

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The League and India.

THE recommendation of the Indian Delegation to the last session of the League of Nations that a permanent Indian representative should be stationed in Geneva is of the highest importance and it is to be hoped that it will be given effect to speedily. The value of such an appointment cannot be over-estimated. The present position of India in the League affairs is not certainly satisfactory and it cannot be wholly satisfactory until India achieves Dominion Status and shakes off the tutelage of the India Office. But it can be greatly improved even within the present limitations. The presence of a first-rate Indian at Geneva will be of great, though indirect, advantage to India inasmuch as he will be in a position to establish contacts with the leading representatives of the whole world. His services may be more subtle, but will nonetheless be real and valuable. He will also be able to keep a close eye on the appointment of Indians to the staffs of the League and the I. L. O. Considering the contribution that India makes to the funds of the League, the number of Indians on the staff of the League is deplorably inadequate.

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Europeans' Objectionable Demands.

IF at the present moment Indian opinion is united on any one point, it is, as observers of contemporary events must not have failed to notice, about the utter inadequacy of the White Paper as an antidote against the existing political discontent. Even were it placed on the British statute book in its present form without being whittled down in the

least, which from indications appears very unlikely, it will fail to satisfy even the most moderate elements in the country. But the Europeans are determined to insert into it modifications manifestly unpalatable to Indian opinion and experience has shown that European demands in such matters have very often proved to be the harbingers of subsequent official decisions. Particular importance therefore attaches to the Association's White Paper policy as enunciated in the recent speech of its President.

In the first place, the Association would make provincial autonomy dependent upon the establishment of second chambers in all provinces which, in its opinion, should be very small bodies. Upper Chambers in the provinces are as essential in its eyes, as is federation to central responsibility from the Government point of view. Lest the idea should be ruled out on the ground of additional cost, the Association has taken care to suggest that the added expense be met by reducing the size of lower chambers to dimensions even smaller than those envisaged in the White Paper. The Association's insistence upon bicameral legislatures in the provinces taken together with Sir Samuel Hoare's plainly expressed prepossession in the same direction should prepare the country for a recommendation by the Joint Select Committee for all provinces being saddled with them without discrimination.

The Association is apparently not satisfied with the White Paper provision vesting very wide powers of a special nature in the Governor designed to prevent any deterioration in the administration of law and order. What it wants is that the branches of the police dealing with terrorist crime should be reserved to "the supervision, direction and control of the Governor-General acting in his own discretion." To any unprejudiced student of the White Paper this may appear to be absolutely unnecessary, seeing that in the proposed constitution the Governor-General is made specially responsible for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the land and that proper execution of his orders by Governors is explicitly provided for. But the Association is prepared to leave nothing to chance, especially when it is in a position to dictate its terms.

Another of its equally obnoxious demands is for the prolongation of the life of the Ordinance Acts, which are due to expire next year so that they may be available for use until the new governments are safely in the saddle.

The Association however gives evidence of the realization on its part of the practical necessities of the situation when it says that a necessary condition of the successful working of the reforms is the united support of the people to them. Does the Association honestly believe that if the White Paper as it is or with the modifications suggested by it is passed into law, it can win to itself the willing allegiance of the people? If so, the Association must be said to be

hopelessly out of touch with public opinion. Anyway if it is really its object to rally popular support to the new constitution, it can be done not by making the White Paper more reactionary as it seeks to do, but by making it really acceptable to public opinion by introducing into it improvements desired by it.

* * *

European Merchants' Demand for reduction in taxation.

IN the long list of resolutions passed by the annual conference of Associated Chambers of Commerce two stand out pre-eminently as being of wider public interest. One of these wanted the Government to place a strict veto upon all new expenditure from general revenues until some relief was afforded to the tax-payer and the cut in the salaries of the services was restored; while the other emphasised the Association's view, which is really the general public view, that the cut should not be restored until and unless "some substantial and general relief" is simultaneously afforded to the overburdened taxpayer. It is suggested that the relief should take the form of either the wholesale or partial removal of the 25 per cent. surcharge on income-tax, whose benefit should also extend to the services. While this particular suggestion might be open to some difference of opinion, it cannot be doubted that the need of lightening the burden on the taxpayer is universally conceded. With his special solicitude for the well-being of the services the Secretary of State is naturally unwilling to make relief to the services depend upon relief to the tax-payer. But as was so forcefully pointed out by Mr. Winterbotham in his speech at the Conference, the two cannot be thus completely dissociated. He was definitely of opinion that the restoration of the cut would be unjustifiable unless accompanied by a reduction in taxation. Indian opinion, even the most reasonable, would go further and ask that the restoration of the cut may safely stand over till the taxpayer was given really "substantial" relief.

Are there any chances of this happening? The Finance Member's speech, which was non-committal, is very unhelpful for the purpose. The first resolution, he pointed out, represented the existing policy of the Finance Department, which exercised a ruthless ban on any item of new expenditure that was not "absolutely necessary" or "unless it was of a reproductive nature." As regards the second resolution, his reply was even more blank. He neither confirmed nor repudiated the reports about the budget disclosing a deficit of six crores, which are going the rounds of the press, nor did he give any the slightest inkling as to the means that would be adopted to fill the gap. He was however explicit enough to convey the reassuring news that the Indian balance of trade was progressively favourable, though the revenue from imports had not come up to expectations. It may be noted that, far from finding any fault with these resolutions, he welcomed them as strengthening his hands. It is to be inferred that a tug-of-war is, as reported, going on between Whitehall and Delhi about the services being given their pound of flesh irrespective of the fact whether the taxpayer is relieved or not.

* * *

Lord Willingdon on Unemployment Problem.

THE Viceroy's reference in his speech before the annual conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce last week in Calcutta to the problem of unemployment is a measure alike of its intensity and political danger. Cases of educated young men having nothing better to employ their energies in and

therefore falling easy victims to the blandishments of the revolutionaries of both the violent and non-violent varieties are by no means rare. The result is a further addition to the volume of discontent against the Government. But for its political implications it is doubtful if the matter would have been considered worthy of being prominently mentioned in a viceregal utterance. If the activities of the terrorists and the non-violent law-breakers, however condemnable otherwise, have done, as they clearly have, something to impress the authorities with the seriousness of the unemployment situation, they cannot be dismissed as being altogether valueless. It is but too true that there is no cloud but has a silver lining.

But what is of more immediate practical interest is the advice Lord Willingdon gave to his hearers, particularly those of the British race. He asked them to take into their service as many young Indians as they could. The exhortation deserves to be responded to not only for political but also for economic reasons, for it is on the cards that an Indian employee is never as costly as an Englishman. Particularly at a time like the present when businessmen are faced with the problem of reducing the cost of running their establishments, the employment of more Indians in British business houses offers an avenue of very fruitful retrenchment. We trust those for whom Lord Willingdon's words were meant will not be so short-sighted as to refuse to profit by his wise counsel based as it is on sound commonsense.

Labour unemployment too came in for notice at the Viceroy's hands. Said Lord Willingdon on the point:

"The condition of labour in our industrial centres, although it has improved considerably in recent years, still leaves a great deal to be desired. My Government are endeavouring to strengthen the foundations of the industrial structure by carrying out a careful programme of labour legislation, and I believe this has already had important effects on the relations of labour with society as a whole."

But the scope of legislation is very limited, and the most pressing needs of the worker—better housing, greater security, improved health, and the development of the corporate and civic sense—cannot be provided without local and often individual efforts. I am well aware that employers have done much to ameliorate conditions in many places; they have often shouldered alone a burden which should have been discharged by local bodies, but if I urge increased attention to what is generally known as welfare and the improvement of contact between employer and employed, it is because I believe that it will give an ample return both in material prosperity and in the more lasting satisfaction that comes from every attempt to serve our fellowmen."

May it be hoped that the force of the Viceroy's advice will not be altogether lost upon the employers?

* * *

The League and the Hindu Sabha.

THE zeal of Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee in seeking the intervention of the League of Nations in the matter of the Communal Award in India is somewhat misplaced. In the first place, the League has no executive authority to enforce its decisions, which are merely recommendations. It is true that the League's recommendations carry great moral authority. But in the case of India, the treatment of its minorities was not the subject of any treaty lodged with the League. It is a domestic affair, outside the purview of the League. Thirdly, and this is the most important point, the Communal Award does not violate any of the principles laid down by the League regarding the treatment of minorities. As a matter of fact, the Communal Award is more gene-

rous to the minorities than the general principles of the League warrant. Certainly the League cannot object if any member is more generous than it need be toward its minorities.

Let the Princes Help.

THE joint Memorandum presented to the Joint Select Committee was signed only by the British Indian Delegates and not by the Princes or their representatives. The significance of it is not clear. The Memorandum deals not only with provincial affairs with which the Princes were not directly concerned, but also with federal matters with which they were intimately concerned and which, in fact, afforded the justification for the federation. What is the attitude of the Princes regarding the demands of their British Indian colleagues with respect to the federal part of the Memorandum? Do they support it or oppose it or are they indifferent to it? The Joint Memorandum would have carried much greater weight if the Princes had lent their support to it. Perhaps they did, though not openly. There is however no reason why they should shrink from doing so openly. As members of the Round Table Conference the Princes and their Ministers signed reports and statements along with their British Indian colleagues. It is not yet too late for them to make known their attitude.

Wilful Distortion.

BRITISH opponents of India's constitutional progress are in the habit of alleging an all-round deterioration in the Transferred Services, the implication being that a like fate would await any more departments that might be transferred to popular control. Such allegations were in fact made before the Joint Select Committee by some of their representatives like Mr. Churchill and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the course of their evidence and were of too serious a nature to be allowed to pass unchallenged. The British Indian delegation must therefore be praised for the attempt it has made in the appendix to its memorandum to rebut these charges. The principal services transferred to ministerial control by the Montford reforms were, as everybody knows, (a) communications, (b) education, (c) medical relief and sanitation, (d) agriculture and industries and (e) local self-government; and in regard to none of these, it is claimed, are the charges about deterioration found to be based on facts.

Take (b) for example. The number of educational institutions shows a rise of more than 33 per cent., while that of students has gone up by 70 per cent. since the transfer. If we consider university education alone, the number of girl students has more than doubled itself, while that of boys has increased by nearly 62 per cent. So far as secondary education goes, the proportion of the increase is more or less equal in the case of boys and girls, being in the neighbourhood of 81 per cent. The progress is, of course, not equally remarkable in the field of primary education; but there too the number of girl students has risen by nearly 58 per cent. as against 43 per cent. in the case of boys.

Even in regard to another nation-building department, viz. medical relief and sanitation, the progress achieved since 1920-21 is by no means less marked. The provincial expenditure on these services has gone up by over 60 per cent. while that by local bodies for the same purpose has increased by over 50 per cent. Hospitals in the land have increased by more than one-third; while the number of patients treated in them by nearly one half. If better economic conditions had prevailed

during this decade there is little doubt that those in charge of these services would have given even a more creditable account of their stewardship. Whatever that be, the last charge that these figures can be pressed into service for supporting is that of any retrogression in these services. Those that still persist in making it must be either ignorant of these eloquent facts or indulging in a wilful distortion of them.

Taluka Boards in Madras.

THE taluka local boards in Madras which number 208 are soon to disappear. The step seems to have been taken by the local Government for more than one reason. With three agencies, viz. district boards, taluka boards and village panchayats covering practically the same ground in their service to the people, considerable overlapping of their duties and functions was found to exist involving avoidable waste of public funds. The resources of each of these three sets of organisations being severely limited were totally inadequate for the satisfactory discharge of the duties and responsibilities, both obligatory and optional, thrown on them, while there was ground to look for a greater degree of satisfaction in this respect if their resources were pooled together. Though taluka boards were expected to encourage the development of panchayats, in actual practice they hardly ever did so, their interests being often mutually conflicting. It was therefore felt that for the proper growth of panchayats the abolition of the taluka boards was necessary. The financial difficulties of these bodies themselves too dictated such a step. Most of them were unable financially to stand on their own legs and very nearly half of them had recurring deficits, while 40 of them were on the borderline. Far from their financial position improving in the near future, there was every chance of its getting worse so that there was nothing for it but to decide upon their disbandment. The decision must be welcomed as being a recognition, belated though it be, on the part of the Madras Government of the hard realities of the situation and as stopping needless expenditure of the taxpayer's money.

If the taluka boards went, would not the administrative charges of the present district boards numbering 25 be too unwieldy? This objection has been anticipated by the proposal to increase their number. In U. P. with a population equal to that of Madras the number is 45. But the Madras Government have no intention of reproducing the same number, which is no doubt a wise decision. In increasing the number their concern will be to bring into being, not so many new pauper institutions in place of the vanishing ones, but bodies which will be financially self-supporting. Let us hope that this scheme of organisation will be found to be really conducive to the promotion of rural welfare.

Articles.

THE ALL-PARTIES' CONFERENCE.

THE Executive Committee of the proposed All Parties' Conference has issued invitations to the leaders of all the important political parties in India to meet and pronounce upon the White Paper proposals, as elucidated by the evidence of the Secretary of State for India. The Conference is timed to meet in February next, before the publication of the report of the Joint Select Committee. The Conference is, therefore,

obviously meant to influence the deliberations and decisions of the Joint Committee itself. Though it is theoretically open to the British Government and the British Parliament to make radical departures from the recommendations of the Joint Committee, it is very improbable that such departures will be made in practice, considering the weight that naturally attaches to the findings of such a body as the Joint Select Committee. Indian agitation will, therefore, produce the maximum result, whatever that may be, if it influences the decisions of that Committee. The organisers of the Conference wisely chose the time for the Conference. This does not obviate the necessity for a similar conference when the report of the Committee is published.

There is reason to believe that there is a widespread belief in England that the White Paper proposals more or less satisfy large sections of the politically-minded people in India outside the ranks of the irreconcilables. Public opinion in England has apparently been lulled into this belief by the absence in India of a vigorous, sustained and widespread agitation on the part of the constitutionalists. Absence of such agitation has naturally been mistaken for acquiescence in the White Paper scheme which, of course, everybody in India knows is not correct. The absence of agitation is due to causes very remote from acquiescence in the White Paper scheme. It is, therefore, very necessary that as vigorous and wide-spread an agitation as possible should be kept up in India in order to dispel the wrong belief prevalent in England.

It is a truism that the more united the voice of India is on any particular question the greater the chances of its influencing the authorities. What then is the greatest common measure of agreement possible in India? The promoters of the Conference have wisely excluded the consideration of the Communal Award at the Conference. In the present circumstances of the country it is hopeless to expect the Muslims and other minorities who gained an advantage, may be an unfair advantage, to surrender it in the interest of nationalism. Over and over again in the last decade efforts were made by the most influential in the land to evolve an agreed communal settlement. But every effort has ended in failure and, what is worse, left the situation worse every time. Whatever chances there were of agreement have been destroyed by the Communal Award of the Government. There is at present no common ground between the nationalists and the communalists and an All-Parties' Conference must, however regretfully, exclude the Communal Award from its agenda.

The organisers have excluded the consideration of "sanctions" as well. The question of "sanctions" is played out and has in practice no particular relevance and there is no need for Indian opinion to be divided on it. What are the sanctions, apart from public opinion, that are open to India to apply and apply successfully? Non-co-operation and civil disobedience have failed to bend the Government to the will of the non-co-operators. So has the no-rent

campaign and the boycott of the councils. Boycott of British goods has also failed. Even individual civil disobedience has failed. What then is left for the most ardent advocate of sanctions to apply effectively? The only sanction left is public opinion and it is really the most powerful one, though it is not capable ordinarily of producing dramatically quick results. It works slowly but surely. However the exclusion of sanctions from the agenda of the Conference is not a serious calamity, as nobody is likely to do anything other than resorting to the cultivation and the mobilisation of public opinion.

Even with regard to the positive purpose of the Conference it seems well nigh impossible to evolve a formula which shall be agreed to by all the important political parties in India. The Congress, as represented by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, loftily disdains to look at the White Paper if only for the reason that it does not provide for independence. There are others, as good Congressmen as the Pandit, who would attend the Conference and denounce the White Paper scheme as utterly worthless. Even among the organisers of the Conference there seems to be some marked difference as to the purpose of the Conference. There are those, like Mr. M. C. Chagla, who would just simply consign the White Paper to the waste paper basket, while the official letter of invitation intends to make it "clear that the country will not be satisfied with the White Paper proposals unless they were modified in the essential directions desired by the progressive opinion in the country." Apparently the official intention is to critically examine the White Paper and suggest modifications which may be considered essential and state the minimum which will satisfy progressive opinion in India. Even with regard to the minimum improvements necessary in the White Paper there are bound to be differences. The signatories of the Joint Memorandum presented to the Joint Select Committee and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would naturally stand by their memoranda, not because they would resent if greater advances were made but because they think that their memoranda go as far as it is possible to go in the present circumstances and India would be lucky enough if she obtained what they recommended. Others, like the Liberals who recently met in Madras, would go much further and pitch their minimum demands higher. Then there are those who object to the fundamentals of the White Paper scheme as unsound and retrograde and would fain wish that the whole scheme was abandoned.

In this multitude of opinions the only point of common agreement is the unsatisfactory character of the White Paper. It is a negative statement. Anything more positive than that is impossible unless there is a good deal of give and take as between the exponents of the different schools of thought.

The basis for an agreed statement may well be the Joint Memorandum presented by the Indian Delegates to the Joint Select Committee, which does not materially differ from the memorandum presented by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others. It is true that the recommendations of the Indian Delegates fall

short of the demands even of the Liberals, who cannot be accused of making extravagant and impractical demands. Nevertheless, it will be prudent to concentrate on supporting them. The Joint Memorandum is an achievement of which India may congratulate herself inasmuch as it was signed by the representatives of the Hindus, Muslims and others on the Indian Delegation. If an All-Parties' Conference is at all possible today it is because of the Joint Memorandum. It is obvious that it is the greatest common measure of agreement possible in India today. And a unity conference cannot go further without breaking up or minimising its importance and influence. The Conference will have done well if it helps to maintain and strengthen the unity achieved in London. At this stage of constitutional discussion it is more necessary to concentrate on what we can get at a pinch than on what we deserve or desire.

RELIEF FOR RYOTS.

THE present economic depression has hit the agricultural classes equally badly in all the provinces, but in Bombay Presidency it is only recently that we see small stirrings of the public conscience in this respect. A demand is now being made from public platforms for a remission of a portion of the land tax on account of the heavy and rapid fall that has taken place within the last three years in the value of agricultural products, and the Government of Bombay, who apparently think that nothing need be done till a demand is definitely formulated and vigorously pressed, have not, so far as outsiders can judge, yet bestowed any thought upon the measures required to relieve the distress of the ryots. Madras Presidency is more fortunately situated in this respect. There political leaders have been persistently making such a demand upon their Government, who has consequently felt it necessary to go some way in meeting the demand. Mr. T. S. Ramaswami Ayyar in January of last year moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council asking for a land revenue cut of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in ryotwari tracts for one year. This would have entailed a loss of Rs. 74 lakhs in the revenue of the year. The Government of Madras did not agree to make this cut, but announced two months later its decision to suspend the collection of land revenue to the extent asked for only in those areas the rates of whose assessment were settled in or after 1918-19, when the prices had risen very high. The total amount of revenue affected by this decision was round about Rs. 31 lakhs. A similar concession was later extended to some other tracts. At the end of last year the Madras Government converted this suspension into an outright remission and thus sacrificed for good a revenue of Rs. 33 lakhs for one fasli year. But this did not still the demands of the representatives in the Legislative Council, who went on representing that further relief was urgently necessary to pull the ryot through the present slump. In the last session of the Madras Legislative Council Mr. V. T. Arasu moved a resolution asking for a remission of 25 per cent. in the existing rate of assessment on ryotwari

pattas for one year. This would have cost Government Rs. 147 lakhs. The Government has refused to comply with the demand, but has instead agreed to suspend for a year the collection of land revenue of about Rs. 60 lakhs. It must be remembered that the payment of this amount is only postponed, though it is likely, as in the case of the former suspension, that it will eventually be remitted altogether. It would appear that when this matter was considered by the Finance Committee, that body was agreeable to make a much larger concession, viz. suspension of 3 annas instead of 2 (or $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. instead of $12\frac{1}{2}$) in some cases, which we understand would have brought relief of some Rs. 30 lakhs more than what the Government has decided to give.

Considering the financial position of the Madras Government, the extent of the relief that has now been decided upon does not appear to be at all adequate. In the last budget the Government had a comfortable closing balance of Rs. 271 lakhs. As compared to its opening balance of last year of Rs. 171 lakhs, it has a clear revenue surplus of one crore of rupees, and this fact was prominently brought to the notice of the Madras Government by member after member on the several occasions on which the question was discussed. The Finance Member admitted that, if this relief were temporary, the Presidency's finances could afford it, without any serious curtailment of the beneficent services, which had to be cut almost to the bone two years ago and which are now being gradually restored to the normal level. But he and other members of the Government think that, although the demand for a remission is made every time for one year only, it is a demand which, if once conceded, will continue to be made for several years and will similarly have to be conceded. Apparently they think that the depression will last for quite a number of years. "We are assured," said Sir Archibald Campbell, "that we are not yet out of the wood; that the economic depression is as deep as ever; that there is no indication of any improvement." This is however, as it appears to us, too pessimistic a view. There are distinct signs of recovery, and we may well hope to emerge out of the depression in the near future. But anyhow it would be wrong for the Government to withhold relief for one year on the ground that it may not be available to the same extent in future years. Several members of the Council suggested that the accumulated balances be utilised by Government for giving the needed relief, and surely, considering the exceptional nature of the occasion which necessitates relief, the balances may be allowed to be partially depleted for the purpose. But the Government is not agreeable to this course; it adheres strictly to the orthodox doctrine, good enough in ordinary circumstances, that, balance or no balance, revenue expenditure should be kept within revenue receipts. As a matter of fact, however, it is a general complaint in the Madras Presidency that every year quite an appreciable part of what is, properly speaking, capital expenditure is met out of current revenue—a complaint to which no satisfactory answer has been

vouchsafed so far. The complaint was pointedly made by Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar in moving a cut in the land revenue demand on 13th March 1933. He said:

"We have budgeted to spend about Rs. 32 lakhs on capital works under Electricity Projects from revenue account. This ought to have come from loan funds as the projects are intended to benefit posterity also. We have budgeted to spend about Rs. 25 lakhs on other capital items. We have also written off about Rs. 35 lakhs in the account and included the sum under the revenue account. This was the sum we spent in previous years—1926-27 and 1927-28—for capital purposes and it ought to have been written off in the capital account. Besides there are other sums also used for capital works but financed from the revenue account. All these sums together amount to nearly two crores of rupees. I claim that the people have been overtaxed by this amount."

The Revenue Member who spoke in reply attempted no answer to this charge of a departure from a sound fiscal doctrine; on the other hand, he said, the Government must not allow these balances to be used to any extent for giving relief to the cultivating classes because it had "in view certain large schemes, such as the Bhavani Project which it is hoped can be partly financed from the reserves we hold in our balances." But, surely, it is quite wrong to utilise current revenues, or balances built up out of current revenues, for such purposes. It can easily be proved therefore that the Madras Government, though it has done something, has not done all it can to relieve, even by exceptional measures, the unusually hard lot of the peasants owing to the exceptional times through which we are passing at present.

The Government has quite a lot to say in its press communiqué, and in fact it never misses an opportunity to repeat it, that the land revenue settlement is in the nature of a contract; that the Government has no obligation to come to the succour of the cultivators when the prices fall as it does not claim any portion of the advantages which they receive when prices rise; that the ryots must pay the full revenue demand in lean years out of their surplus of fat years, and so forth. This "technical side of the question" is very well understood. The unofficial members of Council have not challenged it. Their object for the present is, taking the land revenue system as they find it, to ask for concessions as a special case, and the only question is whether the concessions made are adequate to the needs of the situation or whether they are as large as financial conditions would permit. To this question the answer that we must return is no. But we recognise thankfully that they have done something, which is more than what we can say of the Bombay Government.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL)

(From Our Correspondent.)

London, January 5.

JOINT COMMITTEE RECORDS.

SURPRISE has been expressed in some quarters in India at the comparative lack of publicity given in this country, both to the Joint Memorandum

of the British Indian delegation and to the Memorandum of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, submitted with the general approval of three of his colleagues. There is little to be surprised at, however, in the fact that relatively small notice was taken of these and other documents. Their issue came very inopportunistly from a publicity point of view. The documents appeared some considerable time after the winding up of the Joint Committee proceedings, in which the Indian delegation had participated, and when public opinion had ceased to be focussed, in so far as it ever has been, upon the Committee's proceedings. Technical memoranda are, indeed, not suited to the general reader who likes his problems simply put and the solutions predigested for him. After all, the real importance of these memoranda is that they are intended primarily for the Committee, for which they were specially prepared, and for Parliament, in due course. There is no reason to suppose that they will be ignored or would remain unduly unappreciated by this more limited audience. If anything, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Memorandum was less dwelt upon than the Joint one, primarily for two reasons, the Joint Memorandum was printed first, and in the hurry and other exigencies of press-work, especially at a time when public attention was being diverted to matters of more immediate interest to newspaper-readers, the note-writers naturally concentrated upon the first document of the series to the disadvantage of all that came afterwards; secondly a memorandum bearing a number of signatures, and purporting to be virtually the unanimous expression of opinion of the British Indian delegation, would attract greater attention than a memorandum bearing the signature of an individual, however eminent.

It was unfortunate, too, for another reason, that publication occurred in this manner, for it might lead in ill-informed or unfriendly quarters to the view that, in submitting a separate Memorandum, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had preferred, for reasons of his own, not to associate himself with the combined wisdom of the other members of the British Indian delegation. Yet those who are acquainted with the facts are aware that Sir Tej Bahadur's Memorandum was submitted to the Lord Chairman immediately before the former's departure for India, last July, and at a time when the Joint Memorandum was not only not in existence, but not even conceived. Indeed, I am in a position to say that the possibility of submitting a Joint Memorandum at all became apparent only in the very last weeks of the British Indian delegation's work here, and it was signed and submitted only at the moment when the proceedings were on the point of being brought to a close. Knowing Sir Tej Bahadur as I do, I feel confident that nothing would have given him greater happiness whilst he was still here than the knowledge that a Joint Memorandum was both contemplated and feasible, and that it would be ready for submission in time to allow him to append his signature.

MOST HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS.

The fact that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has definitely withdrawn himself, at least for the time being, from public political life is clearly recognised by the honour that has been conferred upon him in the New Year's Honours List published on Monday. The recognition of the quality and magnitude of the magnificent services that he has unstintingly given to the Motherland during the last few years, at a sacrifice of which only his most intimate friends are aware, and in circumstances often resulting in hostile criticism from the more unthinking or less well-informed among his own countrymen, has been tardy. The independent line of criticism that he has consistently adopted, the forcefulness with which he has

expressed views obviously unpalatable to the authorities, and the far-reaching nature of his constructive proposals, went a long way to deprive him of the sympathy and understanding that ought, in any less artificial atmosphere than that which ordinarily surrounds Indian affairs, to have gone out spontaneously to a very brilliant, genial, and attractive personality. Of all the distinctions that might have been conferred upon Sir Tej Bahadur, none is more appropriate, and none would have been more appreciated by him (in so far as he attaches importance to these matters) than that appointment to membership of His Majesty's Privy Council. The Privy Council itself is honoured by the admission to membership of this new recruit, to whom the distinction has come unsought. His countrymen generally, as his friends in particular, will have rejoiced with him, I hope, at the announcement in the Honours' List.

Of quite a different quality and character had been the services rendered by His Highness the Aga Khan, who, too, becomes a Privy Councillor. Trammelled as he undoubtedly was at one time by the personnel of the Mussulman section of the British Indian delegation, with their strongly communal bias, His Highness managed, with considerable dexterity, to free himself from the suspicion that he shared the more extreme forms of communalism to which some of his colleagues professed allegiance, and ultimately he won the unstinted praise of the British Indian delegation for the admirably impartial manner in which he presided over a team, selected haphazard, often incoherent and incoherent, frequently with mutually divergent and conflicting interests, and yet that nevertheless, with the aid, especially of one or two other members of a more far-seeing vision, he succeeded in guiding towards commonsense and collaboration, resulting in the ultimate production of the Joint Memorandum referred to above. It was an exercise in tact, diplomacy, and public spirit that went far to justify the late Mr. Gokhale's estimate of His Highness's great qualities, and that have brought to him a more suitable reward than that of the usual orders of Knighthood, of which he already possesses most.

India may well take pride, if she can treat such matters objectively, in her trinity of Privy Counsellors and Elder Statesmen, Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and His Highness the Aga Khan.

It is recognised that these two honours are exceptional and by way of preliminary. There are other members of the British Indian delegation, who shall here be nameless, who in due course will be selected for distinction of one kind or another for services rendered in the cause of Indian constitutional reform. In some cases the merit will not be so obvious to an Indian Nationalist as in others; but every fisherman knows that in casting his net there may be found in it unexpected contents, some of them treasures like the unique pair of mastodon tusks recently trawled from the bed of the North Sea, down to the things of little, if any, value. One need not, however, go to the extent of mean end vulgar vituperation to which the reactionary Sir Alfred Knox lends himself in a letter to *The Morning Post*, in which he suggests that it is only by the judicious bestowal of honours upon those who are anxious that the White Paper proposals should not be whittled down that their interest in those proposals may be expected to be retained.

A FLYING VISIT.

Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister's flight to East Africa for purposes of personal study of the local situation encouraged the *Times* to say: "Whether from the standpoint of Whitehall or of settler, administrator, and the African, there is every thing to be said for a

journey that will enable East Africa to state its case to the British Government at first hand." There would, indeed, be everything to be said for such a journey if one had any confidence that the word "settler" was intended to include both the Indian and the British community in East Africa. Every one, however, knows that almost without exception the discussion of East African problems in this country proceeds upon the assumption that there is no Indian community whose interests have to be considered, or that if there is those interests either coincide with those of the British population, or are otherwise negligible. It is exactly that kind of impression that the white community in East Africa, a small and insignificant minority, has deliberately sought to create upon public opinion here, both in the Press and Parliament. Any well-informed person, too, is aware that the word "settler" is invariably limited in its use to the white population, regardless of the fact that Indians are long prior settlers in East Africa, that numerous witnesses of standing, including Mr. Winston Churchill himself, have borne testimony to the valuable and unique contribution to the cultural progress of East Africa made by the Indian community, and that India is rightly proud of the part played in East African development by her colonists overseas, and that she will not willingly see their rights withheld from them or their aspirations frustrated. *The Times* heads a letter from a correspondent on this subject "Need of Three-sided Co-operation," meaning thereby official, white settler, and African. Another correspondent has, I am informed, addressed the Editor with the suggestion that, bearing in mind the Indian element in East Africa, the caption should be altered to "Need of Four-sided Co-operation."

INDIAN PROPAGANDA ABROAD.

It is more than ten years since Mr. Gandhi induced the Congress to close down its agency in London, and to frown upon all foreign propaganda, upon the pretext that Indian activities should be concentrated upon the development of a fuller sense of Indian nationhood at home. How mistaken both he and the Congress were, and what tremendous injury the country's interests were wrought by that decision many people have since realised, and not a few have openly flouted the Mahatma's prohibition. It is believed that even he, after his visit here in 1931, began to recognise that propaganda abroad had its own place and value, if properly conducted. At any rate the late Mr. V. J. Patel appears to have had his own definite and independent views upon the subject, if it be a fact, as is reported here, that he has bequeathed a lac of rupees to conduct propaganda on behalf of the Indian Nationalist movement in England, Ireland, and the United States. It is to be hoped, however, that in that event propaganda of a very different kind and quality from that contemplated by the ex-President of the Assembly will be undertaken, for it was, in the main, useless, irritating, and misconceived. Political propaganda needs expert, delicate, and responsible handling if it is to achieve the maximum of effect. Mr. Patel's method was both blundering and ineffective because it lacked these qualities and it lacked imagination also.

Reviews.

LIFE OF KARL MARX.

KARL MARX--CHARITRA ANI SHIKAYAN.
"Life and Teachings of Karl Marx" in Marathi.
By VINAYAK MAHADEO BUSKUTE (196 (50)
Sadashiv Peth, Poona.) 226p. Re. 1-8-0
ADMITTEDLY the greatest thinker of the 19th cen-

tury, Karl Marx has always been an enigma down to our own days. His followers have claimed a sort of validity for his doctrines which would be impossible for all serious students to grant in full. On the other hand there are scholars who deny any amount of truth for his teachings and seem anxious to obliterate his part in history. They will perhaps admit that he was a genius, but would immediately complain that he misused his powers.

For my part, I would give him the place which I would give to Darwin. Darwin banished the ethico-deific out of biology and put the fact of evolution on a scientific basis. He stressed the truly scientific spirit of "investigation and matter-of-fact explanation". Marx made almost the same contribution to the science of history. But no biologist of today insists that Darwin's is a completely adequate explanation of the process of organic evolution. If only the same spirit had been exhibited by the followers of Marx, much breath and energy would have been saved. However his theory of Historical Materialism—the claim that the mental and spiritual processes of life depend upon the social productive apparatus—was made by them a system of sociology, and frantic efforts were made to accommodate all facts of history into this structure. The more considerate of Marx's admirers, however, are willing to admit that his theory of history must be looked upon more as a *method* than as a *system* of sociology. The theory thus stated and qualified is a brilliant contribution and is more or less explicitly adopted by sociologists today.

Marx's great fame rests on his *Das Kapital*. He is neglected by philosophers as an economist; and by economists as a philosopher. The fact is that he was both. The Marxian system of economics was only a particular application of his philosophy of history. The economist's difficulty in accepting his theories lies in his theory of value, which is looked upon as too abstract and inapplicable in actual practice. Marx admits this objection and replies (in Vol III of his "Capital") that although in the capitalist society commodities do not exchange at their labour-value, for the society as a whole prices and values (i. e. labour values) coincide. I think this argument does not mean much. It is simply a truism to say that, for the society as a whole prices and values coincide, for the simple reason that, for the society as a whole, the goods produced can never be more or less than what labour can produce. And once you deny the possibility of prices corresponding to values for any part of the total commodities, you are unable to determine the exact rate of wages and surplus-value. I do not think that anyone has pointed out this before; Marx himself does not seem to be conscious of this fact. Not only that Marx's value theory is not able to disprove any other theory of value, but his theory of surplus-value does not prove anything more than the fact that there is such a thing as surplus and that its origin lies in the process of production.

And this is, for me, the most important contribution of Marx in the realm of economics. The modern utility theories which rest on the subjective evaluations of the economic citizens can be more deeply read if only they were set in this light. Economists like Maurice Dobb, Bukharin, and G. D. H. Cole have clearly perceived this. Mr. Dobb has shown what interesting conclusions you come to, once you try to see the social basis of these "subjective evaluations."

In matters of philosophy Marx has been truly baffling. Although he succeeded in making materialism militant, he has absolutely failed to answer Kant's difficulties about the theory of know-

ledge. His dialectics—which he took over from Hegel—is really bewildering and has only made his philosophy a sort of animistic religion. The modern student who does not want to shut his eyes to the recent developments in science and psychology would, I think, rather agree with Marx Estinin's "affirmative scepticism" than with Marx's "dialectical materialism."

I mention all these facts just because the author of this book does not mention them. Mr. Bhuskute writes like a believer. But that does not make his treatment dogmatic. He is anxious to convince and his style is suited to his purpose. His style has one more—and an important—merit. He has the capacity of writing simple and lucid Marathi even when he is treating difficult subjects of theory. Of course, no book on Marx can be simple enough. His theories are so abstract. But one can avoid being unnecessarily abstruse and roundabout. Mr. Bhuskute has done that.

The book is divided into two parts: the first part is devoted to Marx's life and doings. The second part tries to expound his theories. The life of the great genius is written with well-chosen and interesting bits of events. That has made it fascinating even to one who is not a student of the subject. The same cannot be said about its theoretical background. The story of the development of Marx's thought is not fully told. The part which Feuerbach played in Marx's escape from the idealistic *mesalliance* of Hegel is nowhere stated. Marx's historical writings are not shown as they looked in their context.

The theoretical portion is well written. The chapters on "Dialectics" and "Historical Materialism" are very good indeed. But just because they are written by a believer, they are likely to disappoint a critical reader. The same confusion about 'dynamics' (in the sense of mere change) and dialectics is to be found here as in other Marxist books. The chapters on Marx's economics are disappointingly incomplete. Moreover we do not find here Marx's theory judged by his own historical standard.

On the whole the book is well worth reading; and it carries a special significance, for it is the first of its kind in Marathi.

PRABHAKAR PADHYE.

CULTIVATION OF AIRSENSE.
AIRSENSE. By W. O. MANNING. (Pitman, 1933.
22cm. 83p. 3/

AVIATION as a civil pastime has definitely come to stay. Public interest in the air is increasing daily and there are signs that its rate of growth will be notably stimulated within the next few years. The establishment of light aeroplane clubs has enabled the man in the street to experience the thrills of the upper regions. In our own country there are no less than ten clubs with approximately two thousand members.

The present volume tersely yet lucidly explains why an aeroplane flies and how an aero-engine works. The book is divided into two parts. Part first deals concisely with aeroplanes. There are eight chapters dealing with eddies, wings, controls, stability and propellers.

The author has endeavoured to explain the complicated aerodynamic theory by popular analogies which could be easily comprehended by an intelligent reader. Popular aeronautical terms—lift, drag, dihedral, angle of incidence, etc. have been admirably explained. The eternal problem of stall has been carefully treated. The writer truly remarks, "Stalling an aeroplane near the ground has probably been

responsible for more fatalities than any other cause." An account of the development of Handley Page slots and flaps are also included in the fourth chapter.

A passing reference is made to H E 64 monoplane on p. 26. A word about this wonderful aircraft will not be out of place here. Ernst Heinkel Flugzeugwerke of Warnemunde gave the most successful demonstration of combining slots with flap in their H E 64 air craft to get the best speed range. H E 64 put up a brilliant performance in the last European Rundflug.

On p. 45, the author assumes the mantle of a prophet and says, "In five years' time every engine made today will be obsolete and the same thing will happen to our present aeroplanes." Mr. Manning leaves his readers to imagine the types that will replace them, if at all.

The second part of the book is devoted to the study of aero-engines. There are six chapters dealing with various aspects of the petrol engine. The four strokes of the engine are explained by an effort of imagination. We are requested by the writer 'to reduce our size so that we can actually go into the cylinder of an aero-engine when it is running and see what is taking place.'

In connection with engine-cooling, the author does not even mention steam-cooling, the method which has been so successfully evolved by the famous firm of Messrs. Rolls Royce of Derby. A small chapter is devoted to carburation and supercharging. Both the uses of boosting the engine—compensation for power lost at high altitudes on account of the reduced air density and in the case of racing engines to obtain more power from the same unit even at low altitudes—are carefully treated.

Adequate lubrication is absolutely essential for the successful working of an aero-engine. The writer begins by describing the primitive method of lubrication, that is, "to go round with an oil can and drop oil into holes provided in the bearing". It is obvious such a crude method could not be employed in an aero-engine. In an aero-engine the oil is forced by a pump so that a film of oil is formed between the metal and the bearing.

Magnetos and valves are the subjects of the next chapter. On p. 79, the author refers to the sleeve valve and remarks, "So far no satisfactory aero-engine has been made with such valves". The Bristol Aeroplane Co. have recently produced Perseus engine which has already completed its 100 hours' type test.

The last chapter of the book under review is devoted to the reliability of aero-engines. The modern aero-engine does not differ from its pre-west predecessor in principle; but there cannot be any comparison in their reliability. The fan type Anzani almost ran out before M. Bieriot reached the English coast in 1909. To-day trans-Atlantic crossings are confidently undertaken and accomplished by light aero-engines.

The author illustrates the percentage of accidents from a table compiled by a department of the United States Government. In this connection the author suggests the various routines of maintenance which are standard and are strictly followed by all the operators of aircraft. The members of the Aircraft and Engine Inspection directorate occasionally examine the log books to ensure whether proper care is taken to maintain the air craft and engines.

The book can be confidently recommended to the club member who, besides being able to pilot an aeroplane, wants to know what is happening when an aircraft flies and an aero-engine revolves.

S. MAKSOOD ALLY.

PROBLEM OF THE POLISH CORRIDOR.

THE CAULDRON BOILS. POLAND AND ITS MINORITIES. By EMIL LENGYEL (Grayson and Grayson.) 1933. 20cm. 286p. 8/6.

WITH the Treaty of Versailles the danger-zone in Europe has shifted from the Balkans to Poland. Poland has many dangerous problems, which if unsolved would produce an explosion of no small magnitude. There is the Polish Corridor controversy, which according to Marshal Foch may result in another great war. Then there is the trouble created by the Jewish question, the Polish-Lithuanian relations, the Upper-Silesian discontent, and the Free City of Danzig. These problems of Poland are very ably dealt with by Emil Lengyel in the book before us. The author has not presented the problems of Poland after studying them in newspapers and periodicals. On the contrary, he made an extensive tour throughout Poland, interviewed the leading men in every minority community and made a deep study of Poland and her minorities on the spot. The book may therefore well claim to be an authoritative pronouncement on Poland and her problems.

We need not apologise for giving the place of honour to the Polish Corridor controversy which has come to the limelight since the advent of the Nazis to power. "Lloyd George said once," says the author, "that Poland has five Alsace-Lorraines: the Corridor, Upper Silesia, Vilna, the Ukraine and White Russia." Among these new Alsace-Lorraines the Corridor is the most hotly contested land. One can understand the feeling in Germany against the Polish Corridor, a strip of territory which has cut the Reich into two parts and has separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Among the many iniquitous provisions of the Treaty of Versailles was the one which gave the Corridor to Poland so that she might have access to sea. But the author points out that even Poland's hero, Marshal Pilsudski did not take the agitation for his country's 'sea-sickness' very seriously. The Corridor is an insult to Germany and is rightly regarded by her as France's attempt to weaken Germany in the East. Perhaps the most serious objection to the Corridor is, as remarked above, that it destroys the unity of the Reich. "What would the French say if they had to traverse Swiss territory on their way from Paris to Marseilles? What would the English say if Birmingham were separated from Liverpool by a Corridor? What would Americans say if Mexico had a stretch of land around New Orleans?" (p. 17). A more effective presentation of the Corridor problem is hard to imagine. But it may be said that the Corridor has a Polish majority to-day. The author points out how it had a German majority before the Treaty of Versailles, but owing to the transfer of the Corridor to Poland and owing to the pursuance of a deliberate anti-German Policy by the Polish authorities, the Germans living in the Corridor emigrated in large numbers to the Reich leaving the Poles as the majority community.

It is this Polish Corridor which Hitler wants to recover for the Reich. The existence of the Corridor makes co-operation between Germany and Poland impossible. To avert a conflict on the Corridor issue the author suggests a solution of the Corridor problem on the lines suggested by Dr. Guido Bertrand. According to the scheme of Dr. Bertrand the Polish Corridor in the restricted sense would be returned to the Reich while the province of Posen would be retained by Poland. Danzig would lose its status as a Free City and would be restored to the Reich. The Poles would acquire sovereign rights over the railway lines of Bromberg-Gdynia, Bromberg-Danzig, and Warsaw-Mlawa-Danzig. A demilitarised zone would be established along the Vistula from the

Netze district to the Baltic Sea. The port and city of Gdynia would be given to Poland. The whole scheme would be executed by the League of Nations which would have the right to appoint a High Commissioner to assure its observance. We have no hesitation in saying that this is the most satisfactory solution of the Corridor problem.

We have written at somewhat great length of the Corridor controversy on account of its bearing on the future peace of the world, but Poland has other problems as well. Poland is having sweet revenge on the non-Polish populations for all her sufferings in the past, but as the author rightly points out, she is applying the Russian method to the treatment of her nationalities, which was worse than that of Germany and Austria. Poland was set up by the statesmen at the Versailles Peace table as a bulwark against Bolshevism, but instead of keeping back Bolshevism, she has facilitated its spreading to the West. The oppressed nationalities look across the frontier and feel that perhaps life in Bolshevist Russia would be preferable to life in Poland. It is true that the Poles have agreed to treat the minorities well by a Minorities Treaty, but the frequent appeals to the League of Nations by the minority communities show that the treaty has been ignored by Poland. The author therefore feels that "the best solution of the Polish problem would be the formation of an Eastern Switzerland, in the sense that her nationalities would have full autonomy in their cantons or provinces."

The book is a splendid contribution to the study of Poland and her minorities. The only defect of the book is that it has no map at all. We hope that maps would be included when the next edition of the book is called for.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

BIRTH CONTROL.

A TREATISE ON BIRTH CONTROL. By AN EMINENT DOCTOR. (Mrs. A. Mathews, Contraception Office, Kuthiathode, Travancore.) 1933. 20cm. 179p. Rs. 3-8-0.

MRS. MATHEWS says in her preface that she suggested to the author that such a book might be useful and he wrote this after collecting facts, investigating and experimenting for a number of years. The author, however, does not seem to have been very successful in his efforts. To judge from his Introductory Chapter, he apparently thinks that Mrs. Besant re-published an American pamphlet in India, was prosecuted for it and was acquitted by an Indian High Court. He might certainly have obtained more accurate information about the famous Bradlaugh-Besant trial (in England, not India) or refrained from mentioning it. One is surprised to find that the author thinks he is doing something which has not been done before, at least in India. My own pamphlet appeared twelve years back and I know that work has been done in Bengal and Punjab at any rate in giving practical information. It is true that his own class, I mean doctors, have been rather backward in this matter, but this has been the case all over the world.

The book is full of slipshod writing, contradictory statements, indifferent and even incorrect English, badly printed. There are plenty of books in English which are not only better written, but cheaper at the same time. In fact Indian writers can do more useful work by writing books in the vernaculars rather than in English, especially if they cannot manage the language properly. There is a plethora of books in English, there are hardly

any in the vernaculars, which will reach a different class of readers.

There are statements in the book which make one seriously doubt whether there is any justification for the author being called "An Eminent Doctor" on the title page. He says on p. 29 that "When unused, a large portion of this stored semen is re-absorbed into the system and utilised for the development of the secondary sexual characteristics." This kind of nebulosity of ideas makes one doubt if this is written by a doctor at all. It is very well known that the secondary characteristics depend on the internal secretion of the testes and not on the semen. The author has merely expressed the traditional view without any science behind it. If the structure of the seminal vesicles is such as to permit reabsorption, it should be absorbed as soon as it comes there from the testes, which would lead to the absurdity that a body-product which is of vital importance for reproduction is being all the time re-absorbed into the body. There is not the slightest justification for attributing to the seminal vesicles such contradictory functions as storage and re-absorption as the author coolly does.

He says further on: "If during coitus or otherwise ejaculation occurs many times a day in the same person, the semen turns to blood". Semen turning into blood being hardly possible, one can only suppose that the author means that some blood is ejaculated with or instead of semen.

"Nervousness and fear often does not give rise to erection in spite of the best stimuli". A good example of the author's English. He evidently means "prevent erection" (p. 37). "Precautions" instead of "precocious" may possibly be a misprint (p. 43).

The paragraph about menstruation and ovulation on p. 45 shows that the author's knowledge is not up-to-date, a grave defect in an "eminent doctor". He says, "There are two groups of women, one in whom ovulation precedes menses and the other in whom it succeeds." It is now known that ovulation takes place about the middle of the intermenstrual period, about the 12th to 14th day from the beginning of a period, except perhaps in rare cases. It is now recognized that this is the time when there is the greatest chance of conception, and not just before or after the period, as was traditionally believed. "There are still other few, who have become pregnant after menopause" (sic). If a woman becomes pregnant, it simply means that the menopause is not completely established.

"Then the semen from the penis oozes briskly." Oozing briskly is something new and seems to be a favourite expression with the author (p. 47.)

Describing the effects of vasectomy, he says (p. 57): "It prevents the semen passing from the testes to the seminal vesicles; at the same time it is produced in the testes and absorbed in the system." So now, it seems that the function of absorption is transferred to the testes. Expert surgeons have reported that the production of spermatozoa ceases after the operation, but that the internal secretion is produced as usual or even increased and is absorbed into the system as usual. The author does not seem to distinguish clearly between semen and internal secretion. "An eminent doctor" should.

As regards the actual means to be used, he should have been more definite. He says at the end (p. 165): "About 60 methods of control of conception have been described in this book, and the merits and demerits of each are discussed. The readers can very well select whichever they think best for them." This is precisely what readers cannot do. But when the author has no clear ideas himself, he

cannot possibly make them clear to readers. For instance, speaking of the "Vaginal Diaphragm" (the Dutch Cap) on p. 91, he says: "The size of the pessary should not be too big to produce discomfort to the woman, nor should it be too small to slip." This is wonderful English, but taking him to mean "so big as to produce discomfort nor so small as to slip," this is correct advice. But in describing the disadvantages of this kind of cap on the next page, he says: "It distends the vaginal walls which is a discomfort to the female," which is a glaring contradiction.

The book is in short a re-hash of ideas taken from different authors without any attempt at coherence. An author who sells this kind of book for Rs. 3 (or perhaps this is the fault of the publisher) has hardly the right to say that all booklets published in India on the subject are printed on lucrative basis" (p. 9).

R. D. KARVE.

PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE,
THE SCIENCE OF PEACE. By LORD RAGLAN.
(Methuen.) 1933. 21cm. 165p. 3/6.

BOOKS on the science of peace are desirable in this world of such incipient Serajevos as Manchuria and Germany. This book is therefore welcome, for, in the words of its author, it is "an attempt, in a small way, to place the search for peace on a scientific, instead of a sentimental, basis." Unfortunately, however, critics will have to admit that the author has taken the subject too lightly.

Writers on world peace should be, above everything else, wary what criticisms they raise against the living labour of pacifists. Whilst we do not want the author to reach the top-notch in adulation of pacifism we would like him to be careful in his criticism of peace propaganda. His denunciation of the recent resolution on pacifism passed by the Oxford Union is to be deplored. We believe that by passing that resolution Oxford has kept up the true traditions of the 19th century England which made her a fit object of our reverence and admiration.

Perhaps the one great handicap from which the author suffers is that he is an unabashed Imperialist and therefore is unable to bring to his great task an unbiased mind. Some of his solutions about world peace appear absurd to us. I am sure there will be no one who will agree with the author when he says on p. 150 that "a sure way to prevent war between ourselves and Germany would be to hand over to the latter, let us say, the Bengal Presidency. This would serve the cause of civilisation far better than the present proposal to hand over the whole sub-continent, with its infinite variety of races and religions, to a small clique of politicians". World peace becomes more difficult when such suggestions are light-heartedly put forward without weighing the full consequences of such absurd statements. His suggestions to partition Australia, because there is a "tendency to insularity and jingoism", among the Australians, and to give to Russia and Japan a quarter of South America are unacceptable to us, for a world peace based on such force and injustice cannot last. We would rather agree with the philosopher Kant who pointed out that peace is the end of humanity demanded by reason, but the condition of it is the recognition by States that their dealings must be regulated by the same principles of justice and morality as govern the conduct of moral individuals.

Certain broad generalisations and sweeping statements which this book contains cannot be accepted in toto by any impartial and fair-minded reader. The author's views on disarmament, or on

the French Revolution where he says that "every French soldier, from the Emperor downwards, was a thief," and that "France was filled with the plunder of Europe" or on certain primitive customs that he describes such as the one he gives to us about India when he says, "among the more primitive tribes of India, there was a practice, which is hardly yet extinct, of annually torturing to death a human victim, who was bought, captured or stolen from another community" cannot but be challenged.

Apart from such rather serious drawbacks the book does contain some material that would well repay perusal and which, though it may be challenged, will yet make the critic think long and seriously. There are some fine flashes of humour and a number of interesting chapters which contain much that is original. The chapters on "Is War a Biological Necessity" and "The Demilitarization of Religion" are very instructive. The author very rightly refutes the argument that lack of fighting causes people to deteriorate by citing the example of the Jews during the war. The book will be much more useful if the author will tackle the serious problem of how to deal with the savage areas of the world, for no search for world peace will avail us if we are unable to settle this serious but neglected problem.

PESTONJI N. DRIVER.

THE INDIAN SCENE.

INDIAN SCENE. By FLORA ANNIE STEEL. (Edward Arnold.) 1933. 20cm. 638p. 7/6.

A PATHETIC interest attaches to this posthumous publication—which as ever reveals the extraordinary genius of Flora Annie Steel as an interpreter of the heart of India that eludes the clumsy grasp of the wooden fingers of most European visitors. What meets their eyes is the uncouth surface which receives brutal censure. Few are those who see rich gold beneath and they seek to impart a modern quality to it without laying vandal hands on it. The most traduced of all countries, "that mysterious India of the past, glimpses of which are only to be seen by those who have eyes to see," is slowly recovering her lost youth in her own way and not as the unkind European hustlers would have her do. India for all her obstinate attachment to the past is only seemingly so, for "she is tied and bound by the allegories of a faith whose inner teaching has been forgotten." Her transitional convulsions are her own and if nothing else it requires that her European masters shall bow their heads before "the ploughers and martyrs who give the coffer of the Empire all its gold and die in thousands—long before famine touches humanity—without a penny-piece from that coffer being spent to save them from starvation." The hardened conscience of some literary Europeans has no room for pity in it and they do not take cognizance of the fact that "small tragedies of this sort are common enough in India." The Indian woman is not such a submissive bearer of children as is imagined and Mrs. Steel hears her "angry complaint as she sat suckling her fourth child feeling sometimes as if she could strangle it."

It is well for the average European to appreciate what Mrs. Steel knew that the apparently crude Indian "in his speech rose higher in that scale of culture and civilisation than his dress which was no more than waist-cloth." Failing this attitude, let our European detractors realise "that burden and heat of the Eastern day in which millions are born, and toil, and die—which seems to swallow up the real India and hide so much of it from Western eyes."

The distasteful elements in India are those which go unrebuked except by the truthful Mrs. Steel and

there are "dozens of them... belonging to the posse of followers which hangs to the skirts of bureaucracy in India." There is the Indian reformer of society whom Mrs. Steel rightly holds up to ridicule. He is insincerity incarnate by the side of the secular European lady who is wholeheartedly intent upon refining the social outlook of Indians. There is genuine humanity in the European voice which calls the untouchable Peroo to his side saying "Pāni and bring a real jildi (quickness) along with it. W'ot, you ain't the drinking water, ain't yer. W'ot's that to me; I ain't one o' yer bloomin Brahmins."

In all realistic pathos, Mrs. Steel relates the story of a child that is crushed under the wheels of a coach ridden upon by a lofty Burrasaheb. As described, the consequences of this incident are even more catastrophic than are suggested by the bursting of the storm of injured feelings.

"The Sahibs say I was to blame. It is their way. But they will learn better. It is our blame if we do this and that. It is our blame for everything, except for our rupees and our women—the Sahib *can* stomach them."

It needs a Mrs. Steel to realise that "the world wags in the same fashion East and West," and that "the lads and lasses grew up together and mothers were in no hurry to bring age and thought upon them." The Westerners who imagined that India lags behind the times will wonder at the familiarity of the people with such unconventional ideas as the one contained in the proverb. "When two are heart to heart, where's the priest's part?"

Of all the Western writers on India other than Orientalists, there is none to surpass Flora Annie Steel who, with a literary witchery all her own, gives us a picture of this land that is truly "fair and square."

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICE.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

By SHARKESHWARI AGHA. (The Indian Press, Allahabad.) 1933. 24cm. 28p. As. 8.

'How to minimise the immense waste in education,' is the most important, and at the same time the most difficult problem before the educationists of India to-day. Although Miss Agha, the author of this booklet, has tried to place clearly before the public this problem, particularly in the case of girls' education, as it has to be faced in the United Provinces, more or less identical conditions are found in the other provinces.

In the first chapter the author has considered the worthwhileness of the primary education from the villager's point of view and has pointed out some defects of the present system of primary education, at the same time suggesting a few remedies. Some very useful suggestions for improving the secondary school curriculum to suit the needs of rural and urban girls are given in the following chapter. Refresher courses are recommended for teacher-training and the necessity for a centre of training in special methods of teaching is pointed out. In the last chapter there are some general suggestions on physical education, religious and moral instruction, adult education, etc. In his foreword Mr. C. Y. Chintamani commends this pamphlet to the serious consideration of the Government and the Department of

Public Instruction, of district and municipal boards, of educationists and social reformers.

B. D. KARVE.

Correspondence.

"LEST WORSE BEFALL".

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR—"Observer" is angry. It is agreed that the White Paper Constitution may well be withdrawn. But what are the sanctions which "Observer" will use and recommend the country to use, if the improvements suggested therein by all parties are not accepted? At one place, he would seem to suggest that we should not in that case work the Constitution. But, in another place, he says that that is a separate question and has to be decided on its own merits. He is inconsistent. His conclusion is "a threat of non-cooperation at least it must be possible for us to hold out; and it is not uncommon to use such a threat in order to have a good bargaining position." "This will not wash." The Britisher is too hard-headed and too shrewd not to know when we mean or do not mean what we say.

Nor can one understand what this phrase "working the Constitution" means. No constitution, not even a Swaraj one, will be worked by the people except as a lever for getting the things they want. In that sense, even the White Paper Constitution may have to be utilised and, in my opinion, will have to be utilised, as a lever in our struggle for Sawarj.—Yours, etc.

S. SATYAMURTI

Madras, Jan. 12.

[It is quite incomprehensible why Mr. Satyamurti and some others who would prefer the withdrawal of the White Paper to such improvements as can possibly be introduced into an inherently defective scheme make no attempt to secure the withdrawal but make frantic efforts to secure improvements. Withdrawal is not in our hands, it is said; but are improvements in our hands? Are sanctions needed for the first and not for the second? It will not do in arguing this question for men like Mr. Satyamurti who challenge the very basis of the White Paper Scheme to ignore the most important aspect of it.—Observer.]

This correspondence by "Observer" shall now cease.—Ed., S. o. I.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE WORKER'S POINT OF VIEW. By C. T. CRAMP (Hogarth Press.) 1933. 20cm. 160p. 4/6.
 THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY. By G. S. SARDESAL. (Keshav Bhikaji Dhavle, Girgaon, Bombay.) 1933. 21cm. 232p. Rs. 2.
 FOOTWEAR DOWN THE AGES. By ERNEST BORDOLI. (Northampton Town Boot Manufacturers' Association. 55-57 Abington Street, Northampton, England.) 22cm. 67p. 1/-

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