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Topics of the Week.

Bombay Riots.

A COMMUNAL disorder, one of the worst for several years in this presidency, has been in progress in Bombay since Thursday last. The origin of the trouble is due to circumstances almost parallel to those leading to the Sonya Maruti firing incident in Poona City nearly six months ago. In Byeulla as in Poona a Maruti temple and a Muslim mosque were situated at a small distance from each other. A part of the site belonging to the temple had to be acquired by the municipality for road-widening purposes. A settlement with the temple authorities provided for the construction by the municipality of certain buildings including a *sabha mandap* or a public hall for worship and prayer on the adjoining open space.

To this settlement the Muslims raised an objection on the ground that the offering of Hindu prayers in the proposed hall would disturb them while they were at worship in the adjoining mosque. This objection seems to be an after-thought in view of the fact that the use of the temple and its vicinity by the Hindus for prayers has admittedly never been found to have interfered with Muslim worship in the mosque. Why it should have a different effect hereafter is difficult to see, except on the supposition that Muslim mentality has since undergone a transformation. But, as if to leave not the least cause for dissatisfaction on the part of the Muslims, the settlement also provided for the erection of a wall on the border between the temple and the mosque. The Muslims were also authoritatively assured that if the noises in the temple proved a public nuisance,

Government would not shrink from using their powers under the law for the purpose of stopping it.

THIS would have been considered adequate to the needs of giving due and reasonable consideration to the religious susceptibilities of our Muslim brethren by all normally-minded persons and, if newspaper reports are to be trusted, was in fact so regarded by the saner section among the Muslims. But the case was otherwise with the less sober sections of the Muslim community whose religious fanaticism is in inverse ratio to their enlightenment and culture. These mischievous and rowdy elements, of whom there is never any lack in Bombay City, tried to take the law into their own hands when the settlement was sought to be implemented by the commencement of building operations by the Municipality on Thursday last. The work of construction has been since started under police protection.

THE loss of life and property due to the riots is heavy and owing to the disturbed conditions of life prevailing in the city the exodus of people to their native places up-country and in the districts is natural. The police, however, claim to have the situation well in hand and have so far handled it without any assistance worth mentioning from the military. Since Sunday British troops have been patrolling the streets but that is all the help for which the police have drawn on the military in reestablishing public confidence. Prohibition of assemblages of more than five, curfew order, rounding up of notorious *budmashes*—as a result of the strict enforcement of these and similar measures it is hoped that peace will not be long in returning to Bombay.

Material for Indian Sandhurst.

THE unsuitability of the material for the Indian Sandhurst is among the grounds officially urged against the Indian demand for a speedier Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Army. The appointment of a committee to go into the problem and suggest means of improving the quality of this material was pressed on Government last March by means of a non-official resolution moved in the Council of State. The Commander-in-Chief opposed a formal inquiry by a committee but promised to have the problem looked into informally in consultation with the representatives of the Indian legislature. The results of the investigation he then foreshadowed have now been made available to the public.

THE participants in this informal inquiry had to work under a heavy handicap. They were not free to touch upon the fundamental problem of the present policy of extremely slow Indianisation, with which the limited question of how to attract a better type of

Indian youth for the Indian Sandhurst is closely inter-linked. In the circumstances any suggestions made by them were bound to be only in the nature of tinkering with the problem and could in no way be expected to be a lasting or even a moderately satisfactory solution of the problem. Though they made a conscious attempt to avoid any reference to the bigger and more important problem, they could not help coming up against it at each and every step.

TAKE, for example, the question of a reduction of fees charged at the Indian Military Academy. These are prohibitive and place the Academy out of reach of people of moderate means. One of the ways of attracting better material for the Sandhurst at Dehra Dun is obviously to reduce them to a considerable extent. But how could fees be reduced without an increase in the number of cadets? Now any increase in the intake of the College is a question of policy which was outside the scope of this inquiry. Apart from this, Sir Robert Cassells has promised to see if any reduction of fees is feasible. We do not know if one would be justified in setting much store by his promise. But this one point shows the utter futility of attempting a satisfactory solution of the immediate problem that formed the subject of this inquiry without at the same time trying to tackle the main problem of the policy of Indianisation.

UNDER the terms of the agreement the parents or guardians of the cadets are required to refund in certain eventualities a maximum of Rs. 5,000 representing the cost of training at the Academy. Though this penal clause has so far remained inoperative, its wide phraseology doubtless deters many parents from sending their sons to the Military College. A change in the wording of the contract so as to entitle Government to the refund only in case of misconduct on the part of the cadet or in case of his leaving the Army within five years from the date of his getting a commission was suggested. All that is officially promised under this head is that the powers conferred on them by this clause would be used with discretion.

It is discovered that only three provinces, viz., Bombay, Madras and U. P., grant scholarships to cadets wishing to be trained at the Academy. Both the number and amount of such scholarships are meagre. The non-officials present at this conference with the Commander-in-Chief suggested not only that these should be increased in number and value, but that the Central Government should use its good offices with the other provincial Governments with a view to inducing them to follow suit. This throws no additional financial burden on the Central exchequer and Sir Robert Cassells had little difficulty in agreeing to the recommendation.

AMONG the other recommendations which emanated from this conference special mention must be made of one which suggests the reservation of some direct commissions for well-qualified members of the U. T. C. and the territorials. There can hardly be any doubt as to the reasonableness of this recommendation, but the Commander-in-Chief turned it down unceremoniously and without even a show of an attempt to justify his refusal!

Ban on Dr. Satyapal.

THE Government is apparently bent upon placing the Congress at a decided disadvantage in fighting the elections, at any rate in the N. W. F. Province. Not

content with banning the Frontier Gandhi's entry into his own province, they have now issued a similar prohibition in regard to Dr. Satyapal. It was well known that his intention in wishing to visit the province was to help the local Congress authorities in preparing for the elections. But he has been ordered to desist from carrying out his intention. He has decided not to break the order and his visit has accordingly been cancelled.

WE do not know if this action can be construed as official interference with the elections. It will be defended as an attempt to prevent the spread of "sedition" under cover of electioneering propaganda, for which purpose the Home Member to the Government of India speaking in the Assembly on a recent date justified official interference. But how could the Government know beforehand that Dr. Satyapal, if allowed to visit the Frontier province, would engage himself in making the people of that province seditious-minded? Unless our memory fails us, he has not so far been convicted of sedition. But even if he was, why should the Government have persuaded themselves that he would repeat the offence at the first opportunity in the N. W. F. Province?

THAT his mission to that province was admittedly political can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as an excuse for externing him from it. For aught we know, he might have conducted himself in no way obnoxious to the Government. If by any chance this expectation had been belied and he had been found busy fomenting sedition, the Government would have been free to prosecute him for the offence. But why should the Government put themselves to the inconvenience of this long-winded process of bringing an offender to book when more handy means of nipping the supposed mischief in the bud are at hand?

Late Sir Lalubhai Samaldas.

THE death of Sir Lalubhai Samaldas at Bombay last week will cause widespread grief, especially amongst co-operators. "Lalu Kaka", as he was fondly styled by those who knew him intimately, was a pioneer worker in the co-operative field, his exertions being instrumental in bringing many co-operative societies into being in the earlier stages of the movement. With the late Sir Vithaldas Thakersey he shared the distinction of being the founder of the Bombay Central Co-operative Bank, the post of whose manager his son Mr. Vaikunth Mehta is so ably filling. His interest in the co-operative movement was so thorough and deep-rooted that he later came to be looked upon as an authority on co-operation. Of this no better testimony need be adduced than the fact that his advice on co-operative problems was eagerly sought by other provinces as well as many States in India. The MacLagan Committee which more than twenty years ago concerned itself with the problem of re-organisation of the co-operative movement in the country counted Sir Lalubhai in its personnel. The Indian Economic Conference held at Benares in 1925 had Sir Lalubhai for its President, and he guided its deliberations with an ability which gave evidence of his deep study of economic problems.

TO the Servants of India Society his death is in the nature of a personal loss. By his intimate contact with its founder and his close interest in its well-being he had come to be looked upon as one of its warm friends and benefactors. Only in June last at the invitation of the President of the Society Sir Lalubhai addressed its members on the Provincial

Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank, of which he continued to be the President till his death. The loss of such an undoubted friend will be deeply felt by it for many a long year.

The Church in Spain.

THE attacks of the loyalist forces on the convents and churches in Spain constitute the most formidable charge against the Government of the Republic. To outsiders like us the situation becomes quite incomprehensible. We therefore reproduce on another page an article on "Spain: Church against Republic" by Robert Neville from the *New Republic* of 16th September. The *New Republic* itself says, commenting on the article: "Americans reading the article may rightly conclude that the bitter hostility of a large part of the Spanish population toward the Catholic Church is not a wicked, senseless or communist inspired hatred of religion itself, but is rather a natural resentment against a reactionary social institution that stands in the way of their aspiration for political and economic freedom. Regrettable as are the human tragedies accompanying the fight against this institution, nothing else could be expected under the circumstances."

Nomination Should Go.

A MEMORANDUM on the proposed amendment of the C. P. municipal law prepared by Mr. A. D. Mani, member, Servants of India Society and officiating editor of the *Hitavada*, has been published. The memorandum was considered by the Nagpur Ratepayers' Association and carries with it its general support. It is proposed to make a reference here only to one objectionable feature of the new legislation. It seeks to retain the nominated element in municipalities which, it is provided, may go up to one-sixth of the total membership. At a time when nomination is eliminated from the constitution of more important bodies like Provincial Legislative Assemblies even under the highly unsatisfactory and retrograde reforms associated with the name of Sir Samuel Hoare, it is surprising that its continuance in municipalities should be so meticulously insisted upon.

THE power of nomination of even such a small proportion of members of municipal bodies as is provided for in the Bill is, as has happened many times in the past, open to misuse so as to upset the popular verdict as expressed at the elections. Attention was recently drawn in these columns to an instance of a gross abuse of this power in connection with the constitution of the Belgaum District Board. There the nominations were so manipulated as to convert the majority party as judged by the result of the elections into a minority. There is nothing to suppose that the power would not be open to a similar abuse hereafter in C. P. We hope that as a result of the deliberations of the select committee the Bill will be shorn of this objectionable feature.

THE official defence of nomination is on the ground of remedying inequalities in representation. In its laudable anxiety to provide due representation to the minorities the memorandum suggests co-option as a substitute. We are not sure that it would really be a more satisfactory substitute for serving the purpose for which it is intended. For in actual practice co-option, instead of being exercised in the interest of minorities, might be used by the majority party to add to its own strength as nomination is often used by mischievously inclined Government officers for putting or retaining in office a set of persons who may

be trusted to treat no trouble for themselves irrespective of the fact whether they enjoy public confidence or not.

HOW then is the representation of minorities to be secured? By means of adult suffrage. Under it they would, without any special provision for the purpose, secure representation in proportion to their strength in the population. If officialdom is really solicitous for the well-being of minorities by providing suitable representation for them in all representative bodies, it ought to introduce adult suffrage and at least make a beginning in that direction in elections to local bodies. But of this there is no trace in the proposed measure. Why an attempt should be made to rush such an unsatisfactory piece of legislation through an unrepresentative and antiquated legislature in its last session we are at a loss to know. The explanation is perhaps to be found in its generally unprogressive character. The Council would do well to postpone its consideration till its reformed successor comes into being.

Board of Public Health.

THE constitution of a Central Board of Public Health formed the subject of a debate initiated by the Hon. Mr. Sapru in the Council of State. The Viceroy having already announced the decision of the Government to bring such a body into being, public interest naturally centred round the details of the scheme. As regards the personnel, the mover made it clear that the Board should have a non-official majority with proper representation provided for women. Another suggestion he put forward was in regard to the location of research centres. A centre is at present located at Kasauli which is found to be very much out of the way. If Mr. Sapru has his way, he would start them at such places as Delhi or Calcutta.

MR. SAPRU deserves to be specially thanked for stressing the urgent need of an anti-malaria campaign. The heavy mortality of a million every year due to this disease must give cause for alarm to all having the good of the country at heart and clearly establishes the need of speedy action designed to check, if not to banish, this curse from this country. The mover's plea for the rising generation being compulsorily instructed in the principles of hygiene and nutrition in the early stages of its education will receive universal support.

IN the course of the discussion that ensued it was suggested that the proposals of the Government in regard to the formation of the Board should be placed before the Indian legislature. We are glad to note from Sir Jagadish Prasad's speech that this would be done.

Warning to Ceylon.

THE statutory and administrative disabilities under which our countrymen in Ceylon labour are described in detail in the memorandum submitted to Government by the Overseas Indian Association at Madras which is reproduced in another column in this issue. But this does not exhaust their tale of woes. Strenuous attempts are being made during recent days by responsible public men in Ceylon to stir up feeling against them. Thus we find a well-known labour leader and a member of the State Council desiring that "Indians should be kicked out of Ceylon," while a Minister of the Crown recently

referred to them as "parasites." Such disparaging and discourteous remarks about any people by anybody are greatly to be deprecated. But in the case of Indians who by their labour have contributed in a large measure to the present prosperity of the island they are utterly reprehensible.

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THIS anti-Indian campaign has provoked thirty members of the Assembly belonging to all shades of opinion including the European group into sounding a note of warning to Ceylon. The warning dignifiedly points out that the Ceylon's "path to peace and prosperity certainly does not lie through boycott, humiliation and assault on Indians, but through co-operation and good-will." Should Ceylon decide to adopt methods of the former variety in regard to Indians, a fair warning is given that "India will be forced to retaliate in the same spirit." We cannot say that the signatories have been either hasty in issuing such a warning or needlessly strong in expressing their feelings.

* * *

Indians in Persia.

OVER a hundred Indian residents of Persia have petitioned the Viceroy about their hardships due to lack of exchange facilities for them in Persia. It would appear that they were in the enjoyment of such facilities but that a law forbidding the privilege of free foreign exchange has recently been enacted in Persia. This law prescribes heavy penalties in the

case of those found buying or selling foreign exchange but affords protection to foreign residents in the purchase of exchange for remittances to their homelands for the payment of subscriptions to newspapers, for the maintenance of their dependents and employees, etc. If so, it may be asked what is the grievance of our countrymen?

* * *

SO far as can be understood from their petition, their complaint seems to be that the protection given to them by the law fails to materialise in actual practice. This view is borne out by the replies sent by the Commissioner of Exchange to two Indian applicants for the rupee exchange which are appended to the petition. In one case the applicant was asked to enlighten the Commissioner with the reasons why the applicant chose to separate himself from his family and in the other case the request was pointblank refused without assigning any reasons, sound or unsound. This is how the statutory protection guaranteed to our countrymen in Persia turns out to be quite illusory in practice.

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THE resulting hardships may be easily imagined by the reader. The withdrawal of these necessary exchange facilities, in addition to inconveniencing those wishing to make remittances to India, leaves their dependents here without the wherewithal to carry on their existence.

WHO BRINGS ON COMMUNISM ?

ON whom does the main responsibility rest for checking the growth of communism and all the subversive movements connected with it in India? Sir Phiroze Sethna in the resolution that he moved in the Council of State on 28th September placed it squarely on the shoulders of the Government. They have not done enough, he said, to promote the welfare of the agricultural and labouring classes who, when discontented with their lot, fall an easy prey to communistic propaganda, and on this basis he recommended the adoption of measures for the relief of unemployment among the lower middle class and for the removal of poverty and distress among the poorer sections. The Government, on the other hand, tried to make out that they had done whatever was possible in the circumstances to improve the condition of the less fortunate elements of the population, not only with a view to countering the spread of communistic ideas among them, but with a view to bettering their lot for its own sake. And indirectly the Government held the capitalists and landlords and other vested interests themselves to blame in part for the present state of things, which makes it possible for the teachings of communism to go from strength to strength. This point of view was particularly underlined in the speech of Mr. Clow, Secretary in the Industries and Labour Department. So much emphasis was laid by Mr. Clow in his speech on this aspect of the question that he was generally believed in the unofficial quarters, as Sir Phiroze Sethna said, to have spoken against the resolution. Mr. Clow confined his remarks to industrial workers with whom as a Government official he was principally concerned, and he maintained that the Government had passed labour legisla-

tion of a very advanced kind within the last sixteen years, and that for the rest the employers themselves must come forward to play their part in the amelioration of labour conditions.

After giving a summary view of the labour legislation adopted by the Central Legislature in the period of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, Mr. Clow said :

But I would try to impress on the House that the power of legislation is very limited. It is a weapon by which you can achieve much less than some of its ardent advocates imagine; and it is to employers and labour, and particularly to co-operation between them, that we must look largely for labour welfare. I do not believe that that co-operation will ever be secured so long as employers act, and there are some in India to-day who want to act, simply as dictators, and so long as our labour is to a large extent illiterate and unorganised. There is among some employers an attitude in which they do not want to deal with outsiders in trade unionism; and if workers from within the factory or mill start to act as leaders, sometimes they are victimised. Now there is, in India particularly, a tremendous need for the collective expression of labour's needs and for its consideration, and if a healthy trade unionism could be developed it would be, as it is in England today, one of the strongest bulwarks against communism. (Applause.) I know perfectly well that, as many employers urge, the trade unions we have in India today are poor things compared with the British trade unions. But I do not believe they are going to grow to strength by a process of discouragement and repulse, and I am convinced that this need for collective expression is there and must be met. We must recognise that labour must state its case somehow and we must recognise more than that; we must recognise that it is not merely a commodity hired for the purpose of carrying on an enterprise, but that it is a living part of the enterprise and that it is contributing to that every bit as much—some would say much more than the shareholders; it contributes today not merely its purse,

which often it does not have, but its living and working days. And I am sure that readiness on the part of those in positions of influence and authority in industry to recognise this need and to admit this claim will do more to defeat communism than any labour laws that we can pass. (Applause.)

Mr. Clow in this speech did not mention the strike in the Ambarnath Match Factory though he might well have done so, and if he had Sir Phiroze as Chairman of the Board of Directors would have been hard put to it to justify the refusal of the owners to treat with the workers' union and such other things connected with the strike. Sir Phiroze too very discreetly did not notice anything in the speech which he was called upon to explain, for if he had chosen to see in Mr. Clow's remarks any appositeness to the treatment of the labourers by the Factory and had offered any defence, the Government's sharp answer would have been: "It is employers like you who are more responsible for the diffusion of bolshevism and ideas like bolshevism among the workers than we can ever be by our so-called passivity."

Sir Phiroze Sethna is not averse to a moderate measure of socialism. He is in favour, for instance, of the nationalisation of the basic industries. But to wholesale socialism involving abolition of private property and destruction of capitalism altogether he is uncompromisingly opposed. He believes that socialism of this unrestrained character "will lead to a state of society in which all individual liberty, initiative, sense of responsibility, incentive to improvement and enterprise will become extinct. Socialism in the unqualified and unrestricted form in which it is advocated is impossible without excessive Government control and regimentation, and such control and regimentation is an evil which men cannot or ought not to submit to." We may be doing injustice to Sir Phiroze, but these remarks of his remind us of the propaganda which the American Liberty League is carrying on in the United States in the name of individual liberty and private property. If he is opposed to communism or collective ownership on the ground that it destroys liberty and property, is he equally opposed to giant corporations which are no less destructive of liberty and genuine property? Property to be real implies moral responsibility of the owner, but in overgrown joint-stock corporations there is a complete divorce between property and responsibility, ownership and control. Ownership under real private property

is active; it entails the responsibility of personal control. Under the corporation it is passive; it deprives the owner of the privilege of responsibility and power of control. Effective ownership under private property becomes under corporate property mere legal ownership, ownership without control and without functional property rights or responsibilities. Berle and Means have shown that under monopoly capitalism prevailing in the United States "approximately two thousand individuals out of a population of one hundred and twenty-five million are in a position to control and direct half of industry," half of all business wealth, both corporate and personal. In India corporations have not assumed such dimensions yet, but high-powered capitalism is growing in this country, destroying in its growth the political and economic liberties of citizens. Is Sir Phiroze Sethna prepared to have these liberties restored by controlling Big Business? If he is not, he would really be helping on the Marxists. "The Marxists believe in the big corporation for two, to them, excellent reasons: (1) they like centralisation as a good thing in itself; and (2) they like it as a means. Not only is the big mass-production unit easier to 'take over' than distributed units; the two thousand men in control (in the U. S. A.) would be easier to eliminate than the six million scattered owners who control what they own. So the Marxists hymn the big corporation as the result of 'economic determinism' (divine order) because they know that it has already accomplished the first stage of the journey toward the collectivist State: the impotence of dispersed ownership under increasingly concentrated control. They are pleased because one of the two chief attributes of historic property (the responsibility of personal control) is virtually destroyed." And, after all, "the big corporation is socially less responsible and eventually less efficient than collectivism" or State ownership. Why then should not people prefer the collectivist State to the rule of high finance? As Herbert Agar has said of the U.S.A.: "Monopoly capitalism is a half-planned economy with all the vices of communism but none of its virtues. If the American people cannot have genuine property, genuine competition, they will prefer a State planned by communists for the good of the whole rather than a State planned by robber barons for the good of one another."

CANTONISATION IN PALESTINE,

NOW the Arab strike is withdrawn and peace is being re-established in Palestine, we may expect the Royal Commission soon to visit the country and start its investigations on the spot. One of the suggestions that are likely to be pressed on the attention of the Commission is what is known as the Cantonisation of Palestine. It consists in short in dividing the country into Jewish and Arab areas, the maritime plain, the vale of Esdraelon and the Huleh basin going to the Jews and the hill country of Judea, Samaria, Galilee and the Jordan Valley going to the Arabs. The plan really amounts to the cry-

stallisation of the land settlement of the Jews at the stage at which it has arrived, and for this very reason it is certain to be rejected by the Jews. In the current number of the *New Judaea* Joseph L. Cohen examines this proposal which has been influentially mooted in England and asserts that, so far as the Jews are concerned, "there is a unanimous verdict against it". The object of the proposal is "to let the Jews hold and develop the land they now possess and not permit them to purchase more land," while the ambition of the Jews is to have a much larger holding of land than is now in their occupation.

It is customary with Jewish propagandists so to represent matters as to make out that the amount of agricultural land held by the Jews is but a small portion of the land available for cultivation. Another Cohen, Israel Cohen this time, in trying to show how unfounded Arab grievances are, says that "the Jews, who number 400,000 and are about 30 per cent. of the population, possess only 310,000 acres out of a total of 6,000,000 acres, that is, about 5 per cent." A statement to this effect is the stock-in-trade of the Jews, but it is deliberately misleading to say that 30 per cent. of the people are in possession only of 5 per cent. of the land, necessarily implying that the other 70 per cent. of the population which consists of the Arabs hold the remaining 95 per cent. of the land. It must be remembered that we are dealing here with agricultural land, and it is no use speaking of the total area of the country as if the whole area is fit for agriculture. The question is how much of this area is cultivable and how much of it has passed from Arab into Jewish hands. The best estimate so far available of the cultivable land of Palestine is that it amounts to 7,100,000 dunams, or 1,670,000 acres, and of these nearly 1,500,000 dunams, or 353,000 acres, are in the occupation of the Jews, which bears to the total agricultural land in the country a ratio not of 5 but of 21 to 100. Again, strictly speaking, we are not concerned here with the total Jewish population, but only with that part of it which lives in rural areas. The total number of Jewish inhabitants at the end of 1935 is estimated by the Jews to be 375,000, of whom as many as 302,300 or 80.6 per cent. live in towns and only 72,700 or 19.4 per cent. live in the settlements and colonies. Thus, about 73,000 Jews occupy 1,500,000 dunams of agricultural land, that is to say, 20 dunams are on an average held by every Jew engaged in agriculture and those dependent on him. The Arabs are mostly engaged in agriculture; a very small proportion of them find employment in industry and the public services. Omitting these urban Arabs for the present, nearly a million Arabs have altogether five and a half million dunams of agricultural land at their disposal, which works out at five and a half dunams per Arab. This will show, on a very rough estimate, that the Jews have more than their share of agricultural land of Palestine. If in this comparison we have omitted the Arabs living in towns, we have also not taken account of another fact which is favourable to the Jews, viz. that they employ modern methods of cultivation which enable them to support a family on a smaller farm than is required for the support of an Arab whose methods of cultivation are far more primitive.

The cantonization scheme, if carried out on the basis contemplated at present, will thus not be unfair to the Jews in so far as the allocation of agricultural land is concerned, but it will work to the detriment of the Arabs. The scheme implies that the Jewish and Arab cantons will be given local autonomy; they will raise by taxation enough funds to supply their local needs and they will bear their share of central taxation for common purposes. Such a division of financial burdens between the two races, on the basis of

their respective capacity to pay, not for the development of the country as a whole, but for that of their own community, will bear hardly upon the poorer section of the population, viz. the Arabs. Mr. Joseph L. Cohen admits this fully. He says: "The adoption of a cantonal system must mean that the Arab cantons will be very heavily taxed, or that their social services will have to be reduced. In other words, they will pay more in taxes than they do to-day and receive in return fewer benefits." The Jews, although they form only 30 per cent. of the population, contribute over 50 per cent. of the public revenue, and if the cantonisation scheme is brought into operation a larger proportion of the taxes will have to be shifted on to the Arabs who will be unable to bear it. The influx of Jewish capital also plays an important part in developing the country. The total amount of private Jewish capital introduced into Palestine since the end of the War is estimated at £80,000,000, in addition to £10,000,000 received by Jewish national organisations. It is on account of the development due to this capital that the Palestine Government has now accumulated a surplus of about £6,500,000, which is twice as much as its annual expenditure. Moreover, on their communal services the Jews spend a great deal, which does not enter into national accounts. For instance, the total amount spent by the Government on education in 1935 was £219,580, while the Jewish organisations themselves spent out of their communal funds £201,498 on the education of the Jews; Government expenditure on public health was £360,000, while Jewish private expenditure was £166,311; and if we take the expenditure on education, public health and agriculture together, the Palestine Government spent £515,095 while the Jewish organisations spent £906,100, which in fact is no less than 28 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Government on all departments including the police and the army last year. The Government bear a larger share of the cost of the education and medical services for the Arabs than that of the cost of these services for the Jews. For instance, the ratio between its contribution to Arab education and that to Jewish education was 100:20.2 in 1935. But against this must be set off the fact that, in view of the less dependence of the Jews upon the public revenue for these services, the Government withdrew the proposal to levy income tax, which would naturally have hit the Jews far more than the Arabs. Rather than pay a tax to a Government which would apply its proceeds in the way it liked, the Jews chose to bear almost the entire burden of their own education, etc. so that they would have full control over the money which in any case would be exacted from them.

We agree with Mr. Cohen's considered opinion "that the attempt to redraw the political map (of Palestine), to carve out two homelands within one small country, each aiming to be as little dependent on the other as possible, and both attempting to be self-sufficient and self-contained, is to invite disaster on the country as a whole." While it is easy to prove the unsoundness of this or any other similar proposal, it is hard to put forward any constructive proposal which will reconcile the conflicting obligations which

the British Government as the mandatory Power has undertaken. In no case is it possible to implement its undertaking to build up a Jewish National Home in Palestine in a large sense. Of the 15 or 16 million Jews in the world, only a very small fraction can in the best of circumstances be accommodated in a small country like Palestine, most of the agricultural land in which is required for the needs of the existing Arab population. Only in one way can a solution be possibly found. If all the Arab countries were unified into one confederation, the Arabs will perhaps relax their opposition to the settlement of the Jews in large numbers in one of these countries, Palestine. The whole Arab race numbers 38 millions and occupies two and half square miles in the land-bridge between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. In this vast tract a Jewish colony might not attract much opposition, but such a colony in a country of only 10,000 square miles, much of it swampy and arid, cannot be looked upon with equanimity by the Arabs. But this solution too is rendered impossible by the partition of the Arabian Peninsula. In any case, whatever solution is proposed must not be prompted by political considerations, but the Jews never fail to appeal to such considerations. Mr. Cohen, for instance, in the article to which we have made reference above, adjures the British Government not to look upon this

question merely as one of keeping the balance between the Jews and the Arabs but as one of imperial concern too. He draws pointed attention to the fact that Palestine "lies athwart the main route to India," and while in the cantonisation proposal adequate consideration seems to be given to this fact by reserving Haifa for direct administration by the mandatory Power on imperial grounds (because the port and oil areas of Haifa are now an important element in the British Government's imperial communications), Mr. Cohen complains that, in its attitude of impartiality between the Jews and the Arabs, the Government fails to appreciate the important factor in the situation that "the Jews recognise and favour British interests, while the Arabs are bitterly hostile to them." "It is surely futile," Mr. Cohen says, "to ignore the oft-repeated declaration that 'Arab aspirations are directed mainly against British imperialism.'" It is unworthy of the Jews to advance such considerations. But if the British Government is to shape its policy by its imperial interests, it would be well for it to remember that this is a conflict really between two world forces. It knows well enough that the world Jewry of 15 millions is behind the 400,000 Jews of Palestine; but it should also know that the 38 millions of the Arab race are behind the million Arabs of Palestine.

SPAIN : CHURCH AGAINST REPUBLIC.

THE silence of the American press on the part the Catholic Church has played in the Spanish rebellion constitutes an important omission in the understanding of the atrocity stories involving nuns, monks, priests and churches that have been widely printed in this country since the revolt began. No one would deny that members of Catholic orders and clergy have been killed and that churches have been sacked and burned. What can be most emphatically denied, however, is that the Catholic clergy have been killed as innocent by-standers and that the churches were sacked and burned simply because the people had a fiendish desire to see a good fire.

In a very real sense the Catholic priesthood has had its hand in the plotting of the revolt and, once the revolt started, the clergy became virtual combatants, even though they may not have carried rifles or operated machine guns. As plotters they were entitled to little more consideration than a soldier committing treason, and for taking an active part in the ensuing combat they could no more expect immunity from attack than could any other rebels.

I happened to be in Granada when the revolt started and for a month I was stranded there with some twenty-five other Americans, unable to move out of the city. We witnessed the rebels take over the city, heard and saw the hand-to-hand street fighting that followed, looked on from the heights of the Alhambra while the workingmen's district was bombed and shelled and, in general, were able to pick up many specific details of the terror that has since gripped the city. When we were finally flown out of Granada (in a German Junkers plane operated by

the rebels), Granada was still in the hands of the rebels, albeit it was a beleaguered city, surrounded on all sides by enemy territory. But should Granada fall into the hands of the government forces, I should be very much surprised if the new conquerors would be so stupid as to show much tenderness toward the Catholic clergy there or manifest much respect for their homes and churches.

Decades of greed and corruption have left the clergy and the Church little enough honour, anyway, but by plotting, aiding and abetting what has become one of the greatest slaughters of a civilian population in the world's history, the Church has surely forfeited all claim to mercy. It has proved itself, during this rebellion as never before, quite incapable of reform. It can now hope to exist in Spain only arm-in-arm with a military dictatorship of the greatest severity and it will have to be liquidated when that dictatorship is overthrown.

The clergy's participation in the revolt in Granada could be seen with the naked eye and there is no reason to believe that the situation was otherwise elsewhere in Spain. I know, because I saw them, that in Granada's church towers and steeples machine guns were placed and that they were used against a civilian population resisting an armed revolt against an elected government. I know—again because I saw it with my own eyes—that the churches of Granada were used as barracks for the fascist organizations and the rebel militia and I know that in at least one church in Granada—the Church of San Geronimo—considerable ammunition was stored. In the tower of the Cathedral of Granada there were two machine

guns pointing out on the adjoining square. From the heights of the Alhambra we could see armed men firing from the towers of various churches. In the rectory of the little church just back of the incomplete Charles V Palace on the Alhambra Hill artillerymen were lodged and fed. And of all the shocking sights I saw in the Spanish civil war none could compare with the spectacle of the priest of this little church joking, talking and smoking with soldiers who at that moment were engaged in firing cannon from the Alhambra Hill down into the working-class district.

Instead of constituting sanctuary the churches have become armed fortresses. If, in the course of events, the fascist-military revolt fails and the duly elected government again gains control, it will be only natural that these fortresses will be attacked.

The professional weeping over the damage done to the national monuments of Spain—which are mostly churches—amounts at times to a hysterical scream. The Spanish military authorities are good at it, but many of our American and English newspapermen are positively brilliant. They break down at the erroneous news that a rose window in the Seville Cathedral has been shattered by flying shrapnel. They collapse in grief when the military announce, again falsely, that the Mesquita at Cordoba has been shelled. They put on deep mourning when that chatterbox of a general, Queipo de Llano, declares in his virtually continuous radio talks from Seville that the Alhambra at Granada has been half-destroyed by "Red" bombers. When Queipo made that announcement we were sitting only about 100 feet from the Alhambra. It was then 10 o'clock in the evening and we had left the Alhambra quite intact at 6-30. Queipo, the only radio-news source the Andalusians have, had been grossly inaccurate before and we were not unduly concerned. What had happened that afternoon was that the Hotel Washington Irving, on the Alhambra Hill, had been struck by a bomb. The hotel, owned and operated by the secretary of the Hispano-America Bank of Granada, who was, incidentally, the chief financial backer of the coup there, happened to be the unofficial fascist headquarters of the city. Three of the chief fascist families of the city had moved up there to escape the bombings of the city below. Ironically enough, the deaths from that afternoon's bombs were confined to those three families.

After the Asturian revolt in October, 1934, one of the more prominent English journalists went through Oviedo counting the altars missing from even the more insignificant churches, but neglecting almost completely the massacre of the civilian population by the Foreign Legion. The correspondents during this later revolution seem to be far more interested in the dislodging of a cathedral stone than in the shelling of a district like the Albaysin, in Granada, or the almost complete destruction, with great loss of life, of Triana, the working class town across the Guadalquivir from Seville.

They will print long stories of the Red terror instituted by the leftist committees in Malaga without bothering too much about the daily volleys of

the execution squad that can be heard in any fascist-controlled city. And if proof be needed of the disinterestedness of the majority of our correspondents in the white terror that now grips fascist Spain, I could cite Badajoz. Dozens of the foreign correspondents went to see the taking of this fortress near the Portuguese border by the rebel troops. One of the English correspondents claimed (in his dispatch) that he had made the trip from north to south in Spain under fire, when as a matter of fact he had motored leisurely through safe and neighbourly Portugal. The correspondents who visited Badajoz had nothing but praise for the ability of Franco's soldiers in capturing this seemingly impregnable fort.

It was nine days later that Jay Allen, of the *Chicago Tribune*, went to Badajoz unescorted by the military and came out with almost indescribable details of the mass murders that have taken place since the military occupation in the Plaza de Toros of that city. I know Allen; I started with him from Gibraltar on his trip to Badajoz, but was unable to finish the journey. And I know him as one of the few reporters who understand Spain; he has lived there and worked there for a long time and who is at the same time competent, impartial and conscientious. But even if I had not known his work, I would still believe his account in full if for no other reason than that I had been able to confirm in Granada something of the same type of massacres he describes in Badajoz.

In Granada the condemned were taken every morning and every evening alive to the cemetery and there apparently shot down in front of the pits dug for them during the day. We naturally could not witness the actual executions, but the evidence that there were executions was conclusive. The trucks carrying soldiers and civilians went past our hotel on the way to the cemetery every morning and every night. Without fail we would hear the volley of shots a few minutes after the trucks went up and always, a few minutes later, the trucks would come back down, this time without the civilians. Some days we counted as many as seventy civilians who made this trip, on others there were as few as twenty-five. The more bombs that had been dropped on Granada the more prisoners would go up the hill the next day. The military were quite frank in admitting in their newspaper and over the radio that for every bomb dropped five prisoners—generally members of the Popular Front—would be executed as reprisal.

II.

In the face of such terror it is difficult for the Spaniard to be very apprehensive over the fate of his country's national monuments. The Alhambra, for example, is a precious monument, unique and irreplaceable, but even it can scarcely be so precious as a decent, healthy, literate and free Spain. But should the Alhambra be damaged in the course of the civil war the fault must lie with the rebels, who, from the beginning of hostilities, have fortified it. Within seventy-five or a hundred feet of the entrance to the

Moorish palace they have placed cannon. Soldiers carrying rifles have been allowed to tramp freely through the Alhambra, using the towers as vantage points from which to snipe at the resisting population below. After the one bombing of the Alhambra Hill a group of Granada's prominent citizens published a protest against what might have been the destruction of the monument. They would have been better advised to protest against the original arming of the monument.

Although the Vatican has been relaying to the world press almost daily atrocity stories of crimes committed against its holy orders in "Red" Spain, it is significant that we have heard nothing of any attempt to constrain its partisans in "white" Spain from continuing the carnage. On the contrary, the clergy has been active in appealing for every kind of aid, from money to enlistments, to help along the "holy war to save Spain from the Marxist hordes." The archbishop at Granada has blessed companies of the Civil Guard being sent out to "pacify" rebellious villages and the cardinal at Seville has put his stamp of approval on the revolt by presiding at a mass in the Seville Cathedral at which, in the presence of General Franco and talkative Queipo, the old monarchist flag was restored.

It is the unconfirmed belief of most men in Spain that the Church has largely financed the rebellion, albeit Juan March and the Italians have received most of the credit. Fabulously rich as he is, not even March could quite operate a war which seems to have a hundred different fronts. And as for the Italians, their help has probably been not so much one of money as of materials. It is noteworthy that many of the monasteries and nunneries that have been pillaged have yielded rich supplies of bank notes.

It is difficult to see how the war could have been carried on without some financial aid from the Church. Inroads had been made into the Church's wealth since February 6, but it remained very rich. The problem of financing the revolt is not only one of buying supplies from outside the country. Inside Spain itself there has been an everlasting cry for more pesetas to pay the soldiers. To supply this need public subscription booths have been opened in every city, town and village held by the rebels.

The intimations, heard in various Catholic pulpits of New York lately, that the Church in Spain has been forced into company with the rebels because of the inhumane treatment by the Popular Front government, is the purest nonsense. The Church in Spain has ever been flagrantly political. Since the fall of the monarchy it has been violently anti-republican and when restoration of the king seemed distant it turned fascist. It is common knowledge in Spain, for example, that the outlawed Falange Espanola, which constituted the background of the revolt in so many cities, kept its membership intact and held its secret meetings in church properties until its final emergence into the open on July 18.

The Church has owned railroads, banks and mines as well as land and treasures. Probably it has been the largest single employer in Spain, and when

workers have reflected on the smallness of their wages they have easily made conclusions not flattering to the clergy. The result has been that, except in a few isolated provinces like Navarre, a church-going labourer is a rarity. I doubt, in fact, if there is any country in Europe, except Russia, in which so few people go to church. I have been, for instance, to high and low mass in the Seville Cathedral many times and I have rarely seen more than twenty-five or thirty worshippers there at a time. Barely fifty civilians attended a special Thanksgiving mass in Granada's cathedral just after the revolt. I have never seen anyone but priests worshipping either in the Cordoba or Toledo Cathedrals. The fact is that priest-ridden Spain long ceased to be Catholic Spain.

The Pope is said to be almost prostrated because of worry over Spain. It seems to this humble and occasional church-goer that a decade or more ago, when His Holiness was younger and stronger, he might have made an effort to infuse some true Christian humility into what has been for centuries an arrogant oligarchy of clergymen.

ROBERT NEVILLE.

Reviews.

BRITISH ECONOMIC HISTORY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

By C. M. MACINNES. (Revingtons.) 1935. 20cm. 431p. 7/6.

THIS is an ambitious book which attempts to cover in a short compass the economic history of the British Empire and naturally suffers in the adequacy of treatment of important issues. The author tries to give the student of economics an appreciation of Britain's development from the days of the Tudors to the latest programme of Imperial Preference.

It is difficult in a short review article to do justice to the author's 22 chapters. But the Indian student would be much interested in the chapters that deal with the East Indian Trade, Anglo-Indian Trade, and Imperial Preference.

In pp. 105,6 the author wants us to believe that the laws passed against the importation and use of Indian goods in Britain in the eighteenth century must not be considered as one of Britain's injustices to India for "it must not be forgotten" says he, "that down to the close of the Seven Years' War India was still a foreign country; and England, in common with every State in the world, jealously safeguarded her own industries, and the name of English cloth at the time was almost sacred not only to statesmen but to the nation at large." It is an open question whether, as the author remarks, the Indian manufactured cotton export trade was "destined to be destroyed by English competition". It would be interesting if the author could develop the position as to what Britain did for Indian trade when it assumed "imperial responsibilities."

In p. 329 the author in explaining the rise of the British trade with India in the nineteenth century writes :

This development was principally due to the great mechanical inventions and the other developments in England. Armed with the superior mechanical develop-

ment, England, thanks to the energy and skill of her cotton manufacturers and the enormous financial resources upon which she could call, easily outdistanced India.

He naively adds :

To these advantages was added for many years the fact that while English manufactured cottons paid only $3\frac{1}{2}$ % duty on entering India, Indian fabrics of the same kind paid 10 % in the English customs houses.

Undoubtedly this is an example of fairness !

In p. 337, the writer has a fling at the Indian Congress. He says :—

In spite of the Congress group and its hymn of hate against England, the feeling of the Indian masses is so far as there is any feeling on the subject, is generally friendly to Britain.

It would be better for the author not to express opinions too freely in matters which require more serious appreciation of Indian conditions. It is also not correct to say that "India recognises the reasonableness of the claim of the Dominions to determine the racial composition of their populations" and it is again wrong to say that the continued immigration of Indians into the Dominions merely means "evolution" for her people. In p. 338, the author is careful in his phraseology :

With a wise spirit of forbearance on both sides, and a frank acknowledgment on the part of England that India was entitled to determine her own economic future for herself, Anglo-Indian trade may revive.

The author may as well realise that it is perhaps not possible to have economic swaraj without a considerable degree of political freedom.

In the chapter on Imperial Preference, the author has a great deal to say about the bargaining spirit of the Dominions and their desire to get more than they were prepared to give. He justifies Ottawa as a great step in Imperial Economic policy, and claims that Ottawa has clarified Dominion fiscal policy. British exporters were to have the right of appearing before the Dominion Tariff Boards to plead their cases, and the protective duties shall be such as will give the United Kingdom "full opportunity of reasonable competition on the basis of the relative cost of economic and efficient production". Mr. MacInnes, however, seems to think that the Dominion Tariff Boards can only work in the way intended when quite free from economic and political pressure, a condition which may turn out to be impossible. If this be so in the Dominions, the possibilities of a fair discussion or decision should be more difficult in India where opportunities of pressure are possible from many sources for Imperial reasons.

S. V. AYYAR.

AGROBIOLOGY.

NATIONS CAN LIVE AT HOME. By O. W. WILCOX. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 21cm. 279p. 10/—

THE chief object of this book, as mentioned by the author in his introduction, is to give a scientific answer to the question, "What is the maximum number of persons who can exist on the produce of one acre or one square mile of arable land?" In dealing with this question the author has raised a number of debatable and controversial issues like the Malthusian theory, free-trade, wars due to the pressure of population, the necessity of colonization, &c. We do not propose to deal with the above-mentioned controversial subjects but would leave these to be

dealt with by competent authorities on sociology, economics and politics.

It is proposed to restrict our remarks on the main subject, viz. the maximum production of food on an acre for the maximum population dealt with by the author. In chapters IV, V and VI, the author has explained the recent advances made in plant-physiology and plant-genetics. He has shown how the biologists have evolved certain types of economic crop-plants which are highly yielding. He has also shown how the growth-factors can be controlled and highest crops obtained. Mathematicians can come to the aid of the biologists and they can predict with certainty the exact values of crops to be produced from a given area. He calls this science agrobiology and the evolved types of crops as agro-types. From theoretical calculations and also from the results of the laboratory tests the author points out that an acre of land can maintain a population of 51 persons on its produce. If calculated on an area of a square mile it means that a square mile can maintain a population of 32,640 persons. The author has shown that even in the most thickly populated countries like China, India and Japan, the density of population to be found at present is only a fraction of this potential capacity of the land to maintain.

The author further shows that even this number is capable of being increased indirectly by growing fodder crops and other animal feeds and raising the animals on this produce and thus producing animal food for maintaining a greater human population on the same area. For supporting his argument the author considers some of the actual yields of special crops, like sugarcane, potatoes and wheat in some favourably situated countries like Java, Germany and the like which are situated in humid zones of the world. Now, one can admit that necessary plant-food in the form of artificial fertilizers can be provided in necessary quantities anywhere. But it may be pointed out that water, which is the most essential requirement of all life, cannot become available in required amounts in all countries. It is well-known that nearly three-fifths of the earth's landsurface receives an annual rainfall of less than 20 inches. In spite of all systematic and organised efforts the land that can be brought under irrigation is bound to be very small. Again the author has not given due weight to the vagaries of the weather in extensive areas which produce killing frosts, droughts, and heavy winds which have serious and devastating effects on crops, restricting the yields in several years in extensive tracts of the world.

The author is over-optimistic in putting the value of the production of the crop only on theoretical considerations and taking only a few favourable and special cases in support of his argument that all countries can be self-sufficient in the matter of food-production.

If the limitations mentioned above are recognised one can draw the general lesson from the book that the present low yields and arable lands are capable of being increased severel times by taking advantage of the recent discoveries in several branches of science. This the author calls "agrobiology."

The book is written not only for technical readers but also for general readers who are interested in socio-economic or even political problems. The information given in the appendix would be found interesting by technical readers—students of agrobiolgy.

We commend the volume to general readers and especially to all workers engaged in rural uplift work who would find its perusal very useful and inspiring.

N. V. KANITKAR.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN WHO'S WHO AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1936-37. Comp. and ed. by DHANEE BRAMDAW. (The Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg.) 1935. 24cm. 180 + lxxviii p.

THIS is a nice, well got-up Directory and, as the author says, "the only reference book on Indians of South-Africa." The compiler of the Directory is not new to those who are interested in the affairs of Indians in South Africa. Recently, he brought out a brochure on Indians in South Africa which received high praise both from the Rt. Hon. Sastri and the *Statesman*. He is also one of the compilers of those valuable speeches of Mr. Sastri called "Sastri Speaks." According to Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, "Mr. Bramdaw is one of the ablest of the younger genera-

tion of Indians in South Africa." It is no wonder therefore that he tried his hands in compiling a Directory "which, for the first time, brought together the members of the Indian community—scattered in all parts of South Africa... within the pages of a book." The book gives brief biographies and photographs of all Indians of note of South Africa, and tells the tale of their struggles and successes from 1860 when the Indians were brought first to South Africa as the builders of industry in Natal. Towards the end of the book are appended biographical sketches of eminent Indians who were in the service of South Africa. The book also contains two characteristic photographs of Mahatma Gandhi "a great South African". The author hopes to bring out a fresh edition of the Directory once in every two years. We readily concede that the book is a great success and fills a want both long-felt and considerable.

S. S. MISRA.

INDIANS IN CEYLON. DISABILITIES IMPOSED BY STATUTE.

Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, Hony. Secretary, Overseas Indian Association, Madras, has submitted to the Government of India three memoranda on the position of Indians in Ceylon. In the course of the memoranda he says:

THERE are Indians other than estate labourers whose number is also fairly large, being about nearly a lakh. They labour under many disabilities mostly imposed by statute. They are enumerated below in the hope that the Government of India will be pleased to make the necessary representations to the Government of Ceylon and the Colonial Office and strive their best to get not only the existing disabilities removed, but also prevent the imposition of further disabilities calculated to affect vitally the interests of Indian settlers in Ceylon.

The Association shares the alarm with the Indians in Ceylon caused by the recent policy of the Government of Ceylon, evidently influenced by the opinion of the State Council, calculated to shut out Indians from all public services. It is distressing to note that the policy of 'Ceylon for Ceylonese' has even spread to mercantile firms and even well-qualified Indians cannot get entrance into mercantile offices. The wild and baseless allegations made in the State Council, which the Government did not care to controvert, have created grave misgivings in the Indian population, and the appointment of a Commission to consider the whole question of immigration has been interpreted in some quarters as a concession granted to anti-Indian agitation. However, the disabilities given below imposed even on those who were born and brought up in Ceylon calls for immediate attention.

The definition of the term 'Ceylonese' in the Land Development Ordinance of 1935 has practically excluded all Indians from the benefit of the concessions in regard to Crown lands under the Colonisation scheme. The statutory definition runs as follows:— "A person of either sex domiciled in this island and possessing a Ceylon domicile of origin." There is no denying the fact that this definition has been adopted as a concession to anti-Indian politicians in Ceylon who are keen on depriving even domiciled Indians of the benefits conferred by the Land Development Ordinance. It is surprising to learn that this definition has been adopted with the consent of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is not known if the Government of India were ever consulted at all in this matter, and if so whether they lodged their protest. From the

report of the Agent of the Government of India for 1935, it is noted that a deputation of the Ceylon Indian Association waited on His Excellency the Governor and represented the injustice inflicted on the Indian community by the definition of "Ceylonese" in the Land Development Ordinance. What the outcome of the representation is, it is not known.

For some time past in the advertisements for posts issued by the various departments of the Government, it is stated that the applicants must be British subjects of Ceylonese descent or Ceylonese natural-born British subjects. It is abundantly clear, from the preference given, that Indians in Ceylon are excluded from entry into the public services of the island. To set at rest any doubts existing in regard to the definition of the words 'Ceylonese descent', His Excellency the Governor has, with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies defined the words in the Civil Service Regulation recently issued. This altered Civil Service Regulation also definitely excludes Indians, even domiciled Indians, from entry into the Civil Service. It is true that the Governor may, at his discretion, permit an Indian to sit for the examination for the Public Services under certain conditions. But such a contingency is not likely to arise especially as the feeling against the Indians is growing, and the Government of Ceylon are indirectly giving a fillip to it.

The Medical Council of Ceylon does not admit qualified Indian Medical men, be they sub-assistant surgeons or medical graduates, to their register either for setting up practice or for finding employment in estate hospitals and dispensaries. In his report on the Malaria epidemic in Ceylon, Col. Gill, I. M. S., suggested the removal of the ban, and gave very cogent reasons, both administrative and financial. But it is learnt from the report of the Agent of the Government of India that the Executive Committee of Health were not in favour of allowing Indian sub-assistant surgeons to take the place of dispensers in estate dispensaries. The attitude of the Medical Council of Ceylon, which seems to have the approval of the State Council, is against the interests of Indian settlers and is indirectly the cause of lack of adequate medical facilities for Indians especially estate labourers. The Government of India should enter its emphatic protest and see that the ban is removed.

It is understood that there is a proposal to enter into a Trade Agreement with Ceylon and the Government of Ceylon is keen on it to find a market for

Ceylon products especially cocoanut. In any agreement arrived at, the disabilities of Indians should not be lost sight of and no effort should be spared to insist on Ceylon giving equal rights to Indians.

The latest report of the Agent to the Government of India in Ceylon contains extracts from the reports of the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services and of the Special Officer, Col. Gill on the Malaria Epidemic in Ceylon, which wholly support this view. The previous reports of the Agent to the Government of India in Ceylon have always drawn attention to this fact. It is not understood why these representations based on facts should not have attracted the attention of the Government of Ceylon.

There are at present two ordinances dealing with the subject. They are the Medical Wants Ordinance, No. 9 of 1912, and the Diseases (Labourers) Ordinance, No. 10 of 1912. Under these Ordinances, rules have been framed to give effect to the intentions of these Ordinances. Not only are these Ordinances passed long ago not sufficient to safeguard the interests of the labourers, but neither do they nor the rules framed under them seem to have been strictly enforced. The result is that in 1935, there were 2,840 deaths due to debility, 2,360 deaths due to pneumonia, while Ankylostomosis accounted for 1,091 deaths. The increase under Ankylostomosis over the average of 800 for the three preceding years is reported to be due to the fact that on a large proportion of the estates it was not possible to carry out mass treatment during 1935 owing to the epidemic of malaria and the financial stringency. It is also reported that the rate of infantile mortality in the case of the Indian population rose from 173 in 1934 to 263 in 1935. This appalling state of things demands the immediate attention of the authorities concerned, and insistence on immediate remedial measures on the lines suggested by the medical experts is a duty of the Government of India.

At present Section 12 of Ordinance No. 9 of 1912 makes it obligatory on every Estate Superintendent to supply at the cost of the Estate every female labourer with sufficient food and lodging for one month after confinement and to ensure that she is not required to work on the estate for one month, unless the District Medical Officer reports that she is fit for work sooner. This provision does not take into account the period before confinement. Nor does it make clear what the quantity of food to be allowed is, the nature of the lodging to be provided, and the nature of the light work to be given if the District Medical Officer considers that the labourer is fit for work. In the Malaya Labour Ordinance, definite and clear instructions have been laid down in regard to maternity allowance and the benefit period. Various provinces in India including Madras have enacted maternity Benefit Acts. The Government of Ceylon should be requested to pass immediately a separate Maternity Benefit Ordinance based on such legislation as obtains in India.

The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services has, in his report for 1934, stated that the absence of a midwife or a maternity ward is a serious omission, and reduces the utility of a hospital. In his report for 1935, he again states: "Very few estates employ midwives. Resident trained midwives and maternity rooms are essential if the care given to expectant mothers is to result in an improvement of maternal mortality." At present neither the employment of midwives nor the provision of lying-in rooms is legally obligatory, as even in times of prosperity no estate seems to have paid attention to this

glaring omission. Conditions vary very widely among estates. There are some estates with efficient qualified midwives, but the number on which there is no midwife at all is very large.

It is a well-known fact that the dispensers employed on most of the estates are not qualified, having passed merely a departmental test held by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services. These dispensers can treat estate labourers only. The employment of dispensers without adequate qualifications has been the subject of repeated criticism. The Special Officer, Col. Gill, in his report, on the malaria epidemic in Ceylon, has drawn pointed attention to this fact. His proposals, that medical practitioners should alone be employed in estate hospitals and that no person who has not at least the qualification of an apothecary should be in charge of an estate dispensary, merit every consideration. Col. Gill pleads that in view of the shortage of registered medical practitioners in Ceylon, the sub-assistant surgeons holding an Indian diploma should be recognised for this purpose by the Medical Council of Ceylon. Every estate with a labour force of 750 or more should by law be compelled to maintain a fully qualified medical officer and a hospital either singly or in combination with similar estates situated in the locality. Every small estate should maintain a dispensary with a qualified apothecary in charge. The Medical Wants Ordinance should be amended suitably incorporating these and other provisions suggested by Col. Gill in his valuable report.

The Government of India should impress on the Government of Ceylon the imperative necessity not only of undertaking immediate legislation in regard to these matters, but also see that the legislation and such rules as may be framed under it are given effect to by the estates, and that the Superintendents of estates should be held personally responsible in these matters. Unless steps are taken in the direction indicated facilities for medical relief will continue to be inadequate, and the death-rate, especially infantile mortality, is bound to remain high.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISTIC ENTERPRISE IN INDIA. By DANIEL HOUSTON BUCHANAN. (Macmillan.) 1934. 23cm. 497p. 21/-
- TAMERLANE OR TIMUR THE GREAT AMIR. Translated by J. H. SANDERS from the Arabic Life by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah. (Luzac.) 1936. 22cm. 341p. 12/6.
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