

Servant of India

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Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XIX, No. 48. }

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1936.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

Ill-Advised Ban.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai were permitted by Government to visit the Frontier Province for purposes of Congress election propaganda. It was in the fitness of things that the permission had no conditions or restrictions attached to it. But the Government have since come out with a ban on processions in their honour. And the visitors have been forbidden from going beyond Peshawar. We are unable to see why such arbitrary restrictions were subsequently found necessary. Mr. Jinnah, when he visited the province, suffered from no restrictions. Did he in any way abuse the Frontier Government's considerateness? Similarly, Messrs. Patel and Desai, occupying as they do responsible positions in public life, might have been relied upon to avoid needless embarrassment to the Government. Restrictions on their tour should have followed, and not preceded, such embarrassment caused by them.

THE presence of trouble on the Frontier is likely to be officially seized upon as an excuse for this high-handedness. With every desire to appreciate and not to add to the difficulties of the Government, it is inconceivable to us how public processions in honour of the two leaders would in any way have aggravated the situation. The two Congress leaders were in the Frontier Province avowedly for election purposes and the Government would have safeguarded itself against possible misunderstanding if it had left them completely unfettered to carry out their programme. The least which the Government owes to the public is

to take it into its confidence as to the reasons which prompted the step.

A Police Excess.

THE traditional Government policy in respect of elections is that of neutrality. If there are deviations they would be only for the purpose of checking the spread of sedition under cover of electioneering. This was how the limits of official interference with elections were defined by Sir Henry Craik only a few weeks ago. But how, one wonders, can they defend the recent police conduct or misconduct in Chetnad in the Madras Presidency?

IT would appear from newspaper reports that there a Congress candidate, who was addressing a public meeting and appealing for support to the Congress, was asked by the police inspector to do so without any reference to his rival candidates. Now those who have any experience of elections will have no difficulty in seeing the unreasonableness of the demand. To expect a candidate for election to establish his exclusive claim to the suffrages of the electorate without referring to the other candidates in the field is as much as to expect him to make bricks without straw.

THE police interrupter, apparently convinced of the impossibility of his demand, shortly after relented, to the extent of tolerating references to, but no “personal abuse” of, the rival candidates. The charge of personal abuse levelled against the speaker was strongly repudiated by him and must be ascribed to the police inspector's incapacity to follow the speaker. But even supposing it was warranted, it is difficult to see how it can justify police interference with the speech. For the personal abuse of howsoever eminent a person can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as sedition. Moreover if the vilification savoured of defamation, the person defamed will have his remedy in a court of law. But even defamation, supposing it were indulged in on this occasion, can in no way excuse the officiousness of the police at the meeting. It would be interesting to know what fresh grounds are adduced by Government to justify what is an utterly unjustifiable police excess.

Karnataka Unification.

THE Karnataka Unification Conference was held last week at Belgaum. To judge from the presidential address of Dr. U. Rama Rao, the movement for the consolidation of Kannada-speaking tracts now coming within five different jurisdictions into one closely knit administrative unit is gathering momentum. As a matter of fact the president gave an imposing list of conferences and meetings which had wholeheartedly blessed the idea. The present scattered

condition of people using Kannada as their language leads, it is complained, to a neglect of Kannada culture and impedes the proper industrial and economic development of the Karnataka. To illustrate his point about Kanarese culture failing to come into its own, Dr. Rama Rao instanced the proposed abolition of the Kanarese chair in a women's college in Madras and the use of Marathi as a court language in a predominantly Kanarese district like Belgaum. It was also impossible, in his opinion, to expect Karnataka to be economically developed till all the Kannada-speaking people were made into one province.

BUT even apart from these considerations, the separation of Sind and Orissa has given added strength to the demand for Karnataka unification. If the existence of such small provinces is to be tolerated, why should the carving out of a Kannada province whose area would be about 35,400 sq. miles with a population of 6½ millions not be favoured? the Canarese ask. Moreover Sind and Orissa are not financially self-supporting and have to look up to the centre for a yearly subvention to balance their budgets. From the statistics given by Dr. Rama Rao, it appears that the proposed Karnataka province, if it came into being, would not be a drain on the central revenues. It is estimated that the revenue of the new province will be about Rs. 2½ crores which would, besides enabling it to pay its own way, leave a margin for meeting the cost of a separate legislature and all the paraphernalia attaching to the dignity of a separate Governor's province.

An Important Educational Landmark.

THE ceremony of declaring open the building which will house the Bombay College of the Indian Women's University was performed by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay last week and will always remain an important landmark in the annals of that institution. It was the wish of its benefactor the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersy that the centre of the University should be shifted to Bombay and that an Arts college should be conducted under the University's auspices in Bombay. The ceremony not only marks the fulfilment of the benefactor's wish but conveys an assurance, if one were needed, about the prosecution of its educational work in healthy and desirable surroundings.

AFTER the settlement of the differences which had arisen between Lady Thackersy and the University authorities which provided for the erection of a college building in Bombay, the latter approached the Bombay Government for assistance in the satisfaction of this condition. The response of the Bombay Government was very encouraging. They decided to make a grant of Rs. 50,000 to the University which had since also applied to the central Government for equally substantial help. But the co-operation between the University and the Government is not going to stop here. As announced by the Chancellor Mr. Patkar, the University is intending shortly to ask for a charter or statutory recognition from Government. Lord Brabourne refrained, for obvious reasons, from going into what he styled a controversial matter and contented himself with a brief indication of the difficulties in the way. But as he himself was careful to add, these difficulties were by no means insurmountable. There thus appears to be little reason to fear that a Government which has already given a tangible proof of its sympathy will be less considerate to the proposal.

Release of Detenus.

THE question of detenus has once again come to the fore. Three factors have specially contributed to the result: (1) one more suicide among the inmates of a detention camp, (2) the consequent demand by Dr. Tagore for an impartial inquiry into the circumstances attendant upon this and the preceding suicides and (3) a debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on a motion asking for a general amnesty. That tragic occurrences like suicides should happen with such frequency in detention camps argues a state of affairs which peremptorily calls for a searching, thorough and independent inquiry. This is the least that is necessary on the part of the Government with a view to clear their character.

IT is a great pity that the motion for a general amnesty which was debated in the Bengal Legislature in an atmosphere of considerable warmth was defeated. This action on the part of a supposedly representative body like the Bengal Legislative Council might appear to some to be disappointing. But had the public really any right to expect anything better from a body which, owing to its antiquated and unrepresentative character, has long ceased to be a reliable organ of public opinion?

THE Government might outwardly make a show of claiming the legislature's verdict as a vindication of their repressive policy. But even they, if they are at all in touch with public opinion outside the Council, would have little difficulty in imagining the feeling of abhorrence with which the public regards the imposition of restraints on the liberty of thousands of Indian youth and their detention for unlimited periods merely on suspicion of being or helping terrorists. The public demand for their immediate release in case the Government should funk an open trial has become too loud to be ignored by them without heavy damage to their reputation as a civilised government.

THAT the Bengal legislature is unrepresentative of general public opinion at any rate on this subject is obvious from the proceedings of a public meeting held at Calcutta about the time the Legislative Council was engaged in rejecting the motion. The speakers included representatives of different shades of political opinion and the meeting demanded the release of all those detained without trial. The president, Mr. B. C. Chatterji, made out a convincing case for their release specially in view of the approaching introduction of the new constitution. There can be no doubt that the Government earnestly wants it to be successfully worked. It is up to them, he argued, to give a clean political slate to the Ministers. With more than two thousand young Bengalis consigned to indefinite detention, how could a popular Minister go before the people and justify his policy? he asked. The confinement of the suspected persons in detention camps would, it seemed to him, create an atmosphere prejudicial to a fair trial of the reforms, which it must be the constant endeavour of the Government to avoid by all means in their power. Mr. Chatterji left no one in doubt that so long as these people continued in detention there was no chance of public co-operation being offered in a smooth working of the new constitution.

Mr. Vaidya and Compulsion in Hyderabad.

AFTER an interval of six years the Hyderabad People's Educational Conference met last week under the presidency of Mr. K. S. Vaidya, M.L.C. Even

such an innocuous conference cannot be held in the territory ruled by the Nizam unless permitted by his Government. This is a convenient yardstick with which to measure the extent of civil liberty allowed to his subjects. The requirement as to official permission as a condition precedent to the holding of public meetings and conferences indirectly gives the authorities the right to dictate to the organisers as to who should be the president and what should be the nature of business to be transacted. These negotiations very often prove to be protracted and a source of humiliation to those responsible for the organisation of such public assemblages, which, we suppose, accounts for the irregular intervals at which this Conference has met.

IN his presidential address Mr. Vaidya dwelt at length on the need for the introduction of free and compulsory elementary education. The premier State of Hyderabad is educationally very backward, whether compared with the Indian provinces or even with States like Travancore, Mysore and Baroda. It seems to be Mr. Vaidya's contention that though literacy is on a fairly high level among Muslims, its level is comparatively very low in the non-Urdu speaking population. The only remedy to rectify this unsatisfactory state of affairs is by resort to compulsion.

BUT Mr. Vaidya is practical enough not to wish for its extension at one bound to the whole State. He would cover the whole field in ten years. A start, he suggests, should be made with the capital, where the number of school-age children is about 1,10,000, and where the cost of compulsion at Rs. 10 per pupil would not exceed Rs. 11 lakhs. The next step should be the application of compulsion to urban areas which it should be the State's aim to cover in a period of five years. Under his proposal rural areas would be the last to be brought under compulsion.

IT goes without saying that compulsory education has to be free. And Mr. Vaidya's calculations of its cost for the whole State are framed on this basis. If the compulsory scheme is to comprehend the whole State, Mr. Vaidya estimates about 17 lakhs as the number of eligible children and the cost of compulsion he puts at nearly Rs. 1¾ crores at Rs. 10 per pupil. He believes that some reduction of the present expenditure on higher education would be possible and pleads for the stoppage of grants from the

State treasury to foreign educational institutions. He is far from saying that the savings thus effected would be enough to meet the demands of compulsion. But he has such a high opinion of the financial ability and resourcefulness of Sir Akbar Hydari that he hopes that finance will not prove a very great stumbling block. We can only hope that Mr. Vaidya's optimism proves justifiable.

Anti-Basavi Action in Mysore.

THE Mysore Government have by a stroke of the pen banned the evil system of Basavis or Devadasis prevalent among the depressed classes and earned the thanks of all having the cause of social reform at heart. In British India such action by the Government would have had to be preceded by a long process of public education culminating in the passage of appropriate legislation. Such indeed was the case in this presidency where, thanks to the initiative and reforming zeal of Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole, anti-Devadasi legislation was placed on the statute book about two years ago.

WHAT has happened in Mysore is only this, that the Government have issued an order drawing public attention to section 372 of the Indian Penal Code which prescribes heavy penalties for the use of a minor for immoral purposes. The order makes it clear that the fact that such use is made in the name of religion cannot afford any protection to the parties concerned. Government officers are moreover enjoined to impress the fact of the illegality of the Basavi practice specially on the minds of the depressed classes and to take cognisance of all offences contemplated by the section.

IT would, however, be contrary to facts to pretend that the Mysore Government took the step spontaneously or of its own free will. It was moved on to it by the intensive propaganda carried on by the Harijan Sevak Sangha against the evil system. The All-India Harijan Sevak Sangha attached so much value to the eradication of the evil that it made a special grant to its local organisation for the purpose of bringing about a stoppage of the Basavi system. All those who participated in the anti-Basavi propaganda can have the satisfaction of seeing their efforts so speedily bear fruit—a satisfaction rare in the case of public workers.

RE-ELECTION OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S re-election as Congress President for the next year is now assured, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who but for his retirement from politics would ordinarily have become President this year and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whose election would in any case have been doubtful having withdrawn from the contest. In one sense the Sardar's withdrawal is unfortunate, for if the contest had gone forward it would have given a broad indication of the policy which Congressmen as a whole would like the Congress to follow. The choice of an all-round extreme left-winger like Pandit Jawaharlal in preference to the Sardar, who is a Sardar only in the fight with the British Government but whose outlook on the conflict between the different classes in Indian society is definitely reactionary,

would have shown that the Congress would make a stand not merely for political freedom but for social justice. It would also have given some assurance that those Congressmen who would be returned to the provincial legislatures would loyally try out the policy of rejection of the new constitution to which the Congress stands pledged by its election manifesto. As it is, no such inference can be drawn from the fact that Mr. Nehru will preside over the destinies of the Congress for another year.

As if effectually to rob Pandit Jawaharlal's re-election of any significance as to the leftward tendency of the Congress, both Sardar Patel and the Pandit have issued statements which forbid anyone to look upon the election as anything but a routine affair. The Sardar, noting the wide divergence of

views between himself and the Pandit, says: "The Congress President has no dictatorial powers. He is the chairman of a well-built organisation. He regulates proceedings and carries out the decisions of the Congress as they may be arrived at from time to time. The Congress does not part with its ample powers by electing any individual, no matter who he is." This is as much as to say: "Let the Pandit be ever so red. But the Congress will not be red on that account, nor will it be pink; it will on the contrary be as white as white can be so long as I have anything to do with it. The Pandit is keen on refusal of office. I will see to it, however, that acceptance of office is forced on him, and that he submits to it with the meekness of a lamb. He may indulge a bit in communistic exhortations. I will nevertheless give a guarantee that the Congress will remain solid behind the vested interests. No sweeping changes in the social structure will the Congress ever countenance. Don't be alarmed, therefore, at a convinced socialist holding the reins of power in the most crucial year that is opening. The reins will only be nominally in his hands; we shall pull them the way we want. There is thus no harm in anyone, however conservative he may be, electing Pandit Jawaharlal once again; go ahead. He will remain next year the dummy that we made him in the last few months."

Mr. Nehru himself substantially accepts this position. When his nomination was announced, he had warned Congressmen to remember what exactly his policy was and to give him their suffrages if only they could endorse it. This was a sort of challenge to the Congress organisations to elect some one else whose opinions were more to their liking if they disapproved of his socialism and advocacy of non-acceptance of office. In his further statement, however, he goes back upon this and says that in the event of his election Congressmen would be understood to be behind him in his general line of action alone and not in any particular views that he holds. This means that the presidential election is fought not so much on policy as on personality, and that the Congress might as well elect Sardar Patel as Pandit Jawaharlal, in so far as any views held by either are concerned. Thus the Pandit's election has no political import except that Congressmen regard him as a great patriot, which of course he is. But on the supreme question as to whether the Congress is to make its avowed rejection policy effective his election has no bearing. If rejection is to be honestly translated into action and not used merely as a vote-catching device in the ensuing legislative election, it would appear that the Congress must be firm in refusing the responsibility of office and in standing four-square to all the privileged classes who will be in the legislatures in their full strength. But on neither question is the Congress in a hurry to take a definite stand, nor would Pandit Jawaharlal seem eager to press the Congress to do so.

It should also be borne in mind that the Pandit has in the last few months shown himself capable of so changing his policy as to be acceptable to the Old Guard in the Congress. It is notorious how since a

Wardha meeting there has occurred in his propaganda tour a shift of emphasis from social justice to political freedom. He still swears by socialism but is willing to put his socialism in cold storage till national independence is won. This obviously is a surrender to those who hope to preserve a united front with the propertied and privileged classes in India against the British Government on whom attack is to be concentrated. The present purpose of the Congress is, as Sardar Patel says in his statement, "to free India from foreign subjection and thus destroy imperialistic exploitation, root and branch. When we have attained this, it will be time to enforce theories and plans." Pandit Jawaharlal has been latterly saying the same thing: national independence first and social justice—a long time afterwards. But it does not take an adherent of scientific socialism like Pandit Jawaharlal to see that there can be no such compartmental division of national activity; that the Britishers cannot be dislodged so long as power is allowed to rest securely in the hands of the vested interests in Indian society; and that therefore political freedom goes to a large extent with social justice. Those who from considerations of expediency turn their backs upon the latter can never attain the former. The strategic retreat executed by the Pandit from his former position shows the infinite capacity for opportunistic compromises that even one such as he can exhibit.

The selection of a large proportion of the Congress candidates for provincial councils from the privileged classes shows how real the danger is that the Congress, in its desire to make common cause with influential sections of the population and fight the British Government with their aid, will only end in entrenching the vested interests in their position of privilege. Some of the candidates selected in Maharashtra are not only not known to public life, but they are burdened with a past which it will take even the sincerely repentant decades to clear off. But no sign is visible that they have at all repented. Some of them are known only as flatterers of subordinate officials of Government for selfish ends, and they content themselves with offering *puja* to the subordinate officials because they have no access to the officials in the higher region. Their only asset, besides subscribing to the Congress creed and perhaps wearing khaddar, is that they have bags of money, some of which they may empty into the party chest, so that with this help good men and true in other constituencies can be returned. But is it to be expected for a moment that these men with bags of money will ever remain true to the Congress if the Congress adopts a militant policy whether towards the Government or towards the privileged classes? The selection of such candidates has become a perfect scandal in these parts, and the Congress organisation has come into disrepute on their account. It may be that the Congress may yet win with these liabilities on its hands, but if it does its task after election will be very much harder than that before election.

Some leftist Congressmen still have a faint glimmer of hope that Pandit Jawaharlal, although he is own lying low, will assert himself in his second

year of presidentship. They argue in this wise: "He may or may not succeed in the plea which he will certainly make against office acceptance. But even if he should fail, he would later have a good chance of securing from those Congressmen who would become Ministers what he would have got from them if they had elected to remain in permanent opposition. He wants the constitution to be overthrown. The best means of achieving this object, of course, is not to accept office even though in a majority. But, foiled in this, he would still go to those who accept Ministerships and encounter them with the Congress election manifesto which says—and even Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel agrees with this—that the Congress objective is to wreck the reforms. You are Ministers of the Crown no doubt, he will say, but you are committed to wrecking no less than others, and you must fulfil your pledges. Now do not submit any

budgets for the departments in your control, and do not carry on the administration at all. Let the constitution thus fall into ruin". No doubt he can say this. But we doubt whether he will say so, and whether, if he does, Satyamurtis will heed. It is true that even Satyamurtis who are carrying on a propaganda for office acceptance base it on the ground that if they occupy positions of vantage they will be able to wreck the constitution the more effectively. But it is too much to believe that they will try to make such use of their positions. If Pandit Jawaharlal can compromise on socialism why should not they on wrecking? The Pandit says that socialism will come in its own good time; Satyamurtis will say that wrecking too will come in its time, when conditions are ripe for it. And thus will the game of bluff go on merrily.

"ASSASSINATION" OF SPAIN?

THE Government forces in Spain, it was confidently expected by military experts when the insurgents began advancing on the capital, would have to evacuate Madrid in three or four days and run for their lives. Madrid, however, has held out for three weeks since then and there is no knowing as yet that they will not be able to repulse the attack of the insurgents. If, however, they are defeated it is clear that the main reason for their defeat is, that they were prevented, in violation of their normal right under the canons of international law, from purchasing arms and ammunition from foreign countries with their own money. This is a grim fact which came out clearly in the debate that took place in the House of Commons on 29th October on the situation in Spain. The so-called non-intervention agreement was never observed by Italy, Germany and Portugal, and whatever its merit might have been at its inception on the supposition that it would be effective, it has only helped to cut off the Spanish Government from the supply of arms which it most needed to preserve its life against the attacks of the rebels who were being continually supplied with war materials from the fascist countries. If Spain goes down, Great Britain and France will be largely responsible for its "assassination", and Great Britain in particular, for it remains true, in spite of the contradiction by Mr. Eden, that France proposed a cowardly neutrality pact only at Britain's instance. The Paris correspondent of the *Times* wrote on 24th October that although the French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister took the initiative in imposing an embargo, yet "strong British pressure was an important factor in deciding their attitude." Surely there is something more to this than Mr. Eden would have us believe.

Mr. Baldwin claimed that the neutrality pact had been fairly well observed. He said, there have been some breaches, but "they have not been of anything like sufficient importance, even up to now, to cause us, even from that aspect, to modify our policy in regard to intervention." Miss Rathbone's Committee has clearly proved how

untenable such a claim is, and Mr. Cocks who, with Mr. Dobbie, another member of Parliament, made a tour of Spain, gave a great many instances of violation of the agreement. We give them below, although it is quite a long list. The instances cover both periods, before the agreement as well as after. In regard to the exportation of arms by Italy and Germany to the rebels before 28th August, it seems to be thought that such exportation is not illegal, but as Sir Archibald Sinclair declared that it was "a gross breach of the provisions of the Covenant and a flagrant act of aggression against the people of Spain" for the fascist countries to have sent arms to rebels. Mr. Cocks said:

On 9th July it was reported in the *Intransigent* that a three-engine Junker bombing plane had arrived at Tetuan, that 19 more were expected from Germany and also 20 Caproni bombers from Italy. On 31st July the *Times* Paris correspondent stated that two Italian planes on their way to join the rebels made forced landings in French Algeria. They had flown straight from Sardinia, and were manned by Italian officers who as recently as 20th July had belonged to the Italian Regular Air Force. On 1st August, Reuter said that 14 more of these planes—Savaio Marchetti—had reached Morocco. On 2nd August, the Havas correspondent at Tetuan said he had seen seven Junker planes and one Marchetti. On 4th August the *Times* stated that the German pocket battleship "Deutschland" had put in at Ceuta and that the German admiral went to Tetuan and lunched with General Franco. On 6th August the *Manchester Guardian* diplomatic correspondent stated that five German planes, including three bombers, had reached Ceuta and more were expected. (I might here remark that on 9th August the Press reported that the German Embassy had informed the Foreign Office: (1) that no war materials, including planes, had been sent to the rebels, either by the German Government or private individuals; (2) that no war material would be sent to the rebels from Germany. Comment on that statement is unnecessary.) On 13th August the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* stated that there was no denial of the reports that on 11th August 25 German aircraft landed at Cadiz and a number of Lufthausas at Tetuan. On 13th August the British United Press reported that at Seville there were Italian Caproni bombers and Savoias, German Junkers and Heinkels scouts and bombers. The German officers wore white uniforms and the Italians the

uniform of the Foreign Legion. On 13th August Sir Percival Phillips, correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, said that General Franco had 20 Junker transport planes transporting Moors, five German pursuit planes, with the original markings erased with black paint, and seven Capronis, Fascist and Nazi airmen were instructing the rebels.

On 15th August the *New Statesman* said that the *New York Times* correspondent had seen at Seville a further 19 German bombers, manned by pilots of the Regular German Army, and that French witnesses reported the arrival of a score of German planes at General Mola's headquarters in the North. On 19th August the British Government banned the exportation of arms to Spain without waiting for the adhesion of other nations. On 24th August the *Times* correspondent at Hendaye stated that the Burgos insurgents claimed that they had received 21 new Junker planes on 23rd August. On 24th August the *News Chronicle* stated that two German ships, one being the "Kamerun," were unloading tanks, planes, bombs and grenades at Lisbon. The cargo was placed in box cars. On 22nd August 23 left for Badajoz and Salamanca and 30 more on the following day. I would point out that on 20th August the *Times* reported that it was stated in Berlin that the "Kamerun" had no munitions on board. On 26th August Mr. Pembroke Stevens, a well-known war correspondent, stated that a German from Hamburg had said that his battalion had flown across the Straits in 15 Junker planes, piloted by Germans, and that Badajoz was bombarded by former Italian Air Force planes. The pilots were ex-Italian officers in Spanish Legionnaire uniforms. Between 28th and 31st August it is stated that 28 Italian planes were landed from an Italian ship at Vigo. I understand that this was seen by the British Vice-Consul there and that the information was sent to the British Government.

This brings me to the beginning of September, by which time all the nations concerned had agreed to place an embargo on the export of arms to Spain. At the beginning of September, according to the Spanish Foreign Secretary, a ship arrived at Melilla with two Capronis, bombs and shells, escorted by an Italian destroyer. In early September an Italian plane was shot down. The pilot was killed, but his papers showed that he was Enerto Monico, under the orders of a General Kinderlin, who commanded two squadrons of planes, one composed of Junkers and the other of Fiats. On 6th September, according to the *Morning Post* correspondent, 14 Italian planes arrived at Palma in Majorca, and on 7th September, on the authority of the Foreign Minister of Spain, 14 planes from Hamburg arrived at Seville in a train from Portugal. On 12th September on the same authority an Italian cargo boat landed gas bombs, planes and arms near Tetuan. On 13th September an Italian Fiat was shot down at Telavira. The pilot escaped by means of a parachute—which my colleague and I have brought back to England—and he made a statement showing that he had fought in the Abyssinian war and that at various centres there were 24 German planes and 27 Italian planes.

On 20th September, according to the Spanish Foreign Minister, 12 German aeroplanes arrived at Tetuan to transport troops, and on the same date the British Vice-Consul saw more Italian planes landed at Vigo. This is reported by Mr. Wm. Dodd, son of the American Ambassador to Berlin, who said that it was told him by the British Vice-Consul himself. Mr. Dodd further said that the Vice-Consul had told him that the Pact had no meaning and was being openly violated. On 29th September, so the Spanish Foreign Minister says, poison gas from Italy was sent from Lisbon across the Spanish Frontier to the rebels. Although poison gas has not yet been used, everyone in Madrid thinks that the rebels intend to use it if they cannot win in every way as every rebel soldier captured is provided with a gas mask—although the Spanish Government has no gas. On about the same date the French Consul at Algeciras reported that he had seen 200 Italian airmen at Seville and that half the crew of the

rebel warship "Canarias" were Germans. On 5th October the *Times* reported that 30 foreign war planes had arrived in Spain from Morocco and the *News Chronicle* the following day stated that these planes were Italian or German, painted black. On 7th October, according to the British Government, three Italian aeroplanes are alleged to have landed at Palma and an Italian ship is alleged to have landed cases of munitions. Between 8th and 18th October, according to the Spanish Government, 160 Germans, apparently specialised troops, arrived at Seville with 12 anti-aircraft guns and left by train for the front. On 15th October, according to the Spanish Government, a large number of tanks and a consignment of 100 flame-throwers from Italy were landed at Cadiz. On 17th October, according to the Spanish Government, a German ship believed to be a destroyer, landed anti-aircraft guns at Algeciras.

If Germany and Italy impudently defied the terms of the neutrality agreement, what did Great Britain do? The Spanish Government, with the consent of the French Government (for Spain had agreed last year to buy her war materials from France alone), placed an order for 11 aeroplanes in England and paid for them even before the rebellion occurred, but the Spanish Government was not allowed to obtain delivery of them! Mr. Dobbie told the House: "The aeroplanes are still in this country but cannot be delivered because the (British) Government refuse to give an export licence, but the money is retained in this country."

The British Government's defence of neutrality runs along these lines: We are not concerned with the Spanish conflict; our only care must be to prevent war flames from spreading beyond the frontiers of Spain into Europe. Neutrality on the part of all the neighbouring countries alone will secure this end. If neutrality is not effective, let us try to make it effective by carefully organised international supervision. It is untrue to say that neutrality, as it has actually been practised, has helped the rebels to victory. If the loyalist forces are vanquished, they will be vanquished by their internal weakness. Once outside help is freely permitted, the insurgents will get far more help than the loyalists. It is not our business to save the loyalists, but if it were it would be best even then to put an embargo on the export of arms from all countries to either side, for Germany and Italy are better situated to supply arms to the rebels than England, France or Russia to the loyalists; and in fact neutrality has not operated to strengthen the cause of the rebels. Now each of these positions was violently assailed by members of the Labour Party in the debate. Great Britain's hands, Mr. Eden argued, were too full with manufacturing arms for her own rearmament to be able to send any to Spain. To this argument Mr. Noel Baker replied: "If our Government had not imposed the embargo, some enterprising agency would have been able, according to the evidence that came to the Royal Commission, to turn out at a moment's notice thousands of machine guns, tens of thousands of rifles and millions of cartridges, and they would at certain moments have proved decisive on the side of the Government." But, Mr. Eden said, the rebels would then have obtained far more arms from Italy and Germany, and that would only have still further weakened the Govern-

ment's forces. To this the conclusive reply is what Mr. Baker gave: "It is a risk which the Spanish Government are willing to take because they know that the rebels have not the men who can use the arms, while they themselves have vast forces who could quickly win the war if they were armed." What the Spanish Government, who are in the best position to judge, think about this was made known by Mr. Cocks who had personal talks on the subject with Signor Largo Caballero, Prime Minister, and with Signor Prieto, Minister of Air and Marine. Sgr. Caballero told Mr. Cocks:

What the Spanish Government needs is arms. We have the men and if we could get the equipment for an army of 200,000 men we would win the war quickly, even though the rebels have better war materials. Especially do we want to purchase aircraft and machine guns. Even if as a result of allowing the Spanish Government to purchase war materials the German and Italian Governments intensified their help, the rebels had not the men.

Sgr. Prieto said:

The policy of non-intervention is bringing the Spanish Government fatally to disaster.

Mr. Cocks added: "This is the view of everybody to whom I spoke in Spain, British residents and Spaniards themselves." It cannot be denied that the people of Spain as a whole are behind the Spanish Government—Mr. Cocks's estimate is 80 per cent.—while the insurgents, though heavily armed, have little man power to draw upon. The Madrid correspondent of the *Times* wrote on 21st October: "One gains the impression that the campaign on the insurgent side has been carried on mainly by mercenaries and volunteers and in no great numbers." The last four words are most important. Mr. Cocks in his speech emphasised this aspect of the question. "It is not sufficiently well known," he said, "that the rebel army is but a small one, consisting of Moors, Foreign Legionaries, the Officer Corps, a few Fascists, some Carlists and a number of Italian and German aviators, artillerymen and men drawn from the German and Italian Armies. But it is heavily armed with heavy artillery, machine guns, flame-throwers and tanks and aeroplanes of the latest type. Against this small mechanised army is practically the whole population of Spain. They are poorly equipped and most of them have only a few arms, a few fowling pieces, double-barrelled sporting guns, with which to fight these well-equipped modern troops. But the spirit of the people is marvellous." The conclusion is obvious. It is, in the words of Mr. Noel-Baker: "We are unwillingly, and, I am very ready to admit, unwittingly, handing over the vast majority of the Spanish people to a junta of generals, supported by outside troops and arms." When the war started, the Spanish Government had a four to one superiority in the war; now the superiority has passed from the Government to the rebels because of the embargo. If the British Government does not remove the embargo, Mr. Cocks said, "We shall deserve to be drowned in the blood of our Spanish comrades."

The Spanish people may be crushed, but at least the war will not spread beyond Spain and Great Britain will not be involved in it, as it would be if

it helped the Spanish Government against the rebels. This is the argument of the British Government. But this is also equally fallacious. Sir Archibald Sinclair put the argument at its strongest. "If war broke out," he said, "who would be our enemies? Certainly Italy and Germany—a formidable combination. Who would be our friends who would share the risks of a conflict with us? Well, who? Russia? How is she going to reach either Germany or Italy? France?" Sir Archibald scouted the idea. Great Britain would be exposed, he said, to the most serious danger. But is there no danger in the rebels succeeding? Would their success not make Germany and Italy very dangerous neighbours to Great Britain? What is the position even now? The Balearic Islands are, Mr. Attlee said, "pretty fully occupied" by Italy. They have passed, or are passing, under Italian control. Ceuta, standing opposite Gibraltar, will become the property of Germany, and the Mediterranean will become an Italian lake. All these places are in pawn to Germany and Italy. They are very suitable for the setting up of good naval bases, and they, as Mr. Dalton remarked on 5th November, "in the case of the Canaries or other islands in the Atlantic, might seriously interfere with our alternative route to the Cape if we lost the Mediterranean route." Col. Wedgwood pointed to another danger. He said:

It will not be necessary to have a formal surrender of the Balearic Islands to Italy, or the Canary Islands or Rio d'Oro or the Moroccan Coast to Germany, in order that these Powers may be established in those colonies and territories. A concession of the right to put an aerodrome with petrol tanks, in Minorca, would be far more valuable to the Italians and far more dangerous to us than the surrender of Fort Mahon to the English in the 18th century. There you would have bombing planes comfortably within the range of Gibraltar, which would become untenable, and of our trade through the Mediterranean, as well as our trade with France and Algeria. In the same way you would have aeroplanes hopping from Cape Trafalgar or from the Canary Islands. That would be a good deal more dangerous than submarines coming from Cadiz, as they did during the War. All our trade with South America and South Africa, and all our trade in war with the East and with India would all be going just alongside the aeroplane base of the German Government. The reason given for taking the German colonies at the end of the War was that it would deprive them of bases to attack our commerce in any future war, but here we are providing opportunities in Spain, and not only in conquered Spain but in all those other satellite countries which are now collecting, one after another, into the German orbit.

In the first place it is impossible for the rebels, even with German and Italian help, to hold down the 25,000,000 Spaniards by force, should they be conquered. In the second place, this would not bring peace to Europe but war. "The danger is", Mr. Noel-Baker said, "that if this new technique of aggression is successful, it will be used elsewhere, in Rumania, and in Czechoslovakia, and will be the very thing to start the European conflict which the British Government are so passionately anxious to avoid." War cannot be avoided in this way. It will only be precipitated.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN BIHAR.

THE Report of the Unemployment Committee issued recently by the Bihar Government is both a valuable and interesting document. The Committee was appointed with the object of finding out the extent of unemployment among the educated middle class and of suggesting means by which a larger number of them could be absorbed in the different industrial occupations. Looked at from these terms of reference, the findings of the Committee appear satisfactory, though they touch only the fringe of the unemployment problem of Bihar. Bihar is predominantly an agricultural province, having a population of 32.4 millions. The average density in Bihar proper is 642 per sq. mile, while in the whole province including Chota Nagpur, it is 368. The average for the whole of India is 195. This clearly shows that in Bihar there is a very great pressure on land and in view of the fact that 80% of the population depend there on agriculture, it goes without saying that there must be colossal unemployment among the small farmers and landless labourers of Bihar. But the Bihar Unemployment Committee does not deal with that aspect of the question. It confines itself, as it was asked to do, to a mere 10% of the population of the province, and not to the whole 10% either, but to that fraction of it which passes out every year from the educational institutions.

It is necessary to remember this, because we are apt to exaggerate the importance of this Committee. As Dr. Gyanchand, a member of the Committee, very truly observes, the Committee's recommendations are mostly in the nature of palliatives. They do not go to the root of the problem. After all, the prosperity of the middle class is closely dependent on the prosperity of the peasants from whom the middle class draws its sustenance. Unless there is an improvement in the conditions of the peasantry, there is no hope of permanent improvement in the conditions of the middle class. But the improvement of the peasantry is a very great problem and the Bihar Government has not the means at present of undertaking its solution. The Bihar Unemployment Committee therefore takes up the more modest task of finding out the annual output of the different educational institutions and seeing as to how they can be absorbed in services, both Government and otherwise. In its investigations for this purpose, it finds out that there are 17,000 students turned out every year ranging from under-Matrices to Masters of Arts. Of these only 5,000 can secure employment at present. The rest go to swell the numbers of the unemployed. All this unemployment is not due to want of jobs. There is to a great extent maladjustment also between the supply and demand for labour. The Committee found out, for example, that the different industries of the province could absorb about 1,300 mechanics. As against this there were barely 100 passing out every year with a mechanic's training. Similarly, in the Tata Iron Works, though there was a dearth of applicants for mechanical and electrical engineers, there was excessive

supply so far as the Civil Engineering Department was concerned. The Committee gives a number of such instances and points out the necessity of reforming the educational system with a view to ensure proper adjustment between the supply and demand of labour.

The Committee also suggests various methods by which the mofussil students may acquire an interest in agriculture. It makes the recommendation that Middle English Schools should have vocational classes both in agriculture and carpentry and boys should be so trained that they may not detest the hard life of a farmer. Villages should be made more beautiful and attractive, so that educated young men may not be bored by village life. A new outlook should be created in the minds of the villagers. Rural reconstruction work on the lines of Sriniketan of Dr. Tagore should be carried on. The villages should have new life and new activity. A new type of leadership should be created which would delight in working in villages and in educating the villagers in better modes of living. It is only then that the great rush to the towns would be stopped and the educated people would settle down in the villages.

As regards the employment of the Biharis in the different industries, the Committee notes with regret that out of 45,000 posts in these various concerns only 22,000 are held by the Biharis. The rest are held by people from outside the province. The Committee thinks that this leads to an accentuation of the unemployment problem of Bihar, inasmuch as the natives of the soil are deprived of their due share by immigrants from other provinces. The Committee thinks that this is due to absence of close relationship between the different industries on the one hand and the Industries Department of the Government on the other. The Committee recommends greater co-ordination between these two. It also suggests that greater publicity should be given to vacancies when they occur in any of the industrial concerns. In this way, the Committee hopes that in future recruitment to these services, the Biharis will have a predominant share. But the scope in industrial employment not being very great, the Committee recommends the establishment of a number of cottage industries to mitigate the rigours of excessive pressure on land. Weaving, dyeing and cleaning, tanning and cabinet-making are a few of these industries. The Committee suggests that private enterprise in these directions should be helped by means of suitable aid from Government. Vocational schools should be started in important places and these also should receive help from Government. It is by an all-round development of this kind that educated unemployment can be mitigated to any great extent. The Committee also makes a number of other suggestions. The most important of them is the extension of the activities of the Public Information Bureau already in existence. This Bureau should register the names of all those people who are qualified and yet without employment, and when vacancies occur, either in Government or private concerns, it should inform the candidates qualified for those vacancies and thus see whether the right type of people get employment.

We hope that the recommendations of the Committee, modest as they are, would at once be put into effect by the Government. This will go a long way towards allaying the discontent of the educated section of the population. But we sincerely wish that the Bihar Government would not stop here. This modest beginning in the direction of unemployment relief should lead them to a more comprehensive

survey of the problem and, let us hope, they will take steps to relieve unemployment, whether among the educated or the uneducated. It is only then that lasting peace and order would be established in the province, which is the desideratum of both the Government and the people.

SHYAM SUNDAR MISRA.

INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA.

THE decision of the Government of India to send the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as their delegate to Malaya to review the condition of labour is well appreciated all over the country. The delegation's terms of reference are to examine the conditions of Indian labour with special reference to (1) rates of wages, (2) hours of work, (3) provision made for residence, medical treatment, education and subsidiary occupation, that is, by allotment of land for cultivation, (4) sex ratio, (5) and political and social status of Indians. It is necessary that when the delegation is touring Malaya, we should know something regarding the existing conditions of our brethren there, so that we may be able to judge where exactly the Indians resident in that country stand. It is with this end in view that I am writing this article. The material which I am using here is taken from the successive annual reports of the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya.

Population.—The population of Malaya is essentially cosmopolitan. It consists of Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ceylonese, Eurasians and Europeans. The total population of Malaya in 1935 is estimated at 4,611,450. Of these 638,714 are Indians. The fact that Indians are steadily growing in number for the last ten years can be seen from the following figures. In 1921, the population of Indians in Malaya was 471,666. In 1925 it was 472,000, and in 1931 it was 624,009. Thus during these ten years there was an increase of more than 150,000 Indians in that country.

The Indian population in Malaya can be classified into two main divisions: those who have made Malaya their permanent home and those who are in that country only to earn their living but who eventually return to India. The permanent population is roughly about one-fifth of the total. It is also important to remember that about 70 per cent. of the total Indian population is labourers and the rest non-labourers. Of the non-labouring Indian classes, the most thriving are Nattukottai Chetties. They are generally money-lenders and bankers. Some of them have even acquired rubber estates and house properties. Next to them come the merchants, engaged in all sorts of trade from petty hawking and street vending to the big import and export trade. A few Indians hold responsible posts in Government departments. But the bulk of non-labouring classes consists of clerks in Government departments, commercial firms, banks, estates and plantations.

Rates of Wages.—The standard wage enquiries under the Federated Malay States Labour Code and

the Straits Settlements Labour Ordinances were conducted by the Indian Immigration Committee in 1927 in respect of key areas of Province Wellesley and the district of Pahang. The Committee recommended 50 cents for adult males and 40 cents for adult females in the Province Wellesley, which rates were accepted by the Straits Settlements Government. In the inland district of Pahang, the standard rates fixed were 58 cents for males and 46 for females. The Government of India accepted these rates, and urged the Malayan Governments to take speedy measures for extending them to the rest of Malaya. These rates were in force till 1930, when reduced standard rates of wages were introduced. Thus till the end of the year 1931, an adult male was actually paid 40 cents and an adult female was paid 32 cents in the Province Wellesley, whereas in the district of Pahang the rates were 47 and 36 cents for males and females respectively. One cent is roughly equal to one quarter of an anna.

To cause further difficulty to Indian labourers, even these reduced rates of 1931 dwindled considerably during 1932, as the industrial depression, particularly in rubber, was even more acute and marked than in 1931. The wages were reduced to such low figures that in May 1932 an adult male was actually paid 25 cents and a female 20 cents. The Agent of the Government of India in Malaya was of the opinion that the experiment of fixing the standard rates of wages was a failure due to economic depression. He, therefore, urged that the fixation of irreducible statutory minimum wages based on the cost of living of labourers for the whole of Malaya was an urgent desideratum. The standard rates in 1933 were slightly higher, though they were far from being satisfactory. The gradual revival of trade and the recovery of the rubber industry created a demand for more labour in 1934, with the result that several estates began to pay 40 cents and 32 cents. But in 1935 these rates were not maintained and consequently men were paid 35 cents and women 28 cents. Thus the whole story of the standard rates of wages in the key areas of Malaya is a pathetic one, driving the poor Indian labourer to semi-starvation.

Hours of Work.—Under the existing labour laws, nine hours' work is expected of a labourer to earn a day's wage; but he must not be made to work continuously for more than six hours at a stretch. Overtime work is optional and has to be paid for at one and half times the usual rates of wages. Under the Labour Law as amended in 1925, an employer is bound to provide work for 24 days in a month provided the labourers present themselves for work.

Housing.—The question of housing the Indian labour population in Malaya has been a vexed problem. It would be most appropriate to mention here an extract from the annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya. The Agent says :

On some estates visited by me, I found that large families with many dependants and children or more than three adults had been huddled in a single standard room of 10' into 10' in contravention of the rules which require each married couple to be provided with a room, and separate rooms for batches of not more than three adults among others. . . . The present system of housing provides for very little of privacy in the case of married labourers.

This was the condition ten years ago. Though matters have improved since then, they are still far from satisfactory. It is gratifying to note that the housing of the type of back to back barrack lines is slowly yielding place to detached and semi-detached single room and double rooms cottages for married labourers living with their families.

Medical Treatment.—Most of the hospitals on the estates are in charge of dressers who generally have passed the local test of 1st, 2nd or 3rd grade dresser. In several places the dressers do not possess even this qualification. This is a great danger to the labour force. The case of the death of an Indian labourer last year due to administration of wrong medicine is an instance in point. It is high time that the hospitals should be in charge of properly qualified men. Another grievance is that the maternity wards for female labourers are far away from the estates and hence the women are generally reluctant to go to them for confinement. It is, therefore, necessary that wards should be provided on the estates. It is important to note, in this connection, that the Agent's Report for 1927 says that the deaths among Indian labourers were comparatively higher than those among Chinese, Javanese and others. It may be added that better wages will have a beneficial effect on the labourers as they would have better nourishment and consequently greater power to resist disease.

Education.—Literacy ratio among Indians in Malaya differs from one place to another. Thus the number of literates per 1,000 persons was 376 in Straits Settlements, 245 in Federated Malaya States, 256 in Johore, 196 in Kedah, 269 in Kelantan and 466 in Trengganu. This gives an average of 30 per cent. literate persons among Indians in the whole of Malaya. It is most painful to note that the number of vernacular schools on estates is rapidly decreasing from year to year. Though the latest figures are not available, this inference can be drawn by comparing the number of schools in 1927 to that in 1933. In 1927 the number of schools for the whole of Malaya was 546. Of these 59 were in S. S., 416 in F. M. S., and 75 in U. M. S. In 1933 their number fell to 395, which meant the disappearance of as many as 151 schools.

Regarding the efficiency of the school teachers, I would like to quote the words of the Agent of the Government of India. He records in his report for 1933: "As most of the teachers in these schools are untrained and unqualified men, the quality of instruc-

tion cannot but be poor. If these schools are to be of real benefit to the labourers' children, the best course appears to be to get trained teachers from South India, so long as there are no facilities for the training of vernacular teachers in this country." This remark made in 1933 applies equally to the conditions of to-day.

In respect of admission to Government and aided English schools preference is given to Malays and then to local-born children of other nationalities. The same is the case in Technical Schools for the Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs, Agricultural and Railway departments in Federated Malaya States. Thus the Indian children suffer great hardships in receiving English and technical education.

Allotment of Land.—As most of the cultivable lands have been reserved for the Malays under the Malay Reservation Enactments, it is difficult for Indians to acquire land. In 1935 the land owned by Indians was 36,535 acres in S. S., 165,245 acres in F. M. S., and 107,282 acres in U. M. S. It is to be borne in mind, in this connection, that most of this land is owned by persons belonging to the upper and middle classes of Indians. Thus the poor Indian labourers, who form 70 per cent of the entire Indian population, are practically landless.

Two land settlement schemes for Indian labourers were initiated in 1932 in the District of Negri Sembilan. The first settlement was on a land of 243 acres of thickly-wooded jungle. The land was parcelled out into 4 acre and 2 or 3 acre plots for family men and bachelors respectively, numbering 39 families and 25 single men in all. The second scheme was on a block of 500 acres of dry land not suitable for rubber plantation. It was given on a thirty years' lease to selected labourers who have been working on that estate for many years. Thirty-three families and two single men have availed themselves of this grant. The recent official reports of the Agent do not mention the founding of any new settlements after 1932.

Sex Ratio.—The question of sex ratio among the Indian emigrants to Malaya is one of the most difficult problems to be faced. The Indian emigration rules prescribe that, in assisted Indian labour emigration, there shall be not fewer than 800 females to every 1,200 males. This rule applies only to assisted emigrants and not to those paying their own passages across. Moreover, for some special reasons, Malaya was exempted from the above mentioned rule. According to the census of 1921, there were 335,485 male and 136,181 female Indians in Malaya, the sex ratio being 2.5 males to one female. A slight improvement was noticeable in 1931, the number of men being 421,028 and females being 202,981. This works out as 2.1 males to one female. In other words, there were 482 females to every 1,000 males in 1931. Unfortunately the position in 1931 could not be maintained in later years, and since then the sex ratio is receding. Thus in 1935 there were 468 females to every 1,000 males. The whole problem of sex ratio has become very acute since the end of the last decade. It may be noted in this connection that the

sex proportion among the Telugus is the best, while it is the worst among the Malayalees. The following remarks of the Agent from the report for 1935 are of great significance:

Certain classes of labourers do not bring their women with them as they do not want them to work, and the man's earnings alone are ordinarily insufficient to enable him to maintain a family. A working woman cannot look after her husband and children properly, and as stated by the Senior Medical Officer who has considerable experience of estate labour, the whole-time employment of women tends to raise the infantile mortality and also female mortality. In such circumstances incentive is lacking for the working classes to bring over their women.

In the light of these remarks it may be observed that the only way out of the present difficulty is to improve the economic condition of the male labourer by giving him higher wages, so that he may be able to feed his wife who should look after the household.

Political Status.—Indians have, in common with other non-Malays, no political or municipal franchise in Malaya. The members of the S. S. Legislative Council, the Federal Council and the provincial councils are nominated by the Government. At present there is one Indian nominated member on the Legislative Council of the Colony and one member on the Federal Council. In view of the fact that the Indians in Malaya have played a very important part in the agricultural and industrial development of that country, it is really a great injustice that they should be without political and municipal franchise. In this connection, I would like to quote from the report of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Wilson, which has been approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

No one will deny the important part that the non-Malays, who have made Malaya their home, have played in its development and the share they are destined to take in helping its future progress, and I think that for this reason alone they are entitled to an assurance that their interest will not be allowed to suffer as the result of effect being given to the policy of decentralisation. Moreover, subject to the policy of preferential employment of qualified Malays in Government services, and the reservation of sufficient land for Malaya needs, I take the view that the persons born in the Malay States of non-Malay parents (although only British protected persons) should be treated in those States in exactly the same way as persons born in the Colony of non-Malay parents (who are British subjects) and should have the same professional and business opportunities as European British subjects.

This, then, is the picture of Indians in Malaya. It is in no way encouraging. The reduced standard rates of wages in the key areas, the insanitary and inadequate housing accommodation, the inefficient medical facilities, lack of proper arrangements for receiving good education, difficulties in acquiring land by Indians, the alarming proportion of sex ratio and the denial of political franchise—all these disadvantages make the life of the Indian labourer in Malaya a miserable one. Let us, however, hope that the Government of India, whose duty it is to do their utmost for the betterment of the economic and social condition of Indians abroad, will come to the rescue of the Indians in Malaya when such help is very badly needed.

DINKAR DESAI

Reviews.

MARKETING AGREEMENTS.

MARKETING AGREEMENTS UNDER THE AAA. By EDWIN G. NOURSE. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1935. 21cm. 446p. \$2-50.

THIS volume is the fifth of a series of six descriptive and analytical volumes of various phases of work of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which was created under the A. A. A. of 1933, as a result of their study put out by the Brookings Institution, Washington, U. S. A.

The discussion of the theme has been drawn according to the method of "Adjustment" i. e. along agreements, licenses, and orders rather than production adjustment implemented by processing taxes and rental or benefit payments. The volume is not limited merely to "General Crops." It describes also such applications of the agreements to "basic" crops like wheat, tobacco, dairy products, rice and peanuts. Two years' development and working of A. A. A. has been described and discussed in fifteen chapters. In the first three chapters the author has outlined the origin of notions of agreements and licensing unfolded in the discussions of Dickinson and McNary-Hangen bills in 1926 and onwards and has described how those became useful for the introduction of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 as a device in surplus control and in market reform activities. In the book are described the actual operation of the administrative set up and designed to carry out the marketing agreement provisions of the Act, supplemented by factual data regarding the volume of licenses and agreements entered into by their regional and commodity distribution.

In chapters 4 to 10 the types of agreements suitable to different crops, along with their underlying principles and devices, have been discussed at length. The limitations to agreements arising through the nature and character of a product are clearly pointed out. The setting of period limitations to volume of shipments serves as an illustration.

The remaining chapters are devoted to "Administrative procedure and problems, reinforcement and legality, regulatory provisions and new market mechanisms, price objectives and strategy, results and future usefulness of market adjustment devices."

Though the author has refrained from giving his own viewpoints, he has not missed pointing out the administrative difficulties and weaknesses. He has presented certain suggestive philosophies in the scheme of markets, prices, agreements and planning, which open an avenue for thinking.

Though largely descriptive the book should prove of great use to readers in countries like India which are on the threshold of such developments.

M. B. GHATGE.

BEWARE COMMUNISM!

IS ECONOMIC EQUALITY AT ALL POSSIBLE?

By KANDALA KRISHNA MURTHY.

IS COMMUNISM NATURAL TO THE SOIL OF

INDIA? By G. D. KARKARE. (Director, Public Information, Home Dept., Government of India, New Delhi.) 1935. 25cm. 65p.

OF the two essays before us which secured the first and second prizes in the competition conducted by

the Prize Essay Competition Committee of Delhi we have not much to say about the first which points to the necessity of hastening towards the goal of equal distribution of wealth, although the writer has nowhere made it quite clear, as to how the goal is to be reached. All that he says is "men, in democracy, have so far idealised money and power; they can choose 'equality'". (page 49). One may only ask 'how?'

The short essay of Mr. Karkare is an interesting specimen. "In a country like India", says the writer, "where the student class has more often than not been an easy prey to the ambitions of political agitators, it is becoming a fashion amongst youths, especially amongst college students, to pose as Communists and address each other as 'Comrades.' Communism, according to the writer, will have all things common including women and children, leaving nothing to the individual which he can call his own. As a matter of fact it stands for the usurpation of power by a few determined anarchists, whose aim is not so much to raise the standard of life of the proletariat as to humiliate the higher and richer classes in society." One should really congratulate the writer for having brought to light this 'matter of fact' from the 'inner circle.' If the youth of the country fall a prey to the ambitions of political agitators, one cannot understand why they become only 'Comrades'. One would like to know whether Communists are the only type of political agitators existing in the country. The writer further proceeds to say that "all communists are terrorists". By a stroke of the pen he condemns the materialistic conception of history as unsound and he would like to be blind to the fact that the keener struggle for life in this world has made economic thought or, what is the same, struggle for bread, dominate all other considerations. The Indian farmer, says he, will at once reject any scheme of collective farming as his greatest pride lies in cultivating his own field. The writer possibly forgets that a number of field operations in India are collectively carried out and the Indian cultivator need certainly not stick to his piece of land if he is assured of his bread and has no fears of starvation and unemployment to face. We are further told by the writer that Communism has brought untold hardships and miseries to the people of China. Unfortunately for India, the Indian National Congress has adopted a policy of flirting with Communism" (page 64)... "and the Socialists will before long capture the organisation and plunge the country into a class war. Government have come in for a lot of criticism for promulgating an ordinance in the U.P. in order to combat the no-rent campaign, . . . but few have cared to go into the reasons that prompted the Government to take the step"!

Is it any wonder that the writer of this essay got a prize from the Prize Essay Competition Committee of which the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi is the Chairman and of which the Director of Information, Superintendent of Education, New Delhi and many other Government officers are members?

Communism may be and indeed has been a target of criticism of not a few of the publicists in India; but such a piece of criticism as is presented in the essay is, if anything, likely to carry conviction the other way. For the worst enemies of public peace and enlightened liberalism often are found amongst those that are afraid of facing facts and unwilling to study them.

R. V. OTURKAR.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE UNTOUCHABLES' QUEST. By GODFREY PHILLIPS. (Edinburgh House Press, London.) 1936. 20cm. 95p. 1/-

AS the author says in the preface, this book is "an interpretation of the recent surprising happenings among the depressed classes in India, in so far as these bear upon the missionary enterprise." In the first chapter he deals with Dr. Ambedkar's speech in Yeola in October 1935 and the move of the Ezhavas in Travancore for conversion to other religions. Incidentally, he refers to the religious, social and economic disabilities of the Harijans in general. In the second chapter, we are told of the ameliorative activities of the Government, the non-official organisations like the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Christian missions. The movement for mass conversions in villages, the attempts made by the Missions to provide their workers with the requisite training through an annual refresher course, and the need on the part of Missions to meet the ever increasing needs of the new converts are dealt with in the remaining chapters.

The chapter "Some achievements and their consequences," is interesting as the following paragraph will show:—

If, of about six million Christians, at least five and a half million are ultimately of depressed class origin, and if of those five and half million twenty-eight in every hundred can read and write, a vast number of depressed class people have actually reached literacy as a by-product of Christianity. Of a thousand Hindu males, a hundred and forty-four can read and write; of a thousand Muslim males a hundred and seven can read and write; of a thousand Christian males three hundred and fifty-two can read and write. But the figures for females are even more striking. Remember the seven thousand a month accessions, half of whom are women, practically all illiterate. Of a thousand Hindu females, twenty-one can read and write; of a thousand Muslim females, fifteen can read and write; of a thousand Christian females, two hundred and three can read and write.

In the chapter "Issues which must be faced" the author deals with the great responsibility that lies ahead of the Missions and refers to the attempts made by the National Christian Council in India.

The book will interest students of social affairs in India, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SOVIET MONEY AND FINANCE. By L. E. HUBBARD. (Macmillan.) 1936. 23cm. 339p. 12/6.
 A HISTORY OF EUROPE. By H. A. L. FISHER. (Edward Arnold.) 1936. 22cm. 1301p. 10/6.
 THE RESTORATION OF PROPERTY. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Sheed Ward.) 1936. 20cm. 144p. 1/50.
 GORAKHNATH AND MEDIAEVAL HINDU MYSTICISM. By MOHAN SINGH. (Author, Oriental College, Lahore.) 1936. 20cm. xxii + 16 + 94 + 40p. Rs. 25.
 THE UNTOUCHABLES' QUEST. By GODFREY PHILLIPS. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1936. 20cm. 95p. 1/-.
 RURAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL. By NARESH CHANDRA ROY. (University of Calcutta.) 1936. 24cm. 202p.
 THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. By D. W. BROGAN. (Hamish Hamilton.) 1935. 24cm. 415p. 18/-.