constitution. We regard a final, just and peaceful settlement between Great Britain and India's three hundred and fifty millions as a matter of supreme human importance, and believe that such a settlement cannot be reached except by honourable negotiation between elected representatives of our two countries. We, therefore, welcome and support your National Congress Working Committee's suggestion of a Constituent Assembly, to be elected by the Indian people, for the purpose of drafting an Indian constitution, and hope that a constitution so drafted, could be given final and lasting shape by agreement between the elected leaders of our two countries inspired by mutual trust. We British people cherish the ideal of Freedom and Justice through self-determination for ourselves, and we hold it to be the fundamental right of all peoples."

Whilst Miss Slade is explaining to British audiences the working of her Guru's mind, and the *Manchester Guardian* remarks of him that "He is a man capable even at the eleventh hour of changing his line of action in accordance with the demand of hard facts. Hence we may still have to look to him for the political salvation of India" Mirabai is also telling her audiences that if they will only adopt non-violence as their sole weapon of offence and defence, and if necessary go to jail in their thousands in order to secure redress of grievances in the face of hostile legislation, they and the peoples of Europe will secure their own salvation by the use of an alternative to revolution and violence. One might have supposed, at any rate in a country like this which enjoys adult franchise, that the electorate could find some other means of securing redress of grievances.

DR. ANSARI'S VISIT.

I had the pleasure, during his short stay here, of meeting my old friend Dr. Ansari more than once. His health has certainly, to some extent, improved, but owing to his professional attendance upon H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, who is now once more on his way back to India. Dr. Ansari had no time to complete his cure, and he has now returned to Austria for that purpose. Whilst he is anxious to render the maximum possible service to his country in as many ways as are open to him, I gather from him that he does not feel that he will be able to take part in the actual rough and tumble of Parliamentary activity, and he has therefore made it quite clear to his colleagues that whilst he is willing to continue to act as President of the Congress Parliamentary Board, he has definitely made up his mind not to become a candidate for Assembly honours.

In this week's *Manchester Guardian* there appears a column interview with him, in which he sets out summarily the views of himself and his colleagues for a programme of constitutional parliamentary opposition, and it is all to the good that so reasonable a spokesman for the Congress point of view

should have set forth its programme as announced at length in the authorised statement just released for publication, in which that programme is described with some elaboration. It is very important that these matters should be explained to the British public explicitly and with moderation, and the Congress is fortunate that its interpreter on this occasion should be such an unembittered and charming personality as Dr. Ansari. It is not to be wondered at that his influence with the Mahatma is so considerable, since they share these personal characteristics in common. Dr. Ansari, as will be seen from the interview, puts the Constituent Assembly right in the forefront of the Congress programme to be worked for in the Assembly, but I gather from him that he has no illusions as to the difficulties in the way of securing such a Constituent Assembly, and of the time that it may take before the leaders of other Nationalist Parties and organisations are convinced of the desirability or the necessity of holding such an Assembly. If my friend Mr. Krishna Menon, who has recently criticised some remarks of mine in your columns, had the advantage, as I did, of hearing Dr. Ansari's own views on the difficulties of this aspect of the Congress programme, I feel sure that we shall be in a larger measure of agreement thereon than he seemed to think was possible. I have only to add that during the short period of Dr. Ansari's stay here he met several prominent people in the public life of the country and thereby established personal contacts of a very valuable character, and that may help in the promotion of more friendly relations with Congress in the early future.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROSPECTS.

To-day's *Times* contains a very important editorial written upon the topic of the Viceroy's return. Lord and Lady Willingdon leave on their return to India to-morrow after a very busy "holiday" in this country. Their activities have been wide and sustained. Lady Willingdon, among her many interests, made a broadcast appeal last Sunday night, for a lakh of rupees to enable the New Delhi Anglican Church to be completed. It is difficult indeed to accept her statement that she was very "frightened" on the occasion, though many public men and women have found great embarrassment when appearing before the microphone.

The *Times* is of the opinion that the Viceroy's visit has been of the very greatest value in helping reasonable opinion here to get itself into perspective after the many attempts that have been made by those who are notoriously hostile to the Indian reforms to stampede it. This is probably, on the whole, true, and one may generally agree with the *Times* that the prospects of the reforms are to-day better than they have been for some time, and that for this the quiet work of the Viceroy is largely responsible. There has been, too, a very considerable reaction in the country against the attempts made to smash the Government during the Committee of Privileges episode, the infructuous endeavour to get the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to go back upon its evidence, and to fasten upon the Viceroy the responsibility for the death of the late Jam Sahib. As the *Times* correctly remarks, the public must begin to wonder regarding the *bona fides* of a movement that is dependent upon such questionable methods of propaganda as these. It is true that the Lancashire group of the India Defence League, which opposes the White Paper proposals on the ground that they "do not afford adequate protection for the preservation of British trade with India", claims to have obtained the signatures of twenty-five thousand mill operatives to a petition against the adoption of those proposals. It is comparatively easy to realise, however, that it is a little difficult to mislead the masses

in this country by false publicity as it is in the case of the masses in India. Anyway, Mr. Mody in the *Manchester Guardian* has successfully nailed down a series of misstatements made by Mr. Churchill about him in the Address recently delivered by the "sage of Epping" at the Manchester Free Trade Hall last June.

Review.

PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.

PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX. A MANUAL FOR STUDENTS. By HAVELOCK ELLIS. (William Heineman.) 1933. 22cm. 222p. 12/6.

THIS is a book primarily intended for medical students. The author says in his preface: "I have indeed felt that medical education displays at this point a vacuum which is altogether lamentable." This is not at all surprising, especially in England, where professors in medical colleges feel embarrassed in the presence of lady-students and have given their opinion against mixed classes. Hitherto, it may be said that laymen have taken a greater interest in sex than medical people in England and a reflection of the same attitude is seen in India.

To those who have never seen beyond traditional ideas about sex, this book will be an eye-opener. When an eminent author like Havelock Ellis expresses any opinion unpalatable to tradition-mongers, they are in the habit of saying that the opinions of such eminent specialists are based on pathological cases. The author however defends himself against this suggestion: "It has sometimes been stated that those larger volumes (his larger work) deal chiefly with the pathological side of sex. That is an error. I might even claim that my *Studies* differed from all previous work on the subject by a main concern with the normal phenomena of sex. The same main concern is preserved in the present book" (p. vi). He claims however that "no sharp boundary-line exists between normal and abnormal."

The book considers varied aspects of the subject and it will not be out of place to mention a few observations which may appear startling to old-fashioned readers. Here is what he says on the attitude of physicians: "In the scientific knowledge of these matters, the physician is often less well-informed than his patient, and not seldom is the victim of false traditions and antiquated prejudices. Religion and morality have been invoked in behalf of silence on such subjects by those who might have remembered that, even from his own standpoint, a great Father of the Church had declared that we should not be ashamed to speak of what God was not ashamed to create." Magistrates in this country and elsewhere might take a lesson from this.

The author condemns the use of the word "perversion" with reference to sex and prefers the word "deviation" for anything differing from the normal. "The conclusion we are today slowly reaching is that the abnormal gratification of the sexual impulse, however unusual and repugnant it may seem, calls for no condemnation or interference, except in two classes of cases, the one affecting medicine, the other the law." The first class includes cases where the patient is injuring himself, the second those in which he injures others. Then again, "Taking sexual relationships in the widest sense, but still on the physical side, it is important always to bear in mind that whatever gives satisfaction and relief to both parties is good and right, and even in the best sense normal, . . . *Fellatio* and *cunnilingus*, . . . are perhaps the chief of

these contacts." I shall not explain these words, as magistrates may consider any explanation obscene. As regards masturbation and similar manifestations, he says: "We cannot properly term them 'perverse.' They are natural." And later on, speaking of the much-exaggerated results of the habit, "A more temperate view now prevails. It is generally believed that masturbation may, in special cases, lead on to various undesirable results, but it is no longer held that, even when practised to excess, it can, in healthy and sane individuals (supposing that such are likely to practise it to excess), produce the highly morbid states once supposed to be a common consequence." I have personally seen so many cases of youths frightened by the supposed results of masturbation when there was absolutely nothing wrong with them otherwise, that it seems desirable to emphasize this view of modern experts. About "bestiality," meaning intercourse with animals, he says: "Moreover it has to be remembered that, except in the occasional cases which involve cruelty to animals, or are united with sadism, bestiality is not a directly anti-social act at all..."

About abstinence: "Those who belittle the difficulties of sexual abstinence may do well to consider the experience of the early Christian ascetics in the desert... These men were vigorous and resolute, they were whole-heartedly devoted to the ideals of asceticism, they were living in the best possible conditions for cultivating such ideals, and their régime was austere to a degree that is for us impossible and almost inconceivable. Yet there was nothing that troubled them so much as sexual temptation, and this trouble to some degree persisted through life." The stories about ancient Indian Rishis point to the same conclusion. The so-called means usually advised for this purpose fail lamentably. "Healthy physical exercise, so far from repressing sexual desire, much more often, both in men and women, acts as a stimulant to evoke it, and only has a subduing influence when carried to an unhealthy and immoderate excess, producing exhaustion. Avoidance of a meat diet is equally ineffective, and Hirschfeld remarks that the carnivorous animals show less sexual ardour than the graminivorous..." There is much talk about sublimation. "But only a small proportion of sexual energy can thus be sublimated." The proportion depends on the individual constitution.

The author is not at all known as a radical writer and has definitely orthodox tendencies, as for instance when he differs from radical writers who are in favour of physicians advising sexual intercourse to patients clearly suffering from nervous trouble as a result of sexual abstinence: "says a Catholic priest, or a married woman with an impotent husband." But he does say that the physician should put the matter plainly before the patient and leave him or her to choose what to do: to go on suffering or try the only remedy possible, illegitimate intercourse.

Traditional people like to take it for granted that woman is essentially monogamic, that she is by nature attracted to only one man at a time. Listen to the author: "It would seem that most persons, women as well as men, are monogamic and poly-erotic. That is to say they only desire one permanent marriage, but they do not find that that relationship stands in the way of sexual attraction to one or more other persons... There appears to be no sexual difference in this matter."

About abortion: "When women have more influence than at present in effecting legislative changes, there can be no doubt that the legal prohibition of abortion, which is based on grounds that are now antiquated, will be modified. And it will become clearly established that this is a personal

question with which the law is not entitled to interfere. If inadvisable, it is for the doctor, not the policeman, to offer an opinion."

The author has also a chapter on the Art of Love, a subject which is usually considered obscene, at least by traditional magistrates. The author's own *Studies* had to be published in America, because they were considered obscene in England. An idea of the vast change in public opinion may be obtained from the fact that the present *Manual* has been published in England. The book contains a chapter on homosexuality in both sexes, though a novel on the same subject, though perfectly decent in language, was recently condemned because of the subject. The distinction is that the present work is intended for medical students, an utterly stupid distinction, since medical books may be read by anybody.

To those who are determined not to have anything to do with modern knowledge, and there are many such, the book has obviously no message. But to those whose brains are not petrified in the traditional mould, it is a treasure and I am not speaking of medical students or practitioners, but of the general public. Sex is a subject that concerns all and people must not depend on their physicians to tell them what they choose about it, if they had adequate knowledge, which at present they have not. And this book is written by one of the most famous experts in the world.

R. D. KARVE.

Miscellaneous.

WHITE PAPER AND COMMUNAL AWARD.

MUSLIM CRITICISM OF CONGRESS POLICY.

The following resolutions were passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference which recently met at Simla. They have also been agreed to in substance by the Council of the All-India Muslim League which met separately. The resolutions run:

DELAY IN REFORMS.

IN view of the fact that enquiry into proposals for reforms has already taken nearly seven years the All-India Muslim Conference considers it of utmost importance that necessary legislation be undertaken during the course of the year and enacted before the middle of 1935 so as to constitute provincial legislatures before the end of 1935.

COMMUNAL AWARD AND W. P.

As in fact certain public bodies and persons are seeking to reject the Communal Award directly or indirectly, this meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference reiterates its conviction that although such of the Muslim demands as are embodied in the Communal Award and the White Paper are inadequate to afford that measure of protection to the Muslim community which the existing condition of the country warrants and which had been urged by the Conference from time to time, any modification in the provisions thereof, affecting these Muslim safeguards, without the consent of the Muslims, will render any constitution wholly unacceptable to the Muslim community.

SEPARATION OF SIND.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference is of the view that Sind should immediately be given the status of a separate province under the existing Constitution, and that under the new Constitution it should have

the same status and power as other autonomous provinces of India.

REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES.

While welcoming the recognition by the Government of India of (1) the existing inadequacy of Muslim representation in central Services, (2) the failure of measures of 1925 to afford the relief they were expected to give and (3) the acceptance of the principle that a minimum representation should be fixed, this meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference is of opinion that the Government has failed them in the services of their interests, justice and fair play, so far as the Muslims are concerned, inasmuch as (a) it has fixed Muslim representation at 25 per cent. on the population basis, and not on the basis of their representation in the legislatures, that is 33 1/3 per cent. and (b) further as it has failed to make any transitory provision to make good the existing extreme inadequacy of Muslim representation and (c) as it has made no provision for setting up an organization to see that the Government resolution on the subject is properly carried out and given effect to and that it does not meet the same fate with which the resolution of 1925 had met. This Conference urges that it should be made the duty of a special officer to examine how far these orders are being carried out and that his report should be placed every year before the Central Legislature in time for the consideration of members in connection with the budget discussions.

EMPLOYMENT RATIO.

In view of the fact that a vast majority of public servants are employed by Provincial Governments and bodies under them this meeting of the All-India Muslim Conference urges the necessity of fixing the proportions of Mussalmans in all grades and branches of services, whether under the Government or local bodies, in accordance with their proportions in the Provincial Legislatures as the present proportions are hopelessly inadequate.

MUSLIM ELECTION MANIFESTO.

The joint manifesto issued by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference and the Council of the All-India Muslim League says:—

IN the past the Muslim community has suffered owing to disunion and lack of co-ordinated and concerted action. It is, therefore, essential that the greatest measure of solidarity that has fortunately been reached in recent years in formulaing and presenting the Muslim demands must be maintained. In order to take the fullest advantage of the forthcoming reforms, steps should be taken at the earliest to provide means of exerting our full strength and influence in the affairs of our country.

On the one hand, the Hindu Mahasabha is bent upon destroying the Communal Award and is leaving no stone unturned to attain that object. On the other hand, the Congress, in order to enlist the sympathy of the Muslim community, professes neither to accept nor reject the Communal Award. Yet it is trying to destroy it by having the White Paper rejected *in toto*, as it claims that with the rejection of the White Paper the Communal Award must automatically lapse.

Therefore, the Muslim electorates should vote only for such candidates as subscribe to the principles and policy of the All-India Muslim Conference or the All-India Muslim League and have won the community's confidence by consistently supporting

in the past the principles and policy mentioned above including in particular (a) the Communal Award and separate electorates; (b) the safeguards demanded by the Muslims in the new constitution; and (c) adequate representation of Muslims in all services by special reservations for them.

Each candidate should sign the pledge given below. Any candidate who signs the pledge should be supported in preference to any candidate who has not signed it, whether set up by any other organisation or not. For maintaining our solidarity it is in the highest degree essential that the Muslim public should strongly oppose any candidate who does not comply with the conditions mentioned above.

We appeal to the Muslim voters throughout India to send to the legislatures only such representatives as comply with the above conditions.

The pledge is as follows:—

"I do hereby pledge myself to (a) accept the creed, aims and objects of the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League; (b) to stand by the Communal Award and separate electorates, as well as by the safeguards demanded by the Muslim community and the adequate representation of Muslims in the services; (c) to vote with the majority of the elected Muslim members in the legislatures in all matters affecting the interests of the Muslim community, (d) to work for the modification and improvement of the proposed constitution with a view to securing responsible government suitable for India."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SONGS FROM PRISON. By M. K. GANDHI. Ed. by JOHN. S. HOYLAND. (Allen & Unwin.) 1934. 20cm. 160p. 3/6.
- MANCHURIA. By ELIZABETH M. LYNSKEY and ASIA COM. (The Catholic Association for International Peace, Mass. Washington, D. C.) 1934. 18cm. 70p. 10 cents.
- CHINESE POLITICS TO-DAY. By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY. (The University of Minnesota Press.) 1934. 20cm. 31p. 25 cents.
- A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS. By V. I. LENIN. (International Publishers, New York.) 1934. 23p. 5 cents.
- A HISTORY OF PUNJABI LITERATURE (1110-1932). By MOHAN SINGH. (The Author, Professor in the University of the Punjab, Lahore.) 22cm. 139p. Rs. 15.

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