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## Topics of the Week.

### Mahatma Gandhi's Gloss.

MAHATMA GANDHI, the sole author of the formula about the assurance asked for by the Congress, explains that no more was required of the Governors than that they should undertake "ordinarily" not to use their powers of interference with the Ministers. If this was all that was intended it does not appear to have been made clear by the Congress Party's Leaders who saw the Governors. They seem to have asked for much more, and even in refusing this demand every Governor did give the assurance that Mahatma Gandhi had recommended the Congress to press for. But why press for an informal, unwritten assurance from the Governors when the Constitution Act provides for it for all the world to see? "A self-respecting Minister, conscious of the absolute majority at his back, could not but demand an assurance of non-interference," says the Mahatma. On the contrary, a Minister, conscious of his strength, need never ask and in fact does not ask for an assurance, because he knows that non-interference is imposed upon the Governor as a duty by law and that if the law were to be broken he, as a self-respecting Minister, would know what to do. Let the Congress create a crisis if this is what it wants; but let it do so as a part of its avowed policy, and not on the excuse that it was forced into that policy by want of an assurance from the Governors. There would be more straightforwardness and more courage in joining battle with the Government on the issue of the unsatisfactory character of the constitution itself.

### Mr. Jayakar's Appointment.

WE congratulate Mr. Jayakar on his appointment as a Judge of the Federal Court. Of his competence to discharge the duties of this office efficiently and well no one can have any doubt, but one may be permitted to doubt whether this was the right place for him in the present posture of affairs. Federation has not yet passed from a scheme into a reality; its coming to birth is still attended with peril. The Congress which has brought the governmental machinery nearly to a standstill in six out of eleven provinces has openly pledged itself to prevent the introduction of federation. The Muslims as a community are opposed to it, too. One would have thought that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and next to him Mr. Jayakar who, of all British Indians, were responsible for the parentage order of the federation scheme would make it their primary concern to bring federation safely to birth. Perhaps Mr. Jayakar feels that a live birth of federation is now assured without any more attentions from him. Yet we who are aware of public opinion on the question cannot help wondering whether Sir Tej and Mr. Jayakar should not be, in the early years of the infant, at its cradle side to protect it from its would-be murderers. Both apparently take a different view of the matter, and outsiders like ourselves cannot quarrel with them over it. We only hope, for his sake, that Mr. Jayakar will not find that his appointment was a little too previous.

### Police High-handedness.

CONGRESS preparations for the all-India anti-constitution hartal on April 1 were handicapped by police high-handedness at several places. In Calcutta, e.g., meetings and processions have been prohibited by the Commissioner of Police for a week. Is this not banning in effect if not by name the contemplated hartal itself, for to prohibit preparatory meetings and processions is to throw serious obstacles in the way of its successful organisation? Or was it fear about the possibility of its success that inspired the authorities to place the organisers of the hartal at a material disadvantage owing to their ill-advised action?

THE ban is issued under the Public Security Law which is avowedly an anti-terrorist measure. Its use for the purpose of stopping preparations for a closure of business on April 1 conducted in a perfectly peaceful manner is obviously a case of flagrant abuse of its provisions. But perhaps we expect too much when we expect the Government to attach any value to such considerations as right and wrong, use and misuse, justice and injustice when their objective is somehow to weaken the movement of protest against the new constitution. But if they were anxious to cover up its hollowness, the object has in fact been completely

frustrated by their action, for nothing else could have so effectively served to expose the mockery of the constitution.

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#### Reorganisation or De-Indianisation ?

A REORGANISATION scheme of the I. M. S. has seen the light during the last few days. This is framed, it is said, specially in view of the introduction of provincial autonomy. The scheme purports to invest the provinces with greater control over their medical and public health services. One wonders if this description of the scheme is not designed to keep the real object out of the view of the public. So far as can be seen, the local Governments never lacked powers of control over these services. What they lacked was control over the I. M. S. This the reorganisation scheme in no way transfers to them. To talk of control over medical and sanitary services for the provinces is thus to throw dust in the eyes of the public so as to make it miss the real point.

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BUT the scheme is open to a far more serious objection. Under the cover of reorganisation it puts back Indianisation. As it is, the I. M. S. cadre consists of 649 officers (366 British and 263 Indian). Of the 386 British officers, 200 are in the military and 186 in the civil branches respectively. Of the 263 Indian officers 154 are in the military and 109 in the civil branches respectively. After the proposed reorganisation, the cadre will consist of 584 officers (386 British and 198 Indian). The scheme gives details as to how many of these would be in civil and how many in the military branches. But that is really not relevant to our present purpose. What we are concerned to point out on the strength of these figures is that while the number of British officers is left untouched, that of the Indian officers is considerably reduced. This is surely reorganisation with a vengeance. Whatever else it might be, it is not a scheme of Indianisation of the I. M. S. by any means. It is this for which Indian opinion has been clamouring but it is this which is to be indefinitely postponed by this scheme.

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ANOTHER defect of the scheme seems to be the increase in cost which it will bring about. No doubt this bitter pill is sugarcoated with hopes of ultimate saving. It is difficult to see how far these hopes will materialise in actual practice. Indeed oftentimes such hopes prove illusory. In this case while the increase in administrative cost will be immediate and certain, the saving may be distant and even problematical. No wonder the scheme is greeted with storm of public protest all over India and is the subject of an adjournment motion in the Indian Legislature.

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#### Grievances against Miraj Raja.

THE citizens of Lakshmeshwar Taluka in Miraj State (Senior) have submitted a petition to the Agent to the Governor-General for the Deccan States praying for the intervention of the Government of India in the matter of concessions in land revenue collection. The petition states that the assessment of land revenue in the taluka is pitched much too high, inflicting upon the ryots hardships which they are unable to bear. The exorbitant nature of the assessment can best be understood when comparing the land revenue demand in Lakshmeshwar taluka with that in the adjoining territories in British India and the Sangli State. The rate of assessment in Lakshmeshwar taluka is between Rs. 4 and Rs. 4-8-0 per acre for land of superior quality (black soil) while it

is between Rs. 2 and Rs. 2-8-0 per acre for identical land in Shirhatti taluka in Sangli State and between Re. 1 and Ra. 1-8-0 in British districts. That is to say, the Miraj rate is about twice the Sangli rate and four times the British Indian rate.

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NOT only is the pitch of assessment higher in Miraj, but no kind of relief by way of remissions is afforded to the ryots in that State as it was given to the ryots in Sangli State and British districts when rains held off and the effects of the depression were acutely felt. The Rajasaheb, who commands high respect as a man but very scant respect as a ruler, is notoriously harsh in dealing with his people. He is said to have exclaimed when approached for a mitigation of the sufferings of the ryots: "There is no such word as remission or suspension in my dictionary," and his subordinate officials are more tyrannical and extortionate than perhaps even he would like them to be. What apparently makes the Patils and Kulkarnis of Miraj apply the coercive processes remorselessly is the fact that they themselves are virtually exempt from payment of land revenue on their own private lands. They thus to all intents and purposes become farmers of revenue, making up for their own unpaid dues by giving a turn or two more to the screw while collecting the dues from others!

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THE ryots of Miraj have not approached the A. G. G. who now becomes the Resident in a light-hearted manner. They exhausted all their resources in placing their grievances before the Dewansaheb and the Rajasaheb. They held public meetings, made representations, asked for a searching inquiry, themselves appointed an inquiry committee and forwarded its findings, but no heed was paid to any of these. Coercive processes were put in force with the utmost sternness in face of famine conditions. The last hope which the people had fondly entertained that the Rajasaheb would show some concession at the time of his Golden Jubilee celebrations was dashed a few weeks ago, and then they determined to lay their complaints before the representative of the Crown in these parts. Is paramountcy to be exercised only when the Paramount Power's own interests are in peril? Are the people to receive no protection against the oppression of a feudal chief?

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#### Third Class Passengers' Grievances.

IN the course of the recent debate in the Assembly on the grievances of third class railway passengers, a suggestion was made for the appointment of some sort of guardians to look after them. The idea was that these men should receive salaries and it should be their duty to go from station to station to see that there is no overcrowding in trains. It may be parenthetically noted that the running of motor buses for small distances by the railways themselves as on the Simla-Kalka line was suggested as a means of relieving overcrowding. The proposed guardians would also be expected to inspect the resting places for this class of passenger and to take note of any incivility on the part of a railway servant to a third class passenger.

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THE provision of sleeping accommodation in third class compartments was also suggested by the mover. It cannot, of course, be as comfortable as in the higher class coaches. But there is no reason why hanging beds as in troop trains should not be arranged for. In this matter the poor third class passenger is treated as if he is devoid of human needs. Sleep is as pressing a necessity with him as with the

higher class passenger and yet he has to go without it because of want of arrangements to satisfy that need.

MR. N. M. JOSHI who during all the time he has been in the Assembly has done his best to ventilate third class passengers' grievances effectively brought out the inequity of the whole arrangement. While the railways, he said, receive only Rs. 2 crores from the higher classes, they receive thirteen times the amount from the third class. Also, their number exceeds a hundred times the number of persons travelling in higher classes, the figures being 49 crores and 45 lakha. On grounds both of their profitability to railways and their numbers, their comforts and conveniences eminently deserve to be attended to. But, strangely enough, they are the last to be considered even in constructing new stations. In this connection, Mr. Joshi instanced the new Poona railway station where the third class waiting room is very inconveniently situated. Another like instance is the Victoria Terminus, the third class waiting room of which is at a very inconvenient distance from railway platforms. Mr. Joshi suggested the appointment of a special officer to be in charge of the welfare of the third class passenger.

#### Social Legislation in Baroda.

IT is observed from the administration report of Baroda State for 1935-36 that the problem of agricultural indebtedness did not fail to claim the attention of the authorities. Two pieces of legislation passed during the year were the result. One of these empowers courts to go carefully into the history of all debt transactions with a view to striking a balance sheet on the basis of equity and fairness. The courts are also empowered to prepare a time-table for the liquidation of the debt thus arrived at. In doing so they are enjoined to pay due heed to the capacity for payment of the individual debtor in the light of all his circumstances. The other law dealing with the conciliation of debt is modelled on a corresponding law enacted in the Central Provinces and aims at the establishment of conciliation boards for scaling down the debt burden. The working of these laws will be watched with interest even outside the State.

THE law for the prevention of early marriages in force in the State penalises marriages of girls below 14 and of boys below 18 with a maximum fine of Rs. 200. Marriages of parties below 8 can under the same law be declared null and void and are punishable with imprisonment up to one month or fine up to Rs. 500 or both. 170 such infant marriages as compared to 142 during the previous year were annulled under this provision. Applications for exemption in the year under report numbered 31 as against 27 in the preceding year, and the proportion of rejected applications which was nearly 7 per cent. in 1934-35 rose to a little over 29 in 1935-36. This indicates a tendency on the part of the courts not to be too lenient in granting exemptions—a tendency which is to be heartily welcomed. It is also satisfactory to note from statistics given in the report that the exemption provision is worked more to the benefit of the backward and ignorant sections of the population than to that of the enlightened and educated ones among them.

THE number of prosecutions for violations of the provisions of the law rose by nearly 1,200 to 4,624 out of which 4,171 cases were disposed of. The number of persons convicted was 8,857 as compared to 6,525 in 3,164 cases in 1934-35. The percentage of convictions rose by 3 to 80.9 and that of fines exceed-

ing Rs. 10 by nearly 20 to 54.2, showing that the courts take an increasingly serious view of all breaches of the law. The number of infant marriages allowed was 22 as against 25 of last year, the number of penalised marriages being 3,187 as compared to 2,387 in 1934-35. The fines imposed for offences against the law amounted nearly Rs. 1¼ lakhs, which meant an increase of over Rs. 50,000 in a single year. We hope this rather disquieting rise is an indication of the tendency of the courts to impose more severe fines and not of an increased revolt against the law. Sanction to prosecute guardians who had got their minor wards married outside the State limits was granted in 132 cases.

THE number of pupils in the educational institutions in the State went up by nearly 2,000 to 2,68,000. This increase in spite of a small drop of 10 in the number of educational institutions is to be welcomed. The increase in the number of scholars was too negligible to affect the general level of literacy. This was 13.2 per cent. for boys and 8.5 for girls. The number of depressed class children under instruction stood at 20,454, which was smaller by nearly 200 than for the previous year. This works out to about 10 per cent. of the total antyaja population of the State, and every encouragement is given to them to attend school so that their number may grow.

#### British Guiana Indians' Grievances.

QUITE a large number of Indian residents of British Guiana have recently memorialised the Colonial Secretary about their grievances in relation to repatriation to India. Their main complaint seems to be on the score of the supply of facilities for return to India not being abreast of the demand. The petitioners in the present case are stated to number 6,000. It is possible that some of these joined in demanding facilities for returning to India without fully understanding the implications of the demand. But even after allowing for such unintended and innocent participants in the demand, there is no gainsaying the fact that quite a considerable number are compelled to remain in British Guiana much against their will simply because of lack of suitable arrangements for their going back to India.

THEY have also a good deal to say against the heavy return passage fare. In this connection it is necessary to remember that the terms on which the emigrants went there differ in different cases. But this is common to all Indian emigrants that they are considered free to return to their mother-country after a continuous stay of ten years in the Colony which qualifies them for a certificate of exemption from labour. If the labourer happens to have been introduced into the Colony at Government expense prior to September 1, 1895, he is entitled to an absolutely free passage back to India. If he has gone there somewhere between September 1895 and September 1898, a portion of the passage money, one-fourth in the case of men and one-sixth in the case of women, is charged. The proportion becomes one-half and one-third in the case of men and women taken to British Guiana any time after September 1898. Now, it is the complaint of these petitioners that the quotas expected to be borne by them which come to £71 for men and £51 for women bear hardly on them in view of the high passage rates. Can there be any doubt that the grievance is well-founded? It is indeed surprising that even after the lapse of sixteen years since the visit of the Kesava Pillai delegation to British Guiana these grievances which

were even then voiced before the delegation should for the most part remain unredressed to this day.

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#### Inferior Services Pensions.

A PROBLEM of vital interest to the low-paid employees of the Central Government was recently raised by Mr. Joshi in the Assembly by means of a resolution. It related to the rates of pension of what are known as the inferior services. It would appear that the pension originally allowed to members of these services was fixed at Rs. 4 per month. The low level of the pension is explained by the fact that their salaries ranged between Rs. 6 and Rs. 8 per month. In consequence of the rise in prices during and after the war their salaries had naturally to be increased, which should have been followed by a wholesale revision of their pension scale. But somehow this did not come about. What, however, happened was that a temporary addition to the pension from one to two rupees was sanctioned in their case. After fifteen years of agitation for revised pension rates, the new rates, were at last brought into force last year.

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THESE, Mr. Joshi contended, were utterly inadequate. Under the new rules, the maximum rate of pension was raised from Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 to 8. But, curiously enough, the increase was coupled with what must be termed as virtually impossible conditions, which had the effect of taking away by the left hand what was given by the right hand. The qualifying period of service for the maximum pension which till then was 30 years as in the case of other services, was

raised to 40 years. Simultaneously the age of retirement was reduced from 65 to 60. It can be easily seen how the practical effect of these rules was to prevent any member of the inferior services from reaping the advantage of the maximum pension. A further discrimination against the inferior services was imposed in that while the qualifying period of service for a compensation, superannuation or invalidity pension was ten years in the case of the subordinate superior service, it was raised to twenty-five years in the case of the inferior service. But the list of discriminations does not end here. The rate of gratuity in the case of the subordinate superior service is one month's salary for every year of service. In the case of the inferior service the rate was arbitrarily halved.

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MR. JOSHI'S constructive suggestion was that the pension rules in force in Bombay in respect of the inferior services, should be adopted by the Government of India. These provide for the grant, after thirty years' services, of pension equal to half the monthly salary. The plea, eminently moderate and reasonable as it was, left the Finance Member unmoved. He opposed the resolution and asked Mr. Joshi to hold his soul in patience till sufficient experience of the working of the revised rules was available. This will come as a damp squib to the class of low-paid employees whose cause Mr. Joshi espoused. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Finance member will find it possible to give effect to Mr. Joshi's demand specially in view of the fact that the amount needed for the purpose cannot be very large.

## THE CRISIS.

THE Congress by its Delhi resolution asked for a rebuff from the Governors and has got it.

Mahatma Gandhi might well have spared the national organisation this deep humiliation, for it was wholly unnecessary.

Whatever policy the Congress wished to pursue in the provincial sphere it should have gone on its way as if the Governor was *non est*. It could have taken any of three possible courses. First, it could have kept strictly within the limits of the constitution, exhausting all the possibilities of the Act before it proceeded to launch an offensive against the reserve powers of the Governor. This would have entailed concentration for a long time on the execution of pressing reforms in many directions, at the cost of a gibe from the opponents that a body, pledged to wrecking, was devoting all its energies to working the reforms. Second, it could have done enough constructive work to impress the constituencies with its ability to accomplish such tasks wisely, but at the same time trying on suitable occasions to crimp and curb the extraordinary powers of the Governor and to augment and extend the powers of the popular representatives. In this case deadlocks would have alternated with the process of quiet but radical reformation, Congress members normally remaining within the constitution but occasionally trying to transcend it. Third, it could have from the outset produced deadlocks, conceiving the ending of the constitution its appointed task and recking nothing of the advantages that normal working would have

yielded. Whichever of these alternatives it took, it should have ignored the existence of the Governor and put its desired policy into force to the best of its power.

But, at the Mahatma's bidding, the Congress brought the Governors quite needlessly into the picture and has provoked a conflict with them on an issue which remains thoroughly obscure. It asked for an assurance from them in terms which do not make it clear whether it wanted the elected members of the legislatures to establish plenary control over the whole field of administration and to abolish, *de facto* if not *de jure*, the special powers vested in the Governors, or whether it wanted these members to be left alone in the limited sphere which under the Act was ever intended to be the exclusive concern of popular Ministers. The resolution passed leaves it in doubt whether the Congress desired merely to protect Ministers from undue encroachment by the Governor, in matters in which no such encroachment was contemplated by the framers of the Act or whether it desired really to encroach on the powers which the constitution had deliberately conferred upon the Governor. Both these interpretations can be put on the resolution and both these interpretations have been put on it in fact. Immediately after the Delhi meeting the larger interpretation was more in vogue. Congress journals said: We are not going like the poor-spirited Liberals meekly to work a limited constitution; we shall work it provided all the limitations are swept away, not by an enactment it is true,

but by mutual agreement between ourselves and the Governor. When, however, it began to dawn on them that such an assurance, understood in a wide sense, would not be forthcoming, the Congress press lowered its demand. What we want, it said, is merely a "gesture of goodwill"; e.g., the *Hindu* said so. We want to secure ourselves against a vexatious use of the Governor's special powers at every turn.

What kind of assurance from the Governor the Delhi resolution envisaged the Congress leaders themselves did not seem to know. A facile optimism which some of them displayed and a blank hopelessness which some others displayed at the prospect of the required assurance being actually given was evidently due to the differing view they took of the contents of the assurance. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, for instance, said in his speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting that "he did not believe that any Governor would be prepared to give an assurance in terms of the Congress resolution." On the other hand Mr. Rajagopalachari was very sanguine. "We expect the Governors", he said, "to keep in abeyance their special powers." The *Hindu* was at particular pains to make out that the Congress had no desire of "changing the constitution by a side wind, as it were, or altering its general contour." The Government was only asked to adduce proof of its assertion that "the provinces are being given the reality of self-government", and that "the reserved powers of the Governor are not to be invoked as a matter of course." That ordinarily the Ministers will be given complete freedom to evolve and execute their own policies, and that the special powers of the Governor will not be exercised except in grave emergencies contemplated by the Act has been the standing reply of British authorities while the Act was being passed and ever afterwards. On the eve of the Congress demand for an assurance and even while the demand for it was being formally put forward by the Leaders of the Congress Party, an assurance to the above effect was given. It left nothing to be desired by those who only wanted to ensure that the Governor's special powers would not be invoked "as a matter of course." And indeed, in refusing the assurance couched in the vague words of the Delhi resolution, the Governors in all the six provinces where the Congress has obtained a majority did give such an assurance. If the Congress hoped to put the Governors in the wrong by their move it has failed.

The larger assurance to the effect that in no circumstances would there be interference with the Ministers was constitutionally impossible. The Governors have explained the legal position very fully in their statements and have pointed out with perfect justice that it was not within their competence to give such an assurance. Mr. Rajagopalachari's argument in a contrary sense is more dialectical than convincing. He says that in certain matters the Governor need not even consult with his Ministers, but there is nothing in the Act which would debar the Governor from consulting in all such matters if he chose to do so. So far Mr. Rajagopalachari is right, but the

Congress demand further is that when the Governor so consults with the Ministers he shall always abide by the advice which they will give him. Such an assurance it is clearly beyond the powers of the Governor to give, for he himself, by section 52 of the Act, is placed under the general control of the Governor-General and is under an obligation to "comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given to him by the Governor-General in his discretion." The Ministers are thus, in these matters, to act under a double limitation: there may be interference on the part of the Governor in the first instance and on the part of the Governor General in the second. On this point the Congress demand, as interpreted by Mr. Rajagopalachari, was that the Governor for his part should undertake not to interfere, while the Governor General would still have the power to interfere both with the Ministers and the provincial heads if he so chose. If the Governor were to divest himself of the power of interference in the belief that where it was necessary it would be exercised by the Governor General, he would be placing his chief in an invidious position without being of any appreciable help to the Ministry, for it is no consolation to the Ministry that its advice is set aside by the Governor-General instead of by the Governor. And it is difficult to believe that any Congress Leader who saw the full implications of the position really entertained any hopes that the Governor in any Province would agree to give such an assurance. If any Leader believed that the assurance sought for would be forthcoming, we can only say that, as Mr. Churchill remarked recently in the House of Commons, hope must be given the cynical definition that you believe what you know would never come to pass.

We are no apologists for Government; we have criticised the constitution perhaps more bitterly than any one else. But it is just because we are aware of the grave imperfections of the constitution that we fail to appreciate these efforts of the Congress to convert, almost by the waving of a magic wand, a thoroughly inadequate constitution into one of full-fledged responsibility. Perhaps the Congress thinks that there is more in the constitution than we had ever imagined it to contain! Mr. Rajagopalachari says that the Governors' failure to give the assurances asked for proves the hollowness of the British Government's claim that the provinces were being constituted "on a basis of full responsibility." To be fair to the British Government, no responsible statesman has ever made that claim; and if anybody had made it, it would have been easy to disprove it without following the futile tactics of the Congress. In any way this shows that the Congress had hoped to achieve thereby full responsibility. If these hopes were fantastic, the reaction that has been produced on it by the breakdown of the negotiations too is unduly depressing. Mr. Rajagopalachari is now convinced that the door is opened wide for the Governor's interference "at any and every stage." No, nothing in the constitution is changed by the events that have happened during the past week. The constitution is neither so good as they had thought it to be or had hoped to make it by a legerdemain as it were; nor is it quite

so bad as they now try to make out. It was and remains extremely thin, and no assurances of any kind should have been asked for from the Governors; for no assurances that can be expected to be forthcoming would be of any use. The Congress should have proceeded to work the constitution if that was its desire and to wreck the constitution if it wanted to do so without the preliminary moves which it actually made.

If Mahatma Gandhi and those who acted with him desired to force upon the pro-office group in the Congress adoption of a policy of wrecking from the start they no doubt employed clever strategy, but if utilisation of the constitution for constructive work was even a secondary object a chance for putting such a policy in force will not recur for a long time. In six of the Provinces the constitution is virtually wrecked. In five of these the Congress is in a dominant position; only in the sixth can the Government play at ministry-making. In all of these we shall have fresh elections and then the assumption of power by the Governor in his hands for a maximum period of three years because of the breakdown of constitutional machinery. Then perhaps a repetition will take place of the same process for another three years. This is wrecking the constitution if anything. We, being ourselves anxious for a replacement of this constitution by a new one, shall not be grieved at this. We should,

however, have followed a different course. We are convinced that this is going to be a long struggle, and in order that the edge of the people's spirit of resistance be not blunted we would have liked the constitution to be worked, without allowing ourselves, however, for a moment to lose sight of the goal in view—ending this constitution and substitution for it of a truly democratic constitution. There is, we are persuaded, a not negligible body of opinion in the Congress which holds similar views, but for the moment it has been manoeuvred off-side. This section will be unable to give effect to its opinion for a good long time, for the Congress will, after what has just happened, find it impossible to accept office without an assurance from the Governor which the Governor will find it impossible to give unless the Act is amended.

Ending of the new constitution is what everybody desires eventually, but is it good strategy for the Congress to be reduced to doing so from outside, without taking a hand in improving the lot of the people in the meantime? A more pragmatic approach would have been in our judgment decidedly better; the empirical method of trial and error would have been more serviceable, with the Governor serving as the *corpus vile*. Last week's events, however, deprive Congressmen of the power of choosing their own battle-ground.

## STAY OUT OF FEDERATION!

**T**HIS is the advice that is bluntly given to the Princes by *United India and Indian States*, and British India will be profoundly grateful to our contemporary for its having uttered at long last these rather harsh but very necessary words. Will the rulers of Indian States listen to this wise counsel coming from a journal which has rendered for many years in the past and is still rendering loyal and devoted service to their cause?

*United India* has not itself become a convert to anti-federation views. It remains for its own part a staunch federationist. But for that very reason the caution that it now sounds in the ears of the Princes is a caution which it would be part of wisdom for them to take to heart. How this journal, after dwelling at great length on arguments which militate against federation, arrives at a favourable conclusion we have never been able to understand. The central constitution, according to it, concedes little or no power, whether to the popularly elected representatives of British India or to the self-appointed rulers of Indian India. The all-pervading claims of Paramountcy over the Princes have not been relaxed either. In entering federation, therefore, the Princes will only be changing the dangers they know of for the dangers they do not know of. Federation cannot improve the position of the Princes in any way; but it has in its possibilities of making it very much worse. Strangely enough, from these premises the conclusion *United India* draws is that it would be

well for the Princes to join federation and for British India too to favour it.

To this glaring fallacy in reasoning our contemporary still adheres steadfastly. It still thinks that "the best evolution for political India is along the lines of a federation in which alone is the only prospect of a United India." On the merits of the question, therefore, it would advise both British Indian politicians and Indian Princes to accept the federal constitution, thoroughly bad as it is, and work it honestly, trusting that good will come out of bad. But it realises that while the Indian Princes show very remarkable shrewdness in appreciating the virtues of federation, the British Indian politicians are woefully lacking in it. Their hatred of federation is invincible. No arguments—not even the illogical arguments of *United India*—can relax their opposition to it.

*United India* is a realist. It regrets very bitterly this unreasoning perversity on the part of British India, but seeing that it is incurable, our contemporary proceeds to give a word of advice both to the British Indian Government and to the Governments of the Indian States. To the former it says: "You expect the required number of Indian States to declare their willingness to join federation soon enough for you to bring federation actually into operation on 1st April, 1938, a year after the coming into force of the so-called provincial autonomy. While you will take the consent of the Indian States before forming

federation, you do not propose to take the consent of the British Indian Provinces. After obtaining the accession of a sufficient number of States, you intend to impose federation upon the Provinces. Your action may be quite within your legal rights, but it is not in consonance with the new dignity which the Provinces will acquire after they attain to a position of autonomy. You should therefore formally ask them, as you have been asking the States, whether they would like to come into the federation and you should put the federal scheme into operation only when their consent as well as the consent of the Princes is forthcoming.

"Leave it to the free choice of both, whether to come into the federation or to stay away. The States have sovereign rights and you have no powers of coercion over them in this matter. The Provinces no doubt occupy an inferior position legally, but on 1st April next they will become autonomous and ought to enjoy the same rights. Therefore, consult them. And in any case they are going to place their collective opinion before you. For in the provincial legislatures resolutions on federation will be moved. There is nothing in the constitution to prevent them from passing resolutions adverse to federation. Suppose a majority of the provinces pass such resolutions, are you still going to impose federation upon them by an act of *force majeure*? All we can say is that it is to be hoped you are not so utterly dead to democratic instincts as to thrust upon self-governing provinces a federal constitution which by its very nature is incapable of being dissolved at any time in future. We ourselves agree with you that British India should accept federation, if not with loud acclaim, in a spirit of cheerful acquiescence, but you cannot put unreasonable people into a reasonable frame of mind by forcing them into a position from which no retreat is ever possible. A forced marriage can only lead to divorce, whether divorce is allowed in law or not, or to something worse." We have paraphrased *United India's* plea with the Government of India in our own crude words; but we may assure the reader that they faithfully represent our contemporary's position.

Far more important is what *United India* has to say to the rulers of Indian States. This journal perhaps has not much weight with the Government of India which may not even consider its point of view; but it has, we daresay, a great deal of influence with the Princes in matters where it does not reflect their own opinion. After pointing out that the Congress as a body is pledged to take measures calculated to

checkmate the introduction of federation and that large sections of non-Congress opinion—and more particularly Muslim opinion—also are totally opposed to federation, it asks the Government of India what its position will be in such circumstances, and puts the same question to the rulers of Indian States upon whose consideration it has by its unwearied devotion to their interests earned a moral claim which cannot easily be set aside. It says:

What will be the attitude of the Princes to a federation of Indian States with British India whose accredited representatives (in the legislatures) under the new constitution do not want the partnership of Indian India in the federation? ... Speaking for the moment in the interests of Indian India we think it will be a mistake for the Princes to ignore the reactions of the next few months on the political situation of the country before taking the irrevocable step. Mr. Morgan's advice that the boats should not be burnt after crossing the Rubicon was based on shrewd wisdom. Well, if that is not possible the next best course is to be very careful and decide whether the river is worth crossing. It is worth crossing—but the price must not be that of entangling the Princes in a state of perpetual civil war with British Indian politicians.

But this is the price that, from all indications, would have to be paid. Mr. Arthur Davies, formerly Principal of Madras Law College, has no doubt on the point. Writing about the new central legislature he says: "Nearly all politically-minded Indians (the most moderate as well as the extremist) declare that it is far worse than the existing Legislative Assembly. At present, though its members are irresponsible critics and have no chance of obtaining office, the Assembly may easily, and in practice does, express the mind of nationalist-minded British India. In the new legislature conservatism is enthroned permanently by the provision of many representatives of special interests and above all by the presence of a solid bloc from the Native States, not even elected but direct appointees of the Princes. It is being said that nothing less than an explosion will move this body. *Is not the hopelessness of the situation for nationalist or progressive opinion an ever-open invitation to such an explosion?*"

Congressmen, it is true, will have less power to prevent federation than to wreck provincial administrations, but they will have far greater will to do so and will receive co-operation from the Muslims which will not be available in their attack on the provincial part of the constitution. There was an even chance of the Congress abandoning methods of sabotage in the matter of provincial governments, but they will bring all their resources to bear upon the federal government and pull it down. And they have proved themselves to be expert saboteurs. Federation may perhaps not be prevented; it will not be quite such quick work as all that; but it will be fraught to an end. They will put a time-bomb upon federation; and tomorrow, if not today, it will explode with a loud bang.

## PROSPECTS OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

WITH the inauguration of the new constitution on April 1st, India is on the threshold of self-government whose successful working depends on the development of true political parties. It is therefore worth while to take stock of the present position and future prospects of political parties. The wresting of political power, now the immediate objec-

tive, seems to obscure the entire vision of the nationalist mind. Power is but a means to an end. The struggle of Indian nationalism has now reached a stage when thought must be directed to the planning of political life under the nationalist regime. The vital meaning of *Swaraj* will lie in the manner in which Indian nationalists organise the political life

calculated to the maximum promotion of peace and happiness of the people. *Swaraj* is more a responsibility than a right.

The political parties are in the making and yet politicians in India who plump for the British parliamentary system in this country find no cause for despair. The formation of parties must follow the introduction of responsibility and cannot precede it. It is only after the transfer of power and responsibility to the legislature that one can expect important cleavages of principle to develop themselves and a struggle for power and office between rival sets of members of the legislature. Now with the transfer of power, a scramble for office will undoubtedly ensue among individual aspirants. Support will probably be whipped up on the strength of private friendship, wealth and influence, and above all communal loyalty. Caucuses will be formed and groups will be organized, and there will in all likelihood be a constant see-saw of ministries going into and coming out of office before they have any time to make their policy felt. Can a system of party politics really emerge from such a state of affairs? The Government of India in their despatch on the Simon Commission would seem to hold the view that the process will be slow but at any rate the handling of practical problems of administration and policy will lead to the development of parties which will be divided on different lines. Speculation as to the political future of the country can only be indulged in on the known facts relating to its present life, and on this assumption it is difficult to see the growth of a party system in the near future in this country.

The absence of distinct political parties in Indian politics is well seen. It has been argued that as the responsibility of the government will be complete, so will the ranks of its supporters be closer and more compact, and in the corresponding measure will the position of the opponents consolidate in the legislature. What has been overlooked in this line of argument is that a political party is not a faction. Nor is party government merely a scramble for office. Every successful combination of men in office will live in constant fear of being assailed by those out of it. A small shuffling of support will probably upset the delicate poise on which a ministry would rest. All these might look like parliamentary government without, however, their being really that. Personal support and personal jealousy are not the foundation on which the fabric of party system can be built. Personalities lead to caucuses, principles alone crystallise into parties. And once politics are caught into the personal game, the traditions will tend to harden and the chance of principle to get the upper hand will become remote. Yet fortunately for India, parties might develop in future. What is likely to happen is that multiple parties may emerge in the political field. Public opinion will not be sharply divided along a single line of cleavage but will cut across various lines of fiscal, economic, social or administrative differences. The new states of post-war Europe seem also to illustrate this important trend of political development: multipli-

city of parties each with a narrow programme and an intensive policy of its own. If parties develop in India it is likely to be a system of groups which by a constant shuffling and reshuffling of its alliances make and unmake governments in a continual unstable state of political equilibrium. This has been precisely the trend of politics in continental Europe where in most countries the adoption of party principle has resulted in the setting up of a group system. To sum up, new political parties may or may not develop in this country. Even if they do, it is more likely that they would be too diversified to render British parliamentary system workable with efficiency in this country.

The constitutional frame of an average Indian politician is wholly in disagreement with the traditions of Westminster. The British system rests on the widest range being given to the Parliamentary executive and the private member of the House of Commons leaves all questions of administration to be tackled by the executive. To this position of constitutional impotence the average Indian politician is reluctant to reduce himself both by his instinct and tradition. He is loathe to give the executive a wide-sphere of activity. A popular assembly in India is jealous of its powers. What Indian politicians are still more keen about is that as members of a legislature they should have an effective part to play in the administration of the land. Indeed the line that divides the *sphere of administration* from the *sphere of policy* is hardly recognised. A few other considerations remain to be stressed. In the first place, the art of government is becoming more and more specialized. The politician who assumes administrative responsibility of a modern government must be more than an amateur in the art of government. Moreover, the sharp disparity between India's achievement and possibility makes her future government a task of extraordinary difficulty.

Do parties exist in India today or are they in the making? The less informed section of the Indian public will probably point to the *Swaraj* party who swept the two general elections and the Congress which has now won a majority in six provinces. Unfortunately the analogy is wholly inapt and is misleading. Between the constructive programme of a national Government and the nationalist Opposition to an alien rule there can be no comparison. The success of one lies in its merit, the success of the other lies generally in its character, and especially in its degree. A political party exists to organise opinion for a constructive programme; it must assume responsibility for the opinion it creates. A nationalist Opposition gathers strength for destructive purposes; it is responsible for its character, but not for its opinion; for the latter, therefore, it has really no responsibility to own. It is, therefore, absurd to judge of the various groups of Indian nationalist opinion in the denomination of the political party organisation such as exists in Great Britain. It is arguable, however, that though organised political parties in India do not exist, their incipient makings are apparent.



Cohesion has not been so far a notable feature of parliamentary groupings in India. Burma has already given a foretaste of the difficulties. U Ba Pe's party is the largest single group in the legislature, but it has only 43 seats out of 132, and it has received a sharp initial rebuff when its candidate for the speakership was decisively rejected.

The Simon Commission in their survey of the various elements constituting the Indian population discriminated the political classes, the commercial community, the landlords, and the agriculturist interests and industrial labour. Obviously, party developments in India cannot take these fourfold lines. Parties may develop in future as representing two rival interests, urban and rural, or they may emerge as rival advocates of capital and labour or political opinion will crystallise into two opposite camps—the one aggressively nationalist in its outlook, and the other soberly constructive in its programme. On a careful study of the current political situation, however, we venture to hold that no single line of these developments is likely to occur in future. The agricultural interest of the countryside is yet hardly self-conscious, far less is it assertive. There is no doubt a public movement of feeble strength for 'village reconstruction'. But the movement itself owes its inspiration to academic opinion and nationalist views radiating from the city. It is unlikely that the condescending apologists of country life who have their own vital interests associated with the urban areas will array themselves in sufficient number to form a rural party in opposition to an urban party, and the educated elements of rural society still look forward to their economic welfare more in the development of urban interests such as trade and commerce than in the promotion of such rural interests as forestry or farming. Nor are any real indications available of an early growth of a labor party in opposition to a party of manufacturers and industrialists. Except in Bombay, where large industries are controlled by Indian capitalists, the industrial interest in no province fills a large space in public life. The third line of party development is the emergence of two parties—the one aggressively nationalist, and the other solidly constructive—seems to correspond to the two known general divisions of the ranks of Indian politicians into two opposed camps—the extremists and the moderates. There are now some Indian politicians to whom nothing will probably appeal more than the exhibition of their hard-won power, who in all likelihood will be spectacular and demonstrative in their policy and action; on the other hand, there are politicians who would probably value nothing more than a slow and steady development. The mental outlook of these two classes of politicians is undoubtedly traceable among men who are in the political arena today. But it seems that the sober and far-sighted statesmen will not be able to rally any support round them for at least one or two decades after power is really transferred to Indian hands. The men who will lead the young autonomous India are men who will give stunts, sensation and like stuff. Political opinion which is prepared to wait patiently and

build slowly for the future has little chance of developing itself to party dimensions. What is wanted is a slow and patient programme, a large measure of wise government, not merely self-government.

V. G. R. AYYAR.

## Reviews.

### INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY.

THE BIRTH OF INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN BUDDHISM. By MRS. RHYS DAVIDS. (Luzac.) 1936. 20cm. 444p. 3/6.

IT is a curious irony that though psychological outlook dominates all branches of Indian philosophy and culture, historical and systematic presentation of Indian psychology has so long received but scant attention from scholars. In fact only a couple of books exhausts a library on this subject. Mrs. Rhys Davids has been a pioneer in this field. Her "Buddhist Psychology" published in the Quest Series twenty-two years ago was the first attempt to present a school of Indian Psychology. The problem of the book under review is put thus: What is the origin of the Buddhist doctrine of the five-fold analysis of mind? "Is there anything like it elsewhere in Indian culture preceding or accompanying the Birth of Buddhism?" The author makes out that Indian psychology begins with man or self and then proceeds in the second stage to deal exclusively with the mind reducing man as such to a secondary place. The Upanishads, without doubt, paved the way for that analytic interest in the mind, which becomes marked in the Buddhist doctrine of the Skandhas. It is specially noteworthy that whereas Indian psychology starts from the innermost kernel the Atman or self (or spirit), Western psychology approaches the problem from the outermost shell, the physical appendage, the body, with the inevitable consequence that in India psychology made rapid progress as a metaphysical or spiritual discipline, while in the West it long remained a withered up shrub to sprout forth vigorously as an experimental science only in the last century. It is a pity that in spite of this brilliant start, Indian psychology did not adopt the scientific method to systematise the rich harvests of intuitive and analytic methods. Thus, as the author rightly remarks, "India is still a home for mysteries of Riddhi or psychic will-force, but she is far from being a home for an intelligent investigation of it".

The successive stages of development of psychological thought in original (Sakya) Buddhism, in the Pitakas, in the Nikayas, in the Abhidharma and Milindprasma are traced in masterly fashion. The author lays special stress on the dynamic kinetic aspects of the mind as opposed to the static ones as has been customary so long. The treatment of the "psychic" or the "other world" functions of the mind viz. Jhana, Iddhi and Abhija will be found to be particularly entertaining. Abhija is supersensuous knowledge obtained through clairvoyance, telepathy etc., Iddhi is supernormal will force, while Jhana is preparatory to Iddhi.

The present work is a largely re-written and enlarged edition of "Buddhist Psychology" and shows a greater command of the material, a deeper under-

standing of the problems and a wider perspective of outlook and as such will be welcomed by all those interested in Indian psychology, philosophy and culture.

D. G. LONDHE.

### PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE.

**WAR OUR HERITAGE.** BY JOSEPH P. LASA and JAMES A. WECHSLER. (International Publishers, New York) 1936. 21cm. 159p. \$1-00.

To all lovers of world peace, we strongly recommend a perusal of this book. It provides ample proof that the educated youths of America, at any rate, have no illusions regarding the "war to end war." Seeing the hectic war preparations almost all over the world, including the United States of America, the authors apprehend that unless the mass of the people make it clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that they are unwilling to be butchered for the sake of aggrandising the few to whom war is an adventure of immense personal profit and advantage, the second World War may be upon us at any moment.

Enough documentary evidence is provided by the authors to show that the rulers in charge of the destinies of several countries in Europe and outside at the present day have no scruples to persuade them to keep the hounds of war in leash. With men like Mussolini and Hitler, war, in fact, is something in the nature of a tonic that nations have to go in for the sake of warding off senility and decay. "War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it," says the Italian Dictator in International Conciliation. That of Berlin has an equally sympathetic audience when he shouts that "total mobilisation is the correlative of the totalitarian state."

What, then, is the way out for humanity from the charnel house to which august diplomats and heartless rulers are slowly but steadily guiding it? Whatever be the contributions of science to the facile practice of mutual murder on a mass scale, such murders cannot occur if men and women will not be parties to them. The sure way to promote international peace is, therefore, to get at the people in various countries, educate them in the horrors of war and mobilise them round the flag of peace at all costs.

A momentous step in this direction was taken by the students of the Oxford University on February 9, 1933, when their Union voted, by a majority, "not to fight for King or Country." The lead was soon followed by other Universities in Great Britain, occasioning no small amount of concern and dismay in quarters that had always thought that they had only to blow the trumpet for the inmates of Universities to don the uniform and flock to the standard. Echoes of the "Oxford movement" reverberated throughout the world, and American youths threw themselves whole-heartedly into the anti-war front.

The story of this American reaction or response to the Oxford cry of "no war" is told in vivid detail in the book, and the chapter, entitled "The Strike against War," in which a full description is given of the anti-war strike of American students in successive years from 1934 onwards, furnishes interesting and instructive reading.

The authors, it may be said, wield a facile pen, and the picturesque vocabulary they have at command adds not a little to the interest of the book.

K. V. MENON.

### AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.

**THE WORLD AGRICULTURAL SITUATION IN 1934-35.** (International Institute of Agriculture, Rome.) 1936. 2cm. 533p. 25 lire.

The world agricultural situation in 1934-35 forms the subject of the sixth volume in the series of economic commentaries in the International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics. It is the second masterly work of its kind containing contributions by most eminent and able personalities from every nation.

The first part is devoted to the structure and working of world economy under the influence of the progress of national planning along with the trends in economic structural transformation. The achievements of national planning as a means towards national economic autarchy in place of the pre-war world economy are traced; so also the pursuits of peripheral co-operating regional blocks on contractual basis. The impetus which such a procedure gives to technical inventions by way of substitution of natural products by synthetic preparations within a country and their effects on agricultural countries are well brought home.

The volume is a clear exposition of the fact that closed economy is an impossibility in the case of any nation excepting Russia, China, India and U.S.A.—countries which possess within their frontiers practically all that modern large scale industries need in the way of materials, labour, as well as in the way of outlets for the disposal of mass production at home. Industrial development, the only resource of agricultural countries, is stated to be an important feature and important structural transformation. Further, it is argued, with the aid of the experience derived from the Russian five year plans, that the effects of industrialization will be healthy because they would thereby increase the aggregate wealth of the world, bringing about a rise in the tone of exchanges on account of the substitution of commodities of higher quality and value for cheap ones. While so doing, the diminution of supply of basic agricultural products and the increase in the effective demand and the joint action on price revival and expansional international trade have also received attention.

The second part contains information relating to Government measures of farm relief and bearing on the economic conditions of agriculture in Argentina, Australia, Brazil and European countries excepting Switzerland, Poland, Russia and Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and United States of America. The details include the direct or indirect methods of such relief, e.g. protection, restrictions of imports, quotas, treaties and subsidies, etc. through boards, while the latter deals with the economic position of land, land rent, labour and wages, acreage and their crops, imports and exports, price indices, etc.

I fully concur in the hope of the General Secretary that "the economic commentary is more and more fulfilling its purpose as an objective review of the agricultural situation and as a source of information on agricultural policy and conditions". The volume is a valuable source of information to teachers and research workers in the field of agricultural economics.

M. B. GHATGE.

## IMPERIALISM.

**THE QUEST FOR EMPIRE.** By MAHMUD HUSAIN.  
(Author, Department of History, University of  
Dacca.) 1937. 13cm. 238p. Rs.3.

IF any body wishes to learn how to carry vast education lightly, and to make others partake of it agreeably, he should take lessons from Dr. Mahmud Husain. In the book before us Dr. Husain brings to bear upon the imperialistic policies of Militarist Japan, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany his vast erudition and light humour, and the result is an admirable work on one of the topics of current interest. The subject under survey is, we need hardly say, of the greatest interest at the moment, and the manner in which the learned author has handled the subject matter is, to say the least, masterly. The three countries treated in this book have over-population, and after examining various remedies for overcoming the population pressure, the author comes to the conclusion that expansion is a necessity to those countries. In the case of Japan the author points out that emigration as a remedy to over-population has failed partly owing to Japanese temperament and largely owing to the policy of the countries concerned. Extension and improvement of agriculture are also not profitable. Expansion of trade was attempted with some success for some years, but now it cannot be a success as there is hardly any country that has not imposed fresh dumping duties on Japanese goods. On account of the failure of these methods, Japan has been acquiring political and economic control of foreign territories. The author gives a connected account of Japanese imperialism from the Russo-Japanese war to the establishment of her protectorate over Manchukuo and Jehol, and her claim for an 'Asiatic Monroe Doctrine.'

In the case of Italy, too, pressure of population has been the cause of her imperialistic adventure in Abyssinia. But while the Japanese government makes no efforts to increase her population—(on the other hand Baroness Ishimito whose book 'Facing two Ways' we reviewed in these columns some months back is carrying on a vigorous birth-control propaganda in Japan)—Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany are taking steps to increase the man-power of their respective countries. The only difference between them is that while Mussolini is concerned with *quantity*, Hitler with his head full of the theory of Aryan superiority is concerned with *quality* more than *quantity*! The result of the population pressure in Italy is not emigration to other independent countries where the Italians may be denied privileges, but the securing of new territories and bringing them under the Italian flag. The learned author narrates the efforts made by Italy to secure territories since the latter half of the nineteenth century, and points out how she got only deserts like Libya or unprofitable lands like Eritrea and Somaliland. Hence Mussolini came to lust after Ethiopia especially as the land was reputed to contain minerals and raw materials. In his brilliant survey of Ethiopian relations with foreign powers he exposes the so-called good intentions of Britain. He points out how Britain before 1934 was prepared to help Italy in establishing her protectorate over Ethiopia and that it was France that stood in the way of Italy. The change in the international situation brought about by the rise of Nazism in Germany drew Italy and France, and Mussolini took full advantage of it. The author's grasp of international affairs is so thorough that he presents its complicated story with lucidity.

With regard to Germany's demand for colonies, the author is right in pointing out that like Bismarck, Hitler was at first for strengthening the German position in Europe, but partly owing to sentimental reasons

and mainly owing to the demand of raw materials for her industries, she wants back her former colonies.

The book is a brilliant survey of the Imperialistic policies of the three countries—Japan, Italy and Germany. It is well-written, is illustrated with proper maps and is furnished with the necessary statistics. We heartily congratulate the author on his book and we have no hesitation in recommending it to the reading public.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

## HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION.

**A HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION. FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT DAY.** BY GEORGE RYLEY SCOTT. (L. Werner Laurie.) 1936. 22cm. 239p. 10/-.

WE congratulate the author on bringing out this very useful treatise on prostitution. We agree with him when he says, "the need exists for a work surveying the whole field of prostitution, not with the jaundiced eye of the reformer or moralist but with the dispassionate eye of the scientific observer" and the author has fulfilled this need very creditably. The book is divided into three parts. Part one deals with the causes of prostitution, the reasons which induce women to take up the profession and which lead men to support it. Part two traces the beginnings of prostitution in the guise of sacred harlotry, and its development through the ages. Part three considers the present-day prostitution and the rise of the amateur prostitute who has proved a great rival to the professional one, the problem of venereal diseases, male prostitution and a forecast of future development.

The author has stated his beliefs in an outspoken manner, and with some of them, we believe, many would not agree; in fact, they contain some serious allegations and give as it were a challenge to the present-day European society. He does not agree with Sanger or Sherwell that inability to secure a job is the only cause which drives a girl to lead a life of shame. For he says, "There is a bigger demand for domestic servants than there is a supply" (p. 24). The author does not want to deny that the underlying cause is not economic. But it is, he emphatically says, economic in the sense that "The servant girl is not satisfied. She wants smart clothes, she wants gaiety, and when circumstances offer her a chance to secure fine clothes and to taste gaiety she jumps at the opportunity with both feet" (p. 26). This may be true in a very few cases but we think this to be a debatable generalisation. In case of unmarried men a visit to a prostitute may be a biological necessity but it is generally seen that married men provide, if not the bulk, certainly the more remunerative section of the harlot's clientele. The author deserves praise for his bold analysis of this situation, unpalatable though it is. Let me quote him, "The result is that mere proximity to a prostitute will often arouse in a married man a degree of sexual desire that, after the honeymoon weeks, he rarely experiences when in the company of his wife" (p. 46.).

The author is particularly unkind to shop girls. According to him shop girls are generally amateur prostitutes. He has given many reasons in support of this statement. It is a rare phenomenon, according to him, that a girl who goes to altar is a virgin. He writes, "Virginity among women is becoming something to sneer at" (p. 245). If all this is true it is indeed shocking! But this remark will hardly hold true in the case of many of the countries on this side

of Suez. The author is not a "drain inspector", to use Mahatma Gandhi's apt criticism of Miss Mayo. He means to do good to society by exposing the naked truth as he sees it. He has given a rude shock to society with a view to better it. This is why, it seems, the sale of this book is restricted to scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, etc.

G. R. PRADHAN.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**AN OUTLINE OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.** By ROGER H. SOULTAN. (Longmans.) 1935. 24cm. 307p. 7/6.

MR. SOULTAN'S outline is for its size a remarkably comprehensive work. The method of the Outline is to pick up an important point of time and describe the economic conditions at that epoch and the changes brought about since the earlier period. The book thus gets divided into seven chapters with one age, from the Roman Imperial Age to the present Age, described in each. The merit of this method is that the author is better enabled to give a concrete picture of economic conditions than is achieved by the usual narrative type of treatment and bring out saliently the most important changes. The book is also fairly provided with maps and illustrations. In every way, therefore, it is suitable as a text-book where what is desired is a small compendium. We do not feel sure, however, that the general reader will agree with the author's hope that it is not "too much of a text-book". For the book certainly has that most common defect of text-books, packing an incredibly large number of topics in a short space. This may be necessary to make it a really useful text, but it certainly makes the book tiring and confusing for the more general reader.

D. R. GADGIL.

**LAKSHMI'S TRIUMPH.** By D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO. (Natesan, Madras.) 1935. 23cm. 212p.

BY writing this novel, the author has done a good turn to the Harijan movement. The novel is full of human interest, the characters depicted therein are realistic, and the incidents mentioned appear to be true to life.

Ramdas, the President of the Municipality, is a high class Brahmin, a great reformer and a friend of the poor and the depressed, to whatever caste they may belong. Krishnamacharya, a Brahmin teacher in the municipal girls' school, represents the typical Sanatani who is opposed to the elevation of the depressed classes. Lakshmi is the wife of the popular Harijan physician of the indigenous variety, who had endeared herself to all alike by her sweet manners, helpful nature and self-sacrificing services. Lakshmi saved the son of Krishnamacharya, the Sanatani, from a severe attack of cholera by parting with the last dose of medicine which her husband (the physician) had kept for the exclusive use of the family in times of emergency. Lakshmi, knowing this full well, and after a great deal of thought, gave it to Acharya being convinced that his need was greater than hers. Five days later Lakshmi herself had an attack of cholera. The last dose of medicine having been given

away to Acharya, there was no medicine in the house to be given to her, and she succumbed. This proved to be a turning point in the career of Acharya when he came to know the circumstances in which she died. He is deeply moved and inspired by the noble example of Lakshmi, a Harijan woman. Acharya resigns his post as a teacher and decides to devote his life to serving Harijans.

Lakshmi's son Prabhu proves to be a chip of the old block. He changes the mind of a young Brahmin widow by name Janaki, a classmate of his, by his endearing services and noble qualities. When Janaki had an attack of typhoid he spent sleepless nights in nursing her back to life. In return for his service, Janaki decides to devote her life to the uplift of Harijans. There are in the story interesting sidelights on contemporary Hindu society.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

**GORAKHNATH AND MEDIEVAL HINDU MYSTICISM.** By MOHAN SINGH. (Author, Oriental College, Lahore.) 1937. 20cm.

THIS is a scholarly treatise on medieval Hindu mysticism and the influence of Gorakhnath. It ought to earn the gratitude of all students of mysticism and religious thought of India. For the treatise on Gorakhnath, who is not so well known, brings before the students a tradition which is both primary and basic of much religious Hindu thought expressed by Gyan-dev, Kabir and Nanak. There is always a charm in primary ideas to the simple and to the ordinary that is lost to them in more developed and sometimes abstruse thoughts. Dr. Mohan Singh's monograph is of course for the scholar, and yet there is scope for several little books on Gorakhnath culled from researches.

SWAMI YESUDAS.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE SOCIOLOGY OF INVENTION.** By S. C. GILFILLAN. (Follett.) 1935. 20cm. 185p.
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- SUPPLEMENT TO "INDIA'S FLIGHT."** By M. DE P. WEBB. (Daily Gazette Press, Karachi.) 25cm. 28p.
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- THE SECRETS OF THE KAULA CIRCLE.** By ELIZABETH SHARPE. (Luzac.) 1936. 22cm. 96p.