

The Servant of India

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Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA

VOL. XVIII, NO. 37. } POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1935. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6,
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

Not Handcuffs, but Fetters.

THE *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of the 7th inst. writes :

What shall we do with the Reforms? This question is agitating many minds at the present time. Nobody says that the Reforms are the best that could have been conferred on or secured by India or that they meet the pressing needs of the country. Indeed, many think that they are inadequate; several think that they are unsuitable; others think that they are irrelevant; still others think that they are likely to do harm to the interests of the country. We ourselves stand in the third and fourth categories. The best that we expect of the Reforms is that they would not make things worse than they are.

Approaching as we do the Reforms from the social reformer's rather than from the politician's point of view, we much fear that they may really prove harmful to the true progress of the people. The men whom they will bring to power will be the rank communalists, the reactionaries who have consistently opposed social changes, or, in the alternative, the revolutionaries who would abolish everything and make a clean slate though they are not agreed as to what should be written on it.

Some good people say that this is the very reason why the responsible elements in the country should actively interest themselves in the working of the Reforms to avert the contingency. But the dice is so heavily loaded against them that there is absolutely no chance of their success against blind conservatives, on the one hand, and headlong plungers, on the other. They can make themselves useful not by trying to work the Reforms themselves but by gaining the goodwill of the other two classes whom the Reforms will bring to the fore.

People who are of our way of thinking cannot, even if they have the opportunity, conscientiously take part in the working of the Reforms. For the majority of the population, working the Reforms means only paying the taxes and obeying the laws. That they will continue to do in any case. The people who think that the Reforms, though inadequate and unsuitable to the country as a whole, are quite suitable and adequate for themselves, will, of course, enter councils and accept offices under the scheme. It is not right to question their good faith or their patriotism. Whether they succeed or fail in satisfying the public of the beneficence of their services depends not so much on their strength of character as in their skill in throwing dust in the eyes of the Governors and Governor-General for the time being.

The Reforms do not give more freedom. They only change the manner of captivity. Handcuffs will be replaced by fetters.

Measure for Measure.

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR, who returned from London last week, while expressing grave dissatisfaction with the new constitution, assures Indian politicians of good-will on the part of the Britisher. We are quite prepared to believe that the British people as a whole want to do the right thing by India and honestly think that the constitution represents the biggest advance that could be made in India's own interests. The safeguards, too extensive as they may appear to Indians, are intended, the British people are made to believe, only for the purpose of preventing India from drifting into chaos and anarchy.

BUT Indian politicians will do well to consider Britishers' good-will or ill-will as wholly irrelevant and determine their own policy independently of this consideration. If Britain out of good-will for India feels unable to give us a constitution that we want, India should out of good-will for Britain feel unable to give her the co-operation that we are invited to give. If Britain withholds real power from India from ill-will, then it becomes the moral duty of the Indian people to teach Britain that she cannot sow tares and expect to reap a harvest of wheat. "With what measure ye mete, it is measured to you again" is a divine ordinance which Indians may not disobey.

The Assembly in Session.

THE session of the Legislative Assembly, which commenced on the 2nd inst., promises to be by no means an uneventful one. The Government has already been heavily defeated twice. The long-standing public demand for arrangements being made for the manufacture of locomotives in the Indian railway workshops was again voiced on the floor of the Assembly. In the course of non-official speeches, Government were accused of a breach of their promise to take action in the desired direction, one

speaker going so far as to say that their record in the matter was an unbroken record of broken promises. Nor can want of unanimity of non-official opinion be pleaded by way of justification of their inaction; for the desire to see locomotives manufactured in India is universal and is shared by Indians and Europeans alike. Even the Tariff Board has not been behindhand in pressing on Government the desirability of such action; but the Government have remained unmoved. It is to be hoped that the heavy defeat inflicted upon them by the Assembly will at least spur them on to activity.

ANOTHER factor which invests the session with more than ordinary importance is the Government's attempt to secure a renewal of the special powers given to them in 1932 to cope with the emergency created by the civil disobedience movement. The emergency is no longer in existence; but in the name of terrorism and communism, the Government are unwilling to let go those powers. As every observer of contemporary affairs knows, terrorism is a problem confined only to Bengal, which has a specially drastic anti-terrorist law in operation. As for communism, can it be seriously contended that it is such a menace to public security that it cannot be suppressed except by the use of these special powers? It is too early to say how the Government's proposal for the permanent enactment of those powers will be disposed of by the Assembly; for the matter is still under discussion. But the Assembly will prove itself to be an untrustworthy guardian of public interests if it grants the Government's request.

India and the League.

FEELING is growing among Indian circles against the League of Nations and a proposal is put forward that India should come out of this future Parliament of Nations. The proposal is being supported on the excessive contribution that is levied upon India and the disproportionate share of representation she obtains in the League Secretariat.

THESE are poor reasons for taking such a drastic step as is suggested, but a more important reason which can be advanced was strikingly brought home to the Indian public during the Assembly discussions last week. When some members wanted to give expression to their sentiment that in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute Italy is clearly an aggressor and that it is the League's duty under the Covenant to employ sanctions against her, they were told by the President that under the Standing Orders they could not refer to international politics and they were immediately stopped.

IF the people's representatives cannot even discuss foreign politics in the highest Legislature in the country, it is obvious that India's true representatives cannot take part in the League. The so-called representatives of India are representatives of a subordinate branch of the British Government and by India's inclusion in the League Britain only gets an additional vote to herself.

THE League itself is not to blame in this matter at all, for it is frankly a League of Governments, not of peoples. In other countries the Governments rest upon popular will and thus generally represent the popular point of view at the League meetings. India, however, does not enjoy anything like popular government and is yet given representation on the League. The necessary result of this so-called con-

cession is that while India is nominally admitted into the League the real beneficiary is Britain.

NO wonder that the people object to this anomalous position. Their objection, however, has no chance of prevailing, for the decision lies with the Government, who would like to give Britain an extra vote at India's cost, even if the cost is exorbitant. British Indians have occupied in the League the very same position as the Indian States' people will occupy in the federation. They simply do not exist in so far as privileges go. Their business is to pay—and pay through their noses.

Dr. Pattabhi and the Congress Mandate.

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE being more or less a rebel among Congressmen, we were not surprised to find him arraigning the Congress for having put forward "the wholly futile and irrational" idea of a constituent assembly; but we were shocked to see Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a loyal Congressman, following suit. Dr. Pattabhi is a man who thinks for himself, and it would not have been strange if on this particular question he had differed from other Congressmen. What appears strange to us is his silence while the Congress adopted the constituent assembly programme as the basis of the political activities of its Parliamentary group.

REJECTION of the new constitution and its replacement by a constitution framed by a constituent assembly were the twin planks of the Congress Parliamentary Board's platform, and the platform was sanctioned by the Congress. Members of the Congress contested the Assembly elections on this platform and secured an overwhelming majority mainly on account of the appeal it made to the electorate. All this while Dr. Pattabhi held his peace. He gave no indication whatever that he had any misgivings on the matter, and after allowing the Congress to be committed to the programme he now says that the constituent assembly is a vain idea.

WE have often heard several Congressmen say the same thing of rejection. Both rejection and the constituent assembly are make-believe ideas; they have been adopted as excellent vote-catching phrases; beyond this they have no virtue. Congressmen say so freely in private; but they are small men and too much attention need not be paid to what they say. But the matter assumes a graver aspect when the same thing is said by a member of the Working Committee of the Congress, who is among the small band of Congress leaders who at all take their stand on moral principles, recognise the existence of the inner monitor within each one of us and admit that they have a duty to listen to the "still small voice" in them. Here is a responsible leader in the inner circles of the Congress openly saying in effect that the Congress representatives in the legislatures, though they have been elected on a definite mandate, need not trouble to carry the mandate into effect.

BEFORE Mahatma Gandhi arrived on the political stage in India it was not customary to shout one's devotion to Truth from house-tops, but most politicians followed its dictates quietly and without making much fuss about it. In any case a flagrant departure on their part such as we have noticed above would have become a matter of stern censure in the public press in those days. Now however that Mahatma Gandhi proclaims Truth so persistently, a departure like this passes almost unobserved. In evaluating the Mahatma's contribution to the

spiritualisation of Indian politics this tendency will have to be taken due note of.

Control of Hindu Trusts.

THE Bill designed to control the management of Hindu trusts in the Bombay Presidency has emerged from the select committee in an improved form. Even so it is not likely to satisfy those who desire to see an all-comprehensive law governing public trusts placed on the statute book. As originally framed, the legislation was to apply to trusts with an annual gross income of Rs. 2000 and more. The select committee has brought down this limit to Rs. 1000. In the eyes of some who cannot be called whole-hoggers, the improvement does not go far enough. They would reduce the limit still further and draw the line at Rs. 500. An amendment to that effect might even be moved during the further stages of the Bill; but if, as seems likely, the Government decide to stick to the Rs. 1000 limit, it is obvious that the amendment stands but little chance of passing.

AMONG the other modifications made by the select committee may be mentioned one designed to bring the Jain community within the purview of this measure. This object is achieved by so defining the Hindu community as to include the Jains in it. It is not known whether it was all along intended that registrars of public trusts should be none but persons with judicial training. Whatever it was, the intention, in case it existed, has now been made clear by an explicit provision that they should be at least second class sub-judges or small causes court judges. We are sure this clarification of the Government's intentions will be generally welcomed.

THE Bill as introduced in the legislative council contained a provision enabling Government to exempt from the operation of the legislation any trust or any class of trusts. The select committee has, it seems to us, done well in deleting this provision. Such a power in the hands of an unscrupulous and greedy minister is liable to be put to unfair use. This was too serious a risk to take and the select committee must be thanked for its forethought in saving the presidency from it.

Indian Emigration.

A MOST disquieting feature of the working of the Indian Emigration Act during 1934 was the record number of cases of illegal or irregular recruitment that were detected and possibly a number of others that passed unnoticed. This may be due, as the report points out, to the kangannies having lost touch with the rules governing recruitment owing to the fact that recruiting was under suspension for a considerable time. In so far as the increase in irregularities was really occasioned by ignorance of rules, an improvement may be hoped for next year. Anyway Government must be sleeplessly watchful with a view to minimise the kangannies' malpractices as much as possible.

THANKS to the recruiters' overzeal, 2,227 intending emigrants were rejected for various reasons. 110 recruiting licenses were cancelled for illegal recruitment, 83 being cancelled on the recommendation of the Protector of Emigrants. Out of the 13 cases in which prosecutions against recruiters were started, 9 ended in convictions. It is noteworthy that some cases of illegal or irregular recruitment could be traced to the remissness on the part of village officials in performing their duties. They are required to

satisfy themselves, by personal inquiries, that the intending emigrant has been recruited by no underhand methods and that he has been placed in possession of full and correct information as to the life to be expected in the country to which he was being taken. In a number of cases the village officials not only did not take their duties seriously but actually colluded with the recruiters in the perpetration of their illegal and irregular practices. It is stated in the report that they were severely dealt with by the authorities. We hope the punishment meted out to them was really commensurate with the seriousness of their offences.

THE report mentions the suspension till the end of 1935 of the operation of the rule requiring a definite sex ratio to be maintained among emigrants. It is a puzzle to us why the Government of India, which is so rigid in their relations with the people of this country, should have been so accommodating in the case of the Malay Government. It may be that their action was supported by very good reasons. All that we ask is that these reasons should be made public and not kept to themselves. We should also like to know whether the Standing Emigration Committee was consulted, and if so with what result, before the Government made up their mind to oblige the Malay Government. In any case, may it be hoped that the exemption will not be renewed, even if such a request comes to be made?

Factories in Bombay.

THE number of factories in the Bombay presidency in 1934 was higher by 68 than in the previous year and stood at 1,678, of which 873 were perennial and 805 seasonal. The number of operatives in all industries was nearly 3¼ lakhs as compared to 3,57,000 during the previous year, an increase of 5 per cent. The number of women workers was very nearly 66,000, which worked out at 17.5 per cent. of the total number of employees and that of children 2,147, or 0.6 per cent. These percentages are the smallest since 1920 and will in all likelihood go on decreasing. With the enforcement of the maternity Benefits Act, it is stated that the tendency among employers to employ more male labour, which is also fairly cheap these days, seems to be on the increase. But the reduction in the number of women employees is so small that it would be unsafe to jump to any conclusions merely on the basis of that solitary phenomenon. To judge how far the added financial burden thrown on the employers by the grant of maternity benefits disinclines them to employ female labour, the results of its working for a fairly long period will have to be carefully watched. The maternity benefits scheme has been in operation for too short a time to afford material for any reliable conclusions as to its consequences. In passing, it may be stated that about Rs. 98,000 were distributed by way of maternity benefits among 4,123 women.

SPEAKING about the Maternity Benefit Act, it is necessary to mention that the Act was amended during the year. The duration of the benefit was increased from seven to eight weeks and the qualifying period from six to nine months. The rate of benefit of eight annas a day has been retained in the principal cities, but in other places it has been fixed at the average earnings subject to a maximum of eight annas a day. The introduction of a scheme of pre-maternity benefits of four weeks is a step in the right direction.

INDIRECT RULE.

TO the more prominent of the Congress leaders the Congress Socialists are like a thorn in their flesh, and their denunciation of this group is only a little less vehement than that of the Government. The orthodox Congress leaders have every right to combat the doctrines of the Socialists, as they have the right to combat the doctrines of every other Party with whom they do not agree, but in combating these doctrines they often overshoot the mark.

Witness, for example, Mr. K. M. Munshi, in his speech at the Y. M. H. A., Bombay, pouring ridicule on the idea, which is being vigorously propagated by the Congress Socialists, of the urgent need of overhauling the entire social structure. Mr. Munshi even considered such an attempt as inimical to the Congress objective of political independence. He said that by diffusing such theories the Congress Socialists were deliberately trying to dilute the struggle for Swaraj and that the best they could achieve by these efforts would be to break the solidarity of the national struggle.

Then he laid down a broad proposition, which, indeed, we recognise, is the guiding policy of the Congress: "When Swaraj is won and power is transferred to Indian hands there will be time enough to reconstruct society." The Congress has along all been acting on this principle of directing all its attack against the foreign Government and leaving class inequalities among Indians themselves quite alone.

This policy might have been upon the whole unobjectionable so far, but it would be wholly inapplicable in future. For the essence of the new constitution is that the Government by its means will buttress all the privileged classes and rule the country through them. If the Government is to be attacked under the new constitution, it cannot be attacked directly except at a few points. It must be attacked through the privileged classes who are to be, at least in outward appearance, the repositories of all power which the Government does not specifically reserve in its own hands.

Let us take, for instance, the safeguards. There are not many which are intended directly to protect the interests of the Britishers. If the Congress representatives in the legislatures are not to make it their concern to secure a proper distribution of power among the different sections of the Indian population, but if they are to rouse themselves to activity when they can make a frontal attack upon the British Government, they will find that they will not have many occasions for the use of their ammunition.

We must remember that there is quite an impressive show of self-government in the Reforms Act. Foreigners who are unable to understand the true inwardness of our constitution honestly think that it is not only a substantial but a great measure of reform. There must be a solid basis for such an impression; the basis is the power that the Princes and other vested interests will ostensibly enjoy under the constitution.

The constitution in effect inaugurates a system of Indirect Rule such as prevails in Western Africa, and it will produce in India all the ill effects that it has produced there. In Africa the British Government went out on a regular hunt for native chiefs, brought them out from the position of obsolescence into which they had subsided, installed them in power, and comfortably governed the country through them. For any misrule that occurred the chiefs were responsible in the sight of the world, but everybody who knew the real situation knew that the mainspring of the Government policy was with the Britishers.

The system of indirect rule appears on the face of it to be very generous, but it has been introduced because it is safer than that of direct rule. In India too the British Government is playing for safety by withdrawing from a part of the field which it occupied before but taking care at the same time to hand over power to the vested interests which it can control from behind. Indirect rule can also be represented as an attempt to build upon native foundations and to some simple-minded people it makes a great appeal, but the only practical effect of it is to stereotype all the evils which formerly the rule of native chiefs had engendered.

There is some moral justification for foreign rule if it really exerts an improving and uplifting influence on native life. When imperialist expansion is defended on the ground that civilised peoples have a right to bring the benefits of civilisation to uncivilised peoples, they often talk cant, as for instance Italy is doing in the case of Abyssinia. But if the conquered people are really uplifted foreign rule may have some temporary justification. When, however, foreign rule does not have this effect but only tends to confirm the ruled in their former condition it can have no justification whatsoever.

Col. Amery recently used a very expressive phrase to describe this policy of indirect rule. He called it "the Whipsnade Policy" of preserving as in a museum all the reactionary elements with all their reactionary tendencies. Sir Edward Grigg said in the House of Commons on 20th June, when speaking on the question of the S. African Protectorates: "I spent some time trying to develop indirect rule in Kenya, but I always felt when one was setting up an authority that it was to some extent reactionary and was militating against the achievement of things one wanted to achieve," and he regretted that while their concern should be really to modify the influence of the chiefs they were only perpetuating it, thus failing in their duty as trustees for civilisation.

British statesmen now realise that it is no longer safe to rest upon this system. Sir Edward Grigg uttered a grave warning on another occasion (on 25th July in the House of Commons).

This is no time for complacency (he said). It is a time for looking at the dangers ahead. The dangers are, in the first place, political . . . The demand for some voice, some measure of representation in the Central Government will not be deferred indefinitely by the principle of indirect

rule. Under that system, even with the most advanced of the native chiefs, great powers are reserved to the Central Government which are bound to be challenged in one way or other before very long. Quite apart from the challenge which may come from the native rulers, as opinion begins to be educated in Africa it will want to play its part in shaping the policy on which the whole future of the country will be determined.

In India the system of indirect rule which the new constitution seeks virtually to introduce must be defeated from the beginning, and that is the task before those who would meet the menace of the constitution. Reactionaryism will be put on top and maintained thereby the British Government. The worst fault of the Reforms Act is not that it does not take us on the right path a sufficiently long way, but that it takes us on the wrong path altogether, or as Mr. Venkatarama Sastri said at the last Liberal Federation session, "it takes us outside the line of progress." If we are to come on to the line of progress once again, we must make up our minds to fight the privileged classes which have been entrenched far more deeply by the Act than before.

For a long time the Indian political movement was more of a nationalist than a democratic movement, and the sentiments to which Mr. Munshi gave expression are reminiscent of those days. "Let us first of all preserve a common front," our politicians used to say. "Let us not raise issues which will divide ourselves. Let us first give battle to our common enemy, the foreigner, and when he is vanquished let us then turn to a right solution of our internal problems." But this tactic of postponing the solution of all internal questions to the elimination of external control, whatever might have been its usefulness before, has no application to the conditions with which we are now confronted.

The British Government, with great astuteness, has put the privileged classes forward in the new constitution, and itself taken, so to say, a back seat. No one can now fight the British Government without fighting these classes. Our political movement too must now change its character. From a predominantly nationalist movement it must become a genuinely democratic movement. It is only if we can say "come one, come all" that we can put up a fight at all. If, as Mr. Munshi urges, we go out to fight only the Britishers but are prepared to give a free hand to the vested interests, we shall find that we shall be engaged in working the constitution in the frame of mind in which Mr. Jayakar would have us work it. The British Government stands behind the vested interests; if the vested interests are not to be attacked the British Government is safe.

We for our part are sincerely glad that the British Government has now definitely linked its own fortunes with those of the vested interests. Foreign rule will disappear only if a really popular government is established. This will make it necessary for our politicians to lay greater emphasis on the masses, to pay more attention to the rectification of social injustices, to build up our strength from the ground up. The necessity for such a change of outlook is not yet apparent to all, and Mr. Munshi's violent criticism of the Congress Socialists—not of their methods or of any of their concrete ideas, but of their basic principles—is the best evidence of this. But the change will come soon, and as a result our politics will have a broader basis than at present. In the end we have no doubt that the political manoeuvre of the British Government will fail, but our politicians must make the necessary adjustment in their own strategy.

THE HAVES AND THE HAVE-NOTS.

AS there are haves and have-nots among different classes in society, so there are haves and have-nots among the Powers of the world. One of the Great Powers which is to be ranked with the latter is Italy, and the present Italo-Abyssinian dispute represents at bottom Italy's struggle to raise itself from the have-nots class and put itself into the haves class. Among the ten countries which have colonial possessions to-day Italy stands very nearly at the bottom. She has only three colonies—Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland—whose area is 780,000 sq. miles, as compared to 4,203,000 sq. miles of Britain's colonies and 3,773,000 sq. miles of France's (including in the British and French colonies mandates as well as colonial possessions and protectorates proper). Italy's empire is thus 18.5 per cent. of Britain's and 21 per cent. of France's in extent, but it consists for a great part of desert land. In population the Italian colonies take a much lower rank. The population of Italy's colonial empire is 1.9 million, while that of Britain's is 65 millions and of France's 35 millions. That is to say, in population the Italian colonies are 3 per cent. of the British and 5.5 per cent. of the

French. Italy's inferiority is brought into still stronger relief when the commercial value of her possessions is considered. The total commerce of the Italian colonies was in 1922-23 21 million dollars, that of the British colonies being in 1923-24 11,079 million dollars and that of the French colonies being in 1922 906 million dollars. In other words, from the commercial point of view, the Italian colonial empire was only .2 per cent. as valuable as the British and 2.3 per cent. as valuable as the French.*

Even of this colonial territory the biggest—Libya—came into Italy's possession as late as 1911. Thus when Africa was carved up between the European countries in the eighties and nineties Italy practically received no share. This grievance Italy has been continuously nursing. She saw an opportunity for some improvement in her position when the World War broke out. She kept on bargaining both with the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance and finally threw in her lot with the latter only after she had received a promise of a suitable share of the

* These figures are taken from Meen's "Imperialism and World Politics," 1927, Macmillan.

African colonies of Germany and of Turkey if they were divided among the Allies. Italy agreed to enter the war on the side of the Allies within a month of the signing of the secret Treaty of London. The Treaty was signed on April 26 and Italy declared war on May 23rd 1915. One cannot say that this promise has been duly fulfilled. Great Britain ceded to Italy in 1924 Jubaland, a part of her East African Colony, which is 33,000 sq. miles in extent, and France only in the beginning of this year ceded to her a small area between Eritrea and French Somaliland and some territory in Libya. Compared to the vast colonial possessions of Germany which Great Britain and France acquired as mandates it cannot be gainsaid that Italy received but an insignificant part of the compensation that was due to her. Italy therefore feels that she has a right to acquire a much larger addition to her empire and to have a respectable territory in Africa comparable to the territories of France and Great Britain.

There is not a shadow of doubt that Mussolini wants to annex Abyssinia to Italy's colonial territory and his justification for this imperialist expansion is the same as has been advanced by imperialists all the world over, viz. that his country needs this addition. The need cannot be disputed. Italy has a large and growing population. She adds about 400,000 every year to her total population of 40 millions. These cannot be properly fed in the home country. Besides, "she has no coal, iron, oil, rubber or cotton, the materials basic to all modern industrial development. Indeed, it is this disparity between population and resources that is the principal reason for Mussolini's venture into African imperialism. Italy needs room to expand, she needs colonies, and she needs the raw materials which are supposed to lie behind the Abyssinian ranges," coal, copper, sulphur, platinum, oil and potash salts being found in Abyssinia. Italy is not content with being allowed to construct a railway linking up Eritrea and Italian Somaliland or even to have a zone of exclusive economic influence in the hinterland of these countries, as was her proposal in 1919; nor is she content to acquire Abyssinia as an Italian mandate. She wants to be able to exercise full political and military control over Abyssinia such as all other empires exercise over their colonies. If she succeeds in her seizure of Abyssinia, she will be able to increase the extent of her colonial empire from 780,000 to 1,130,000 sq. miles and the population from less than 2 to nearly 12 millions.

Mussolini has made it quite plain that his ambition is not now restricted merely to acquiring the Port of Jibuti or the French railway in Abyssinia, which was demanded at the Paris Peace Conference on behalf of Italy, but that he wants to annex the whole of Abyssinia. He would respect British and French interests in the country, but for the rest the country must belong to Italy politically. He told Capt. Eden when the latter went to Rome in June that Italy needed "a vast agricultural area" and would not be content with limited annexations or railway rights. "He was emphatic on the point that no compromise would be acceptable that did not

provide an outlet for Italy's surplus population." Nor is it left in doubt that she would not agree to have an opportunity merely of economic exploitation; Italy is bent upon imposing her political and military domination on Abyssinia. In pursuing this policy again Mussolini has said over and over again that he would not listen to the League, that he would go forward on his expansionist career irrespectively of what other nations have to say about it. He said recently:

We have old and new accounts to settle. We will settle them. We shall take no account of what is said beyond our frontiers. The judges of our interests and the guarantor of our future are we only, we exclusively, we and nobody else. We will imitate to the letter those who are giving us a lesson. They have shown, when it was a question of creating an Empire and defending it, that they never took into account the opinion of the world. We have entered into a struggle in which, as a Government and as a revolutionary people, we will not turn back. We have taken our decision irrevocably.

Indeed Mussolini has been doing nothing which Great Britain or France or every other imperialist country has not done in the past. Whenever these countries saw an opportunity of conquering other people's territories they have gone and done it. Why should not Italy?

This, indeed, is the crux of the question. There is no morality in imperialism. Right is to the mighty.

They should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

It was so—till the other day. Now, however, some moral standards have been set up, and military conquest has been abjured by all the countries of the world by the Peace Pact of Paris. It is no longer permissible for a country to march into another and squat on it, as was the universal practice just a few years ago. The League Covenant too prevents it in the case of those nations who have joined the League. But these moral standards came to be recognised only when all the backward countries had been occupied by more advanced countries and there was no extensive territory left for a discontented Power like Italy to redress the injustice that it may feel had been done to it. In a situation like this the sated Powers may well become virtuous and say: "You shall not have recourse to arms to acquire further territory". But this will not deter a Power which is strong in arms unless some means is provided for an equitable distribution of the resources of the world among all the nations of the world. For the League represents only an attempt at maintaining the *status quo*. Where the *status quo* itself is unjust this would only mean a perpetuation of the existing injustices. Mr. Morgan Jones put this point with great effect in the House of Commons on 1st August. He said:

If the League of Nations is to function at all it must pay regard to the difficulties of what I may call the dissatisfied Powers. Unless you can give satisfaction to those who are dissatisfied your League ceases to be of use. Is it too much to ask us to reflect once more upon the significance of the fact that we control so much of the territory of the earth? It is easy for a man who is gorged at a feast to ask the other fellow, who has no crust, to be

content. We have gorged ourselves with possessions; we do not want any more; we say so; we can afford to say so; but others require them very much.

British statesmen recognise the justice of these remarks, and their effort is to make some small territorial concessions to Italy and thus try to bribe Mussolini to desist from his Abyssinian adventure. They offered the British port of Zeila to Abyssinia provided Abyssinia on her part would cede some of her own territory to Italy, but Mussolini would not accept such a bargain. Similar attempts would be made again and France too would be asked to surrender some of her colonial possessions to Italy in order to keep Mussolini quiet. But after all, such adjustments would only be a temporary solution, if at all, of the difficulty. If countries like Italy are to be permanently persuaded to hold their acquisitive hand the world must enter upon a redistribution of the economic resources of all the countries upon a basis of justice. One can only put forward at this stage a general proposition and an ideal, though it is difficult to know how it is to be worked out. The British Labour Party is trying to popularise such an ideal. Mr. Lansbury, for instance, proposed that the British Government should take the lead in asking the nations of the world to pool the resources of the world for the general good of the world. His idea is that the British Government should come forward and boldly say to a World Conference convened for the purpose: "We are the greatest imperial nation in the world; we built up the biggest Empire in the world; we are willing, for the sake of peace and security of the world, to put it all at the service of mankind."

This may sound visionary—the idea of using the world's economic resources in common service for the whole world. But if it is visionary, the abandonment of the use of physical force in the world is a vain hope, in spite of the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

EXCLUSIVE LICENSES IN KENYA.

THE Indian opposition to the provision in the recent Native Marketing legislation in Kenya authorising the issue of exclusive licenses for the purchase of native produce is sometimes discounted as being due to interested motives. But can the resistance of the natives, for whose benefit the legislation is ostensibly designed, be similarly brushed aside as undeserving of serious notice? Nevertheless it is a fact that the natives themselves are stoutly opposed to it. It is seen from the Kenya papers that the Kikuyu Provincial Association, which is a body representing African natives, has recently passed a well-considered resolution about the whole marketing scheme in which it has expressed its strong disapproval of this feature.

As a matter of fact it specially beseeches the Kenya Government not to grant a monopoly or an exclusive license—to it both are the same—to any company or individual to buy native produce. Should this be done, the Association has a fear that far from

increasing the price of native produce, as aimed at in the marketing legislation, it would on the contrary lower it. It is easy to see how this would be the certain result of the grant of monopolies as contemplated by the Marketing Act. The grant of an exclusive license in respect of any native produce would obviously place it beyond the competitive field reducing the native to the necessity of accepting such price for his produce as the holder of the exclusive license may choose to offer. And in the absence of competition he would of course not be anxious to offer the best price for it. This can hardly be said to conduce to the promotion of native interest, which is avowedly the *raison d'être* of the marketing legislation. If the Kenya Government have any considerations to urge in support of their contention that the provision about exclusive licenses would really improve the economic position of the native, they have apparently failed to produce the desired effect on him.

The echoes of the Indian opposition to the whole scheme were recently heard in Parliament where the Secretary of the State for the Colonies had to admit that the passage of the marketing legislation through the legislature had by no means been smooth. The legislation has yet to secure his assent before it becomes operative and he foreshadowed the possibility of his considering it in consultation with the Secretary of State for India. It is to be hoped that Lord Zetland will utilise the opportunity to impress him with the strength of Indian feeling to the extent of making him score out this objectionable feature from the Act.

KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Important changes affecting the procedure for elections to and the life of the Kenya Legislative Council are contained in the recent legislation on the subject passed by it. Far the most important of them is the one extending the normal life of the Kenya legislature from three to four years. The opportunity of the revision of the election ordinance was availed of for the purpose of tightening up the penal provisions relating to corrupt practices. Thus the new provision prescribes a maximum of six months' imprisonment for the publication of any handbill or leaflet which fails to give the name and address of the publisher and the printer. It may be hoped the provision will go some way in checking the publication of scurrilous literature concerning any candidate for election.

Under the existing arrangements a candidate who does not get one-sixth of the total votes polled is liable to forfeit his deposit of £50. The limit will hereafter be one-eighth instead of one-sixth and the Governor will have the power to refund the deposit in case he considers that its forfeiture would cause hardship. The lowered limit is identical with that prevailing in India and no fault can perhaps be found with it. But the same cannot be said of the discretion proposed to be vested in the Governor of returning deposits in hard cases, which is non-existent in this country. We hope some criterion, which would be universally applicable, to enable the Govern-

nor to judge whether a case is hard or otherwise will be laid down.

The proposal to include in the ballot paper a mark of identification allotted to each Indian candidate in addition to their names encountered strong opposition from the Indian members, but was finally passed. The Select Committee which considered the matter had recommended that the names of candidates should be printed on the ballot paper in Hindi in addition to English, Urdu, Gujarati and Gurmukhi. The Indian members held the view that this alone would meet the needs of the situation, making the identification symbols unnecessary. It is difficult to see why so much heat should have been generated by the proposal, seeing that its operation in this country has given no offence to anybody. The attempt to divide the total Indian representation between urban and rural interests by allotting three seats to the former and two to the latter was defeated. But it may be noted in passing that Indian opinion was by no means unanimous with respect to it, the proposal having only three supporters out of the total of five Indian members on the Council.

Reviews.

ESCAPE FROM STAGNATION.

ESCAPE FROM STAGNATION. By GINSEPPE UGO PAPI. (King) 1933. 20cm. 165p. 6/-.

THIS little book by Prof. Papi is interesting as it attempts to go against the popular trend of fathering all crises on capitalism. It does not pretend to "appeal to the public," but sets out on the formidable task of opposing "those who prophesy the end of capitalism and propose political and social panaceas as a means of avoiding a recurrence of the crises" (vide *Foreword* and pp. 2 and 108). It further denies the generally accepted ideas about trade cycles. Such an attempt is in itself commendable but it also requires, though not the illustration of the various arguments (*Foreword*), at least a clear explanation and substantiation of assertions. This is where the book fails.

Prof. Papi correctly states that "the problem is to ascertain which among the different groups of factors are really essential to the production of a progressive movement of profits and prices, and which play a secondary part" (pp. 5 and 6). Starting with the hypothesis "that even in a country which has no banking system or credit instruments a progressive rise in incomes and prices is conceivable and that the upward phase is determined by four principal conditions," he forgets to explain the very first of such conditions, viz. "a favourable event which gives rise to the hope of increased profit" (p. 16). He explains "that the fault we are endeavouring to account for... consists in the ability of the manufacturer, in organising a fresh output, to compute the cost of the total profitable production and to avail himself of the requisite number of factors" (p. 20) and attributes this to "the difficulty of estimating costs," "owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between general and particular expenses," "to the use of fixed capital" (p. 21), and "owing to productive processes" (p. 31); that the estimate of costs is not only complicated but arbitrary (p. 34), and that the increase in the cost of production is accentuated by speculation (p. 40). But he does

not explain how these are universal. In chapter IV, he emphasises the statements in the previous Chapter and defines an industrial cycle as "the development of a series of errors in the supply of a product, first of defect and subsequently of excess originating in an element unfavourable to production." He explains away the influence "of the monetary and credit element on the development of industrial fluctuations" (p. 68) by saying that at best it only accentuates the tendency to overestimate prices and underestimate costs and concludes that "the efficacy of the monetary and credit element as a means of arresting depression appears to be very slight except in two cases: when gold is abundant and when there is an issue of inconvertible money."

Prof. Papi concludes with legitimate satisfaction that the book "entirely confutes the explanation of the cycle as a phenomenon mainly due to monetary and credit reasons. It also explains why, as far as we know at present, the trade cycle is not limited to the capitalist system, but is common to all systems of production—collective, socialistic or syndical. From the moment that errors arise in the unpredictable dynamics of costs and prices, it is not a different system of production which is needed, but different men to deal with the situation, i. e. prudent and far-seeing men, capable of dealing with the increasingly complicated network which links the production of the various commodities. This, however, can scarcely be hoped for, either in the near or the distant future" (p. 108). But Prof. Papi proves none of these. In attempting to prove, though without success, that monetary reasons are not the main explanation of the cycle, he errs in underemphasising their importance and overemphasising out of all proportion his "cost and profit" theory. Variations in the quantity of money are a very important, though not the only, cause of business fluctuations. Secondly, it is inadmissible to conclude that the fluctuations are "common to all systems of production," for the simple reason that those systems have never been either tried at all or even given a fair chance of success. Finally it is possible to believe that both a different system of production and different men are needed to deal with the situation.

The book under review is useful in that it provokes serious thought, and particularly Chapter VIII which critically and briefly summarises recent explanations of crises.

M. H. GOPAL.

WOMAN'S STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION.

WOMEN AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION.

By WINIFRED HOLBY. [The Twentieth Century Library Series.] (John Lane the Bodley Head.) 1934. 20 cm. 213 p. 2/6.

IN this book Winifred Holtby makes a critical survey of the women's place in the history of mankind, right from the dawn of history to the present day. As an impartial and fearless critic, she describes in a lucid and vigorous style the circumstances, which ultimately led up to the women's present struggle for emancipation. She has presented an authentic and unexaggerated account of the women's struggle for attaining social, economic, educational and political equality.

Bold and staggering innovations carried on in Russia are placed side by side with the repressive measures adopted in countries like Italy, Germany, or Ireland to check the women's so-called encroachment on men's rights and privileges. The authoress feels righteous indignation at men's ignoring the immut-

able principle, that woman has equal rights with man. Out of despair, or rather through utter dismay, she asks: "Whither in 1934 are women going?" The existing state of affairs has aroused doubts in her mind as to the future of women. But in the last chapter she seems to take a more hopeful view of the situation and lays down certain conditions, the fulfilment of which would, in her opinion, stabilize human society and give to every individual an equal and fair chance in the struggle for existence. The authoress firmly believes that if distinction between individual and individual is discarded, and if the bond of common humanity rather than this difference of sexes is recognised, all will be well with God's children.

One feels no hesitation in saying with the writer that women have been found quite capable of working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of human activity. Without the slightest exaggeration, one could go the length of saying that the intellectual superiority of men over women is a myth. Come what may, women have to shake off the yoke of masculine authority under which they are labouring and thus extricate themselves from the unpleasant situation, which has proved to be a serious handicap to women's progress in every sphere of human activity. It would not be too much to say that it would do women good to develop a 'superiority complex' rather than suffer from an 'inferiority complex', which, more than anything else, has made them forget that they have a separate entity. I do not wish to suggest that women should bid defiance to men at every turn to vindicate their rights, but they should much rather strive to acquit themselves creditably in spheres which are supposed by men to be peculiarly men's spheres.

MALINI B. SUKTHANKAR.

STUDY OF REVOLUTIONS.

HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION. By RAYMOND POSTGATE. (Hogarth Press.) 1934. 200m. 199p. Rs. 5.

MR. RAYMOND POSTGATE is well informed on the subject of revolutions, and as a labour agitator and sometime editor of an important Communist organ is conversant with all the ramifications and inner workings of the various important revolutionary movements in Europe and America. In a breezy and engaging style, full of anecdotes spiced with wit, he is able to present a fairly complete picture of the subject. He has succeeded to a surprising degree in eliminating passion and sentiment in his study, considering the nature of the subject handled. The claim for the book that it is "a strictly subjective study" is fully justified by the manner of his treatment. In the first part the theory of each of the important revolutionary movements is discussed pro and con; then follows a narration of the course which each of them ran in practice. The conclusion arrived at is one of thorough disillusionment with revolutions as the means of attaining the object common to every form of it. Indeed, in result not only have revolutions failed in their object but in many cases also aggravated the very evils they sought to remove. Capitalism has been deeply entrenched and the armed hand of the government executive become stronger and more ruthless. Where one or other form has succeeded, its complexion has so thoroughly changed afterwards that dissensions in the ranks and other complications, creating fresh problems in their turn, have arisen. There seems to be some 'snag' somewhere in every form of revolution marring its real success. Marxism tends to Fascism, which in turn may lead to war. And war hereafter, with its new equipments, will

solve the ills of humanity by wiping out humanity itself. Leninism has created problems in Russia itself, while its narrowness, oligarchicalness, self-contradictory 'slogans', secret ways and over-centralisation in defiance of local differences in conditions are a bar to its becoming a world force. Syndicalism, industrial unionism, anarchism, etc., have paralysed vested interests and the State in the beginning, but after a time, helped to strengthen them more than before.

What then is the way out? Speaking for Britain Mr. Postgate apprehends a Fascist regime ere long at the rate things are moving, and appeals to the British Labour Party betimes to re-organise itself and re-orientate its policy along constitutional lines by adopting all the best features from every revolutionary movement in its own policy and programme. Indeed the various brands of revolutionaries can well retort to Mr. Postgate that, but for human failings over which they had no control, each one of them ought to have ushered in the millennium long ago. And the moralist would chuckle over the heads of both by saying, given free and full scope for the good and noble in human nature, let fools contend about forms of government and parties, wars and revolutions.

The excellence shown in the analytical and narrative portions by Mr. Postgate is not maintained to the same degree in the 'didactic part' which is, therefore, by contrast unconvincing and ineffective. It is also strange that a deep student like him should have omitted even a passing reference to the great experiment in non-violent revolution in India, in which an unarmed nation offered resistance to the mightiest imperial power of the world.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

RAM MOHAN ROY.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY. By NALIN C. GANGULY. (Association Press.) 1934. 200m. 239p. Re. 1-12-0.

OF all the great men of New India, perhaps none is so fortunate as the subject of the present work in having so many biographies of his written in the English language. The present work is the latest one of its kind, and the author has tried to continue some of the good features of the standard English work of Miss Collett and of another standard work in Bengali by Nagendranath Chatterjee. This last work goes deeper into the detail of Ram Mohan's life than the English work could do, especially as Miss Collett did not know Bengali and therefore her access to Bengali literature concerning Ram Mohan was at best second-hand.

The present work has very little in it that is original by way of material or even criticism. The author starts with a serious handicap, and we do not know whether it is self-imposed or imposed by the publishers. This is what the author says in the Preface: "An attempt has been made to offer a critical estimate of his ideals and philosophy in general, as well as of the policy that he stood for in his own day."

This is like acting the drama of Hamlet without Hamlet himself. To deal with Ram Mohan and to avoid controversial matters is not to touch Ram Mohan at all, for he was essentially a reformer who fought battle after battle all his life. He carried on controversies from the earliest beginning of his career to the last day of his life. He fought Hindu idolatry, social customs such as suttee and polygamy; he fought Christian Trinitarianism and Christian proselytisation of the people of India; he fought with the Government, with orthodox Hindus and Christian missionaries. In fact he was nothing if not a great warrior in the cause of Truth as he understood it, and also in behalf of the poor and the down-trodden.

It is, therefore, impossible to do full justice to the life of Ram Mohan Roy without taking sides in the same way as he did himself. This does not mean that one need be in the same camp as Ram Mohan always.

One wonders why the author came to impose this limit upon himself. The books of the Association Press do not necessarily avoid controversial matters. Rather the authors of many of those works go out of their way, and sometimes quite a long distance, to start controversies and institute unfair comparisons between Christianity and Hinduism very much to the prejudice of the latter. "The Chaitanya Movement" by Mr. Kennedy comes immediately to the mind of the present reviewer, and that is not the only book of its kind.

Short of this—and it is a serious flaw—the book is well-written and readable. The Christian public might well read it with profit, but only as an introduction to the classical work by Miss Collett and, even more than that, to the works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy himself.

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

SHORT NOTICES.

GOLD, UNEMPLOYMENT AND CAPITALISM.

By T. E. GREGORY. (King.) 1933. 23cm. 308p. 12/-

THIS book is a collection of 18 essays and papers on Gold, American Central Banking, International Trade and Unemployment and Capitalism. As in all his other writings, Prof. Gregory deals with the varied subjects in the book in his authoritative and profound manner. But one feels that, though the subjects dealt with are now as important intellectually and politically as at the time at which they were written, still the essays are not equally profound and detailed investigations. (compare "The Causes of Gold Movements" with "Whither the Pound?") It also looks as though the division of the papers into the five headings is not either logical or very useful. Students of Prof. Gregory and of economics would eagerly await a detailed scheme of economic planning touched upon by the author in the last section of the book.

M. H. G.

TWENTY YEARS IN UNDERGROUND RUSSIA

By CECILIA BOBROVSKAYA. (International Publishers.) 1934. 20cm. 227p. \$0.85.

MEMOIRS and biographies of leaders of action give us an inside view of events and a glimpse of the personalities of the times. The book under review is one such. The author belonged to that band of dauntless workers in pre-Bolshevik Russia who sowed the seeds of the revolution.

Born and brought up in a village, the author, while still in her teens, leaving her village in search of a job and after knocking about for some time, gets into touch with a group of Russian revolutionaries intent upon overthrowing the regime of the Czar. In course of time by her intelligence, initiative and alertness the author is chosen to play the role of a professional revolutionary by her co-workers. The difficulties and the hardships of the life of a revolutionary are portrayed in a vivid manner. The system of espionage and passports of the Czarist regime made the life of these revolutionaries miserable. We are told in this book of the well-disciplined spartan life lived by some of the revolutionaries and their resourcefulness in times of danger. The book affords interesting reading.

S. R. V.

LONDON'S HEART-PROBE AND BRITAIN'S DESTINY. By AYUBE M. EDUN. (Stockwell. 20cm. 212p. 6/-

ON going through this book one feels that, though not a scholar in the sense in which the word is generally used, the author is a good observer of things. The general run of mankind usually sees things but does not observe them minutely and so cannot think of these in terms of comparison. There are people who can see the differences in the various classes of society but cannot express them properly. The author cannot only see the differences but has a knack of expressing his thoughts to his reader clearly and distinctly. The author remained in London only for a few short months but seems to have made use of his time in quite a thorough manner; otherwise it would have been impossible for him to write so convincingly on such diverse subjects as (i) religious beliefs and practices, (ii) political system and methods of government, (iii) business, (iv) homes, (v) recreations and (vi) the people. All these topics have been studied and analysed, with a keen mind and from close observation.

It is possible, nay inevitable, that other visitors to London, if they happen to write something on the same subjects, will disagree with the author over several things, but these differences could be explained on the score of temperaments. The author has tried to cover every imaginable subject, and therefore every sort of reader will find something of interest in the book. For British people especially, this small volume should be thought-provoking as herein are condemned many things and practices which, because of proximity, habit, or usage, a Britisher cannot see, but which only an outsider can notice. According to the author there is need for improvement in many directions, though perhaps the ways and means suggested by him for such improvements may not be agreeable to all. Even so there is no doubt that the book makes interesting reading.

L. V. G.

OUR UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM FINALLY SOLVED, PART I. By M. R. AGARWAL.

(The Health Book Co., Lanka, Benares.) 1935. 20cm. 68p. Rs. 2.

THE author traces in this book the causes for the misery of mankind in the world in general. The book hardly justifies the title and no attempt has been made to present to the reader the real causes for unemployment. A pamphlet of 68 pages with a paper wrapper is priced Rs. 2! Neither the contents nor the get-up justify this fanciful price.

G. B. P.

DIRECTORY OF INDIAN MANUFACTURERS AND HAND-BOOK OF COMMERCIAL INFORMATION. Comp. by J. L. JOSHI and others. (Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, Phoenix Building, Ballard Estate, Bombay.)

1935. 22cm. 559p. Rs. 3.

IT is a happy sign of the times that the Swadeshi spirit is taking practical shape. All over the country responsible bodies like the chambers of commerce are publishing directories of Indian manufacturers. The one under review by the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce compiled with great care and labour will be found to be of great use by merchants, Swadeshi workers, manufacturers and the members of the general public. From a perusal of the Directory it is patent that the authors have not spared pains to make it up-to-date; but it is inevitable that in a directory like this concerns like the cement factory at Madukkarai near Coimbatore in S. India

should not find mention. We hope that in the next edition efforts would be made to bring the Directory up-to-date. We recommend the Directory to all those that are interested in the economic regeneration of India. The information section of the Directory gives a historical summary of statistics as to India's import and export trade, cotton, tobacco, hides, skins, etc. The book is well got-up.

SWADESHI.

MEMOIRS OF MOTILAL GHOSE. By PARAMANANDA DUTT. (Amrit Bazar Patrika Office.) 1935. 24cm. 386p. Rs. 4-12-0.

THIS book is a valuable addition to Indian biographical literature. The author has the unique qualification of being closely associated with Motibabu by ties of relationship. For twenty-five years he lived under the same roof with Motibabu and was his 'constant companion, amanuensis, private secretary and attendant.' It is not therefore surprising that he should have given us an accurate and exhaustive narrative of Motibabu's life. The late Sir Surendranath Banerjee once described Motibabu as one of the founders of Modern Bengal. Babu Motilal did not take much active part in public life; he concentrated his all on the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. The author has given us a very interesting account of the growth and development of the *Patrika*, how from an Anglo-Bengali weekly published at an out-of-the-way village it developed to its present mighty stature. One of the most attractive features of the book is that it gives a number of charming anecdotes of the late Mr. Ghose. We heartily commend the book to the reading public.

A.

Miscellaneous.

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION.

The following letter of Mr. Kodanda Rao appeared in the *New York Times* of 11th August:

As a student of Indian politics, I am grateful to you for the editorial notice that you were good enough to take of the new Indian Constitution in the *New York Times* of to-day. I wish that "sober opinion" in India could share your estimate of the new Constitution. As the editor of the *SERVANT OF INDIA* I belong to the Liberal party in India, which includes among its leaders the Right Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, who represented India at the Limitation of Armaments Conference in Washington, D. C., in 1922.

When the current Montagu Constitution was passed in 1919 the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, considered it so unsatisfactory that it advocated non-co-operation. Mr. Sastri and his colleagues were no less dissatisfied with the Constitution, but they felt that it was better than the preceding Morley Constitution and took the extreme step of seceding from the Indian National Congress, to which they were bound by many ties of loyalty and service, and decided to work the Montagu Constitution.

To-day nobody is more bitterly opposed to the new Hoare Constitution than Mr. Sastri and the Indian Liberal party. They pray for nothing so much as that India may be saved from the new Constitution.

I will not strain your hospitality by detailing here the reasons why the Indian Liberals consider that the new Constitution, far from marking progress

however limited, is actually reactionary; that, far from facilitating democracy however cautiously, it rivets tighter autocracy and imperialism; that, far from giving Indians opportunities to fit themselves for dominion status, it blocks their peaceful and constitutional development toward that goal; and that if it is worked, it will be worked in the spirit in which Mr. de Valera, rather than Mr. Cosgrave, worked the Irish Constitution.

I will content myself with calling your attention to the excellent report, "A New Constitution for India," by T. A. Bisson, published by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, on July 17, 1935.

P. KODANDA RAO.

New Haven, Conn., Aug. 5, 1935.

"HITAVADA" MARCHES AHEAD.

THE editorial staff and management of the "Hitavada" of Nagpur deserve felicitations for the development of their journal from a bi-weekly into a tri-weekly.

The "Hitavada", which started as a weekly organ of the Servants of India Society in Central Provinces, has been a beacon light of Liberalism in that place these many years, and through steady and persistent effort established a place for itself in the midst of various political storms. From a weekly it was, after some time, decided to publish it twice a week and now we have the decision of its conductors to publish it thrice a week.

Unlike some of the so-called Liberal journals, whose sole job is to champion every Government measure, the "Hitavada", like its confrere the *Servant of India*, has consistently stood for the high principles embodied in Liberalism.

Liberalism stands for certain fundamental human rights, liberty of speech and platform, democratic representative government, etc., etc., and the history of the struggle for those rights is written in letters of blood in pages of European revolutions.

If the "Hitavada" continues to fight for those liberal rights in the midst of repression, as we are sure it would, it would be enough of a job for the journal for the next few years.—The *People*, Bombay.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CASE FOR STERILISATION. By LEON F. WHITNEY. (The International Library of Sexology and Psychology.) (John Lane.) 1935. 22cm. 215p. 8/6.
- MATERNITY SERVICES. By DAME JANET CAMPBELL. (Faber & Faber.) 1935. 30cm. 56p. 1/-
- THE MILITARY ENGINEER IN INDIA, Vols. I and II. By E. W. C. SANDES. (The Institution of Royal Engineers, Chatham.) 1933 and 1935, 24cm. 594p. and 392p. 25/- & 15/-, or 30/- for 2 vols. if ordered together.
- RE-CONSTRUCTING ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MYSORE, INDIA. By M. SIDDALINGAIYA. (The new Education Fellowship, Mysore Section.) 1935. 18cm. 311p. Rs. 2/8.
- THE ZANZIBAR CRISIS. By C. F. Andrews. (Kitabistan, 17-A City Road, Allahabad.) 1934. 18cm. 54p. As. 4.
- A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND OFFICE COMPENDIUM. By TRIPURARI SARAN SRIVASTAVA. (Author, U. P. Government Secretariat, Lucknow.) (2nd Edn.) 1935. 18cm. 382 x 126p. Rs. 3.
- SRIMAD BHAGAVADGITA RAHASYA OR KARMA-YOGA-SASTRA, Vol. I. By BAL GANGADHAR TILAK. Translated into English by BHALOHANDRA SITARAM SUKTHANKAR. (Tilak Bros., Poona 2.) 1935. 22cm. 618p. Rs. 6.

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