

Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA 4!

Vol. XX, No. 14 }

POONA—THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1937.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6 ;
FOREIGN 15s. }

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Topics of the Week.

A Way Out?

IT is but natural that public men should cast about for a solution to the stalemate created by the Congress refusal to accept office, for it is recognised by every one that the Minority Ministries now formed are a makeshift which will not save the Government for a long time from a declaration that the constitutional machinery has broken down. To many persons the solution seems easy enough : it consists, according to them, of devising a form of assurance to be given by the Governors which will be satisfactory both to the Congress and the Government. Just a little chop and change of words here and there, they appear to think, will do the trick.

THIS impression is no doubt due to the statement by Mahatma Gandhi that he wanted nothing more than what Sir Samuel Hoare had already promised, viz. that ordinarily the Governors would not interfere with the Ministers. If that be so, the gulf between the Government and the Congress is not only not unbridgeable, but has in fact been bridged, and all that is required to make this position clear is to recast the formula in slightly different words. Let Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow meet together and the desired formula will not take more than two minutes to devise. Such seems to be the reasoning of those who are calling for an interview between these two men.

IT appears to us, however, that the thing is not quite so easy. If Mahatma Gandhi has in one part

of his statement given one interpretation to the assurance required of the Governors, in another he has given another, and the two are irreconcilable. One cannot believe that the inconsistency in the statement was not deliberate. Only thus could the conflict between the various sections of opinion in the Congress ranks be covered up—those who are for a simple rejection of office ; those who are for accepting office provided the power office confers is used not for the purpose of ameliorating conditions at home but that of offering forceful opposition to the British Government who has imposed the hated constitution upon the country ; and those again who are for accepting office with no other object than that of putting in operation progressive policies of social and economic reform which under the bureaucracy it was not possible to do.

ALL the three sections of opinion are now dissatisfied a little—the first because a round-about method of rejection has been adopted, while the direct method would have made a greater impression upon Great Britain and the world ; the second because though the constitution is about to collapse it does not collapse quickly enough ; and the third because the Congress is deprived of the opportunity of doing valuable constructive work. The third section is more rueful than the others, but it has to keep quiet because it is the avowed objective of the Congress to end the constitution, and if it is ended sooner than they had expected they cannot openly complain.

ANYWAY Mahatma Gandhi has been able to maintain the solidarity of the Congress which he would not endanger by changing the form of the assurance in such a way as to win the assent of Lord Linlithgow. No one of course now expects that the Congress would just go and accept office without any kind of assurance as Lord Lothian suggests. Things have advanced much too far for that course to be taken. Some kind of assurance will have to be demanded. There can be no retreat from that position. And it must again be a kind of assurance which Lord Linlithgow will not be able to give. Otherwise divisions will appear in the Congress which must be avoided at all costs. Does it appear to anyone in these circumstances that a solution would easily be available? For, be it remembered, no one is now hoping for a real reconciliation, but just a change of words in the assurance which signifies nothing. If the change will have such far-reaching results on the internal economy of the Congress, we very much doubt if Mahatma Gandhi will agree, let alone his taking an initiative in proposing it.

Police Excesses on Hartal Day.

DESPITE official discouragements and obstacles the general hartal organised by the Congress on

Thursday last as a protest against the new constitution passed off successfully and without any unpleasant incidents, barring, of course, the happenings at Patna and Delhi. At the former place about twenty persons, mostly socialists, were put under arrest for taking out a procession in defiance of the District Magistrate's order to the contrary. In Delhi too a similar number of arrests took place. But the real cause of public resentment was not so much these arrests as an insult to the Congress flag and rough handling of a Congress woman worker by the Delhi police.

PUBLIC feeling over these incidents ran so high that it found its echo in the Legislative Assembly over an adjournment motion which was carried against Government by 61 votes to 40. So far as the rough handling of Mrs. Satyavati, the Congress worker, is concerned, there is little doubt it was quite unnecessary. The worst that is officially alleged against her is not any violent or illegal act by her but persuasion of mill hands to cease to work. She may have been doing it "in a loud voice", as stated by the police. But how even loud-voiced exhortation to stop working can justify her arrest we for our part cannot see. And how can one, addressing a crowd, help using a loud voice, if that was her offence in the eyes of the police? But even if she had to be arrested, could the arrest not have been effected more courteously? There was no risk of her avoiding arrest and the action of police officers catching her physically as if she would have given them the slip if not so caught was, to put it mildly, highly improper.

THE treatment of the Congress flag by the police was similarly highly unmannerly and provocative. A flag on a Congress car is reported to have been removed and trampled upon by the police. It is beside the point whether it was a responsible police official or just an irresponsible subordinate that was responsible for this treatment to the flag. Nor can the fact of the flag not being a national flag but that of one political party, the Congress, in any way minimise the seriousness of the culprit's misbehaviour. The flag is, it is true, not a national flag in the sense that everybody recognises it as such. But as pointed out by Sir Cowasji Jehangir, it is respected by "millions of the country and it was highly undesirable for the Government to hurt the feelings of such a large number of the population." Sir Cowasji's disapproval of the police misconduct, if nothing else, should give Government a pause and make them consider whether the behaviour of the police on this occasion was not such as to call for severe condemnation at their hands.

Gokak Strike.

IT is nearly four months since the workers in the Gokak mills numbering nearly three thousand have gone on strike. As may be recalled, the strike was resorted to for the protection of the workers' fundamental right to organise themselves into unions and to fight for the redress of their grievances. It is a great pity that a strike should at all have been needed for the protection of such an elementary right and a still greater pity that it should have dragged on so protractedly. But it is surprising that even yet there is no sign of its early termination or of any move in that direction by responsible parties.

IT augurs well for the success of the cause of the strikers that they have so far remained firm and united. They have also borne their sufferings and privations patiently and in a spirit of resignation.

Their conduct too has never deviated from the path of peace by a hair's-breadth. This must be ascribed largely to the steadying influence of Mr. D. D. Desai of the Servants of India Society who has proved himself a source of strength to the strikers. But as if to provoke the strikers to violence, an order under section 144 Cr. P. C. has been recently promulgated which prohibits public meetings and processions of the strikers in or near Gokak. This has acted as a serious impediment in the way of their enlisting popular sympathy with their cause, apart from its being a clear encroachment on their civil liberties. Their activities have now to be conducted from a place at a distance of four miles from Gokak so as to avoid infringement of the order.

AT one such meeting held on Saturday a resolution was passed from which it is clear that they set much store by the presence of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in the provincial cabinet. His record of work in the field of labour has naturally encouraged them to look up to him for help in their hour of trial. The resolution calls upon him to run to their rescue without delay and to use his good offices for bringing about an honourable settlement of the strike. There can be no denying the fact that Mr. Mehta's influence will now be more decisively helpful than if he had been a mere labour worker. And we feel sure he will not hesitate to use it so as to relieve the hard lot of the strikers.

Army Indianisation : Some Facts.

SPEAKING in the Assembly on the cut motion intended to express public dissatisfaction at the slowness of army Indianisation, Mr. Tottenham, the Army Secretary, gave some information which is valuable as leading to a clarification of ideas. The scheme of Indianisation aims at the replacement of British by Indian officers of a cavalry brigade and a division of all arms and services. That includes 3 cavalry regiments, 12 infantry battalions, 13 batteries of artillery, 4 companies of sappers and miners, some signal units, a proportion of the service corps, the Ordnance Corps, the Veterinary Corps, the Military Engineer Service, the Remount Depots and grass farms and a proportion of the staff. The total number of officers in the army is nearly 3,000 and the annual wastage about 120. These 120 vacancies are filled by the products of the Sandhurst in England, though a small proportion is sometimes transferred from the British army.

THE Indianisation scheme involves the reorganisation of the units concerned on what is known as the British model. Under it a cavalry regiment will have 27 officers and an infantry battalion 28 officers plus 4 officers for the training battalions as against the present strength of 12 British officers and 20 Viceroy's Commissioned officers per unit. It will be seen that the meagre output of the Indian Sandhurst has thus been made still more meagre by the proposed elimination of officers holding the Viceroy's commission from the regiments marked out for Indianisation. To the Indian complaint that this would involve considerable delay in the complete Indianisation of even these units, the Army Secretary gave the fallacious reply about Indian officers being under the necessity of putting in about 25 years' service before qualifying themselves for the command of regiments. Can it be seriously doubted that if the organisation of the army on the Indian model had been allowed to remain intact and if the Indianisation scheme had not been confined to one division alone, the output of the Indian Sandhurst would

have resulted in the replacement of more British officers by Indian ones?

To continue the story. The 12 infantry battalions, according to Mr. Tottenham, represent about one-eighth of the infantry strength of the Indian army and about one-twelfth of the infantry strength of the British and Indian army combined. Similarly, the three cavalry regiments represent about one-seventh of the cavalry strength of the Indian army and about one-ninth of the British and Indian army combined. It has been calculated that the number of officers required to man the units proposed to be Indianised would be about 600 which, with the officers required for the ancillary services, makes a total of 750 officers. The annual intake of the Indian Sandhurst is at present 60. If the whole of this number is passed out every year, it would take a little over 12 years to produce this quota of 750 officers. But this supposition does not strictly accord with facts. It is the Army Secretary's calculation that even with an annual output of 50 officers from the Indian Military Academy, it would be possible to complete the quota in twelve years, specially because over and above the products of the Indian Sandhurst as many as 130 officers working under the eight units scheme were initially available for employment in the Indianising units.

EVEN so, it would not be before 1951 that there would be a sufficiency of Indian officers of required seniority, i. e., with a record of 25 years' service to assume command of the Indianised portion of the army. Mr. Tottenham also added that if the Indian army were to be completely Indianised, the number of officers required to replace the yearly wastage would be not 120 as at present but 250. If the increase is not due to the elimination of the Viceroy's commissioned officer, we do not know to what it is due. So it comes to this that if there is to be complete Indianisation, not on a restricted but on a wholesale basis, three more Military Colleges must be brought into being or the capacity of the existing one must be quadrupled. But unless the military policy which has the mistrust of Indians as its basis is changed, it is unprofitable to look for this.

Number of Detenus.

THE Assembly's decisive verdict against the repressive policy of the Government expressed in connection with the consideration of the budget was noticed in these columns at the time. It may be remembered that the popular demand for the release of detenus was forcefully voiced on the occasion. That it failed to commend itself to the Government is, of course, quite in keeping with their past antecedents. The utmost they can think of is just a relaxation of restrictions and their release in dribbles. The effects of this too cautious and narrow-minded policy were described by Sir Henry Craik in his reply which is now available in extenso.

HE pointed out that as a result of this policy the number of detenus was consistently on the downward grade. It was roughly 1,500 at the end of 1935 and now stood at 1,100. The number released unconditionally was 255, while those who were set at liberty on completion of their course of industrial and agricultural training number 108. There are a number of persons consigned to internment in their homes or in their villages. The number of home internees showed a small increase, which is greatly to be regretted. But the Home Member also made the reassuring announcement that in view of the

improvement in the terrorist situation the release of 230 detenus including six women confined to their homes was soon to take place. Even so the total number of all kinds of detenus will, he said, be something like 1,800!

"Scandalous Appointments."

To illustrate his complaint in the course of his budget speech in the Council of State about the scandalous waste of public funds by Government, Mr. H. N. Kunzru instanced more than one recent official appointment. An I. C. S. officer had, he said, been recently placed on special duty in the Railway Board of all places. It must be a puzzle to many how this officer might be keeping himself engaged in his new and unfamiliar sphere and Mr. Kunzru requested information on the point. The telegraphic reports at any rate do not show that his curiosity was fully satisfied.

ANOTHER appointment which aroused strong non-official criticism in both Houses of the Indian Legislature was that of a whole-time and permanent Whip for the Government. That the appointment was made was officially admitted in reply to questions put in the Assembly. But that was not to make out a convincing or even a plausible case for the creation of the post. If, as officially stated, the Government have been able so far to do without such a functionary, why should they have now made up their mind that he was indispensable? According to official anticipations, the reformed Government at the centre is expected to be in the saddle about this time next year. What would have happened if the responsibility for the creation of the new post had been left to be shouldered by that Government? Where was the need for the indecent hurry with which the post was brought into being?

BUT this is by no means the worst aspect of the affair. How will the officer keep himself busy? It is understandable that while the Legislature is in session he will have his hands fairly full. But at other times will it not be a job for him to prevent time hanging heavily on his hands? It was stated that during the off-season "he will devote himself to the business which has to be placed before the House during the following session." The preparation of business for the Assembly is, according to the general belief, the function of members of Government. Is it intended to transfer that responsibility to the proposed Whip? This is too absurd even for the present Government. Mr. Joshi categorically asked for enlightenment as to the amount of work for the Whip when the Assembly was not sitting, but no satisfactory answer was forthcoming, the Government Member merely giving expression to his personal belief that he would not remain idle. In plain language, it comes to this that while the officer would have some work for nearly three months and a half, for the rest of the year his work would consist very largely in preparing his pay bill and drawing his salary. Mr. Kunzru cannot be charged with using unjustifiably strong language in characterising such sinecure appointments as "scandalous."

I. M. S. Reorganisation in the Assembly.

THE session of the Assembly came to a close on Saturday. Before this happened it censured the Government, by carrying an adjournment motion, in connection with the proposed reorganisation scheme of the I. M. S. which was adverted to in these columns last week. The question was also raised in the Council of State where it was talked out, but in the Legis-

lative Assembly its discussion resulted in a severe defeat for the Government. Upon this vindication of public opinion the Assembly deserves to be congratulated.

* * *

THE continuance of British recruitment for the I. M. S. was sought to be justified by the necessity of providing for the medical treatment of British members of the superior services and their families by doctors belonging to their own race. Against the racial principle underlying this obnoxious arrangement an emphatic protest was naturally entered by several non-official speakers. What really matters in the case of illness is competent medical advice and help, whether it emanates from Indians or non-Indians. Do not Indians seek the advice of competent British doctors when they need it? Why should British officers and their families be so snobbish as to insist upon being treated only by British doctors? Do they not know that Britishers in their own country exhibit no such racial prejudice, seeing that Indian medical men practising in England have a fairly large British clientele?

* * *

Famine Affected Bhils.

MR. A. V. THAKKAR recently toured the eastern portion of the Panch Mahals district which is peopled largely by Bhils, a hill tribe. A similar tour was undertaken by him in the States of Banswada and Dungarpur. His object in visiting these parts was to study the famine situation with particular reference to the Bhils and he has set out his impressions of the tour in a press statement. Famines in this part of the Panch Mahals district are fairly frequent, one in every three years being ordinarily a famine year. The deficient rainfall of last year led to a disastrous failure of crops, necessitating the opening of relief works both by Government and the local board of the district. There support nearly 19,000 people and 2,000 more receive doles. In other words, nearly one-fifth of the population is in receipt of relief. There is also fearful scarcity of water and fodder for cattle. Even so, in official parlance,

curiously enough, it is only a state of scarcity and not famine! Apparently, a clear definition of the line which divides scarcity from famine is urgently needed. Its absence in the famine code to which Mr. Thakkar pointedly refers is a lacuna which should be made good as soon as possible.

* * *

IN the Banswada State Bhils form 64 per cent. of the population. The prevalence of famine conditions there has led the State to open two relief works which are resorted to by about three to four thousand Bhils. The daily wage is an anna per day to all without distinction of sex. This wage is just sufficient to pay for only one pound and a half of grain as against two and a quarter which is considered the minimum necessary for keeping away the pangs of hunger even according to the famine code. There is a compulsory holiday every Sunday and moreover there are old and decrepit dependents and children to be supported out of these meagre wages. That people should be ready in such large numbers to work on such a starvation wage only illustrates the extent of distress in the State.

* * *

THE authorities of the Dungarpur State have opened four relief works which give relief to about 1,500 persons. The daily wages there are two annas per man, an anna and a half per woman and an anna per child, which is a decided improvement on conditions in Banswada. Mr. Thakkar says that though the cost of life in Dungarpur is a little higher than in Banswada, these wages are just sufficient to keep body and soul together. A non-official committee which has Rs. 3,000 promised to it by way of public contribution is also doing its best to afford relief. But the relief it gives is for the purpose of purchase and distribution of tools for digging new wells or deepening those already in existence for irrigation purposes. Thus over 400 wells are already being dug or deepened. This work needs to be done on a larger scale for which funds are badly needed. It is to be hoped that the public response to Mr. Thakkar's appeal will be at once prompt and generous.

END THIS FARCE!

WHATEVER opinion one may hold of the Congress demand for an assurance and the Governors' refusal to give it, we must all realise that in the six provinces where the Congress won an overwhelming majority in the elections the constitutional machinery has broken down as a result of the Congress demand and the Governors' refusal of it, and that no useful purpose will be served by trying to put up a show of the constitution continuing to function in spite of the action which the Congress chose to take. The Minority Ministries which have been installed in power in these provinces may not be strictly unconstitutional. Indeed, the authors of the constitution envisaged the possibility of resorting to such a device when in the opinion of the Governor the drastic step of assuming the whole government in his hands under section 93 of the Act had not become inevitable. On the other hand it is idle to seek to justify the setting up of Minority Governments in these provinces by pointing to Minority Governments in Great Britain and other countries, as some constitutional lawyers have done.

There is a fundamental difference between such Governments and the Governments set up in India, which it would be foolish to ignore. In other countries Minority Governments have come into existence either because no party could obtain an absolute majority in the elections or could take the reins of power without the help of other parties. In any case they depended ultimately upon the support or at least the acquiescence of a majority in the legislature. There is nothing to compare these with the Minority Governments now formed in India, who could be maintained in power solely by the Governors' refusing to summon the legislatures as long as they could help it.

There would be some reason for the formation of these Minority Governments if there was any hope that, after a brief interval, the parties representing them could upon a dissolution of the legislatures obtain a majority in the elections and would thus be entitled to come into office on their own. It might be felt that if the Governments were given a chance of proving their worth to the

people at large without their being brought to face their legislatures in which they were admittedly in a minority they would perhaps be able to convince the electorate that they would better serve their interests than the Congress members to whom they had given their vote before. These Governments would then be really Interim Governments, as they are alternatively called. Sir K. V. Reddy, Chief Minister of Madras, has offered this explanation. He says that the King's government must somehow be carried on, and although this object could be achieved by the Governor invoking section 93, resort to this course must be avoided till milder measures had been tried. His Cabinet is intended to remain in power only "for a short period during which one might hope that reason would prevail" with the electorate and that by their solid work during their spell of office the Ministry would be able to "convert their minority into a majority." But one wonders whether Sir Kurma himself has even a faint hope to this effect. He surely is not going to have such sensational achievements to his credit within the next six months as to cause a land-slide at the next elections resulting in what is now an insignificant minority being placed in a position to form a legitimate government.

The same is true about at least four of the five provinces in which the Congress has captured an absolute majority of seats. Just on the eve of the formation of the Chhatari Ministry, the *Pioneer*, which is as anxious as anyone else that the King's government must be carried on, denounces in severe terms the attempts that were then being made in the United Provinces to have a sort of stop-gap arrangement. It says:

We have every sympathy with the natural desire of H. E. the Governor to preserve what can be preserved of the constitution and to associate Indians, so far as possible, with the machinery of government. But, on a realistic view of the situation, is there anything to be gained in the long run by setting up what will be, in effect, a dummy Ministry, representative of a small minority and of a part only of that minority and surviving only on sufferance until the Assembly has an opportunity to meet and vote it out of existence? What can such a Ministry do? If by administrative acts it confers benefits on the peasant it will be suspected—and not without reason—of trying to buy his vote and steal the Congress thunder. But, since no man can dip as deeply into his own pocket in fact as into another's in imagination, it can never perform what the Congress can promise, and even its performance will be attributed to Congress propaganda. If it had the unanimous support of non-Congress or anti-Congress elements in the province it might reasonably be accepted as an alternative Ministry, brought into being as the inevitable result of the Congress refusing to shoulder its responsibilities. But it is evident, from the refusal of men like Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir Sita Ram and Mr. Chintamani to be associated with it, that it cannot claim even that mildly representative character.

What, then, will be the good of it? It seems to us that the situation, eye-wash apart, is perfectly clear. Either the Governor must come to terms with the Congress or, sooner or later, he must rule by virtue of his special powers until politics have taken a fresh turn. If the first course is impossible, as would seem to be the case, then he might as well adopt the second at once. Personal rule is something which this country understands. Let His Excellency declare that, since the Congress has refused the opportunity open to it, he proposes to govern himself and it will quickly be realised that there is still a *raj*. If

benefits come from that *raj* they will be appreciated. But his position will, not in the least be, strengthened by the support of an unrepresentative Ministry. As for Ministers themselves, it seems to us that they will merely commit political suicide by taking part in what is obviously a farce and a farce that is doomed to a very short run indeed. This view may not commend itself to the authorities in England, intent upon "saving face." Nor do we suggest that it contains in it the seeds of any ultimate solution. But we do say that it corresponds with the facts as anyone with eyes in his head can see them.

Bombay Presidency is placed in a different situation from the other five provinces in that in this province all the non-Congress members in the Legislative Assembly put together very slightly outnumber the Congress members and if they pulled together could keep the Congress at bay. But the essential condition of solidarity is wholly lacking among them in this province too. This is not surprising, for, personal ambition and jealousies resulting therefrom apart, they represent among themselves widely different policies and could hold together only if they were all so deeply animated by the desire somehow to prevent the paralysis of government as to sink all their internal differences and rally round the constitution. But no one in India is keen on maintaining the constitution. The non-Congress parties in the Assembly would not immediately put an end to it before extracting from it all that could be extracted, but they show no disposition to run to the help of the Governors in the conflict of the latter with the Congress and keep the constitution going at the cost of placing themselves in an untenable position. They say to themselves: "If the Government choose to thrust on us a constitution which we have all condemned, it is no business of ours to rescue it from the obstructive tactics of the Congress. Let the Governors and the Government of India and the British Government deal with the situation as best they can. It would no doubt be a humiliation to these to have to confess that their constitution had failed at the very first test, but those who had no compunction in imposing it upon us when all we wanted was that it should be withdrawn deserve even a worse humiliation than this."

After the refusal of the Congress to take office, the Leader of the Muslim League, the next largest group, was invited to form a Ministry and, under Mr. Jinnah's inspiration, he declined to do so. Dr. Ambedkar's group which was the one that came next in point of numerical strength was not invited, it is true, but would have similarly declined, if invited. The Muslim League directly forbade any of its members even to be included in a Ministry, for the formation of which any other group would make itself responsible, and the Ambedkar group also is not represented in the Ministry that has actually been formed. The result is that the Cabinet that has shouldered the responsibility of government consists of men who have perhaps the support of one-fifth of the total number of members of the Assembly. What makes them stick together at the moment is not loyalty to any common principles but just a vague desire to utilise for the good of the country an opportunity of shaping policies which luck has placed into their lap. But no

one knows when they will part from one another, and in the best of circumstances they will be in a decisive minority in the Assembly. The Muslim League and Dr. Ambedkar's Independent Labour Party will not help, like the Congress, in deliberately bringing down the Government in order to create a deadlock or in opposing for the sake of opposition. Their attitude will perhaps be one of benevolent neutrality, but in a crisis like the present such an attitude will not be of any material use to those who have accepted office. They will require to be supported through thick and thin by speech and vote if they are at all to keep their places according to the rules of the game. This kind of support they will not receive, and therefore even in the province in which the Government starts under the most favourable circumstances their tenure of office cannot be ex-

pected to be longer than six months, unless the Governor, after bringing section 93 into force, keeps them in power as an Advisory Council.

If these are the circumstances, what is the advantage of keeping up the farce of Minority Governments for six months instead of declaring immediately that the constitutional machinery has collapsed? The only advantage that the Government sees in it is that it will be enabled thereby, as the *Pioneer* puts the matter, "to avoid a confession of breakdown." But the confession will have to be made, if not now, six months afterwards. It would clear the air if the British Government frankly declared that at the very moment the constitution was to be brought in force, it broke down in six provinces which together contain, as Babu Rajendra Prasad usefully reminds us, 64 per cent. of the total population in India.

" THE GOVERNOR CANNOT INTERFERE. "

THE note of confidence and reassurance about the Congress being able to fulfil the whole of its election programme without any interference on the part of the Governors that runs through the article contributed by Mr. Satyamurti to the Constitution Number of the *Times of India* proves the baselessness of Mahatma Gandhi's contention that no self-respecting Congressman can assume the responsibilities of office without an antecedent assurance by the heads of provinces that they would give freedom to their Ministers to carry out their policies. Mr. Satyamurti, like Pandit Gobind Vallabh Pant and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, opposed the attaching of any condition to acceptance of office in the A. I. C. C. because he was convinced that, with the large majorities at their back, the Congress Ministers had nothing to fear from the Governors, and if he ultimately agreed to the imposition of a condition it was only because he had hoped that the condition, being fairly elastic, would be interpreted by the Congress leaders in their interviews with the Governors in a reasonable manner, permitting them to take office. The rigidity which was in fact introduced later in the interpretation of the formula, whatever was meant thereby by its author, ultimately led to results contrary to what Mr. Satyamurti had expected, and although now he supports the action of the Congress leaders as he must, it is clear from what he wrote before the breakdown occurred that even without an assurance of non-interference from the Governors the Congress Ministers would be able to redeem in full the pledges which the Congress candidates had made to the electorate. Nor has he been able to conceal his chagrine at the Congress being deprived of the power of doing constructive good by the Delhi resolution affixing to entry into office a condition which has not materialised. About the contratemps that ensued as a result of this condition, he wrote: "I am not happy at the turn events are taking. I have always believed and still believe that Congress parties in provincial legislatures with disciplined majorities behind them should accept office and try to put the constructive programme through and give it up only when they

found it impossible to do so" and not at the start imagining, as Mahatma Gandhi does, that they would necessarily find it impossible.

In his *Times of India* article Mr. Satyamurti goes through the Congress programme and shows how it could be translated into action in its entirety without troubling in the least to strike a bargain with the Governor beforehand. On the question of undoing repressive measures, the election manifesto pledges the Congress "to take all possible steps to end the various regulations, ordinances and acts, which oppress the Indian people and smother their will to freedom. They (Congress members of the legislatures) will work for the establishment of civil liberty, for the release of political prisoners and detenus, and to repair the wrongs done to the peasantry and to the public institutions in the course of the national struggle." This item in the programme, which will perhaps be most obnoxious to the bureaucracy, Mr. Satyamurti feels confident the Congress Ministry can carry out in its integrity. He says: "Undoubtedly, if the Congress majorities and Congress Ministries insist upon repealing the regulations, ordinances and acts which apply to the provinces which are against freedom, and if they want to release political prisoners and detenus and to do some reparation to those who lost their properties, no Governor will stand in the way." On the question of relieving poverty, unemployment and indebtedness also, Mr. Satyamurti believes that the Congress will get its way without any impediment at the hands of the Governor. "This is a matter," he says, "in which any provincial Ministry will have the fullest freedom. In passing, it may be mentioned that Governors have no safeguards for the financial stability or the credit of the province; so long as Ministers can produce working budgets, in which I include also deficit budgets, no Governor can interfere with such relief as the Congress Ministries, backed up by the legislatures, decided to give to the poorer peasants in the various provinces." Special measures like the declaration of a moratorium, sealing down of debts, provision of cheap credit facilities by the State were

contemplated by the Congress election manifesto in tackling the problem of agricultural indebtedness. "This is again a problem," Mr. Satyamurti asserts, "in the dealing of which provincial Ministries will have a free hand."

To the industrial workers the Congress manifesto has guaranteed a decent standard of living, maximum hours of work, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes, insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment, etc. "Again, this is a sphere," declares Mr. Satyamurti, "in which the Congress Ministry can effectively and usefully function." As to the social problems of removal of untouchability, establishment of sex equality, etc., he says, "I am absolutely confident, having read the Government of India Act over and over again, that in none of these things can Governors interfere." The solution of the communal problem is another great piece of work which the Congress members by their manifesto have undertaken to do their best to achieve. This work consists in bringing about a reconciliation between the different communities and is not directly concerned with the Governor. Even here, however, Mr. Satyamurti says, "I expect the Governors normally to be helpful and encouraging and not to obstruct." There can of course be no guarantee that a wrong-headed Governor will not interfere in the field reserved by the constitution to the Ministers. If he does interfere the Ministers have the remedy in their own hands, and thus an assurance like the one asked for is unnecessary. A Governor who will violate the express terms of the constitution will even more gaily break an informal promise that he was asked to make to the Congress leader in the secrecy of the Government House. Nor is it contended that the constitution gives full power to the Ministers. If it did we should not have had any quarrel with it. It imposes certain very stern limitations on this power. No Pact with the Governor can eliminate these limitations. If they could be wiped off so easily our complaint against them would be much less bitter. The conclusion which follows from this discussion is that the assurance on which the Congress insisted at the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi is either impossible or infructuous.

What, however, is the practical outcome of the events of the last two weeks in so far as the Congress is concerned? It has been forced from the very commencement to adopt a policy which in the judgment of some Congressmen at least it would have been both desirable and practicable to avoid for a long time. Deadlocks are the weapon which majorities in the legislature wield to beat down the opposition of an unsympathetic Governor. Every Ministry, whether formed by the Congress or any other Party, must be prepared to use this weapon freely, and a Party whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the constitution must keep the weapon always in readiness. Mr. Satyamurti realises this to the full. The question reduces itself to this, as he puts it: "Shall we welcome deadlocks from the beginning, or shall we try and work together as much and as long as we can?" He believes that it would be in the national interest to

do constructive work and to strengthen the people thereby before beginning to prove the unworkability of the constitution. This unworkability will have to be proved in the end, and will indeed prove itself. The question only is whether we should do it immediately or allow things to work themselves out, making the utmost use of the constitution in the meantime for constructive purposes. Mr. Satyamurti stands definitely for the latter policy, and so do several other prominent Congressmen, but the result of Mahatma Gandhi's insistence upon conditional acceptance of office has made it impossible to follow this policy. If indeed the Governors refused to give the desired assurance sheerly because of their obstructiveness they could not have wished for anything else than that the fight which was to commence some day should commence before the Congress had had time to enhance its prestige and increase its usefulness by turning the constitution to constructive ends, and by imposition of the condition the Congress merely played into their hands. If on the other hand the Congress wanted to bring about a deadlock from the outset the interlude of asking for guarantees was wholly unnecessary, unless indeed Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari and others could be won over to the policy of sabotage only by this sly expedient.

THOSE GUARANTEES.

THE *Tribune* has a very simple way of dealing with most momentous issues. In the matter of an assurance of non-interference which the Congress asked of the Governors it feels that an agreement could easily have been arrived at without either party giving in an inch of its position. The assurance that was asked for was that the Governor would not "use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities." Our contemporary feels that the difficulty arose because attention was concentrated on the question whether the required non-interference could be promised within the limits of the Constitution Act, whereas in its opinion all would have been smooth sailing if that particular aspect of the question had been completely ignored and only the last two words within the quote marks had been kept in mind. If this were done the Congress would have got what it wanted, without the Governors surrendering any of the powers which they felt they could not surrender.

The Congress formula in regard to the assurance was as elastic as could be desired. This great advantage of elasticity, however, was thrown away in the course of the conversations. That is the root of the difficulty, according to the *Tribune*. All that the Congress leader should have done was to call on the Governor and ask, "Will you give me an assurance in the terms of the A. I. C. C. resolution?" and the Governor should immediately have answered, "Certainly, with pleasure." Instead of asking this simple question and giving this simple answer, they started talking about the scope of non-interference that was the subject of the assurance. That was a fatal turn to the conversations. When once that subject was broached, no agreement was possible. This

is what actually happened, and the conversations broke off as was inevitable. But why did they attempt a definition of what was covered and what was not covered by the assurance? Each party should have placed its own interpretation upon the resolution and allowed things to take their course.

The Congress of course would have lost nothing, if its representatives had not elaborated the meaning of the resolution. Nor would the Governor have suffered any loss of power by giving an assurance which he was free to interpret in his own way. Suppose he felt that on any particular occasion he must use his special powers or interfere with the Ministers. He could have done so consistently with the terms of the resolution. All that he would be required to do in such circumstances was to maintain that the acts of the Ministers with which he thought it necessary to interfere were not "constitutional activities." The Ministers might take a different view of the matter and might choose to resign. Trouble cannot thus be altogether avoided, but it could have been avoided at this stage. The Congress leader should have presented the A. I. C. C. resolution to the Governor without a word of explanation, the Governor should not have asked any questions on it, and, even if asked, the Congress leader should have declined to answer them, thus each party reserving to itself the full right to say just what assurance was given. Because either the Congress leader or the Governor or both departed from this straight path mischief arose. No one could doubt that if this course had been taken trouble would have been staved off for the moment, but the *Tribune* does not understand that no one can avoid trouble in this way without laying up very much greater trouble for the future.

On the question at issue, however, our contemporary is clear that if the assurance demanded by the Congress was such as "to preclude the interference of the Governors in matters in which they are specially required to interfere either by the Act or the Instrument of Instructions, then there would have been no choice left to the Governors except to give the reply they gave." It says;

Once this inconvenient issue was raised, the Governors were bound to tell the Congress leaders that they could not give any assurance incompatible with their duty and their obligations under the Government of India Act. If the words "constitutional activities" were sought to be so defined as to cover activities with which the Governors might be required under the Government of India Act to interfere in the exercise of their special powers, then no provincial Governor could either on his own authority or even with the backing of the Governor-General assure anyone beforehand that he would never interfere with them. In actual practice he may not interfere in all or any of those cases, but the giving of any such assurance beforehand would mean nothing but the wiping out by the fiat of his authority of several important sections of the Government of India Act, which no Governor is entitled or can possibly be expected to do.

How one wishes that the policy of mum which the *Tribune* advocates would always help us to get out of holes!

THE WHITE CONCUBINES BILL

WHEN on 22nd January last the discussion of the Mixed Marriages Bill introduced in the House of Assembly of the South African Union by General Pienaar and directed, as was stated by Mr. Derbyshire, against the Indian community in South Africa, was adjourned the general feeling was that that particular Bill was killed. But Mr. Pienaar and the Union Party of which he is a member were not deterred by this temporary defeat. He and another member of the Party, Mr. J. H. Grobler, introduced two other Bills on 10th February, the cumulative effect of which would be about the same. The object of General Pienaar's new Bill (entitled the Provincial Legislative Powers Extension Bill) is to give option to the Provincial Councils to pass legislation forbidding non-Europeans to employ Europeans, and that of Mr. Grobler's Bill (entitled the Transvaal Asiatic Land Bill) prohibiting ownership of land by Asiatics or by members of their families. The connection of these two Bills with the earlier Bill of General Pienaar will not perhaps be obvious to those who are not familiar with South African politics.

The thesis of the Europeans in South Africa as regards Asiatics may be thus stated:

- (1) Indians take undue advantage of the poverty among the Europeans to employ white girls on their stands, and thus come to live on terms of intimacy with them, the relationship thus established leading ultimately to marriage;
- (2) and then they buy in the names of their European wives land which they are prohibited from buying in their own names in the Transvaal.

Thus marriage forms the link between employment of white women and registration of land in their names. It was directly attacked in Mr. Pienaar's first Bill and is indirectly attacked in the two Bills now introduced, which concern themselves with employment and land ownership. All this will become clear to those who will study the debate on the motion of Mr. Grobler in the Assembly on 28th April, 1936. The whites object to the marriages of Indian men with European women, first, on sentimental grounds—on account of a fear of miscegenation—and, secondly, on economic grounds, viz., that they are enabled thereby to acquire land in areas which are reserved exclusively for European occupation.

On both grounds, however, their fears are very much exaggerated, as Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, then Minister of Interior, showed in replying on behalf of the Government on Mr. Grobler's motion last year. He stated then that, on an inquiry made by the Minister of Labour in nine big cities and in the villages along the Rand; it was found that "the number of white employees in Asiatic shops and other businesses of the Asiatics was 14 men and 51 women." The white women received good wages and were satisfied with their conditions of work. The officer who made the inquiry reported that one of the girls had told him that "the treatment there was better than in some of the shops belonging to the 8 Europeans"

and the officers' own opinion was that "the conditions in the shop were satisfactory." As a result of this inquiry the Minister of Labour came to the conclusion that there was no justification for passing a law prohibiting the employment of white labour by Indians. As to the number of Indians who married white women, there took place 39 such marriages in the Cape Province and nine in Natal during 11 years from 1925 to 1935. It is true that in all these cases it would be legally possible for an Indian to buy land in the Transvaal in his European wife's name and for the wife actually to exercise the ownership of the land. But though this is legally possible it does not in fact happen frequently. Mr. Hofmeyr remarked that the Registrar of Deeds in the Transvaal "could only give one case where there was an Asiatic married to a white woman and where the land was registered in the name of the white woman."

This will show how slender the foundation is for enacting either of the two Bills introduced in the Union Assembly. Mr. Burnside described Mr. Grobler's Bill as really an Asiatics' Concubines Bill. He said: "Mr. Grobler has allowed his racial conscience to sink so low that he is prepared to introduce into this House a Bill which states in the legal language of this country that the European women of South Africa... are prepared to become the concubines of Asiatics. That is not true. It is a profound and disgraceful untruth... If he suggests that the Bill is necessary to provide that a European concubine ostensibly of an Asiatic shall not be permitted to hold property for more than six months, I take it that the hon. Member has in his possession, or at least he should have in his possession, sufficient to prove to us that the habit of European women living in concubinage with Asiatics is very common indeed. I contend that European concubinage with Asiatics is almost non-existent."

But, in spite of this opposition, the Bills were remitted to a select committee on 16th January, and although the Union Government has not yet decided to support them, it seems very likely that they will be enacted soon. For the Minister of Defence, Mr. Pirow, a very powerful Minister, has openly stated in the press that "by the end of this year no Asiatic would any longer have white girls in his employ." To the average European it does not matter just how many or how few white women are employed, married and made use of to acquire land; the very idea that it should be permissible is intolerable to him. For instance, another Minister, the Minister of Native Affairs, said: "It makes no difference to me whether there are 10 or 100 such marriages taking place. It is a matter of principle, and if the people want these marriages to be prohibited, then they must be." Dr. Malan expressed the same sentiment. He said: "I even think that if it can be proved that the number of European women who are married to Indians where it is apparent that the marriage was made for economic reasons, because the Indians by entering into a marriage with European women were desirous of owning fixed property, if that number may possibly

be small, and even if it should appear that the number of white persons in the service of Asiatics or other non-Europeans is only small, then that is still no reason why at this stage, at the start of such evils, no legislation ought to be passed by the House." These two Bills will be passed and then Mr. Pienaar's earlier Bill prohibiting mixed marriages also will be passed. Apart from the positive harm such legislation will do to the Indian community in South Africa, this shows to what extremes the racialism of the Europeans goes.

Reviews.

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE EAST.

EASTERN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE WEST. By G. E. HUBBARD and DENZIL BARING. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 24cm. 395p. 18/-

SOME idea of what is attempted in this book will be gained by indicating briefly the contents of each of the six chapters in which the book is divided. The first chapter concerns itself with the character of the competition in the world market, drawing special attention to Japan's central position. Then follow three chapters dealing separately with Japan, China and India. In the case of each of these countries a brief résumé of the history of industrialization is followed by a somewhat detailed description of present conditions and a concluding speculation on the industrial future. The fifth chapter deals with Great Britain. This does not cover the same broad ground as covered in the previous chapters and is confined mainly to a description of the post-war condition of export industries and the problem of depressed areas. In the sixth chapter the effects of Eastern industrialization upon trade relations in the British Commonwealth are discussed. By way of an addendum there is given at the end Prof. Gregory's contribution entitled "Conclusions: An Economist's Comment." It will be clearly seen from this that the title of the book is somewhat misleading and so also to a small extent even its sub-title. The East and West as a whole are not considered. As a fact it is clear that it is largely the effects of Eastern industrialization on British trade, specially Empire, trade to which the author has addressed himself. But even this would not be a fair description. For, the bulk of the book—over 250 pages—are taken up by three chapters dealing with Japan, China and India. And this is the most important and valuable part of the work. Here is painted a picture of industrial history and conditions which is very competently and, so far as we could judge, accurately done in a short compass. Such useful material regarding the three Eastern countries is not to be easily found elsewhere. The author does not import any special bias in his descriptive survey, seems to be fair and reasonable (vide for example his discussion of the Indian Fiscal Autonomy Convention) in his opinions and shrewd in his forecasts.

There is obviously not much point in discussing problems of the depressed areas or of Inter-Imperial trade in connection with a single factor, however important, such as Eastern Industrialization. Such a survey seems to have been undertaken by the Royal Institute only in view of the amount of attention that Japanese competition had attracted in the British Press. The result is that Mr. Hubbard's first and fifth chapters do not appear to be as useful

as the intervening ones. The book would even so be worth while if the facts adduced in it together with Professor Gregory's concluding remarks help in laying the bogey of Japanese competition in England. Even within the short space which he allows himself Prof. Gregory has little difficulty in making clear "that Industrialization is the only possible solution for the appalling standards of life in the East; it requires a degree of economic irrationality, of which the present writer is not capable, to regard the process as on balance undesirable." A conclusion on which the Englishman not only in England but also in India may fruitfully ponder. We consider Mr. Hubbard's book chiefly useful for its middle three chapters, but it is not the author's fault if the question was posed to him in such a way that only a partial survey of the factors involved could be made and only an incomplete answer afforded. There is a useful bibliography at the end.

D. R. GADGIL.

MEXICO.

MEXICO TO-DAY. BY IRVING SPEED WALLACE. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1936, 22cm. 364p. \$2.00.

MEXICO: A REVOLUTION BY EDUCATION. BY GEORGE I. SANCHEZ. (The Viking Press, New York.) 1936. 22cm. 211p. \$2.75.

IN these days when there are several amenities for travel, it is not surprising that many men and women delight in travelling to countries other than their own. Travel is part of education and travel to a foreign country helps to remove misconceptions about its civilisation entertained by the traveller. But few among such travellers set down their impressions in a book and the value of such a travel book can hardly be overestimated. 'Mexico To-day' is one such travel book and in this book Col. Irving Speed Wallace has given an accurate picture of modern Mexico. Though the aim of the author is to give us a description of modern Mexico, he has given a brief account of her history to make us understand the customs and manners of Mexico better. The author has got a skilful way of presenting Mexican life and any one who takes up the book will not lay it down without reading the whole of it. With humorous anecdotes, excellent pictures and a facile pen, the author keeps the interest of the reader from beginning to end. We have no hesitation in saying that this book is more interesting than any novel and more full of matter than any other travel book on the same country.

"Mexico, a Revolution by Education" is an even more valuable book than "Mexico Today", while the latter is an interesting travel book. The former is a deep study of the educational experiments carried out by the Mexican government—experiments which have revolutionised Mexico and made her progressive and prosperous. Dr. George Sanchez who was chosen by the Julius Rosenwald Fund to make a special study of the Mexican Educational system is a distinguished educationist with a good command of the Spanish language and a sympathetic understanding of the Mexican people was eminently qualified for the work he had undertaken. After giving a brief account of Mexico and her history, he describes in a very interesting manner the educational experiments which have made Mexico as cultured and as progressive as her great neighbour. We, in India, have a special interest in the book, for Mexico, like India, is essentially an agricultural country and Indian educational reformers would do well to study those chapters of the book dealing with Mexican Rural Schools with their emphasis on health and sanitation, dignifying domes-

tic life, elevation of habitual occupations, recreations and satisfactory social living.

Like "Mexico To-day," this book too is well got up and beautifully illustrated. Anyone who wants to know all about Mexico will find these two books interesting and instructive.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SAYAJI RAO GAIKWAD.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF H. H. THE MAHARAJA SAYAJI RAO GAIKWAD III. (Marathi.) Vols. 1—3. By DAJI NAGESH APTE. (Author, Raopura, Baroda.) 1936. 22cm. 1297p. Rs. 10 for three volumes.

"A WELL-WRITTEN life is a much rarer thing than a well-spent one," writes Mr. Apte in the preface quoting a French author. He has apparently left his readers to judge how far he has been successful according to that supercritical standard. We confess we are not in a position to attain that standard. Judging by ordinary human standards, we are at once willing to bear witness to the great industry with which the author has successfully performed his task. To write the biography of the Maharaja is to comprehend the motive power that worked for half a century to transform a mediaeval state into a state of modern enlightenment and present it, so as to enable the reader to trace the intervening stages of its evolution. At the age of 12 the Maharaja was unlettered and uneducated. At the age of eighteen he was invested with power. Within a year he felt confident enough to question the judgment of his Diwan. Since then in every matter he has always formed his own opinion, used his own discretion and taken his own decisions, with the result that he has been a Maharaja, not only to his subjects but even to his children. Mr. Apte had to wade through a vast historical material, besides state documents, autograph diaries of His Highness, speeches and writings and the Huzur Hukums, i.e. instructions and orders personally issued by the Maharaja on his own initiative. They are said to number over 75,000! A carefully classified selection of the Huzur Hukums has been supplied by the author at the end of the third volume. The Hukums remind us of the Amatyaniti of the days of Shivaji and clearly bear the stamp of His Highness's own personality. Mr. Apte has carefully sifted the material before him and used it with sympathy and judgment, thus showing that he was well-fitted for the task that he had assigned to himself. Foreign biographers of the Maharaja with all their skill as writers and willingness to show their sense of gratefulness to him would not have that sympathy with which Mr. Apte has carefully handled his chapter on the "Curzon Circular", and tenderly dealt with the description of domestic woes and pleasures. They also could not have the necessary balance of judgment as is amply proved by their painting many trivial incidents out of all proportion.

The most remarkable feature of Mr. Apte's volumes is their attractive narration. The book reads like a novel. Mr. Apte has largely allowed contemporary papers, documents, letters and reports to speak for themselves and has used his facile pen only to make the narrative more interesting. From page to page we are able to see the personality of a truly great man, trying to grasp the fundamentals of a social problem, yet unwilling to be a radical to avoid social storm and discontent, becoming highly disturbed yet observing commendable restraint under great provocation, listening to praises but ever unwilling to take

them at their face value, loyal to the core yet highly sensitive to outside interferences and frank to a fault in asking the Government of India straight why, if they did not want his candid opinion, it was at all ever expected (p. 522). No wonder that such a prince should have been unpopular with the Anglo-Indian journals with whom the height of a ruler's prestige is probably measured by the degree of servility shown by the ruled. Finding his attempt to improve state affairs failed by the follies of his own men and forward attitude of those in office, the Maharaja was moved to exclaim: "If failure and worry is to be the only outcome of well-intentioned exertions of modern princes, people would certainly feel that the mediaeval princes who had dedicated themselves to wine and women were after all happier than they" (p. 462).

To write the biography of such a living personality was a difficult and delicate task, but Mr. Apte has creditably acquitted himself of it.

But artistic as Mr. Apte is in his presentation of the subject-matter, one must frankly say that he is no critic. There is not one word, even of mild disapproval, expressed regarding any single act of the Maharaja. At the same time it must be said to the author's credit that he has refrained from offering an apologia of the Maharaja's actions.

With all his defects, the Maharaja will ever remain a remarkable figure in the history of modern India. His biography written by Mr. Apte is an excellent piece of art which commemorates the great achievements of the Maharaja. The book is full of excellent pictures. The printing and get-up of the volumes do credit to the publishers.

R. V. OTURKAR.

PEACE AND CLERGY.

PEACE AND THE CLERGY. By A GERMAN PRIEST. Trs. by C. M. R. BONACINA. (Sheed & Ward.) 1936. 20cm. 166p. 5/-

To the man in the street Germany is Hitler and Hitler is Germany and they share with Italy and Mussolini the doubtful honour of being at present the potential storm-centres of Europe. It is a welcome surprise, therefore, to hear a different voice calling from Germany—a German priest writing on Peace and the Clergy. But the surprise is a short-lived one. The priest was unable to publish the book for two years and it is now appearing in an English translation without the name of either the author or the translator for reasons best left to be discovered by the intelligent reader.

His thesis is quite an obvious one. Christ is the Prince of Peace and the Catholic Church, the principal organization for spreading His gospel to the world, is bound to work in the cause of peace, and a very special responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Pope and his priesthood.

The author ranks the Catholic Church as a greater factor of the Peace Movement than either the League of Nations or the Third International, both of which he condemns as limited in their appeal to the intellectuals and the proletariat respectively. For the Church he claims a higher status as its appeal transcends classes and nations. One may not agree to all this, but one is disposed to forgive something to a man so obviously inspired by a holy mission. He is not blind to the failures and the drawbacks of the Church. He acknowledges that on the whole the Protestant bishops are more actively engaged in forwarding the Peace Movement. He is prepared to admit that closer acquaintance with Europe and her ways during the war and after has left little respect for the Church in the minds of

the Asiatics and even of the Senegalese and other 'backward' peoples who were hired by Christians to butcher their co-religionists. If the book had been brought up-to-date before publication, one may guess what the author would have had to say regarding the civilizing mission of Italy for Abyssinia and the part played by the Moors, the Italians and his fellow-Germans in Spain and of the deplorable failure of the Holy See in both the places.

The author is also aware of the truth underlying Clemenceau's biting sarcasm, when the tiger said to his clerical opponents: "It is not the Encyclicals of the Popes that we cast into the teeth of the Catholics but the fact that Catholics do not obey these Encyclicals."

In face of these admissions the author looks a little too pathetic when he puts forward his claim that it is quite possible for a re-awakened Church to repeat the triumphs of that great Pontiff of the early thirteenth century, Innocent III, who led crusades, put down wars and excommunicated Princes and the other War Lords of his time.

But as one goes through the book with its simple style and its numerous Biblical and other quotations and its laborious collection of illustrations of the workings of his creed, one hesitates to ignore the fact that his faith is of a type that defies despair and moves mountains. Can it be the silver lining to the dark war-cloud of Nazi arrogance and Hitler's fulminations?

R. H. KELKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

ENGLAND, 1870-1914. By R. C. K. ENSOR. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 23cm. 634p. 15/-

THIS interesting volume is one of a series of fourteen volumes in which the Oxford History of England has been projected under the general editorship of Professor G. N. Clark of All Souls College, Oxford. Only two volumes have been so far published. The first is by the general editor himself and deals with the Later Stuarts: 1660-1714. The volume under notice is the second of the series. Recent history is always difficult to write, both on account of its baffling nearness and the nature of the materials with which the historian has to deal. Mr. Ensor has had very rare opportunities of tapping first-hand sources, both personal and documentary, which have imparted to his work an impress of unique authenticity. Out of the fifteen chapters of his book he has rightly devoted no less than six to the survey of "Economics and Institutions" and "Mental and Social Aspects" of the period dealt with by him. In fact no aspect of modern life has been lost sight of by the author. Besides the outstanding political and economic problems, he also brings under critical review the press, education, religion, science, literature, music, painting, architecture and even costume. He has missed neither the wood nor the tree, on the whole a most balanced, full and scientifically written treatise. Besides interesting appendices and useful sketch maps, the book contains a very valuable bibliography on all aspects covered by the author, extending over thirty pages.

S. R. SHARMA.

THE UNCONVENTIONAL ETHICS. THE ETHICS OF TOMORROW. BY ASIAS L. SCHWARZ. (Perennial Publications, Washington.) 1936. 26cm. 276p. \$3-50.

THE book lays claim to bringing about the Copernican revolution in ethics. Following the lead of Max

Nordau's "Conventional Lies" the author seeks to substitute dynamic morality in the place of static morality. He bitterly attacks the moral philistinism, social parasitism, plutolatrism and predatory individuals and institutions. The subjective and the formal and academic criteria of morality such as those of Kant and Spencer and Felix Adler are regarded as empty artificialities and objective criteria implying the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity are vigorously advocated. The author has no objection to accept the dictum "End justifies the means," as a true maxim. As regards the question of the freedom of the will, we are told that the capitalists exploit the doctrine of free will to hypnotise their victims into believing that they have to blame themselves for their abject misery. The conviction that altruism and genuine morality are found in workers and the exploited rather than in the capitalists and the exploiters is repeated in varied and vigorous ways throughout the book. The ethico-psychological analysis in men's motives will reveal, according to the author, many hypocrisies and pseudo-moralities of our age. The origin, conditions and varieties of intellectual, economic and international immorality are shrewdly and subtly laid bare. The poignant but inevitable conclusion reached at the end of the book is that success, morality and happiness are not attainable by honest, hardworking and conscientious people in the present individualistic, competitive, and predatory social system.

Subtly thought and brilliantly written, the book makes an irresistible effect, though many of the statements and unjust criticisms, specially about the College and University Professors as being the agents of economic exploiters and predatory classes, are obviously unacceptable. At any rate the "Unconventional Ethics" will be found to be very stimulating reading by those who are habitually fed only on such stuff as is supplied by our academic ethical text-books and manuals of moral philosophy.

D. G. LONDHE.

Miscellaneous.

FIGHT AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY.

MR. KODANDA RAO'S LECTURE.

"NO country in the world to-day ought to throw stones at another because of the existence of a caste system," declared Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, visiting Indian journalist and reformer who has spent more than two years travelling around the world studying social conditions, in a speech before the International Y's Men's Club at their weekly tiffin at the American Club on February 10.

"When I say this I am thinking of the Negroes in America and other groups in other countries.

"Nevertheless," he continued, "the problem of untouchability in India is one of the most important questions facing our country, although it differs slightly from the present caste system in India and elsewhere because of its absolute rigidity, making it theoretically impossible for an untouchable ever to rise from his lowly station.

"The Servants of India Society, of which I am a member, is definitely attacking this problem, trying to eradicate the idea that anyone, because of his birth, is doomed to an inferior status throughout life. Our Society does not require that its members belong to any religion, but we take vows upon entering it

just as one would make promises on entering a religious organization.

"In changing this social condition in India we are faced primarily with the necessity of removing the feeling of inferiority which has been bred into the untouchables themselves. They have taken the attitude that their position in life has been predetermined, and that there is now nothing that can be done about it. They accept their conditions of squalor and misery and, particularly if they are aged people, do not wish to have that condition changed.

"There was a case, after the taking of the census of 1921, where a group of people complained to the census authorities because they had been classed as untouchables. They had been imbued with the idea that their position was undesirable and unnecessary. When the next census was taken in 1931, they were not included in that category, and the same group raised a protest, saying: "What authority have you to raise our status? We are untouchables." What happened was that, as untouchables, they were allowed certain privileges; certain seats were reserved for them in the high schools and universities, whereas, if they were not classed as untouchables, they would have to take their chance along with the other people in gaining an education and in other affairs.

"However, our first problem is to establish the personal self-respect of the individual. Then we must make the upper castes recognize that no stigma should ever be attached to a person simply because of the accident of birth.

"Nobody knows just how many untouchables there are in India, but their number has been estimated variously from 20,000,000 up to 60,000,000. Choose your own figure and you will probably be as correct as anybody else.

"Various movements, foreign and domestic, have occurred at many times to free the untouchables from the stigma attaching to them, among which the most important is the Christian movement, although among the Christian Indians there are still untouchables.

"Despite the amount of effort spent on these movements Mr. M. K. Gandhi has had more influence in raising the status of the outcaste group than all of these movements put together, and I say this even though I have at many times been extremely critical of his policies.

"Gandhi launched his campaign while he was in gaol, and I had the honour at that time of acting as his publicity man. He declared that nobody, living to-day, could be blamed for the existence of untouchables in India, and, therefore, there was no reason to become violent about the matter or to indulge in recriminations. The best thing to do, he said, was simply to forget former distinctions and not to become violent while changing the conditions.

"The influence of Gandhi, besides being great, is unique, for I know of no man in any other country who has worked so hard to abolish class distinctions. In fact, there is at least one man, a leader of a modern State, who actually preaches the doctrine of caste, condemning persons to perpetual degradation solely because of the accident of birth.

"To abolish the untouchable class in India is a long and arduous task, for it requires a great amount of work among the ordinary Indians, the persons who live in the small village and the country, who compose 90 per cent. of the population. In universities and the higher schools to-day there is no consideration of former distinctions; the class of untouchables has been forgotten. But among the uneducated people in country districts there is much work to be done." The Shanghai correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*.