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## Topics of the Week.

### Mahatma's All-Pervading Influence.

DR. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA asserted in his Karachi speech that the Princes' willingness (which he assumes) to send elected representatives to the federal legislature was due to Mahatma Gandhi's influence over the Princes. The Mahatma's influence appears in fact to be very much wider and more potent than this. *Swarajya* says:

Impartial and careful students of contemporary events could not have failed to notice that during the past fifteen years—that is, ever since Gandhiji took up the leadership of the Congress and its power began to reverberate from one end of the country to the other—rulers of States have busied themselves, each in his own way and albeit in a haphazard manner, with measures intended to liberalise their administrations in all directions.... Even in the Nizam's Dominions, wherein mediæval conditions prevailed till recently, several striking developments have taken place. As for Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and a few other States, they are even ahead of British India in certain respects.

WE must confess that we had not noticed this tremendous surge of democracy in the Indian States, and had not thought that Mahatma Gandhi had very much to do with it. But we are sure it was only because we are neither impartial nor careful students of contemporary affairs. But, now we think about it, an idea suggests itself to us. May it not be that the striking developments in foreign countries also owe their origin to the thought-waves set in motion by the Sabarmati (now Wardha) saint? We do not of

course mean the growth of Fascism in Italy, Germany and all Central Europe or events like the annexation of Abyssinia by Mussolini. The Mahatma had declared that praying was the only means of rescuing Abyssinia, and probably in this case praying was not vigorous enough on his part.

BUT surely the successes which socialism is having in Europe are due to the Mahatma. "In Spain, after turbulent years, socialism seems to be in complete control. In France, with the ascendancy of Leon Blum, a real socialism, in contrast to the fake Radical Socialism of recent years, has captured the seats of power. In Belgium, the venerable Vandervelde has been put into office as the result of the socialist triumph in the recent election. And in England, a socialist Labour Party waits to enter upon the inheritance of a crumbling Toryism." And, more than this, the U. S. S. R. has abandoned the "war phase of communism", the dictatorship of the proletariat, and adopted (or will soon adopt) a liberal democratic constitution. The actors in all these different scenes may not be aware of it, but, without question, these events were inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. Has the editor of *Swarajya* any misgivings on the matter? Then, let him try to be a little more careful, and, above all, a little more impartial, student of contemporary affairs, and we have no doubt all his misgivings will be dissipated.

### Blood is Thicker than Water.

*Swarajya* explains in this way why Gandhiji applies direct action to the British Government and the method of persuasion to the Indian Princes. It says:

Where you have to deal with a foreign bureaucracy which does not sympathise with your aspirations, which means to keep you for ever under its control, and which without any regard whatsoever for considerations of justice and fair-play, runs roughshod over your feelings where fundamental issues are involved, and which fancies that it can humour you into acquiescence by throwing at you a few sopps, you have to think of, and you are forced by the inexorable logic of facts to resort to some sort of, Direct Action; but where you have to deal with your own kith and kin, albeit they are blue-bloods, you have to pursue a less radical course of action, you should not resort to revolutionary methods. Those who, like the Congress Socialists, wish for the effectual elimination of the Indian States are simply asking for the moon, at any rate for the present, conditions being what they are.

We were then not too far out when we described Mahatma Gandhi as a nationalist more than anything else.

### Freedom of the Press—and of Public Meetings.

THE instantaneous dismissal of Mr. Punniah, editor of the *Sind Observer*, on his publishing news,

in defiance of the prohibitory order of the proprietor, of the meetings of the Indian States' People's Conference, the Conference of the Congress Socialists &c. that were held in Karachi has created a sensation. If the editor had made the paper a vehicle of views other than those of the proprietor, the punishment could have been understood. In this case, however, it was only a question of giving prominence to certain news which the proprietor did not like. He certainly has a right to control publication of news too, as the Congress authorities have a right to control use of the Congress House. The refusal of permission by the latter to Mr. Achyut Patvardhan to speak at the Madras Congress House is in some respects similar to the refusal of permission by the proprietor of the *Sind Observer* to give news about the States' Conference, though it must be admitted that proprietors of newspapers ought to be more hospitable in allowing news to be published than those of public halls in allowing their use for meetings. But in view of the fact that Mr. Patvardhan is a member of the Working Committee of the Congress, the intolerance of the proprietors of the Congress House is even greater than that of the proprietor of the *Sind Observer*.

BUT it must be admitted that such intolerance is common enough in India, though the instances referred to above are of an extreme character. Pandit Jawaharlal, condemning the proprietor of the *Sind Observer*, remarks that "any journalist who submits to it (an encroachment on his right to publish all authenticated news that comes to him) is not worthy of his responsible position." But how many journalists quietly submit to such an order, without anybody knowing about it? Because Mr. Punniah disobeyed the matter came to light, but we know of some Congress journalists who have received—and obeyed—orders not to publish news in regard to certain States in particular or all States in general. Of course, in the Pandit's opinion, they are not worthy of their position. But there are not many newspapers in India who would give publicity indifferently to reliable news from every quarter and would keep an open forum for all views. And yet most of our papers are being run not as commercial concerns but from a sense of public duty. Commercialism is not the bane of Indian journalism, but party passion is.

THE *Commonweal* wrote recently on this subject with reference to American journalism: "It is quite certain that the editorial policies of the press, as a whole, are determined and directed by its owners, not by the editorial staff, who are hired men. Their opinions may and often do coincide with those of their employers; but when they do not so coincide, they must be suppressed. If and when the opinions held by the owners of the press really tend to build up and support the general good of the whole people, well and good; if not, the power of the press is not free, if held and controlled by special interests."

#### Indian Representation in Fiji Legislative Council.

IN his despatch, published last week, foreshadowing the new constitution of the Fiji Legislative Council, the Colonial Secretary makes a laboured, though vain, attempt to make out that the new constitution makes for improvement of the existing one. If improvement meant nothing more than an increase in strength, the claim might have to be conceded. For whereas the Council now consists of 25 members it would hereafter have a membership of 31, excluding the Governor. But if improvement presupposes any addition to popular strength or reduction in the nominated element, the new constitution must be said to be very disappointing.

IT is indeed a mercy that the idea of the wholesale substitution of election by nomination as a method of representation which threatened to become a reality at a certain stage is abandoned, thanks mainly to the strength of Indian feeling on the point. Indian opinion may also derive such sentimental satisfaction as it may from the fact that the quantum of Indian representation will be equal to that of Europeans. These two relieving features apart, there is nothing in the new constitution which can make Indian opinion go into ecstasies over it.

THE retention of election has been nullified, or at any rate diluted, by the introduction of nomination in the case of both European and Indian communities, not to mention the rejection of the Indian demand for a common roll. Under existing arrangements the communities are represented by 6 and 3 elected representatives respectively, though for the time being only two Indian seats are filled. Hereafter each of these communities will be allowed to elect three representatives, two more being nominated by Government. This is stated to be in order to enable any inequalities in representation being redressed by Government.

THUS presented, the object must be said to be laudable; in practice, however, if past experience in Fiji or elsewhere is to serve as any guide to the future, it will turn out to be so much patronage in the hands of Government to be used by them in strengthening their position under cover of holding the balance even. So far as Fijian representation is concerned, the status quo is maintained. Fijian representatives are at present nominated by Government out of a panel submitted by their representative association. The same practice will hold good in future, with this difference that the number of Fijian representatives will be increased from 3 to 5.

THUS from the point of view of elective representation the new constitution, instead of taking a step forward, takes one in the contrary direction. Under the present regime, out of a membership of 25, 9 (6 Europeans and 3 Indians) are popularly elected; the number will now be reduced to 6 (3 Europeans and 3 Indians). This distrust of popular election is inexplicable to us in view of the retention of the official majority as at present. The rejection of the Indian demand for a common roll at the hands of the Colonial Secretary was perhaps a foregone conclusion and will not cause much surprise; but this reduction in elective representation as envisaged in the despatch will, we are afraid, cause dissatisfaction which will be as widespread as it would be poignant.

#### Hyderabad State Legislature.

THAT Hyderabad State can boast of a Legislative Council is a fact which must not have been very generally known till last week when its proceedings found their way into the press. This was apparently because the press was for the first time admitted to its portals. The Council sat only for one day and disposed of as many as ten bills, one of which aimed at the validation of widow marriage. Obscurantist attempts to obstruct or at any rate to delay the passage of this piece of social legislation were luckily unsuccessful owing mainly, we suppose, to the Government having thrown the weight of its influence on the other side. If so, the Nizam's Government deserve the thanks of all social reformers for its love of social reform as exhibited on this occasion. We should have liked to examine the provisions of the measure in greater detail; but as its text is not available at

the moment the task has to be deferred to a later date.

BUT our object in drawing attention to the last session of the Hyderabad Legislative Council is not so much for the purpose of commending or condemning its work as for that of making one or two suggestions to make it better known. The departure initiated this year of admitting the press to its proceedings is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. We trust the practice will be followed hereafter much to the betterment of public education. But if the press is to discharge its functions satisfactorily it must be provided with the necessary facilities for it. It will not do for it to be told about the meeting of the Council only at the eleventh hour, as seems to have happened in this case. It should be given a reasonably long notice of its meetings and should be furnished with copies of bills and other relevant papers in good time. We do not know if these are printed in Urdu. If so, we would suggest an English translation being made available to the British Indian press. This is necessary as much to facilitate the work of the press as to enable the general public to follow the work of the Council more intelligently. We have also no hesitation in endorsing the suggestion put forward by the *Hyderabad Bulletin* for more frequent meetings of the Council. We hope that every attempt will be made to carry these suggestions into effect.

WHILE on this subject, we cannot but refer to a very moderate suggestion recently put forward with a view to improving the Council's representative character. It would appear that a Muslim elected member, with a view to providing educated opinion in the State with some representation in its legislature, intends by a motion to recommend that registered graduates be allowed to return two representatives. This would obviously necessitate the raising of the Council's strength from 21 to 23. In proposing to allot two seats to registered graduates, the mover intends that one should be filled by the choice of the graduates of the Osmania University and the other by that of those of other universities. The proposal is an eminently reasonable one and will, we hope, commend itself to the authorities. But even its effectuation can, in no way, be regarded as making the public demand for the democratisation of the Hyderabad Legislature, which has become long overdue, superfluous.

#### Political Prisoners.

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD has rendered a distinct public service by drawing pointed attention once more, by means of his recent statement to the press, to the problem of political prisoners. The present system which enables political prisoners to be divided into three separate classes has never been found to be completely satisfactory. Its working leads to anomalies like, e. g., the same person being placed in different classes on different occasions and members of the same family being assigned different classes. It also results in heart-burnings among the prisoners themselves. The constitution of a separate class of political prisoners as distinct from that of the usual type of criminals has been repeatedly suggested as a way out of the difficulty. Babu Rajendra Prasad also emphasises the desirability of action on these lines.

LOUD complaints have been raised in the past against the insistence on the part of the Government upon political offenders not mixing with one another. This kind of segregation is not enforced even in the

case of ordinary criminals but, curiously enough, is strictly enforced in the case of those who feel compelled to betake themselves to jail life for the sake of their convictions. Apart from the fact that it has no rhyme or reason about it, it has very bad psychological effects on the prisoners, leading in some cases to mental disequilibrium, if not to stark lunacy. It is difficult to believe that this result can be intended or desired even by the Government. For even they cannot deny that it is any day easier to look after a political prisoner than to attend to the well-being of a mad man. Babu Rajendra Prasad's demand for the stoppage of such isolation and for the concentration of all political prisoners in one jail in every province has thus a good deal to be said in favour of it.

IN reviving the Andamans as a penal settlement, the Government have clearly gone back upon their word. Babu Rajendra Prasad puts them once again in mind of this fact and demands that the recommendation of the Jails Committee, viz. that transportation to the Andamans should cease except in the case of specially dangerous prisoners, be carried into effect. The supply of newspapers and books to political prisoners for which he presses is not a luxury but a mental necessity in their case. The request is really so reasonable that it must be a matter of wonder to many that it should need to be ventilated so forcefully in the public press and the legislature. We do hope Government will see their way to arrange for these elementary facilities in the case of prisoners for whom Babu Rajendra Prasad speaks.

#### Mr. Lelard on Zanzibar.

IN a press interview Mr. L. C. Lelard, a business man and a journalist of long standing from Zanzibar, gives his own diagnosis of the present economic debacle there. It was, in his opinion, due to want of adequate appreciation on the part of the Zanzibar authorities of the important position held in its economic structure by Indian merchants that the present economic disaster was precipitated. Mr. Lelard has the frankness to admit that "the Indian merchants in Zanzibar have not been treated quite in accordance with their status in the economic structure of the Protectorate." It is an undisputed fact that it is the clove trade that is at the basis of Zanzibar's economic structure. And Mr. Lelard believes that it is the Indians who have mainly contributed to the important position which the clove industry occupies in Zanzibar's economy. It is naturally a matter for unspeakable wonder to him as to many others that the clove legislation should be directed at those very persons who have borne so large a part in the promotion of Zanzibar's present prosperity.

THE evil effects of this legislation on the general economic position of the Protectorate are by now a matter of common knowledge to the Indian public. But the ruination it has brought upon petty traders, to which attention is vividly drawn, so far as we know, for the first time, by Mr. Lelard could not have been so obvious. As will be remembered, the clove legislation imposed an exorbitant fee of Rs. 2,000 for a licence for the export of cloves. This naturally had the effect of driving out from competition all the petty traders, leaving a group of ten firms, eight of whom were Indian, in the field. Small parcels of one ton and more, Mr. Lelard says, used to be sent out by these petty traders to different parts of the world, but with the enforcement of the hated legislation this petty trade, he tells us, has practically come to a stop.

SO far Zanzibar enjoyed almost a world monopoly for the supply of cloves. According to Mr. Lelard, however, it is steadily losing that privileged position in favour of Madagascar which is gradually coming to the fore. So much so is this the case that to-day Madagascar has a greater acreage of clove trees than the Zanzibar Protectorate itself. But the situation can even yet be retrieved by an early return to unrestricted trade, which was in force till June 1934 when the Clove Decrees were enacted. And it is comforting to note that Mr. Lelard foreshadows this as a result of the recent Binder inquiry. Let us hope Mr. Lelard's prophecy will come true.

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### Third Class Citizenship.

ACCORDING to Mr. N. Raghavan, President, Indian Association, Penang, His Excellency the High Commissioner of Malaya candidly told the Indian member of the Federal Council that in British Malaya the domiciled communities, of whom Indians form an important part, could not expect to receive the same treatment as the others could. "Are we going to take this 'no' as final?" asked Mr. Raghavan. Proceeding he said:

As citizens of a great empire we have certain rights; and it will be folly on our part not to make a stand in the defence of those rights. It is the birth-right of every British Indian in Malaya to be accorded equal opportunities with the sons of the soil, with every other Britisher. If in opposition to our reasonable demands we are still going to be relegated to the status of a third-class citizenship it is time for every one of us to consider most seriously and anxiously not only our present predicament but our future position also. I may mention however that the British Government, whether at home or abroad, whether democracy or bureaucracy, is beyond all a government by public opinion; and given proper representations made in a proper manner the 'no' of today may become the 'yes' of tomorrow. There is a tendency in this country to take the Government's answer on any matter as final. It is never so.

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### Dufferin Cadets & Officers.

WHEN the problem of the employment of ex-Dufferin cadets and officers trained on that ship was raised in the last session of the Indian Legislature,

an assurance was given on behalf of the Government that the next occasion for the renewal of mail contracts with the P. & O. and B. I. S. N. Companies would be utilised for pressing their claims on the attention of these employing bodies. Such occasion would arise in the case of the former Company three years hence and in that of the latter next year. Indian opinion is naturally anxious not only not to let Government lose sight of these promises, but to make them move in the desired direction from now. That apparently is the purpose of a representation recently addressed to Government by the Indian Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta.

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IN the course of this representation it is pointed out that the payments made to these companies on account of mail contracts are in the nature of a "subsidy", despite the Commerce Member's objection to their description as such. The Chamber's contention finds justification in the fact that in the agreement between the Government and the B. I. S. N. Co. the word "subsidy" is repeatedly mentioned; and the annual reports of the Posts and Telegraphs Department also habitually describe these payments by that very term. In these circumstances one fails to see why the Commerce Member should naively boggle at the use of that word.

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IT is noteworthy that the payments themselves are very substantial. In the case of the B.I.S.N. Co. it is Rs. 15 lakhs a year, an amount which it has been receiving from Indian revenues for 83 years now. The patronage in the case of the P. & O. Co. is even more solid. It receives £30,000 by way of a mail subsidy over and above from £10,000 to £12,000 for the carriage of parcel mails. And be it remembered that such huge payments are being made to it for over 90 years. But this is not all. On account of passages home for Government officers as recommended by the Lee Commission Government payments to the Company during the five years ending 31st March 1931 are officially admitted to have amounted to nearly Rs. 2¾ crores. The conclusion is inescapable that if only the Government were to use the bargaining power which this vast patronage places in their hands to the benefit of Dufferin cadets and officers, the problem of their employment need not be given up as hopeless, as is supposed in some circles at present.

## HAULING DOWN THE FLAG.

THE Old Guard in the Congress was frightened badly by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's thunderous proclamation of socialism—scientific socialism—at the Lucknow Congress and it was frightened still worse by his unceasing socialist propaganda later on as Congress President. The Congress has not adopted the socialist creed, either of the scientific variety or any other, and Pandit Jawaharlal took the precaution everywhere of saying that the views he was propounding were his own and were not endorsed by the Congress. But this reservation did not make the old leaders who are in virtual control of the Congress look upon what appeared to them to be flagrantly subversive of the existing social order with any more favour. They determined to call a halt to this propaganda, and the subject loomed large in the discussions conducted with great heat at the recent Working Committee's meeting in Wardha, where Mahatma Gandhi's assistance was specially sought by the ortho-

dox leaders. At this meeting Pandit Jawaharlal was reported to have received a rap on the knuckles, and the public were led to expect a statement on the subject detailing the tenour of the discussion and the decision arrived at. It was thought that the Working Committee would issue a pronunciamento asking Jawaharlal, if not to stop, at least to use more restraint in making socialist speeches as Congress President; but that would have looked harsh and unseemly. Instead, Pandit Jawaharlal has himself published an apologia as if spontaneously and without reference to the bitter complaints in the Working Committee, renouncing advocacy of socialism as an immediate and practical programme for the country. This is an event of great significance.

It is not to be supposed that the orthodox Congress leaders are necessarily opposed to socialism; some of them no doubt feel that a general smash-up would be in front of them if the Pandit's propaganda

were allowed to go on unchecked, but some are not reluctant to try out socialism of a moderate brand at the proper time. What these object to is the unseasonableness of the socialist propaganda. This is not an opportune time, they say, for carrying on such propaganda; for the present the movement must be kept on to nationalist lines, India against England, and to this movement must be harnessed all the forces in the country, both the underprivileged and overprivileged elements in the population; in order to do this nothing should be done which would divide our strength and throw the richer classes into the arms of our opponents. When the opponents are once brought to their knees there will be time enough to effect an equitable distribution of wealth and to right other social wrongs. But till then the vested interests must not be touched or at any rate must not be made to undergo heavy, if in the abstract necessary, sacrifices; on the other hand, they ought to be coaxed to remain at the helm of affairs, for it is only their leadership which will enable us to give a good account of ourselves in the fight with the Britishers. Our present struggle is political; all extraneous questions affecting the social order must be rigorously excluded for the nonce.

This is by no means a new issue; it was the same issue which came to the fore in the letters exchanged between Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about three years ago. We wrote about it at the time:

To describe this difference in one word, perhaps we may say that the Mahatma is at bottom a Nationalist and the Pandit a Democrat. The latter would immediately start attacking the vested interests, for unless these interests are put in their proper place and the masses given a chance of coming into their own, self-government has no meaning for him. He would not mind if such a campaign would result in all the vested interests clinging to the British Government, who might with their help be even better able to put down the exclusively political struggle which looms so large in the eyes of our people. A self-government which can only be obtained by conciliating all the vested interests at the start, so that these may be persuaded to unite in asking for political privileges from the British Government, does not appear to Pandit Jawaharlal to be a worthy objective. For it would only mean a change of masters, the brown in the place of the white, but it would not make any easier, and might in fact well render more difficult, the task of putting it in the power of the masses of the people to ameliorate their own conditions and take their proper place in the government of the country.

Pandit Nehru would therefore have the fight go on on all fronts at the same time; to postpone your fight with the vested interests till you finish your fight with the British Government, in the hope that the vested interests may come to your aid in downing the British, seems to him to be wrong in principle as well as wrong in strategy. Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, would concentrate all the energy of the nation at the present time in arraying all available forces against the British Government. The forces that are most powerful for this purpose are the vested interests, and he would not therefore be in a hurry to turn the masses against them. His effort would rather be to combine the masses and the vested interests in a common anti-governmental campaign by taking up only such questions as have caused discontent with Government among both sections. Mahatma Gandhi has in his long public career given heroic battle to Government at many points; but he is yet to take up the cause of,

say, tenants as against landlords, of labourers as against employers, of the poor as against the rich, of the States' people as against the Princes. Welfare work for those who are down and out he has consistently advocated, but social changes of a basic character he has carefully refrained from working for. Not that he does not desire these changes; obviously he does and very much so. But he would like this internal struggle to be put off till the external enemy is put out of the way. He notes in his reply that Pandit Jawaharlal does not refer to the constructive programme at all. We think the omission was deliberate. Panditji does not lay much store by it. Mahatmajji does because items in it like Hindu-Muslim unity are calculated to bring all classes together so that the nation can oppose a common front to the Government. Mere self-government is not Panditji's objective as it is the Mahatma's, unless it is also truly popular government.

Pandit Jawaharlal who took up such a strong attitude then has now yielded to the claim of a nationalist movement upon the exclusive attention of the country. He has no doubt used some saving clauses, but they are only meant to preserve the theoretical integrity of his position. For all practical purposes, however, he accepts the position of the nationalist school, as a few sentences from his statement will make clear. "For us, it is rightly said, the political issue dominates the scene. . . . We must concentrate on political independence and that alone. . . . Political freedom is the first and essential objective for us today. Everything else must necessarily follow it. . . . It is clear that we must concentrate on the political issue—the independence of India." Socialism can come only after independence has been established. Here we see a great change in his ideas. So far, socialism was to him also a means to the winning of freedom and not merely an instrument for the reconstruction of the social order in a freed India. He says in effect to the Right wing of the Congress party: "Do let me popularise socialism; we shall have to labour for it one day. My propaganda need have no terrors for anyone at present; for it is not a question of the immediate present, but of the distant future. So far as the present is concerned, I am with you; our struggle must be conducted on the plane of nationalism." The Congress leaders to the Right then say: "Very well, you may carry on your propaganda if you do so with very great discretion, if, that is, you preach socialism as a far-off event and in such a way as not to give fright to those classes who will suffer most when socialism becomes a reality, but upon whom we rely at present for giving the most valuable assistance in our immediate political struggle." Thus a bargain is struck, which takes the sting out of Pandit Jawaharlal's socialistic propaganda. It is a bargain which in fact means for the Pandit a complete surrender.

The nationalist strategy with which Pandit Jawaharlal now falls in assumes that it is possible to keep in with the vested interests in the country and yet obtain political freedom from the Britishers. This assumption, however, is negatived by the new constitution. The constitution is condemned by all, and yet we are afraid the most sinister feature of it is not vividly realised by a great many of those who condemn it. This feature consists in the fact that, small as is the power the constitution transfers from British into

Indian hands, the power it does concede will be lodged in the holders of vested interests of our society. Those who talk of destroying the constitution and yet of conciliating the vested interests know not what they are talking about. The first impact of any serious effort for the destruction of the constitution will fall upon these vested interests, and the British Government can be attacked only through them. Those who desire to continue the old nationalist policy and would be tender towards the vested interests will find that the British Government standing behind the vested interests will be safe. To attack the British Government one must necessarily attack the vested interests, and unless a simultaneous fight with both is undertaken we may as well say good-bye to all our plans for obtaining political freedom. To fight both these powerful classes together, one Indian and the other British, is no easy matter. However, if it is difficult to fight both, it is impossible to fight the British and keep the Indian vested interests on our side. The grim reality

of the situation, if fully understood, will prove the need for reorientating our traditional policy. Of course, it is possible up to a point to pursue certain administrative reforms without disturbing the vested interests, and nobody would contend that they should be wantonly disturbed unless imperative necessity arose. But it must be recognised that the fate of political freedom is bound up, in the long run, with that of fundamental reconstruction of our internal social order. We have not yet obtained a clear view of Pandit Jawaharlal's socialist programme. The catchphrases that he uses cannot be approved by us. But to leave social reconstruction on one side till political freedom is attained is a mistake, not only for reasons of morality but for those of practicality. We must run the two horses together; if we do not we shall have to face the danger, not merely of not obtaining political freedom, but of helping to establish an oligarchic clique of special and privileged interests.

## CONSULT THE PEOPLE.

THE discussion that is proceeding both in South Africa and England about the transfer by the British Government of the three South African Protectorates to the Union Government makes it clear, as well from the legal as from the moral point of view, that the rulers of Indian States are not competent to push their subjects, lock, stock and barrel, into the federal structure contemplated by the Government of India Act, without the consent of the subjects. What is this Protectorates issue? The British Government has undertaken not to incorporate Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland into the Union without consulting the natives of the Protectorates. Even if this solemn undertaking were not given, it is held by constitutional lawyers of acknowledged authority that it would be impossible for the British Government to transfer these territories to the Union Government against the wishes of the natives. The limits within which the British Government can move in this matter are thus set down by Professor Berriedale Keith in the *Spectator* of 3rd July. "On the legal issue," he says, "it ought to be pointed out that the only method by which transfer to the Union could be effected is by the exercise of a very doubtful power, the right of the Crown to transfer the right of protection and the authority connected therewith to a totally distinct sovereignty, that of the Union of South Africa. If the King can do so without the consent of the tribes, then he equally has the right to transfer to the control of the central government in India, when it becomes responsible to the electorate, the rights he has of protection over the Indian States." The Indian Princes hotly contest the proposition that the British Government has the constitutional right to place the States under a popular government in British India without taking their previous consent. Similarly, then, they will agree that the British Government has not the constitutional right to place the Protectorates under a Dominion without taking the Protectorates' previous consent.

But how is the consent of the Protectorates to be taken? By consulting the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, e. g., through whom the British control the country? Professor Keith says, "No, the consent of the native tribes must be taken." By a parity of reasoning, then, in the case of the Indian States, the consent that is required for their transfer to a self-governing British India is not the consent of the rulers, but of the people, of the States. But it may be said that the Governments of the States consist of the Princes and as such have plenary authority to act for the people of the States. If this contention is valid, then clearly the British Government too, which exercises an ultimate control over the South African Protectorates, has full authority to transfer the chiefs and the people of the Protectorates without the consent of either. But Professor Keith insists that, although the British Government is in full control, it cannot make over the Protectorates without the consent of the people concerned, and it follows from this reasoning that, although the Indian Princes constitute the Governments in the Indian States, they cannot make over their people, in regard to any vital matters of administration, to a different sovereignty, viz. the federal government, without the consent of the people. Whether, then, the Princes be considered as occupying the position of African chiefs, who have been deprived of their sovereignty, or of the British Government, who retains its sovereignty in full, the conclusion is the same, viz. that the Indian Princes cannot on their own authority dragoon their subjects into a federation and place them under the control of a totally different authority unless the subjects agree to go over to that authority willingly. And as in the case of the South African Protectorates the Union Government is not going to be allowed to take over the native territories without taking the consent of the natives, so in the case of the Indian States the Princes cannot and must not be allowed to drag the

people in the States into the federation without the consent of the States' people.

But, we know, of course, that to our Princes moral considerations make a far greater appeal than legal considerations, and moral considerations are decisive in this matter. Assuming that the Princes have the legal right to transfer their subjects from their sovereignty over the whole sphere of administration to another sovereignty over a part of the administration, are they going to exercise this right even if their subjects be opposed to the transfer? We do not think the "great" Princes would ever be prepared to treat their "dear" subjects (in the language of Mahatma Gandhi) like chattel, transferring them from one owner to another, if only the Princes knew how much their subjects liked the present owner. They think that their subjects would welcome an escape from their own administration, at least in regard to certain matters, and therefore the Princes are willing with exemplary self-abnegation to release the subjects from their own control and hand them over to a control by others. But the Indian States' rulers have little idea as to how very much attached their subjects are to the Princely rule and how bitterly opposed to any other rule. The Princes apparently do not believe it, but it is a fact. The States' people are so much used to the personal rule of the Princes that they will not willingly leave it and go under the impersonal rule of the federal government, where new-fangled ideas of democracy will by closer contact make great inroads upon the paternal form of government which they have learnt so much to adore. Why must the Princes be so hard-hearted as to remove from their subjects the protecting umbrella of their own rule and leave them to shiver in cold and rain under another rule? And once the subjects are placed under another rule, they can never return to the Princes' rule, no exit being ever allowed from federation. If the Princes have any doubt as to what precisely their subjects would prefer, let them turn to the resolution of the Indian States' People's Conference in Karachi which says distinctly that the people in the States do not want the federation. It is true that the Conference gives a different reason for the States' people's opposition to federation. It says that the proposed federation is a fake federation. But never mind the reason; the reason is pro-

bably suggested by Congressmen who have not yet spiritually evolved so much as to appreciate, like Mahatma Gandhi, the benignity of Princely rule. The fact, however, remains that the States' people would like to remain under the Princes and not have federation forced on them.

There appears to us to be no doubt about this. If the Princes want to put this matter to the test, let them wait for a few years to see how the British Government is going to ascertain the opinion of the natives in the South African Protectorates and then let them adopt the same methods for ascertaining the opinion of their own subjects. If, after such a careful canvass, it is discovered, contrary to expectations, that the subjects prefer a federal government to the Princes' government, then the Princes may agree to join federation, but not before giving the subjects a chance to declare their will. Mr. Panikkar is doing a great injustice to the Princes in urging the British Government to make indecent haste in bringing about federation. He would almost make one believe that the sooner the direct rule of the Princes is withdrawn the better pleased the subjects would be. This is a libel against the Princes and their subjects. We would ask the Princes to have confidence in themselves. When General Hertzog raised the question of the Union's incorporation of the native Protectorates last year, the British Government stated at the time, and have reaffirmed now, that the transfer of the Protectorates would not take place till the native population had given consent, and boldly added that "all our information goes to show that at present native opinion in the territories is very strongly opposed to the transfer." Similarly, when the Princes are asked to sign the Instruments of Accession they should declare that they would not join federation till proof is forthcoming that their subjects desire a change in the present system of administration, and they should add that "all our information goes to show that at present our subjects are too much in love with our own direct personal rule to think of exchanging it for any other." The British Government of course will try to hustle them, but are not our Princes strong enough to stand up to the British Government and say, "We are not the people to sign on the dotted line"?

## "EAST INDIANS" IN TRINIDAD, BRITISH GUIANA AND SURINAM.

### I.—RELIGION.

IN the three Colonies of Trinidad, British Guiana and Dutch Guiana or Surinam, the main religions represented are Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. But it is only among "East Indians", as the immigrants from India and their descendants are called in these Colonies, that the three religions are represented. Almost all non-Indians in Trinidad and British Guiana are Christians. In Surinam, however,

the non-Indians include the Javanese, who are almost all Muslims. As a matter of fact, in Surinam the great bulk of the Muslims, who numbered 39,972 in 1934, are Javanese, the Indian Muslims being estimated at only 6,400. The following figures classifying the Indians according to religions are taken from the Census Reports for 1931 for Trinidad and British Guiana, and calculated for Surinam :

RELIGION	TRINIDAD	BR. GUIANA	SURINAM
Hindu ... ..	94,125	96,342	29,841
Muslim ... ..	20,747	21,789	6,412
Christian ... ..	23,183	9,045	3,140
Other ... ..	612	3,364	...
Total Indian population ...	138,667	130,540	39,393
Total population of the Colony ...	331,084	810,938	144,385

It will be noticed that the great majority of Indians are still non-Christians. For an adequate appreciation of the significance of the relative proportion of Christians and non-Christians among the Indians it is necessary to take note of their religious heritage from India and the religious environment that impinged on them in the Colonies.

There were hardly any Christians among those recruited from India. The immigrants were either Hindus or Muslims, the latter a minority. Of deliberate and set purpose, people who had even the slightest education, culture and spirit were given a wide berth by the recruiting agents who put a premium on docility and ignorance. Most of the immigrants recruited in India were from the poorest labouring classes, mostly from the "depressed classes" or the "untouchables" with no traditions of education and culture. It was not a cross section of India that was fetched over. No adequate complement of religious and cultural leaders was included among the immigrants, which could sustain the religious culture of the immigrants and defend it against attacks, open or insidious, of other religions.

It is true that the immigrants were not for long without some sort of religious leaders among them. The need was there and it was soon met by some of the abler of the immigrants setting themselves up as priests. These men were treated with respect by their own religionists and with consideration by the Sugar Estate authorities. They had an easier time than the labourers, and were supported financially not only by their congregations but also by the Sugar Estate authorities. But their equipment did not amount to much; it was as nothing compared with that of the Christian missionaries and priests who undertook evangelistic work among the immigrants.

Their new environment was Christian through and through. Both the Church and the State were and are Christian and work in conjunction. Every influence that played on the immigrants was Christian and every advantage lay in becoming Christian.

The State was not neutral, even benevolently neutral, in matters of religion. In all these Colonies the State has been giving and still gives from public funds, to which non-Christians as well as Christians contribute, subsidies to the Christian Churches, and only to them. In Trinidad the Ecclesiastical grant amounts to \$50,880 per annum, which is apportioned among six Christian denominations on the basis of the population of each denomination according to the latest Census returns. In British Guiana Ecclesiastical expenditure takes three forms. Part of the annual grant has been commuted in 1920 for a lump

sum, which amounted to \$639,410. This amount was apportioned between seven Christian denominations and was given in the form of bonds bearing 5% interest per annum and redeemable at par in twenty-five years. The balance of the annual grant, which amounted to \$32,602 in 1926 and \$17,832 in 1934, is to be reduced at the rate of 10% per annum and ultimately extinguished. There is a third special grant for missionary purposes. The Bishop of British Guiana gets a special grant earmarked for missionary work among East Indians! And the Government of British Guiana is alleged to have promised not to interfere with the religions of the immigrants from India!

The Indian immigrants came as "indentured" labourers and were allotted to Sugar Estates. The only people who took cultural interest in them were the Christian missionaries, and the Canadian Mission in particular in Trinidad and to a lesser extent in British Guiana. And they were missionaries primarily interested in evangelistic work first and education as a means thereto. The Christian Missions were organized bodies, supported by their Home Boards as well as local Governments with finance. The missionaries were well-educated, certainly far better equipped than the Hindu and Muslim priests who sprung up from among the Indian labourers.

The missions naturally evaluate their success by their success in evangelization. They are zealous in this cause without external stimulus and assistance. In the case of these Colonies, the State gave them funds from public revenues, and thereby supplied a further economic incentive to evangelization.

In addition to this, the Missions controlled the educational system to a very large extent. Most of the schools in these Colonies are managed by the Christian Churches. Trinidad has only 45 Government and non-denominational schools as against 247 Church and Missionary schools. British Guiana has only four primary schools as against 173 Christian denominational schools. In Surinam there are 43 Government non-denominational schools as against 79 Christian denominational schools, which is a much larger proportion than in Trinidad and British Guiana. Almost all the recurrent expenditure of the primary schools and part of the non recurrent expenditure is contributed by the Government from public funds, the Missions contributing buildings and management. It is an admitted fact that the educational systems are largely dominated by Christian denominations, while it is financed very largely from public funds. Non-Christians have been receiving education in such schools and at an age when their minds are most impressionable.

As far as the individual was concerned, every material advantage lay in becoming a Christian than in remaining a non-Christian. The convert to Christianity had a god-father in the Christian missionary who was a European, with the prestige that belonged to his race and colour and who had some influence with the Government. The Christian had an advantage over the non-Christian in the matter of employment in the public services, and in particular in the teaching profession. The non-Christian systems of



marriage received no recognition from the Government.

Apart from the Government and the Christian missionaries, the social environment which surrounded the Indian immigrant was Christian. The non-Indian community, consisting of Europeans, Negroes and the Coloured peoples, was wholly Christian, and socially it had a superior status. The Europeans and the Coloured were never slaves; the Negroes were emancipated and the East Indians came to take their place and were looked down upon as "bound coolies". The general tendency among all social inferiors is to imitate their superiors. The Indian immigrant was not impervious to this universal tendency; he imitated his betters in some respects. And they were Christians.

And yet, notwithstanding these circumstances which exalted Christianity and penalized the non-Christian faiths, the great bulk of the Indians remained non-Christian instead of going over to Christianity.

What is the explanation for this phenomenon? Does it indicate a failure of the Christian Churches in their missionary activity? A missionary view was that the Indian immigrants and their children were mostly residents on sugar estates, and inasmuch as the missionaries coupled education with evangelization, and as the management of the sugar estates were not too keen on the education of their labouring population, their evangelical work suffered a handicap. Moreover, the conduct of the Christian management, and in particular of the overseers, towards their labourers, was not such as to inspire among the non-Christian labourers much respect for the teachings of the missionaries. For every single Sunday there were six week-days, and there were nights besides.

A non-missionary view was that, but for the combination of the State and the Christian Church, the latter would not have achieved even such results as it has and that the non-Christian faiths have such inherent vitality and verity in them that, notwithstanding all the handicaps they suffered from, they were able to hold the loyalties of their followers to a large extent, and that if the State were only neutral, or benevolently neutral, towards all religions, the non-Christians would have made much greater progress than they have.

To an objective student of sociology who is not committed to any particular religion, the situation is full of interest. Here was an unequal contest between the Christian and the non-Christian religions. The former had all the advantages of organization, finance and prestige, and was aggressive and missionary. The latter lacked all these, and had to be on the defensive. Its defenders were not adequately equipped for the task, and were exiles in a foreign and depressing environment. These many "village Hampdens" deserve a tribute of admiration even from those who are indifferent to all religions.

It was inevitable that under the circumstances all the energies that the non-Christian leaders were able to spare were devoted to conserving and defend-

ing their heritage. There were hardly any to spare for initiating reform and progress.

Up to date the assimilation of non-Christians into Christianity has not been achieved. What of the future? The prospect of assimilation seems to be even less than the retrospect. During the last decade or so non-Christian missionaries from India have been visiting these Colonies and strengthening the religious consciousness of the non-Christians. And some of them, the Arya Samajists for instance, have inaugurated an aggressive "war into the enemy's camp", as it were. They have not hesitated to adopt the technique of the Christian missionaries of exalting their own religion at the expense of others and seeking converts from other religions. They claim equal rights for all religions. They have created a sense of legitimate grievance among non-Christians that the State was heavily subsidizing Christian missionary activity among non-Christians.

While the non-Christians are developing self-confidence, strengthening their defences and even "raiding the enemy's territory" occasionally, the Christian missionaries have had to temper their aggressive zeal. The economic depression has crippled the resources of the home boards of the missions which are, in consequence, driven to depend even more on the State for their work. The teachers in their schools are increasingly resenting being asked to do evangelical work in addition to educational work, and they are increasingly looking up to the Educational Departments to mitigate the evangelical demands of the missionary-managers of the schools. The Government of British Guiana has already for economic reasons decided gradually to decrease and ultimately to extinguish the grants to the Christian Churches for religious work. In none of the Colonies, however, is there a declared policy of developing a State-controlled secular system of education in the place of the present Christian denominational monopoly.

The coming in of non-Christian missionaries from India has emphasized the distinction not only as between Christians and non-Christians, but between Hindus and Muslims as well. It has created further religious divisions among the Hindus and Muslims even as the Christians have been divided into various denominations, not always in harmony with one another. The prospect points towards more denominations rather than towards assimilation into one single religion and one single denomination.

It is noteworthy also that so far racial community has prevailed over religious community. People are more conscious as Europeans, Negroes, Coloured Indians and Javanese rather than as Christians, Muslims and Hindus. The Javanese Muslims in Surinam do not make common cause with Indian Muslims as against non-Muslims, Hindus or Christians. Indian Christians feel more in common with Indian non-Christians than with Christians of other races.

There is reason to believe that the peoples of these Colonies will become more and more conscious along racial lines primarily and along religious lines secondarily. As far as the State is concerned, it seems best that it keeps itself above racial and reli-

gious considerations and interests. In theory it is so even now. But, as has been shown, non-Christian religions are at the moment penalized, though largely on account of historical circumstances. However, the changing circumstances demand a change in the policy.

The change of policy may be in either of two ways. All the religions may be assisted by the State on a uniform basis or none. The assistance which the State has been giving takes two or three forms : direct financial contributions to the Christian Churches, indirect financial assistance through grants for education and non-recognition of non-Christian customs, as, for instance, marriage. In Trinidad only certain Christian Churches, to wit, the Roman Catholic, the Anglican and the Wesleyan, received ecclesiastical grants till 1902. The grant was extended then to other Christian Churches, such as the Presbyterian, Baptist, Moravian, etc. A similar extension may now be made to include the non-Christian religions and denominations. But this will lead to difficulties in administration.

The Surinam Government fears to recognize the non-Christian religions, lest logic should compel it to give financial assistance to them also on a par with the Christian religions and the Government has no money to spare for this purpose. The Trinidad Government in the recent legislation regarding Muslim marriages (1935) has recognized Islam, but did not feel obliged to recognize the same religion for purposes of ecclesiastical grants. The British Guiana Government has decided to extinguish these grants in course of time.

But the State's assistance to missionary work through Christian schools continues. There also it is best for the State to divest itself of any interest in any religion and confine itself to secular education under Government control and leave the religions to carry on their work outside the school and without the financial assistance of the State.

P. KODANDA RAO.

## Reviews.

### ITALY AND ETHIOPIA.

**BLACK SHIRT BLACK SKIN.** By BOAKE CARTER. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 178p. 3/6.

**ETHIOPIAN REALITIES.** By POLSON NEWMAN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 134p. 3/6.

**ABYSSINIA AND ITALY.** (3rd Edn.) (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.) 1935. 22cm. 55p. 2/.

**SANCTIONS.** (2nd Edn.) (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.) 1935. 22cm. 72p. 2/.

**THE LEAGUE AND ABYSSINIA.** By LEONARD WOOLF. (The Hogarth Press.) 20cm. 1936. 1/.

At a time when Ethiopia is in the limelight, the books under review are bound to interest everyone. To understand correctly the issues in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, it is necessary to know the history of Ethiopia and especially its relations with European powers. Such a knowledge may be obtained from the books under review and hence their value need hardly be exaggerated.

The Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs has laid the reading-public under a deep debt of gratitude by giving in its brochure "Abyssinia and Italy," a clear and concise statement of the facts essential to an understanding of the issues in the conflict. But while the Royal Institute confines itself to an objective statement of facts and does not express any opinion on the issues, Mr. Boake Carter in his splendid book, "Black Shirt Black Skin" and Mr. Leonard Woolf in his pamphlet "The League and Abyssinia", boldly condemn Italy for her nefarious adventure and the League for its vacillation and stupid and half-hearted application of sanctions. If anybody wishes to learn how to carry vast erudition lightly, and to make others partake of it agreeably, as though it were the easiest kind of game, he should take lessons from Mr. Boake Carter. The pre-war history of Ethiopia, her international status after her admission to the League of Nations, her relations with foreign Powers, Italy's overpopulation and her need for colonies, Mussolini's imperialistic ideas and the currents and cross-currents of international politics—all these are treated in such a facile manner by Mr. Boake Carter that they read like a light article you may meet in an evening newspaper.

Mr. Leonard Woolf in his brilliant pamphlet exposes the attitude not only of Italy but of France and Britain towards Ethiopia after her admission to the League in 1923. By admitting her into the League, all the other members pledged themselves to protect its independence and territorial integrity and to settle all disputes by the pacific procedure laid down in the Covenant. But in 1925 Britain, France, and Italy exchanged notes for carving Ethiopia into "spheres of influence." About this transaction Mr. Leonard Woolf is outspoken in his criticism. This is what he says on p. 10, "If great Powers like Britain and France regulate their relations with the small Powers by the methods and moralities of tricksters, gangsters, and thugs, it is inevitable that sooner or later they will begin to deal in the same way with one another." The author points out by a reference to the Manchurian incident how Britain had taken a leading part in destroying the League system and Mussolini naturally thought that he would be allowed to do in Abyssinia what Japan had done in Manchuria.

Mr. Leonard Woolf also condemns the way in which sanctions are being applied against the aggressor country. A clear and objective statement of 'Sanctions' in general, their character and the problems of application, is given in the brochure prepared by the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. As this is the first occasion when the sanctions clause of the Covenant has been invoked against an aggressor, the brochure which states the problem of sanctions from every point of view is bound to interest every one. In his pamphlet Mr. Leonard Woolf criticises the muddle-headed, slow and stupid manner in which the sanctions are being applied against Italy. In most discussions on the question of sanctions against Italy, it has been expressed that if applied effectively it would lead to war with Italy. Mr. Woolf says that states and statesmen who are not prepared to take that risk should not be in the League at all for the other alternative is the pre-war system of international chaos.

From these excellent books it is amusing to pass on to Major Polson Newman's "Ethiopian Realities." The book is one of the series which we have had, of late, from the pens of soldiers and sailors of senior rank maturing in retirement; and as with its predecessors, it also is facilely written, with that slightly 'know all' tendency so characteristic of such authors. After giving an account of some of the prominent Ethiopian sovereigns like Theodore, Menelik, and

Empress Zandita, he gives an excellent pen-picture of Emperor Haile Selassie and especially how he has introduced some reforms in spite of the opposition of the Church and the reactionary feudal nobles. So far the book is all right. But when the author proceeds to justify the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in the last few pages of the book, we do not see eye to eye with him. The author's reasons for justifying Italian conquest of Ethiopia are amusing in the year of grace 1936. Let us mention some of his arguments. Firstly, Italy is overpopulated and wants colonies and sources of raw materials. Ethiopia is rich in raw materials and so she must be absorbed by Italy. But may we suggest birth control to check overpopulation in Italy or may we ask Major Polson & Co. to bring pressure upon the British Cabinet to hand over Kenya to satisfy Mussolini's land hunger? Secondly, Ethiopia has forfeited her right to exist as an independent state for she has not abolished slavery and has not improved her road communications. This is the voice of Baron Aloisi but the pen of Major Polson. The author himself admits in his book that Haile Selassie passed edicts abolishing slavery in 1924 but they are not obeyed especially in the outlying regions. The proper method is not to allow Italy to conquer Ethiopia but to put pressure on the Emperor to carry out the promised reforms. After all slavery was abolished in 'God's own country'—America—only at the end of the nineteenth century and that after a bloody civil war. Given time, Haile Selassie will certainly root out slavery from his kingdom. A third argument of the author is brilliant. Libya has made much progress under Italian rule and Italy could transform Ethiopia in course of time into a wealthy and prosperous country. We are amused that such an argument should be seriously advanced. Finally, the author gives a string of incidents to prove that Ethiopia has been the aggressor against Italy. We would recommend the author to study the findings of the Politis Commission regarding the Wal Wal incident.

The author is indignant at the imposition of—after all—weak sanctions against Italy. He has one standard of morality for Europe and another for Africa. On page 116 he writes thus, "Although sanctions may be a useful means of stopping war under conditions in Europe, it is quite another matter when a civilised European Power is engaged in conflict with a colored race in Africa, which has proved itself to be unqualified for League membership." In his line of reasoning the author is on a par with Mr. Garvin. We are sure that Major Polson's book will prove a best seller in Fascist Italy!

The books under review give us all that we need know about the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. They are well got up and are furnished with good illustrations and maps.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

## PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

**UNEMPLOYMENT. AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM.** (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 24cm. 496p. 25/—

THE book under review is a lengthy and exhaustive report on unemployment prepared by a study group of members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Viscount Astor was the chairman of the group which included several competent students of public affairs. The group had also the advantage of an intimate consultation with trained experts in all the important aspects of their report. By the peculiar standpoint of their organisation the members of the group were naturally led to study the interna-

tional aspects of the problem of unemployment and to concentrate almost exclusively on recent trends rather than on fundamental analysis. Within these restrictions, however, the report constitutes a very competent and helpful survey of an important world problem. The book deserves to be widely read by students of current social problems.

The book consists of three parts. In the first part the meaning and social effects of unemployment are carefully outlined. The permanent problem of unemployment is distinguished from the one created by the depression, and the course of the latter evil in the important Western countries is succinctly described. Part II deals with the general background. The main outline is naturally supplied by the depression, but the special problems of important international industries such as coal, iron and steel and textiles are presented along with the industrial and technical influences at work. Part III which is likely to arouse the greatest interest deals with remedial measures, which fall into three classes, viz. provision of work by the state, regulation of the employment of labour and direct assistance.

As the product of a keen and able study group which had the assistance of competent experts the report is essentially a descriptive record of facts, measures and opinions. As a record it is truthful and is well arranged. All persons interested in the study of the pressing social problem will reap great advantage by its perusal. Careful readers will not fail to be impressed by the opinions expressed in the book. The whole complex of political and economic conflicts, in the national as well as the international sphere, is indicated as the background of the problem. The worker's liability to industrial risk is prominently brought out, and it constitutes a challenge to current economic theory which associates risk with the employer more prominently than with the employee. The regulation of savings, investments, technological improvements etc. are only referred to as lines of approach to the long term and fundamental problem of industrial maladjustment.

Though the report professes to deal with the more pressing problem of the normal level of unemployment and its acute manifestation in the period of the depression, the authors have felt constrained to refer to several radical changes in the industrial sphere. Insurance schemes are indicated as suitable for industrialised and wealthy countries, though the actual features of a scheme are left to be regulated by the peculiarities of the conditions and ideals of each nation. The changed exchange relations between the East and the West, altered trends in the quantity and composition of populations and increasing adoption of rationalisation are indicated as important fundamental influences. The incompatibility between national protectionism and the need for growing export markets as in U. K. is frankly stated. In bringing all the important features of the problem of recent unemployment before the readers the report renders an invaluable service.

D. G. KARVE.

## SHORT NOTICE.

**SCHOOL EDUCATION IN HYGIENE AND SEX.** By G. O. BARBER. (Heffer, Cambridge.) 1936. 20cm. 71p. 2/6.

OWING to the limitations imposed by a Rev. headmaster at whose request these lectures were given, the book covers the subject quite well, except as regards sex. The Rev. gentleman says in his preface:

The sex question of course is *not left out*, but . . . These lectures make no attempt to deal with the moral side, but

\* they do not make the mistake of assuming that there is no moral side, or that religion is to be left out in dealing with such matters.

The author himself however says (p. 7):

The question of masturbation and homo-sexuality have been treated in a manner suitable for presenting to a class of boys. There are many who feel that both these subjects should be treated more fully, myself among them, but...

The book contains three coloured charts at the end showing the Digestive System, the Circulatory System and the Main Organs of the Body, and apparently the Main Organs do not include the genital organs. However, something is better than nothing and the book will be useful to teachers and parents.

R. D. KARVE.

## Miscellaneous.

### INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE.

#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

*Among the resolutions of general interest passed by the Indian States' People's Conference at its fifth session held in Karachi are the following:—*

#### FEDERATION.

**T**HIS Conference, while in favour of an all-India Federation of a genuine character, declares itself unable to accept the Federation proposed in the Government of India Act, on the ground, among others, that it fails to secure effective representation of the States' people in the Federal Legislature and protection of their elementary rights of citizenship through the agency of the Federal Court, and the Conference pledges the support of the people in the States in all attempts to be made to replace this mock federation by a real one to be fashioned by the mutual consent of the people in British India and the Indian States.

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

This Conference puts on record its firm determination to obtain from all concerned unambiguous recognition of the right of the people in the States to representation, on an equal footing with the people in British India, on a constituent assembly, whenever it is convened, for the purpose of formulating a constitution on a federal basis for the whole of India.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

This Conference welcomes the proposed formation of the Civil Liberties Union, and suggests that, since the States suffer from an infringement of civil liberties to a much larger extent than in British India, as was admitted in a resolution of this year's Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, the Civil Liberties Union in all its branches take particular steps to collect detailed information about all grave instances of repression that may be reported in the States, give publicity to authoritative facts concerning them, and take such measures to resist encroachments upon civil liberties as it may be within its power to take. The Conference also urges workers in the States to establish and co-operate with the branches of the Union in the States.

#### LUCKNOW CONGRESS RESOLUTION.

(a) This Conference makes an earnest appeal to all political organisations in British India to

abandon their policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States and to give all the active help they can to the people in the States in the latter's struggle for popular government, as it is clear that no approach towards democracy can be made in India under the Federal Constitution sponsored by the Princes, in which their autocracy is left intact, till this autocracy is made to give place to responsible government in the States.

(b) This Conference notes that the Lucknow Congress resolution regarding the Indian States is a step in advance towards the compliance with the States' people's demands in this behalf and is nevertheless of opinion that the Lucknow resolution is both inadequate and unsatisfactory and even inconsistent in a measure.

(c) This Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived for the Indian National Congress, as for itself, to view the problem of Indian emancipation as a composite one affecting equally the Provinces and the States.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE RISE OF EUROPEAN LIBERALISM. By HAROLD J. LASKI. (Allen & Unwin.) 1936. 20cm. 287. 7/6.
- SOVIET COMMUNISM: A NEW CIVILISATION? Vols. I & II. By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. (Longmans.) 1936. 23cm. 528p. and 529-1174p. 35/- for 2 vols.
- INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH. By J. COGGIN BROWN. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 23cm. 335p. Rs. 10.
- THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM. By HERMANN LEVY. (Routledge.) 1936. 23cm. 282p. 10/6.
- IS THERE ENOUGH GOLD? By CHARLES O. HARDY. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1936. 21cm. 212p. \$ 1.25.
- THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM IN INDIA. By CLIFFORD MANSARDT. (Allen & Unwin.) 1936. 20cm. 128p. 5/-.
- THE ECONOMICS OF OPEN PRICE SYSTEM. By LOVERETT S. LYON and VICTOR ABRAMSON. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1936. 21cm. 165p. \$ 1.25.
- ADDRESSES BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY, 1925-1935. By JUDAH L. MAGNES. (Hebrew University, Jerusalem.) 1936. 20cm. 308p.
- THE SIMPLE CASE FOR SOCIALISM. By G. D. H. COLE. (Gollancz.) 1935. 20cm. 288p. 5/-.
- THE ECONOMICS OF TRANSPORT. By MICHAEL R. BONAIRA. (Nisbet.) 1936. 20cm. 201p. 5/-.
- PRACTICAL SOCIALISM FOR BRITAIN. By HUGH DALTON. (Routledge.) 1936. 20cm. 401p. 2/6.
- SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE LABOUR PARTY. AN APPEAL. By EDWIN MUIR. 1935. 21cm. 28p. 6/-.
- WHAT IS THIS SOCIAL CREDIT. By A. L. GIBSON. (Stanley Nott.) 1935. 21cm. 31p. 6d.

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