

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### A. I. C. C.

THE A.I.C.C. could not, of course, on its own authority have lifted the ban on acceptance of office by Congressmen, but it could have made its own recommendation to the Congress, which is to meet in March next year. The Committee, however, chose only to lift the ban on the discussion of the subject and expressed no opinion itself on the merits of office acceptance. In view of the keen controversy that still exists among different sections of Congressmen on the question, the non-committal attitude of the Committee is understandable. Nor is the final decision such an urgent matter that the A.I.C.C. should lead up to it by tentative steps. One thing, however, must be noted. The supporters of office acceptance do not seem to have weakened in their resolve to offer all possible opposition to those who intend to go into the legislatures with a view to facilitate a smooth working of the constitution. They support the acceptance policy only because, in their opinion, they will be enabled thereby to put more strength into their opposition.

### Bombay's Black Bill.

THE Bombay Special Powers Bill has now become the law of the land. In the process of its consideration by the Legislative Council it underwent some modifications. But when it is remembered that nothing that is not acceptable to Government

ordinarily stands any chance of being carried by the Council, the utterly unsubstantial nature of these amendments will at once become apparent.

AT the second reading stage Government expressed their willingness to specify in the preamble the objects of the legislation. This was officially represented as a great concession to public opinion. What the Government then pledged itself to do was to specifically mention communism, terrorism and civil disobedience as the movements against which the legislation was directed. Whether this would have had any binding force on the courts is of course another matter. If the pledge had been faithfully observed, it would certainly have been possible to challenge the validity of the use of this legislation in dealing with movements other than those mentioned in the preamble. But even this possibility has been effectively barred by the insertion of the word "especially" before the relevant words. This nullifies any value that the concession might have had in public eyes and grants as it were a license to Government to invoke its provisions for dealing with any movement they may in their wisdom choose to regard as dangerous. It is difficult to see how the position has been improved by the insertion of those words or how it would have worsened otherwise.

AMONG the other amendments made in the Bill, far the most important was the one which sought to reduce the maximum amount of fine for disobedience of orders under this legislation from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 1,000. Another makes it imperative on a court to record its reasons in writing before passing orders in a case in which the accused is charged with incitement to non-payment of Government dues. With the object, as the Home Member put it, of protecting legitimate agitation, an amendment was moved by Government and accepted by the Council. This excludes from the purview of the Act any movement "intended to assist by lawful means the redress of any grievance" even if it results in the postponement of payment or even non-payment of Government dues. But the courts having no power to judge of this the amendment will give little practical redress against executive arbitrariness.

IN the passage of legislation so outrageously restrictive of personal liberty, no one worth his salt would obviously like to have any part or lot. The Opposition in the Bombay Legislative Council followed that course by resorting to a walk-out. The passage of the Bill by an unrepresentative and subservient legislature in no way alters the fact that the legislation is being foisted on the presidency in the teeth of strong public opposition. This point was particularly emphasised in the statement which Rao

Bahadur Kale, Leader of the Opposition, read out before the walk-out. The Government won 17 votes more than the Opposition at the first reading. Among those who went into the Government lobby, as many as 16 were officials and 7 non-official Europeans who in such matters unquestionably accept the lead of the Government. If these 23 votes at the command of Government are eliminated from those cast for the first reading, it really means a victory for the Opposition by 6 votes.

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THE racial or communal division in the vote on the first reading is also equally noteworthy. Out of the 6 non-European nominated members, as many 3 voted with the Opposition. 2 out of the 5 Parsi members voted against the Bill. 10 Muhammadans, of whom 6 were from Sind, went with Government as against 5 on the popular side. So far as the non-Brahmans are concerned, 9 voted with Government, while 7 against them. Among the Hindus, only 1 sided with Government and 19 with the Opposition. Among 30 non-official Indians who cast in their lot with the Government, about half a dozen are under obligation to them, having received some kind of patronage or other, while 2 more have their estates managed by one of the Assistant Whips to Government. In face of these facts, can it be doubted that though the Opposition was unable to prevent the Bill from reaching the statute book it has won a great moral victory?

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#### Municipalities in C. P.

THE C. P. Government's resolution on the working of municipalities during 1933-34 once more animadverts upon the slackness on the part of these bodies in the collection of their dues. In some cases the collection fell as low as 23 per cent. All the blame for this phenomenon is sometimes placed at the door of economic depression. While it is undeniable that economic depression considerably handicaps collection, it is difficult to believe that it is the sole or only cause of unsatisfactory collections. If it had been so, collection should be uniformly unsatisfactory in all municipalities. But it is obvious-

ly not so and in a few cases it is reported to have gone up as high as 96 per cent.

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PART of the blame for this state of affairs must be borne by municipalities who, it is stated, are behindhand in preparing their assessment lists and unwilling to use all the powers available to them under the law for realising their dues. The demoralising spectacle of members and office-bearers, who ought really to set a better example to the rate-payers, themselves being in arrears is yet by no means a rare phenomenon. The recent amendment in the municipal law empowering Deputy Commissioners to bring the membership of such defaulting members to termination should go some way in bringing the evil under control. Under a law passed last year municipalities are invested with power to make bye-laws regulating the employment of children under 10 and of women at night in sarais, markets, slaughter houses, places of public amusement, etc. It is yet too soon to say how the municipalities have discharged this new responsibility.

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EDUCATIONAL expenditure of these bodies showed only a small increase of Rs. 21,000 over Rs. 15,00,000 of last year. It is a pity the 20 per cent. cut in Government grant had to be maintained throughout the year. The cut has been either wholly or partially restored in some provinces and there is nothing extravagant about the public expectation that what has become possible elsewhere should not be impossible in C. P. The number of primary schools went up by 22 to 489 and that of pupils by about 3,000 to 72,635. Compulsory education remained stationary for financial reasons, only 22 out of a total of 74 municipalities enforcing it. The resolution mentions the fact about the public prejudice against depressed classes dying out and consequently depressed classes pupils finding little difficulty in securing unrestricted admission to ordinary schools. This, as remarked in the resolution, is doubtless very encouraging.

## A CHALLENGE TO HINDUISM.

THE declaration of Dr. Ambedkar that, born a Hindu, he will die a non-Hindu and the resolution passed by the Bombay Harijan Conference at Yeola calling upon all Harijans to leave the Hindu fold and embrace any religion which promises them equal social status with other communities is a challenge to those who profess Hindu religion which they will do well to take to their heart. The need for ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability is fully realised by all enlightened Hindus, and one would have thought that fair progress was being made in recent years in eliminating from the observance of untouchability its worst features. But Dr. Ambedkar's utterance at the Yeola Conference should give a shock to the feeling of self-complacency if it prevails in any quarters and should persuade all of us to put our hands to the wheel with greater energy and firmer resolution to stamp out from our midst the practice of untouchability, which is easily the worst excrescence upon Hinduism. After all, the test of whether the pace of any particular reform is

satisfactory or not lies not in what the reformers themselves think of it, but in what those in whose behalf the reform is promoted think of it. Judged by this standard, the anti-untouchability movement must be considered by all engaged in it to be advancing at a disappointingly slow rate. Dr. Ambedkar is a seasoned public worker, whose verdict on this question will be regarded by all as final and decisive. Let no one be tempted to belittle its significance by saying that few Harijans will follow Dr. Ambedkar into another religion and that the mass of the community will be content to remain in the Hindu fold, however cruelly they may be ill-treated. Both these propositions are true in the main, but it would be poor consolation to those who exercise Hindu religion if Harijans remained true to Hinduism because of sheer inertia and ignorance. It is just the rebellious spirits that we must try to keep contented, and it is only when they will cease to rebel and feel satisfied that the work of the reformers can be pronounced to have succeeded.

We should, however, be very sorry indeed if in fact Dr. Ambedkar went out of the Hindu fold and carried any large number of Harijans with him. The numerical defection would indeed be small, but they form the leaven of the Harijan community, and if they left the community their power of remoulding the lives of millions of their brethren who would still remain Hindus would disappear, and with this the power of the reformers of other communities would be sensibly diminished. No social change of a fundamental character can go far unless those who suffer from an abuse go on constantly prodding those from whom the abuse proceeds. Even the few reformers who wish to correct the abuse from an altruistic point of view will have no influence unless the aggrieved party make it by their own terrific agitation an urgent problem crying out for early solution. Those non-Harijan reformers who are working zealously with the object of bringing Harijans into their own look upon Dr. Ambedkar and his followers as their most valued co-workers. They may have differed at times in aims and more particularly in methods in regard to this movement; but the universal feeling among all reformers will be that the movement will be rendered considerably weaker if, on account of Dr. Ambedkar's change of faith, it is deprived of his leadership, practically the only leadership that is now available among the Harijans. Knowing as we do how single-minded Dr. Ambedkar is in devising means for raising the status of Harijans in the social order, we would appeal to him to desist from the course which he is contemplating, for on further reflection he would find that by his leaving Hinduism the movement for the uplift of Harijans at large would be arrested in its onward march rather than accelerated.

We have not the least desire to institute a comparison between Hinduism and any other religion, say, Christianity of which perhaps Dr. Ambedkar is thinking as an agency for so illuminating human thought and action as to make a good life possible for all mankind. But we may be permitted to say this, that both the Hindu Church and the Christian Church have their own blemishes. Each is foremost in deriding the other for the drawbacks from which it suffers, but the Christian Church has not such a decided superiority in tackling its *own* problems over the Hindu Church. We do not wish for a moment to say one word in palliation of the Hindus allowing the blot of untouchability to remain on their religion, but if Hinduism has this blot Christianity has others no less grievous. On this point Mr. Graham Wallas has reached the conclusion that Christianity has no clear guidance to offer in regard to the "long-range ethical problems which involve different social or racial groups with different ethical customs or in new problems which have not yet become questions of custom." Bishop Gore has said: while "Christianity as it has appeared in European society might be commonly regarded as a dogmatic system, true or false, or as a system of ecclesiastical government to be submitted to for the sake of ultimate salvation, or as a

national system to be conformed to for the general good, it certainly has not appeared as the organised life of a brotherhood so startling from the point of view of ordinary human selfishness that, even if it excited keen hostility it must at any rate arrest attention as a bright light in a dark place; it certainly has not appeared as something which could purify society like salt, by its distinctive and emphatic savour, nor as something clearly in view and distinct in outline like 'a city set on a hill.'" What can one say of a religion whose members belonging to different races find it impossible to worship together and have to set up a Black Church and a White Church, the whites disdaining to enter the Black Church and refusing the blacks to enter the White Church? Is this state of things more creditable to Christianity than the refusal by higher-caste Hindus to admit Harijans into the temples of God?

What again is the treatment meted out by the whites to the blacks in the Southern States in U.S., though the blacks are the co-religionists of the whites? Mr. Frasier, Professor in Howard University, says in the *Journal of Negro Education* for July last: "In fixing the status of the Negro the South attempted to erect what amounted to a caste system. Therefore, first of all, they legislated specially against intermarriage where any doubt concerning it had arisen during the troublous Reconstruction period. Then followed the Jim Crow laws requiring separation on railroads and street cars... The caste system was reflected in all the relations between whites and blacks. Negroes were simply excluded from such places as hotels, theatres, and restaurants where their very presence symbolised equality of citizenship with the whites. In the courts whenever the Negro did not appear as a criminal or an offender against a white man he appeared as a suppliant asking for favours from the ruling caste, but never as a citizen with equal rights with the whites. In order to maintain itself as a superior caste the white South saw that the Negro was shorn of political and economic power. How the white South thought every form of fraud and violence deprived the Negro of political power is a well-known story. Literacy and educational tests, poll taxes, and 'Grandfather clauses' were simply the legal trappings of the ill-concealed force that was always at hand." In the sphere of economic relations a distinction was set up between white men's jobs and Negro jobs.

"The separation of the races in the South today, both legal and customary, can be understood only if one realises that it is a means of forcing the Negro to accept an inferior status. A Negro may be found in any place or in any degree of physical closeness with the whites if he is known to have any inferior status. In most cases he must wear the badge of his inferior status such as the chauffeur's uniform or the maid's cap and apron. If he does not wear such a badge he is presumed to occupy an inferior status. A Negro nurse may sit in the hotel dining room beside her charge or a chauffeur may sit in the car beside his mistress, but a Negro passenger may not ride in a railway coach with a

white passenger. A Negro servant may ride in an elevator with white passengers, but a Negro doctor or lawyer would be forcibly ejected and even murdered if he resisted." "It is impossible for a Negro to get justice in the courts of the South. In the police courts every form of brutality is practised. A Negro man or woman of any degree of education and culture, even when arrested for a traffic violation, may be clubbed into unconsciousness by the degenerate poor whites, who form the police force of the South." Lynchings have decreased in recent years, but "violence is still widely practised upon Negroes who get out of their 'place.' A Negro may be chased out of town because he refuses to advocate lower wage for Negro workers than that received by

whites. A Negro doctor may have his house burned because it is 'too good for a nigger to live in.' In such cases it is impossible to get legal redress. Within recent years it was considered a significant improvement in the status of the Negro before the law when a white man was given a light sentence for wantonly murdering an innocent Negro boy."

Let us repeat that we have not the slightest desire to palliate our sins, but it would be a doubtful advantage for Harijans to leave Hinduism and embrace Christianity, for, however impeccable the doctrinal creed of these religions may be, those who exercise them have not attained a brilliant success in applying their doctrines to the practical problems of the day.

## MAHATMA PRAYS FOR STATES' PEOPLE.

THE Mahatma is seeking a peaceful solution of the Ethiopian dispute by prayer, which (he told the Associated Press) is the only means he has. Similarly he tells the States' people through the A.I.C.C. that he seeks their emancipation by prayer, which is the only means he or the Congress has.

There is no doubt that the refusal by the A.I.C.C. to give any more than moral support to the States' people in their struggle for the achievement of political freedom is dictated by the Mahatma, and that it does not reflect the opinion that really prevails in the A.I.C.C. We know of a number of prominent members of that body or even of the Working Committee of the Congress who frankly see the need for introducing amendments in the Working Committee's statement issued from Wardha such as Mr. Meherally moved at Madras, but they confess to their powerlessness before the Fuehrer.

So far as the request of the States' people for active support of the Congress in their internal fight is concerned, it is easy to misinterpret it, as indeed Sardar Vallabhbhai did in opposing Mr. Meherally's amendments, as a demand, whenever trouble arises in any of the numerous States, that the Congress should intervene with all its forces, irrespective of whether such intervention was within its capacity or not. Those who are agitating in this matter appear to the Sardar to be actuated by a single desire to see the Congress embroiled with all the Princes and to be humiliated in every undertaking.

There could not be a more cruel travesty of the representations of the States' people. These representations, it must be understood, proceed from Congressmen in the States, who have gone out of their way to help British Indian satyagraha by their personal sufferings, and for the Sardar to ascribe to them "the ulterior object of weakening the Congress" is the height of ingratitude.

The States' people's demand is an exceedingly modest one. They merely ask for an assurance that the Congress should recognise it as its moral duty to give practical help to them in their struggle for internal reform whenever it can do so. They are quite willing to leave it to the Congress executive to decide in what struggles it should give help and to

what extent. All that the Congress cannot do, after acceding to this demand, is to say to the States' people: "It's none of our affair to participate in your movement. You are foreigners to us. We can give you moral sympathy, but that is the limit to which our concern for your welfare as outsiders can go. Active collaboration is, constitutionally, an impossibility."

It is very intriguing that those who flaunt their disregard for law in British India should suddenly come to conceive such a mighty regard for constitutional punctilios in the Indian States. The Congress President, in explaining why the Congress, instead of passing resolutions of protest or setting up formal committees to inquire into incidents such as those that happened recently in Sikkar and Loharu States, approached the authorities in an indirect way, said: "If we had gone about the business of making formal protests, appointing enquiry committees and going into the matter as if it was something we were entitled to look into, condemn or take action against, possibly the little we were able to achieve would not have been achieved."

Here we have the crux of the whole question. The Congress higher-ups do not think (the rank and file do) that they are entitled to concern themselves in the affairs of the States' people—except by diplomatic negotiation, in the way in which one government would deal with another. We would respect this strict constitutionalism of the Congress hierarchy if, when it started satyagraha in British India, it had not asked the States' people to jump in. In the eye of constitutional law, as the Congress understands it, the States' people are not only entitled but morally bound to take active part in the Congress activities in British India provided they are militant enough, but British Indian Congressmen are not entitled and certainly not compelled to take part in the activities of the States' people, however inoffensive these activities may be.

In 1928, on the motion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the clause in the Congress constitution as it then stood to the effect that "the Congress is not to interfere with the internal affairs of the Indian States" was deliberately deleted. What room for

doubt is then left for our Congress constitutionalists? Why should they think that the Congress is not entitled to interfere with the States' affairs? Sardar Vallabhbhai has an answer to this. He says in effect: "Never mind what the letter of the Congress constitution is, under Jawaharlal's amendment. The more important thing is the spirit of the constitution. The letter no doubt permits of interference; but have not we, who are in control of the Congress machinery, consistently interpreted the constitution as if it forbade interference? Have we ever by any chance allowed even the slightest interference in any concrete instance? Well, then, that is the law. We must not interfere."

The Sardar is overwhelmed by difficulties surrounding the States' people's question. Even when the Congress was at the height of its power, he said, it dared not take up this question. Is it to take it up when its strength is at a very low ebb? But the Sardar misunderstands the whole position of the States' people. If they had sought Congress help in any particular issue concerning the States, the plea of impotence would be valid. But the present question is only one of defining the aim of the Congress actively to take up the cause of the States' people, actual assistance being given when it is possible and to the extent it is possible. Because the Congress has become a very feeble body has it abandoned its goal of independence in favour of something which may be more befitting its present condition? No one is under a delusion that independence is going to be achieved to-day or to-morrow or even the day after. But the Congress does not find it necessary for that reason to turn its back on it. Similarly, there is no harm in the Congress making it clear even when it is so weak as it is at present that Congressmen will regard the whole of India, without distinction of jurisdictions, as a proper field of action for them; that the freedom movement for the entire country is a single problem; that the Congress esteems it its bounden duty to participate in and even initiate a struggle for popular liberty in the Indian States—to the utmost extent of its capacity. When and how far it can go in this direction it is for the Congress itself to determine, but subject to this qualification, a declaration asked for by the States' people can be made by the Congress in whatever state of feebleness.

It is also said that Congress intervention in the States would be really injurious to the States' people's own interests. We would say with the *Bombay Chronicle* that this question might safely be left to the people themselves. Those subjects of States who are members of the Congress, the Sardar says, are now at least permitted to do constructive work for the Congress. If the Congress, however, meddled in the politics of the States even such innocent work would become impossible? Then why take the States' people into the Congress fold at all? The Congress makes them sign the creed of independence, which is antagonistic to the treaty relation of the Princes with the British Government. The Princes would certainly allow more latitude and

freedom to those public workers among their subjects who have not signed the creed of independence. If the Congress wishes to consult the interests of the States' people, it had better cease to enrol members of the Congress in the States if it is not to give them any help in politics.

But a much simpler demand of the States' people than a declaration in favour of active help from the Congress is in respect of the future constitution, and Mr. Meherally included this also in his amendments. It was as follows:

"With regard to the future constitution of India, the Congress wishes to assure the people of the States that (a) in the constituent assembly when it comes to be formed, the States' people will be given representation on the same basis as the people of British India, and that (b) in case or until (so long as?) the Constituent Assembly is not formed, it will not accept a Federal Constitution which does not embody in itself elementary rights of citizenship for the States' people, which does not provide for protection of those rights by the Federal Court in case of encroachments thereon and which does not give popular representation to the States' people in the Federal Legislatures, or which is otherwise not acceptable to the States' people.

If the Congress has not given up the constituent assembly plan there appears to be no conceivable reason why it should not agree to this demand.

Only Sardar Vallabhbhai referred to this amendment in a brief passage in his speech. He said: "To commit the Congress to a prospective constitution or a constituent assembly or something in which proportionate representation is to be provided for is neither wise nor in the interests of the people whom you want to serve... If you were to say, 'Bind yourself down to such and such a detail of the future', it would not be wise." Then why has the Congress bound itself down to the constituent assembly plan in British India? It has even bound itself down to adult suffrage or something approaching it. Why can it not then bind itself to a similar arrangement for the States' people? They do not want any more provision for themselves than is made for British Indians. How is it wise in the case of the latter, but unwise in that of the former?

The truth of the matter is that the Mahatma and other Congress leaders think of the political movement in this country in terms of nationalism and of nationalism alone. The British Government must be eliminated. When this happens they will have achieved their objective. They have little concern with what kind of indigenous government is established in the country—popular, oligarchic, plutocratic or autocratic. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's utterance about the Indian States' people not being burdened with foreign domination is fresh in everybody's memory. Sardar Vallabhbhai echoed this sentiment at the A.I.C.C. meeting. "They were dealing," he said, "with their own chiefs and Princes—all Indians." The meaning of it is clear. The autocracy of the Princes does not matter, since the Princes wear an Indian skin. At any rate the Congress, whose sole object is to fight the foreigner, will not bother too much about the evils in the rule of Indians themselves. Indian autocracy does not militate against

swaraj, as conceived by the Congress. Is it any wonder that the Mahatma sets his face against a clearer definition of the objective of the Congress?

Before the Congress came under the domination of the Mahatma, its policy was often dictated by considerations of expediency; but everyone knew exactly where the national organisation stood. The former leaders of the Congress openly advocated a policy of restricting their activities to British India and thought it unwise to introduce the complication of the Indian States. That was, of course, in pre-federation days. Such an isolationist policy will no longer answer under the federal regime. Now, however, the Congress scorns expediency and yet pursues a policy which even the expediency school would consider antiquated in existing circumstances. When the Congress was composed of people normally treading the path of truth but never pinning the creed of truthfulness on their breasts it was easy to know what exactly the Congress plan was; but now that the Congress is controlled by one who is truthful in thought, word and deed, one can never get at the truth about the Congress intentions.

#### AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN ZANZIBAR.

SOON after the anti-Indian decrees were passed by the Zanzibar Government last year, a commission was appointed to suggest permanent measures to grapple with the problem of agricultural indebtedness in the Protectorate. The legislation hurriedly passed in June 1934, though avowedly intended for the protection of agriculturists from money-lenders, embodied measures of a temporary nature enabling the local Government to cope with an emergency, if the situation then existing may be so described. How far that object was achieved by the legislation in question it is difficult to say in the absence of fuller information which is at the moment unavailable. It is enough to note that the legislation was never looked upon as a permanent solution of the Zanzibar agriculturist's economic difficulties.

The personnel of the Commission which was presided over by the Chief Justice and contained a representative of Indian interests in the person of Mr. Tayabali commanded general confidence. The *Zanzibar Voice* goes so far as to say that "a better personnel for such a commission could not have been selected and from the beginning it inspired confidence among the public concerned." As already stated, the Commission was to inquire into the problem of agricultural indebtedness in Zanzibar and "to make recommendations for the relief of debtors where such appears necessary on grounds of public policy." In doing so it was not to ignore the interests of the creditors altogether. As a matter of fact the terms of reference enjoin it to have "regard to the interests of the creditors" as if there was any chance of a responsible body like the Commission taking an exclusively one-sided view of its responsibility. The Commission's report was expected to be out before the year for which the emergency

legislation was to be in operation had run out. The Commission did keep to that time-table by submitting its report early in April last. And if the document has taken as long as six months to see the light of day, the blame must be laid at the door of the Zanzibar Government. For reasons not too easy to understand, they decided to hold over the publication of the report till they themselves were in a position to make up their mind with regard to the recommendations made by the Commission. This perhaps involved interminable correspondence with the Colonial Secretary, which obviously accounts for the delay. But it is a puzzle to many why they did not release the report for publication soon after its submission, taking their own time to arrive at conclusions on its suggestions for the debtor's relief.

It is a significant fact that all the Commissioners are of one mind in making their recommendations. But the Zanzibar Government have shown the temerity to set at naught one of the important suggestions put forward by the Commission. It relates to a slackening of restrictions on the alienation of agricultural land embodied in the Land Alienation Decree of last year, which gave rise to a storm of indignation in the Indian community. The Zanzibar Government neither accept the Commission's recommendation on the point nor its reasons in its support. They express themselves as satisfied that "the restriction upon alienation of land is absolutely essential in the interests of the agricultural classes and that without such restriction the rapid transfer of land away from such classes would continue."

Is this an imaginary fear or is it warranted by past experience? Before attempting an examination of this point, it is necessary to state that though the Zanzibar Government cleverly cloaked their intentions by avoiding any reference to Indians in last year's decrees, the legislation was in fact directed against them and none but them. The local Government have now gone a little further in the direction of concealing their real object by giving effect to Mr. Menon's suggestion to substitute racial reference in the proposed legislation by the mention of agricultural as against non-agricultural classes. Even for this small mercy we must be duly grateful to the Zanzibar Government. This is however by the way.

The important point for consideration is whether agricultural land is passing into Indian hands at such a fearful pace as to justify all this fuss. If the process had been going on for a long time and Indians had given proof of a land-grabbing tendency, the proportion of land held by them should be formidable. A look at the statistics appearing in the report does not however warrant such a conclusion. The Commission puts the total number of clove trees in Zanzibar at four million. The average yield from a clove tree is estimated at 6 lbs. of dried cloves per annum, each clove tree being valued at Rs. 8. 30 per cent. of the shamba-owners are found by the Commission to be indebted and 23 per cent. of the total indebtedness is stated to be by way of mortgages or fictitious sales. So far as our country-

men go, only 20 per cent. of the clove trees are in their hands, out of which 12½ per cent. are owned by them and 7½ per cent. have been mortgaged to them. Some trees coming under the latter variety have already reverted to their original owners and when this process is completed, it is the Commission's belief that the Indian holdings would be reduced by 50 per cent. In other words, the Indian holdings would then be about 16 per cent. Does that indicate such a serious state of affairs as to call for special treatment? Such press comments as have reached us make it plain that Indian opinion is inclined to regard the Government's action as needlessly panicky.

The Commission, following the usual practice in such cases, suggests the establishment of conciliation boards for the settlement of debts. The boards, according to its recommendation, are to be empowered "to disallow interest above 10 per cent. and 15 per cent. on secured and unsecured debts respectively for the period for which such interest has been unpaid." Compound interest is also to be disallowed under the Commission's scheme. In the case of secured debts, the boards will value the security. If its value is found to be in excess of the debt, the debtor will be given four or five years' time to liquidate the debt. An alternative arrangement is also advocated by the Commission. It is that the adjustment of debts should be done through the courts. The local Government are inclined to prefer the use of the alternative method. In this case they are prepared to provide for an appeal to the Chief Justice whose decision is to be final. It does not consider the period of four or five years suggested by the Commission for the repayment of the debt as at all adequate, and it favours a maximum of twenty years for the purpose.

One is not sure that there is anything very unjust or unfair about the proposed arrangements. But the Indian community, to judge from the Zanzibar press, seems opposed to it as placing "a premium on shirking one's responsibilities." In the circumstances we can only await the more considered opinion of the Indian community on the Commission's report which will naturally take some time more to form.

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## Reviews.

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### FASCISM IN JAPAN.

#### MILITARISM AND FASCISM IN JAPAN.

By O. TANIN and E. YOHAN. (International Publishers.) 1934. 23cm. 320p. \$ 2.50.

THE Fascist movement is not confined to Western Europe only; it has found a congenial soil in Japan where in alliance with the militarist and patriotic organisations it wants to expand Japanese power in Asia. Fascism in Japan is thus a danger to the peace of Asia as its aims are bound to conflict with Soviet interests in Asia and American interests in the Pacific.

A book which gives an authentic and detailed account of the militarist Fascist movement in Japan

is bound to interest the student of contemporary history. The authors of the book, Tanin and Yohan, have based their account upon Japanese literature. They say that the militarist Fascist movement in Japan has an individuality, as it possesses two distinct traits which are not found in Italian or German Fascism. In the first place, Fascism in Japan is the instrument not of finance capital alone but of Japanese monarchy which represents a bloc of two forces, finance, capital and semi-feudal landlords. Secondly, the Japanese Fascists did not make much use of social demagoguery like Mussolini or Hitler.

Karl Radek who writes an introduction to this book does not agree with this opinion of the authors. He says that the domination of a monopoly capitalism and the use of a broad demagogic social programme are features to be observed in Japan no less than in Western Europe.

On a careful reading of the book we are inclined to agree with Karl Radek. In Italy as well as in Germany landowners financed the Fascist movement long before the captains of industry gave them support. The same thing has happened in Japan. Why therefore regard the base of Japanese Fascism as fundamentally different from that of western Europe? Again the Fascists in Japan, according to the authors themselves, used social demagoguery to attract the masses like the Italian Fascists and German Nazis. Say the authors at p. 282 :

Very large sections of these social elements even now are very much afraid of the militarists and the bureaucracy from whom they expect nothing but new taxes and who are sufficiently well-known for their animosity to everything democratic. Nevertheless many groups of these petty bourgeois elements have been attracted by the demagogic agitation of the militarists and the reactionary organisations, have easily fallen a prey to the chauvinist poison, have let themselves be frightened by tales of the horrors which they might expect from revolution and have allowed their heads to be turned by the rainbow perspective which awaits Japan when it seizes Manchuria, Shanghai, the Soviet Far East, etc., etc.

There are, however, two important features of the Fascist movement in Japan. In Italy and Germany the Fascists and the Nazis seized power without the help of the army though with the connivance of some army officers. But in Japan the military officers are in alliance with the Fascists and the Army is controlled by them. Another feature is that the Fascist movement in Japan is split up. The militarists and the monarchist bureaucracy are the heart of the reactionary chauvinist organisations, while the middle and small landowners, the upper strata of the rich peasantry and the reactionary sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie form their mass base. Attempts have been made to unite the split-up tendencies along a stream, but the caste spirit of the army officers prevents such a unification. The author is therefore of opinion that Baron Hiranuma's Kokuhonsya and Mr. Adachi's Kokumin Domei have most chances of coming to power, for they are closely connected with the militarists and they exercise political influence among bourgeois landowner circles and the bureaucracy connected with them. If a Fascist military dictatorship were to be established, the entire internal and foreign policy of Japan will be directed towards the expansion of Japanese power in Asia, which means a war with the U. S. S. R. or U. S. A.

As this is the only authentic book dealing with militarism and Fascism in Japan, it is bound to be a best seller. We congratulate the authors on their splendid account.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

## INDIAN THEATRE.

**THE INDIAN THEATRE.** By R. K. YAJNIK

(Allen &amp; Unwin) 1933. 23cm. 284p. 10/-

THIS book is divided into two distinct parts. The first deals "with the theory and practice of Sanskrit drama," and the second with "the influence of British drama on the Indian stage with special reference to Western India." Only a quarter of the work is employed with describing the ancient Indian drama, and this, we are told, is on account of dearth of material. Had Part I been more detailed, it would have been better appreciated; but perhaps the author intends to treat this subject more elaborately some other time.

The poetic allusion to the origin of drama in the legend of the banishment to Earth of the dancing nymph, Urvasi, for allowing thoughts of earthly love to divert her attention from performing her steps gives us the spiritual basis of our drama. The author is concerned with tracing the influence of the European theatres on the modern Indian stage and far from deploring the imitations and translations of European plays, he seems to be rather in favour of them. Personally, I have an aversion for translations except in very rare cases, where the exception proves the rule, such as "The King's Wife", "The Toy Cart," "The Light of Asia" and "Omar Khayyam". These examples are the work of poetic genius, which was thoroughly imbued with the spirit and did not attempt literal translations. Adaptations of plays are even worse, especially when the customs, creeds, locality and even the period of the dramas are altered to suit other climes and peoples; this results in parodies.

To students of drama the book is of value for its chronological review of the modern Indian Theatre, mainly of Western India; but whether the rising Indian dramatists are likely to think that they should plan their plays on European or on original lines guided by Sanskrit examples, is a matter for individual discernment and can only be decided by themselves and judged by the merit and appeal of their work. Undoubtedly, the author has spent much time in patient research and his work is an authentic record of the modern Indian Theatre.

ATIYA BEGUM.

## SEX EDUCATION.

**EXPERIMENT IN SEX EDUCATION.** By J. H.

BADLEY and other. (Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, London.) 1935. 18cm. 48p. 1/6-

THIS is a collection of papers read at a Conference on Sex Education held in Conway Hall on July 1st and 2nd, 1933, by the above Federation. These papers deal with sex education in the nursery, the elementary school and the secondary school, and the different methods advocated by the authors, who have all had practical experience in the matter. The book is full of interesting things: how teachers and parents try to shift the responsibility for sex education on to each other and how some people think the subject is receiving ample attention already and nothing more is needed. As is natural, in this new subject there is a good deal of difference of opinion as to methods, but there is no doubt, as Winifred de Kok points out, that education in sex must not be "differentiated from other education as though it were possible to keep the child's interest in sex in abeyance until a suitable moment". Parents and teachers must both honestly give the child information that it asks for in this subject as in any other. Curiosity is the test whether a child is old enough to receive the information.

J. H. Badley emphasizes the utility of co-education in this matter.

But if this end is to be reached, co-education must not be partial and half-hearted. . . Rather it must be as complete as possible, with no unnecessary barriers . . . To some, no doubt, such complete and continual intercourse during the years of early adolescence may seem merely to throw open the door to flirtation and every kind of silliness.

This may happen in a few cases, but it is nothing serious.

Through the thirty-five years since we began the training of boys and girls together, from the nursery to the age for college, on these lines, our belief has only been strengthened that such a life together affords the best means for a sound sex-education.

Rosa van Gelderen remarks :

Mary Scharlieb's little book "What Mothers Must Tell Their Children" is an excellent example of how it *must not* be taught. To tell the child that "the baby was living in a little house close to the mother's heart" is an unpardonable lie and a gross under-estimation of a normal child's intelligence.

Zoe Dawe says that she gives sex education under "Hygiene".

There are no special sex lessons. It just comes in . . . Sex instruction is only a part of general . . . knowledge. It is quite wrong to take a child aside and furtively tell it what I believe is called the facts of life' in ten minutes. Even in a single lecture by an expert this cannot be done.

P. T. Freeman points out that the alternative to sex education is "the picking up of the facts in the gutter, with the absence of accuracy and outlook." He is, however, a Christian and keeps the "moral side of the whole matter to the fore throughout." He thinks that there is no other "system of ethics which, if properly followed, will so ensure the ultimate good of society." This is merely Christian stupidity, which is perhaps excusable in a Christian.

A. K. C. Ottaway, as a biology teacher, naturally advocates sex education through biology, but emphasizes the necessity for teachers not to stop at the physiology of animals but go on and speak of human beings and point out the applications to human life.

V. A. Hyett considers the bearing of social life in school on sex development. She thinks: "A co-educational environment should, of course, give scope for the natural drawing apart of the sexes during the pre-adolescent years--nature's biological safeguard--but I personally believe that some contact during this time when boys and girls naturally despise each other is invaluable in giving them an insight into the other sex." She also points out the "pathological consequence of segregated education", some girls and boys being definitely pushed in the direction of homo-sexuality.

Alec Craig considers that the books on sexual subjects do not fill the gap in home and school instruction, because "they are inexplicit and incomplete, often unauthoritative, and generally more concerned with ethical exhortation than the giving of useful information." He speaks of the series of lectures organized by the Society, giving complete sex instruction to adults, delivered by Dr. Norman Haire, at a fee of 10s. per head. It may be noted that Dr. Pillay who organized a similar series in Bombay charged Rs. 25 per head, the lecturers being hardly more competent than Dr. Haire, nor did they accept payment, any more than Dr. Haire.

Mrs. Janet Chance has founded a Sex Education Centre, where she arranges lectures covering a wider range of subjects, I believe, free of charge and she reports that they have helped to make many adult women happy, especially those wives who had before



been unable to attain sexual pleasure and were consequently getting disgusted with married life.

R. D. KARVE.

### PROBLEM OF SURVIVAL.

**AFTER DEATH?** By EDWYN BEVAN and others.  
[The Spectator Booklets Series.] (Methuen.)  
1934. 18cm. 57p. 1/-

THIS is a thoroughly readable and dainty booklet on the problem of 'Survival'. It contains a series of articles by different writers of high authority on different aspects of the question and thus focusses together most of the representative views in current thought on this age-old topic.

Dr. Bevan himself writes the first introductory article in the course of which he sounds the true scientific note :

"Science is in truth confined by its very nature to a field which precludes the possibility of its ever disproving a life for man beyond death and equally precludes the possibility of such a life being proved in the scientific sense, by events appearing on the plane of material phenomena." (p. 5)

Yet a belief one way or the other might be held independent of any proofs, but shown to be consonant with one's general view of the universe, considerations based on which may commend themselves to others and lead them to the belief in question.

The rest of the articles thus are meant to put forward the 'considerations', based on different views of the universe, pointing to or against the notion of survival.

Professor Julian Huxley, the biologist, would treat the question of the belief in survival as "a chapter in human natural history". He wants to call in the physiologist and the psychologist, the anthropologist and the historian, who would help us in understanding the origin and the wide distribution and variety of the belief. And his conclusion is :

"The intensity and character of man's belief in survival is determined to a preponderating extent by the material and social conditions in which he finds himself; and in the circumstances the only rational attitude to take, until conclusive evidence of the fact of the survival is forthcoming, is to concentrate on the enrichment and amelioration of this life, in confidence that if our personalities do survive death, a sane and hopeful activity in this world is the best preparation for the next." (p. 17)

The Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttleton carefully distinguishes the question of future life from that of immortality and wants to stand by the former only for which she produces 'evidence', more speculative and even sentimental than scientific. Mr. Christopher Dawson's 'Roman Catholic' apologia for Resurrection being based on a general spiritualistic interpretation of the universe will hardly impress readers to whom both revelation and spiritualism are rank superstitions or at least anachronisms in this country.

Professor G. Elliot Smith, the celebrated anthropologist, writes as "one who regards the widely accepted story of the future life frankly as a myth" and wants to explain the origin of this myth which he finds in the ancient Egyptian invention of the technique of embalming or mummification of the dead which, preserving the corpse from corruption, would, they believed, prolong the existence of the dead. "The common belief in a future life is the much distorted survival of this Egyptian speculation of fifty centuries ago, which has reached us by devious routes" (p. 30). But our modern biological knowledge of the conditions of life must make us in-

creasingly sceptical of the childish Egyptian myth and make-believe as also of the modern survival doctrine which after all is at bottom the same Egyptian magic reaching us through much wandering and re-editing.

Dr. L. P. Jacks, the well-known writer on philosophical subjects, analyses in his article 'why we believe' in a future life and explains that the belief in a future life has a biological rather than a theological origin. "The idea of a future life, in the many forms that it takes from vague suspicions to assured belief, is so intimate a part of our social inheritance and so closely integrated (though we may not be conscious of it) with the life we are living, that escape from its influence is impossible for any of us, argue as we may. It seems to belong to the very stuff of which we are made and to have its grounds in the unfathomable depth of our being." (p. 37.)

Such then is the phenomenology of different views from different angles on the problem of survival and the upshot naturally is, as Dr. Bevan anticipated in his introductory article, that science as such neither proves nor disproves the idea of a future life or survival. But two things of a positive character come out from this symposium and Dr. Bevan brings them out in his concluding article :

(i) "You cannot cut off this question of human survival by itself and determine your attitude to it apart from the whole mass of things which determine your general attitude to the universe!" (p. 50)

(ii) "What hypothesis you adopt about a future life depends on your total reaction, the combined reaction of your reason, your sense of values, your spiritual exigencies, your innermost self, to the universe and to the various interpretations of the universe, Christian and non-Christian, which are offered in your human environment. You may, when you have made your choice, try to justify it by arguments; but your arguments can never give the whole reason why you choose as you do. The reason lies too deep." (p. 57)

On the whole then it would be best to realise that our beliefs in this as in other matters have both rational and extra-rational grounds and that their logical proof or disproof is something of a fool's quest; and it is best to model our lives on a plan which would be appropriate, whichever hypothesis is correct. I want very warmly to recommend this little book to the readers of this paper.

D. D. VADEKAR.

### CHRISTIAN VIEW OF CHINA.

**TWENTY YEARS IN CHINA.** By W. S. PAKENHAM-WALSH. (Heffer.) 1935. 20cm. 127p. 5/-

THIS book contains the impressions of one who spent twenty years in China. Mr. Pakenham-Walsh, comes of a great family of selfless workers and did missionary work in China for nearly two decades. As one who lived with the Chinese and worked for them, his impressions are certainly reliable. They are not like the impressions of a globe-trotter who with twelve weeks' experience comes to sweeping conclusions, but, on the contrary, they give a frank and faithful picture of the Chinese and their civilisation.

The learned author went to China on the eve of the terrible Boxer Movement in which several thousands of foreigners were killed. Mr. Walsh escaped any direct attack and tells us a number of interesting Boxer stories.

An interesting section of the book is that which deals with the humble beginning of the Trinity College, Foochow, and its later growth. Mr. Walsh believed that the best and most enduring work for

him to do in China was to train the boys and girls and young men and women who would become the Christian leaders, educators, and evangelists of their own people. Accordingly, he founded the Trinity College at Foochow. He tells us how he started with ten students, how fortunately he got a windfall in the shape of an allotment of E 2,000 to the College and how gradually the College grew "from strength to strength" until to-day it is one of the premier colleges in China, a College which has produced some of the leaders of the National Movement.

Another interesting chapter is that which deals with Chinese customs, good and bad. The Chinese Suttee, foot-binding and infanticide come in for a good deal of criticism; but the author admires ancestral worship, though as a Christian he would retain the ancestral tablets while abandoning the ceremony of worship.

The book is a faithful picture of China and we welcome this addition to the growing literature on China.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

### SHORT NOTICE.

**THE INDUS CIVILIZATION.** By ERNEST MACKAY. (Lovat Dickson & Thompson.) 1935. 209p. 6/-.

THE remarkable archaeological finds discovered in the Indus valley during the last decade have been the subject of an extensive monograph by Sir John Marshall. In this book Mr. Mackay gives a bird's-eye-view of the finds of the Indus culture and offers some interpretations of a plausible character. He thinks that it is not proper to describe Indus Valley civilization as chalcolithic, as the stone implements found are few and rather insignificant.

There are seven chapters in this study. The first is devoted to an examination of the origin of the Indus valley people, their inscriptions and the script. The author is in no undue hurry to reach clear-cut conclusions on the difficult and complex issues involved, and his statement of the problems is at once clear and concise. Generally these people led peaceful lives. At least there is no evidence of continual fighting.

The following chapters deal with Architecture and Masonry, Religion, Dress and Personal Ornaments, Copper and Bronze Implements and Tools, Arts and Crafts and Customs and Amusements. A fair selection of illustrations very well produced aids the reader's understanding of the interesting discussions.

The date of the culture and its external connections are discussed in the last chapter. The date is provisionally fixed as the first half of the third millennium B. C.

Mr. Mackay has produced an eminently readable book on a live subject.

K. A. N.

## Miscellaneous.

### SEVA SAMITI BOY SCOUTS.

#### DR. ARUNDALE'S TRIBUTE.

*Taking advantage of the presence of Dr. G. S. Arundale in Benares in connection with the North India*

*Theosophical Conference, the national headquarters of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association arranged on Oct. 1 a boy scout and girls' guide rally in his honour. After games were over, Pandit Sriram Bajpai, chief organizing commissioner, was heartily congratulated by Dr. Arundale. Pandit Ramnarain Misra then read a welcome address on behalf of the national headquarters of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association. In his reply, Dr. Arundale said:*

I FEEL great happiness in being in your midst this afternoon specially on what to me is a sacred ground. When I look round upon these buildings and gaze upon these playgrounds I am reminded of very many happy years of my activity in the service of India through the Central Hindu College under the leadership and guidance of that great friend and servant of India—Dr. Annie Besant. (Cheers.)

I have been looking at your display with immense admiration and no less immense envy. If you were to see our association in Madras, I am afraid there would be unfavourable comparison between what you have here and that which exists in the presidency of Madras. When I should return, on account of this display I am more fully determined to do what I can to help the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association in that presidency.

I was never lukewarm with regard to the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association. I felt when I joined it, it was the quickest route to the Indianisation of one of the most important movements for good citizenship in the world. (Hear, hear.) I am not only president of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association in Madras, but also the vice-president of the Madras Provincial Scout Council. I am bound to say that when I first joined the Seva Samiti Scouts' Association my colleagues on the Madras Provincial Council took me to task because they felt that perhaps I was endeavouring to take part in the two movements not altogether working along the same lines. I endeavoured to explain that while I have the most wholehearted admiration for Lord Baden-Powell, for it was he who initiated the movement, to whom we owe a very great reverence and gratitude, yet at the same time our hopes with regard to the Indianisation of scouting have not materialised as quickly as we hoped they would when Lord Baden-Powell came to Madras and there was a fusion of the two movements—the Indian Boy Scouts' Association and his own movement. I hoped then that we should be able to see rapid Indianisation. I am afraid that has not taken place as I wished that it should have taken place. The Baden Powell movement is largely dominated by Government. We are not making the progress in Indianisation, as I know Lord Baden-Powell would wish. However we are going to do what we can to bring pressure to bear upon the Government, so far as the Madras Government is concerned, to give an equal status to the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association as the Baden-Powell movement.

The other day we entertained to tea the Minister of Education and under the influence of that compelling beverage the Minister saw no reason why the two movements should not have an equal status throughout the presidency. When I go back to Madras I shall tell him that throughout the world I have seen no scouting like the Seva Samiti scouting. (Hear, hear.) It is Indian and that is its great title to appreciation. But it is not only Indian but fully expert as we have been seeing just now. I feel if there is any hope for scouting in India it must lie in a movement of this character. But I am bound to confess to you that I am continually talking about scouting in Madras and I hope the time will soon come when we shall have no scout movement at all. That may sound a somewhat strange statement. But everything which is done by scouting should be part of a national system of education in every country (hear, hear), so that there should be no need for what we call scouting. It should be part and parcel of the educational system. As it is, the educational system not only leaves much to be desired but almost leaves everything to be desired, hurried as it is and utterly unsuited to the Indian nation.

We are, therefore, very thankful that such an association as this exists. You may take it that you have invested this rally in a wise way for you are sending me back to Madras more full than ever of enthusiasm for Seva Samiti work. You may remember that we are from the scouting standpoint benighted in Madras. You have grants, I understand, from district boards, from various local bodies, you have considerable amount of financial support from public movements. I might tell you that the present resources of the Seva Samiti Association in Madras are Rs. 30. I hope when I go back to tell our brethren there about your very efficient work here. I hope we will gain permanent public support.

I do not want to detain you after that splendid taste and flavour of this excellent movement to be in any way disparaged by my observations. They who have come from Madras are extremely grateful to you for all that you have done us, so wonderfully well done and it is an inspiration to us to have been here. My friend Mr. Sundaram has been taking cinematographic pictures and I hope we shall be able to show these in Madras; that really would have great effect. I congratulate you all, the Organizing Commissioner and others, for splendidly carrying on this movement. I do not think there could be any work which is more useful than this. If Indians were to choose between the Indian National Congress and the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association I should vote for the Seva Samiti. Let us have both. If we cannot have both let us have that movement which is giving to Indians Indian citizenship, really Indian, to love India and to become great servants of India when Swaraj is obtained. (Loud applause.)

#### A. I. C. C. AND ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE.

*On the question of acceptance of office by Congressmen under the new constitution, the All-India Congress*

*Committee which met last week at Madras passed the following resolution. It says:*

**C**ONSIDERING the long interval of time that is bound to elapse before the next general provincial elections under the new constitution and the uncertainty of political conditions during this long period, this Committee is of opinion that it is not only premature, but also inadvisable and impolitic to come to any decision on the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office at this stage and therefore it affirms the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Wardha on the subject. At the same time, the Committee desires to make it clear that it sees no objection to the question being discussed in the country.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- HOW I FORETOLD THE LIVES OF GREAT MEN. By "Cheiro" (Count Lovis Hamon.) Ed. by HASMUKH M. KHAKAR (Taraporevala.) 1935. 22cm. 11p. Rs. 6.
- STERILIZATION. A CHRISTIAN APPROACH. By J. P. HINTON and JOSEPHINE E. CALOUTT. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 196p. 5/-
- THE DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE SLOGANS OF EQUALITY AND FREEDOM. By V. I. LENIN. (Martin Lawrence.) 20cm. 44p.
- A SAINT IN THE SLAVE TRADE. (Pater Claver 1581-1654.) By ARNOLD LUNN. (Sheed & Ward.) 1935. 20cm. 256p. 6/-
- THE CHOICE OF A MATE. By ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI. (The International Library of Sexology and Psychology (John Lane.) 1935. 22cm. 510p. 15/-
- MOTHERHOOD IN BONDAGE. By MARGARET SANGER. (Brentano's, New York.) 1928. 21cm. 444p. 10/6.
- THE SEX TECHNIQUE. By ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON. (Emerson Books Ltd., New York.) 1935. 20cm. 160p. \$3.00
- DIVORCE AND ITS PROBLEMS. By E. S. P. HAYNES AND DEREK WALKER-SMITH. (Methuen.) 1935. 20cm. 183p. 6/-
- LABOUR'S WAY WITH THE COMMONWEALTH. By GEORGE LANSBURY. (Labour Shows the Way Series.) (Methuen.) 1935. 20cm. 119p. 2/6.
- THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION. By H. R. GREAVES. (Day to Day Pamphlets.) (The Hogarth Press.) 1933. 18cm. 47p. 1/6.
- THE CASE FOR WEST-INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT. By C. L. R. JAMES. (Day to Day Pamphlets.) (The Hogarth Press.) 1933. 18cm. 32p. 1/-.
- A DERELICT AREA. A STUDY OF THE SOUTH-WEST DURHAM COALFIELD. By THOMAS SHARP. (Day to Day Pamphlets.) (The Hogarth Press.) 1935. 18cm. 49p. 1/3.
- STUDIES IN THE COST OF PRODUCTION OF CROPS IN THE PUNJAB. By KARTAR SINGH. 1934. 25cm. 121p. Rs. 1/8.
- ECONOMICS OF GUT MAKING IN THE PUNJAB. Inquiry conducted by FARZAND ALI SHAH under the supervision of R. A. FOSTER. 1934. 25cm. 86p. As. 8.
- COST OF GINNING AND PRESSING COTTON IN THE PUNJAB. By PARTAP SINGH PHULLAR and AJAIB SINGH GULZAR. 1934. 25cm. 18p. As. 4.
- FINANCE AND MARKETING OF CULTIVATORS' WHEAT IN THE PUNJAB. By S. KARTAR SINGH. 1934. 25cm. 86p. As. 8.
- MARKET PRICES IN THE PUNJAB. Inquiry conducted by L. R. DAWAR under the supervision of H. CALVERT. 1934. 25cm. 85p. As. 6.
- FAMILY BUDGETS, 1932-33, OF FOUR TENANT-CULTIVATORS IN THE LYLAPUR DISTRICT. By SARDAR KARTAR SINGH. 1934. 25cm. 31p.
- A CATTLE SURVEY OF THE ROHTAK DISTRICT IN THE PUNJAB. Inquiry conducted by SANTOKH SINGH under the supervision of R. BRANFORD. 1935. 25cm. 74p. As. 8.
- (The above seven publications are published by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, 20 Warris Road, Lahore.)

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