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Topics of the Week.

Mr. Kodanda Rao.

MR. P. KODANDA RAO, member, Servants of India Society, who proceeded to America in July 1934 for the study of the problem of race relations at the Yale University, returned to Poona on Tuesday last and was cordially received by the members assembled at the head-quarters for the annual session.

Summer School Ban and After.

IN our note in last week's issue on the Madras Government's ban on the Summer School of Economics and Politics organised by the Andhra Congress Socialist Party at Kottapatam, the need of an independent inquiry into the incident was strongly emphasised. The official communique since issued from Ooty, far from minimising that need, enforces it still further. While to the lathi charge resorted to in the course of the forcible dispersal of the school many were eye-witnesses, its use is, curiously enough, flatly denied in the communique. The denial is all the more surprising in view of the fact that several persons are in hospital, receiving treatment for wounds as a result of their being struck by a lathi. The wide divergence between non-official allegation and official assertion on this important point argues the extreme desirability of an open inquiry so as to get at the truth.

BUT there is a stronger reason which seems to us to make such an inquiry imperative. The preaching of violence in the School as a means of subverting the established Government is cited as a justification for the employment of force in making the ban effective. The source of this information is stated to be notes of lectures delivered in the school made by some students. The public must be excused if it is not in-

clined to follow the Government in regarding this source as thoroughly reliable, and for obvious reasons. The so-called students whose notes admittedly form the basis of the Government's action must not have been bona fide students but informants in the pay of the police, who, as usually happens, do not scruple to submit false reports if only to justify their existence. The whole tribe of such informants might not consist of equally unscrupulous people. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that their reports require in many cases to be seriously discounted. And if their notes alone form the foundation upon which the superstructure of the official ban on the School was reared up, all we can say is that the action of the Government was based on a very slender basis.

WE can never be accused of sympathy with violence as a political weapon, and our criticism of the Government's action cannot, therefore, be regarded as proceeding from a desire to shield those who advocate resort to it. What we have in mind in pressing the need for an inquiry into the methods employed in making the ban effective, is that if the advocates of violence are to be brought to book, let that be done after proper inquiry designed to bring home the guilt to the offending parties. To do so on the strength of obviously one-sided and biased reports from interested sources, besides being unfair and unjust, is calculated to exacerbate public feeling. That such exacerbation has resulted from the Government's action in the present case will be clear from even a cursory study of the columns of the Madras press. The doings of officials in connection with the Summer School in Madras Presidency and the Sonya Maruti Music affair in Poona show that though interim ministries are described as being installed in seats of power, they are very far from being the real rulers.

Britisher as Publicity Director ?

WHEN in the course of the last session of the Council of State Mr. Kunzru asked for information as to Mr. Stephens's successor in the Directorship of Public Information, the Government expressed their inability to satisfy his curiosity. Their reticence was even then construed as unwillingness on their part to accede to the public demand for the Indianisation of the post. Recent unofficial advices from Simla go to confirm this interpretation of their uncommunicativeness.

FAR from offering the post to an Indian as required by public opinion, it is reported that a Britisher, one Mr. Hennessy, is coming out to fill the vacancy created by the expiration of the Government's contract with Mr. Stephens. It is added by way of recommendation that Mr. Hennessy is the Paris correspondent of the *News Chronicle* and has

considerable journalistic experience. This is good so far as it goes. But the point is not whether the person chosen by the Government is fit for the post but whether Indians with suitable qualifications could not have been found to fill the vacancy. The importation of a European for the post must of course be taken as an indication of the official belief about the non-existence of Indians who could satisfactorily discharge the duties of the Directorship. How completely at variance with facts such a belief is, those really in touch with conditions in this country need not be told.

* * *

BUT perhaps we err in supposing that the Government were anxious to engage an Indian for the post but were unable to find one. With all their professions of sympathy for the cause of Indianisation, the question with them really is not what should or could be done to increase the number of openings for Indians but how more jobs could be found for Britishers in India. The excuse about the absence of qualified Indians, they know full well, cannot avail them. For if Indians can be relied upon temporarily to fill the Director's post without any disastrous consequences as is the case now, how (one wonders) can their permanent incumbency of it lead to any untoward results? The neglect by Government of the claims of Indians with requisite experience and qualifications in this case constitutes one more proof in support of the Indian contention that when the interests of a Britisher and Indian come into clash, those of the latter weigh as but straw in the balance in the eyes of Government.

* * *

Mr. Karandikar's Advice to Mr. Jamnadas.

THE Democratic Swaraj Party has passed a resolution expressing confidence in Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and favouring his continuance in office. But it is difficult to believe that the resolution has behind it the unanimous support of the party. We cannot, of course, claim to have any inside knowledge of the doings at the meeting at which this resolution was arrived at. But the writings in a local daily edited by Mr. S. L. Karandikar, a well-known Democratic Swarajist M. L. A., go to lend confirmation to this belief. Mr. Karandikar, for his part, would like the Finance Minister to tender resignation of his office because of his obvious inability to safeguard Hindu interests in connection with the Sonya Maruti dispute. And he strongly criticises the party conference recently held at Panwell for its failure to advise the Finance Minister to come out of the Ministry.

* * *

MR. KARANDIKAR feels there is a tactical advantage in Mr. Mehta saying goodbye to the Cooper Ministry on the Sonya Maruti issue. As Mr. Karandikar reads the situation, the ministry's resignation seems to him quite inevitable sooner or later. It will, he thinks, have to follow the passage by the Assembly of a vote of non-confidence in the ministry which the Congress party is sure to move or the rejection of the budget by the Opposition, which in the circumstances appears more than probable. Mr. Karandikar cannot believe that Mr. Mehta will try to stick on even after the Legislature passes a vote of non-confidence in the ministry. If Mr. Mehta must resign a few weeks hence, why should he not do so now and do so on the important issue of protection of Hindu interests? asks Mr. Karandikar in effect. Mr. Karandikar is not much enamoured of Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on ministers being dismissed by the Governor rather than their voluntarily resigning office in case of difference of opinion. Mr. Karandikar believes that in a short time the

situation would so develop that the Governor would find it necessary to dismiss the present stop-gap ministry unless it shows the prudence to ask to be relieved in the meantime. Why not anticipate the unpleasant necessity of dismissal by the Governor by yourself offering your resignation on a point which vitally concerns the self-respect and religious rights of one's own community? Mr. Karandikar holds that this course would be advantageous from the party point of view.

* * *

Harmful Adulation.

NEWSPAPERS during the last week were full of the life of the Maharaja of Alwar who died suddenly of a broken hipbone in a hotel in Paris. Apart from the regret which anyone would feel at the death of a person away from his home and people, we confess that we have been unable to subscribe to all that is being said about the late Maharaja. Common decency enjoins us to say nothing evil of the dead and we do not propose to go into the history of the late Maharaja's rule, but we feel it necessary to draw attention to certain aspects of the obituary notices which generally appear about dead royalties and princes in newspapers. The natural and inevitable phenomena of death seems to endow the dead with virtues which ordinarily would be the last to be associated with them during their life-time. Death does not invest a person with angelic qualities. This sort of variation of truth, however well-meant, does good to none, least of all to the memory of the dead person, whose foibles were the result of his environments and whose virtues, if any, the result of his struggle to combat that environment.

* * *

HONEST WRITING about a person who has recently passed away is always a delicate and difficult matter, for a member of the princely order endowed with the qualities of head and heart which would really endear him to his people is a rarity. In all the obituary notices we have read on such occasions, and Alwar is not an exception, we have not come across any reference to the efforts made by such prince either to ameliorate the misery of the ryot or to educate him with a view to increasing his self-respect or stature as a citizen. Descriptions of a Prince's scholarship or his wealth or his patronage of costly hobbies are beside the point in judging him as a Ruler. His private accomplishments do not benefit his subjects; his vices, on the other hand, throw a burden on them. We feel, therefore, that no good purpose would be or is served by leading the public to believe that in the death of such men they have lost a great national figure. Such an attempt can only result in encouraging the already existing superstitious awe of the Princely order among the common people—an awe which cuts at the root of democratic impulses and adds nothing to our national stature.

* * *

It will not be out of place here to refer to the attitude of British people and the press towards its Royal House. The freedom and frankness with which opinions about the Royalty are expressed in Britain is an objective lesson to us in India. Never was this frankness more in evidence than in the time of Queen Victoria,—a period which is generally believed to be more prudish than the present. Queen Victoria was referred to as a "retired widow" and the then Prince of Wales as "an unemployed youth" by responsible persons like Bradlaugh and Carlyle. The discussion on the Civil List of King Edward last year was evidence of the candour with which the British people are accustomed to think and

speak of their Royalty. Even during the discussion of the Civil List of the present King, Labour leaders raised the point of the standard of life of the Royal Household and the necessity of introducing a greater measure of simplicity in it. We may add here that such occasional candour, tempered as it is with a desire to bring the Royal House nearer to the life of the people, should always be welcome as supplying the necessary corrective to the Royalty which lives in an atmosphere of continuous artificial adulation.

It should be understood that these criticisms were not the outcome of bitterness against the British Royalty. On the other hand, it was recognised that the British Royal House was performing a vital national service and the nation was willing to pay for it. But there was a just demand for the observation of certain proportion between the services rendered by it and its payment. And this when the proportion of the Civil List of the British Royalty to the national budget is infinitely less than what we find in the case of Indian Princely Houses. Moreover, there would be hardly anyone so bold as to say that the Indian Princes perform any "vital service" for the nation or for their States. They are most of them absentee landlords. Even such of them as are known to be "enlightened" cannot escape the lure of the turf or the polo ground or the Riviera. No wonder that we find people in the Indian States today who pray for a reincarnation of Lord Dulhousie.

Worse Still.

THE force of the indignation roused by his slighting references to the character of Indians has induced Lord Baden Powell to issue a statement correcting the reports that were sent out to India. In reply to a cable from Bishop Arundale, who holds a responsible office in the scout movement, he has cabled back that what he said was not that *all* Indians lacked character. We are afraid that the Chief Scout has hardly improved matters by this halting explanation of his outrageous slander of Indians. Further, he has not a word to say about the libellous suggestion he threw out when he referred to the alleged lack of a word for "honour" in any of the Indian languages. His explanation is on a par with that of an editor who withdrew his remark that fifty per cent. of the members of a certain club were rogues, by observing that fifty per cent. of the members of that club were not rogues.

BUT some good has come out of this unpleasant business. It has focussed attention on the subsidised B. P. Scout movement and many of its defects, one of which is the subtle denationalising forces that operate within it. The movement has many notable advantages but its inevitable departmentalisation has tended to divorce it from the national life of the country. At the very start, its reluctance to recognise "native" scouts antagonised a large section of the Indian public against it and that prejudice has worked to poison the very source of the movement which, though claiming to be international in outlook, still distinguishes and recognises colour prejudices and refuses to treat with equality every member of the organisation. The example of the "native" scout troops in South Africa is enough to damn the movement as one whose pretensions of international brotherhood were never seriously taken even by its founders. If Lord Baden Powell's old-age indiscretion results in awakening its Indian authorities to its serious drawbacks it would prove a blessing in

disguise. We for ourselves have little expectation that way and feel that the Indian youth must give its support only to really national organisations, which try to build up their character nearer to the culture and traditions of their motherland.

Improvements in Indian Sandhurst.

ACCORDING to a recent press message from Simla, some improvements have been carried out in the equipment of the Indian Sandhurst at Debra Dun which concern not only military training but are calculated to widen general knowledge, develop character and foster patriotism among the cadets. Commenting on this fact, the *Leader* once more presses on the attention of the military authorities the desirability of effecting a considerable increase in the intake of the military college so as to bring about rapid Indianisation, as demanded by public opinion. Incidentally the paper remarks :

Our regret is that the college was not founded earlier. In the opinion of the late Lord Kitchener, a military college should have been established 40 years ago. Earlier still, his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught urged the foundation of an Indian Sandhurst when he was Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, and this was half a century ago, i. e., before the birth of our present Viceroy. If this had been done, how much progress the college would have made by now, and what a large number of Indian commissioned officers it would have supplied to the army. That it took the authorities so very many years to sanction the establishment of the Academy shows how prompt and progressive they are.

Widow Remarriage Law for Mysore.

IN the progressive State of Mysore, remarriage of Hindu widows is not yet legally valid. The State does not possess a law which recognises such marriages, but the gap promises soon to be filled up. A bill modelled on the lines of the remarriage legislation of 1856 in force in British India has been drafted by some non-official members of the Mysore Legislature before which it will be shortly placed for consideration. As in British India, the proposed legislation is not obligatory, but permissive in character. All that it seeks to do is to confer legal status on marriages to which Hindu widows are parties and their offspring. In other words, it seeks to remove obstacles in the way of Hindu widows wishing once more to enter matrimony.

UNDER this law, a widow will cease to have any interest in the estate of her deceased husband on her remarriage. All rights accruing to her as a result of her first marriage will pass on to the next heir of her deceased husband. Failing such heir the widow will continue to enjoy the estate as her absolute property. If the deceased husband has willed away or gifted certain rights in her favour, they will be hers even after remarriage unless she is expressly debarred by the deceased husband from remarrying. Her children by her deceased husband will also continue under her guardianship until a civil court is successfully moved to appoint another guardian in her place. The provisions of the contemplated legislation are based on considerations of equity and fairness and fall in line with the trend of progressive thought on the subject. When, as we hope, the bill is enacted into law, Mysore will have done an act of bare justice towards its Hindu widows eighty years after British India recognised her duty towards them.

Cattle Conference.

A CATTLE Conference or a conference at which the problem of Indian cattle was considered was opened at Simla last week by the Viceroy. The Conference can by no stretch of the imagination be called a superfluity. Cattle in an agricultural country like India form the basis of agriculture and may without exaggeration be described as the real foundation of national prosperity. Problems relating to their improvement cannot, therefore, be neglected by anybody without detriment to India's material progress. It may be stated that the total annual cash value of livestock, if the term were to include cattle, labour, produce, manure and other products, has been estimated at about Rs. 1,300 crores. The stake is thus very large and it is but meet and proper that the matter should, as it happily does, increasingly engage the careful attention of the powers that be.

THE improvement of cattle, so necessary from the agricultural point of view, is not less urgent from the point of view of the health of human beings. The connection, though seemingly far-fetched, is none the less real. The average consumption of milk in India is, as is well known, very low with a correspondingly low level of vitality and strength. The Viceroy did well in seizing the opportunity to emphasise this aspect of the matter, specially because Indian diet is largely vegetarian, and the need of such protective animal foods as milk, ghee, curds, etc. is consequently felt all the more keenly. The report of the dairy expert, Dr. N. C. Wright, who recently spent five months in India in a study of the problem on the spot, is expected to go some way in pointing out directions in which an improvement in this matter could be brought about.

AS a result of Lord Linlithgow's active interest in the problem of the improvement of the breed of cattle, 1,073 persons have so far come forward either to present stud bulls or to promise cash subscriptions for the purpose, which exceed Rs. 1½ lakhs. But if real and lasting results are to be looked forward to, it is necessary, as observed by him, that these bulls should be adequately maintained. To this end he favoured the opening in each province of a cattle improvement fund which would be devoted mainly to the proper care and maintenance of approved stud bulls and the provision of further suitable animals. Closely akin to the problem of cattle improvement is that of their better feeding which formed a subject of consideration by the Conference. As the Viceroy remarked, an essential step towards the better nourishment of man must be to improve the food supply of his animals. The remark, though it sounds enigmatic, is doubtless a truthful description of the situation.

Farewell to the League.

THE exiled Emperor of Abyssinia, Haile Selassie has decided not to send any representative to the next session of the League Assembly, where he still retains the rights and dignities of an independent monarch. He has realised that no useful purpose would be served by assisting the League to keep up the farce of the non-recognition of Italy's conquest of his country. In communicating his decision to the League the ex-Emperor expresses the hope that it "will one day obtain complete liberation of the Ethiopian occupied territory." Thus closes the darkest chapter, begun with the Hoare-Laval Pact, in the League history. The failure of the League to stop the annexation of Abyssinia, coming on top as it did on its failure to control Japanese aggression in Manchuria, has confirmed the belief, widely held for a number of years

now, that the League has failed and the sooner it is wound up the better for the world. The struggle in Spain, where it has failed to check the flow of help openly given by Italy and Germany to the rebels against a lawfully established Government, has added to this belief and the movement to withdraw from the League will gather momentum as its list of political failures swells with time.

YET there is still a number of firm "Leaguers" who would ask its opponents not to condemn it without checking up its credit balance. This credit balance is very largely made up of humanitarian work of a statistical, preventive and vigilant nature. Its health schemes, its compilation of statistics about nutrition values of different diets, epidemiological reports, its efforts to standardise drugs and biological remedies, its anti-malaria activities, its anti-white-slave campaigns etc., are achievements of which any organisation should be proud but not a League which was found to ensure a world safe for democracy. The League was born of the travail of the Great War which was certainly not fought for the establishment of a Health, Hygiene and Vigilance Association. To justify the retention of the League of Nations in its present impotency on the ground of its utility other than as an effective instrument of peace is like justifying the retention of a national army for the purposes of a fire-brigade.

Sheer Hypocrisy.

A EUROPEAN criminal was recently sentenced in South Africa to four years' hard labour and eight lashes. He had as many as 62 previous convictions and it was apparent that the usual punishments had not had the slightest effect from the point of view of his reformation. The trying judge, therefore, added eight lashes this time to see if this form of corporal punishment would not check him in his mad career of crime. However well-intentioned this punishment might be, the very idea of a white being whipped in white South Africa was simply intolerable to the sense of racial pride and superiority of the Europeans. So they telegraphically sought the intervention of the Minister to stop its execution. It is beside our present purpose to inquire whether the Minister actually used his good offices for stopping the infliction of whipping on a white criminal. What is pertinent to note is that any kind of corporal punishment for a member of the ruling race was simply revolting to the sense of decency of the European community.

ON the other hand the Europeans remained absolutely unmoved when a native boy of only 13 years was sentenced to five strokes with a cane for no graver crime than that of passing a police pointsman on a cycle. The wounds received by him were thus described by a correspondent in the *Natal Mercury*: "Three open wounds, two 1½ inches in length, one 1 inch long (this on the left buttock), the right buttock bore two open wounds, one ½ inch long, the other 1 inch in length, two wounds between the lower left point of the shoulder blade and the spine," etc. In the case already referred to the European community felt vitally interested because the accused was a European. In this case it was a mere native and, therefore, the infliction of any amount of corporal punishment on him was a matter of perfect indifference to them. And yet we hear a lot from these very people about the paramountcy of native interests, the native trusteeship principle, etc. It is difficult to imagine whether hypocrisy can go any further.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST B. N. R. UNION.

FOLLOWING the settlement of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway strike last December, which lasted for two months and ended in a partial victory for the workers, the Agent to the Railway withdrew recognition from the B. N. R. Indian Labour Union. Charges were made by Mr. Giri, the President of the Union, that contrary to the terms of settlement there had been victimization and non-observance of the terms. The Government appointed Mr. R. F. Mudie, an I. C. S. officer, to inquire into the allegations and the report of his inquiry has just been published. The Report finds that there has been no victimization of workers and recommends that the non-recognition of the Union should be continued. As the B. N. R. Indian Labour Union is one of the best organised Unions in India and its recognition or non-recognition would make an important precedent in Indian labour affairs the findings of the Report in this connection assume an importance which they would not have done ordinarily.

Mr. Mudie had given early signs of an extremely partial attitude towards the Railway authorities and his handling of the Union claims was subjected to criticism in these columns some time back. No great hopes were entertained about his Report, yet the flat denial of recognition to the Union and the grounds on which it is supported show an amazing lack of understanding of the labour movement in India, let alone outside it. Mr. Mudie finds that the B. N. R. Indian Labour Union is entirely controlled by outsiders, that its conduct during and after the report has been inconsistent with good Union principles. Mr. Mudie has not covered himself with glory by the remarks he has passed about the persons who control the B. N. R. Indian Labour Union. The President of the Union, Mr. Giri, who is one of the great figures in Indian trade unionism, is alleged to be incapable of looking after the interests of the Union as "he is a barrister and a politician." The other office-bearers of the Union are also dismissed with the same catch-phrase of being outsiders and therefore unable to be true representatives of labour interests. Mr. Mudie shows his amazing disregard of truth by dubbing Mr. Kalappa, the able Joint General Secretary of the Union, also as an outsider. An officer appointed to investigate and decide upon important matters affecting labour interests should at least have seen that he was well posted with facts regarding the men about whom he makes sweeping remarks. Mr. Mudie does not seem to be aware that Mr. Kalappa left the railway service after a number of years to devote himself to the Union work. Mr. Kalappa is an example of the leadership which the Whitley Commission hoped would rise in India among Indian Labour with the strengthening of the Labour movement. And yet Mr. Mudie has no hesitation in condemning the Union on practically the imaginary ground of its being controlled by outsiders. The practice of condemning a Union on the ground that it is in the hands of "outsiders" has been so common in this country that the point has to be finally settled if trade unionism is to flourish in India.

The matter is an important one from the standpoint of the growth of healthy trade unions in India where labour is admittedly still unorganised and lacks proper leadership to a great extent. In the present state of ignorance and indiscipline among them and with the amplitude of blackleg labour, their organisations stand in great need of outside help. For no worker dare associate himself with a union as a vigorous official if he wants to retain his job. In fact the discipline and organisation of the B. N. R. Indian Labour Unions itself is an argument in favour of some independent assistance being absolutely necessary for the proper growth of trade unions. If Labour loses the leadership of men like Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. Giri to please Mr. Mudie, the prospects of its ever attaining a position of power and authority in the country would be remote indeed.

We wonder if Mr. Mudie has any acquaintance with the rise of the Labour movement in Great Britain, whether he has perused the Indian Labour Commission's Report, whether he is aware of the history of a section of intellectuals in Britain known as Fabians, many of whom actively helped to build up the great labour organisation and were not "insiders" in the movement. Has he heard of an engine driver who became a cabinet minister and who left service in the early days of trade unionism to organise a powerful railway labour organisation? If Mr. Thomas could be a genuine Union leader, Mr. Kalappa can equally be so. Mr. Mudie would have done well to read what the Whitley Commission has to say about the "outsider" question and the recognition of Unions before he ventured to condemn the B. N. R. Indian Labour Union. The general tone of his reference to the leaders of that Union leads us to believe that his is one of the cases described by the Commission where "the objection to outsiders was in essence objection to particular individuals, viz., dismissed employees and politicians." The Commission dealt at length with the question of outsiders and recognition and a reference to their observations on this point will show how unwise Mr. Mudie has been in treating it in the cavalier manner he has adopted :

The endeavour to dictate to unions, says the Whitley Report, on the subject of their officers or leaders is equally shortsighted and unwise. We have referred to the great difficulties confronting the movement which make the employment of a proportion of outsiders inevitable. In some cases victimization, and more frequently the fear of it, gives an additional value to the outsider. The claim to be allowed to deal only with "one's own men" is frequently little more than an endeavour to secure that the case of the men shall be presented by persons who are not likely to prove assertive: *In very country much of the active work of trade unions, particularly in their relation with employers, is carried on by persons whose livelihood does not depend on the employer's will.* We recognise, as do outsiders themselves, the weakness of the position of persons who have no direct experience of the industry. But this again is mainly a question for the unions themselves, and we shall deal with it in that connection. . . . The employer, however pure his motives, is in a weak position when he attempts to protect his workmen by keeping their leaders at arm's length. The

leader who is not working for the good of a union is not likely to have a long innings, unless he is assisted by persecution. The less healthy traits in a union are more likely to be eliminated by toleration than by repression. (Italics ours)

Mr. Giri, the President of the Union, has issued a vigorous repudiation of the reckless charges made in the Report against the Union and its officials. "I am not surprised at the ill-digested conclusion of Mr. Mudie," says Mr. Giri, "because he cannot claim to have any practical experience of the Trade Union Movement elsewhere or in this country. Mr. Mudie seems to have stated in his report: 'The Union that has the welfare of workers at heart will never resolve to strike until the hope of proceeding by negotiation has been extinguished.' If Mr. Mudie is prepared to put himself in the box, I shall be able to get him admit various documentary evidence which is before him and which will prove to the hilt that not only eleventh hour but twelfth and thirteenth hour attempts were made by the Union to avert a strike."

Mr. Mudie says that except one or two employees no genuine railway worker has played an important part during the strike. The reluctance of workers to take actual part in propaganda and other strike activities of a pronounced nature is quite understandable. If, as Mr. Giri points out, workers are being victimized without addressing meetings and doing any active propaganda, their fate if they had really done so would have been sealed indeed. In fact Mr. Giri reveals the fact that being aware of the consequences if they did so, strict instructions were given to the workers not to make speeches, the responsibility being taken over by "outsiders"

who were beyond the reach of either the Railway officers or prejudiced investigators. As regards the recognition of the Union, Mr. Giri reminds the public that "the Administration conducted negotiations on the footing that there was an accredited Union representing the workers and that they alone would deliver the goods. The fact was recognised even by the Government of India and the Railway Board during the course of the strike and its settlement. The Agent took advantage of that representative character and got the strike called off, and conveniently after that was done, he withdraws recognition, preventing the Union from making any representation in the matter of implementing the terms and for restoring normal relations."

The B. N. R. Indian Labour Union is not an ordinary Union. It is an organisation working under the direction of trained and tried labour leaders, it has good funds and its welfare work has been recognised as one of the few bright spots in the dark history of labour unions in India. Neither the Agent nor the Government can afford to dismiss it lightly for imaginary drawbacks. Such an attitude on the part of the Government in particular would be taken to mean that it is bent upon killing powerful trade unions with deliberate partiality. The Mudie Report which probably stands unique as one, which finds itself in complete agreement with the attitude of the employers towards workers and their organisations, does not deserve being taken seriously, so prejudiced and one-sided are its findings. We hope Government will think twice before giving its final decision in the matter.

INDIA AT THE CORONATION.

NOW that the Coronation fanfare is over, it will be instructive to review the feelings expressed with regard to India both by the representatives of India as well as by those of other countries during the Coronation. These feelings, we have to remind ourselves, were expressed in an atmosphere where considerations of decorum take precedence over strict candour. Expression is, of course, given to the devotion of the Indian people to the Crown and to the blessings that the British connection has bestowed on India. That is all in the day's work. But we are glad to find that the official representatives of India ventured to allude, in howsoever mild terms, to the feelings of discontent and disappointment which characterised the reaction of this country towards Great Britain's latest attempt to "democratise" the Indian Government. To the English people, the Crown is the symbol and representation of the nation's political ideals and in so far as it continues to concern and identify itself with the joys and sorrows of the people it will retain their homage. To the Indian people, the Crown does not represent exactly the same proud heritage. Quite the contrary to some extent and therefore so long as it continues to soften the pangs of our surrender of national independence to foreign domination by wise and sympathetic understanding of the aspirations and ideals of the

people of this country, it will retain due loyalty to it. To retain the loyalty of the English people, the Crown has made enormous sacrifices and has continued to adapt itself to the growth of democratic institutions in the country. Unfortunately, the policy of the Crown's representatives in India has failed to grasp this essential quality of its popularity in England. By their lack of understanding they have alienated the feelings of the Indian people from the British Crown, and thus have failed in their primary duty towards it, viz., the retention of the willing loyalty of its subjects towards their King. How slender the thread that binds India to Great Britain has become, in spite of the undisputed advantages the British connection has brought to the former was demonstrated recently when no less a person than the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri felt called upon to warn Government against testing the strength of our loyalty to the breaking point. It is therefore all the more necessary that British statesmen should pay careful heed to the subdued murmurings of dissatisfaction that impregnate the utterances of our representatives at the Coronation.

One of the functions during the Coronation ceremonies of His Majesty King George VI was the presentation of addresses of loyalty to the Throne by the King's Dominions and possessions. The function

being a formal one, the reply of the King on the occasions was invested with authority. In his reply His Majesty referred to the world's chaotic conditions. He said: "Today the world is harassed by perplexity and fear. In this family of nations linked by ties alike flexible and firm, we have inherited from our fathers the great tradition of liberty and service. I am confident that whatever life may bring to us we will continue to work together to preserve this noble heritage so that we may hand it unimpaired to those to come after". How far the King's representatives in India have upheld "the great tradition of liberty and service" it is not our desire to inquire into at this place. Nor does it require much knowledge of the Indian situation to understand that this "noble heritage" of liberty and service has been the least part of the advantages which India has gained from the Crown. On the other hand the "perplexities and fears" have grown tenfold even during the last ten years.

Replying on behalf of the Indian people Sir Mohamed Zafrullah, Member of the Executive Council of the Government of India, referred to the constitutional developments in the Dominions which have served to strengthen the foundations on which the British Throne reposes and hoped that "the same will be the case with India." The Gaekwar of Baroda, who represented the Indian Princes, assured His Majesty that "no one holds the British Crown and the Sovereign who wears it in greater reverence than we do and there is none readier to answer the call of the King-Emperor in time of need". The Gaekwar representing an order, whose major claim to existence today rests on the sanction of the British Government behind it, was no doubt sincere in his expression of unquestioning loyalty to the British Crown. Sir Mohamed Zafrullah, however, was not bound by the inevitable ties that bind the Princes to the Crown and did not hesitate to sound a wistful note in his reply. The firm and flexible ties that bind this country to Great Britain, he hoped, would some day be strengthened by the development of a democratic constitution freely given by the ruling country, feeling which is not only a homage but a prayer. In fact the role played by the Indian representatives at the various functions and conferences that took place as part of the Coronation week, placed upon them a peculiar handicap. They knew that the charge of Mr. Lloyd George that Indians and not India would be present at the Coronation was largely true. Their speeches, therefore, particularly that of Sir M. Zafrullah did not fail to strike a note which was different from that of the speeches of the Dominion representatives. Speaking at the Imperial Conference, the Gaekwar of Baroda, for instance, referred in expressive terms to the new spirit that was moving India. "Nowhere do the currents of ideas and aspirations flow stronger" he said, "than in India whose great cities ferment with social and industrial vigour. But much more far-reaching is the fact that the traditional life of the peasant is awakening from its long quiescence." To what goal will the vast energy now being released lead India's millions? The Gaekwar answered: "Politically towards the asked and answered attainment of full stature as

an autonomous unit of the British Commonwealth; and socially towards freedom perfected by order and order perfected by freedom. If India had received much from the Commonwealth, she had equally much to give." But even the Gaekwar could not but help referring to the wish of his countrymen for "a more rapid and extensive progress" in constitutional development. Sir Mahomed Zafrullah in his speech on the Empire Broadcast referred to the political ambitions of India, the constitutional difficulties and her position in and relation to the other members of the Empire. He claimed on behalf of the Indian people that "we have exactly the same birthright to be acknowledged full masters of our political destiny as other members of the Empire"!

On the part of the other statesmen that had gathered in London a desire was evident to soothe the Indian feelings by investing the Indian guests with as much dignity and preference as possible, which gives reason to suppose that they on their part were also not unaware of the magnitude of the discontent that is seething in India. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King complemented India on "entering another stage of self-government" and conveyed "Canada's warmest good wishes for the success that can be expected from its capacities and its association with other countries under the King's Sovereignty." Speaking at another formal function Mr. Baldwin referred more pointedly to the constitutional "advance" that has been granted to us and referred to the unification of this country under one Crown. "Many as have been the dynasties that have ruled India," he said, "none has held sway so universal and undisputed as that monarchy of which every man and woman in this room is a servant. In that loyalty which is focussed upon the Crown India finds that unity that she has sought so long and we are now engaged in translating that unity into the terms of a federation from which, we hope and believe, will arise an India greater than it has ever yet been. It will be largely her responsibility but I want her to believe in the sincerity of the efforts that we have made to help her to this new constitution. I want her to believe that the sympathy which we feel with her in this great adventure which she is undertaking is not confined to Great Britain but exists in every other part of the Empire."

This pious belief of equality of the members of the British Empire has been stoutly held by British statesmen who refuse to see the dangerous shoals towards which inter-Empire relations are being driven by the conflict between the white and the coloured races. The "family of nations," to which King George referred in his reply to the addresses of the Dominions, is hopelessly divided against itself and nowhere so sharply as on the colour line. The speeches of the two representatives of India at the Coronation give ample evidence of the "unease" they felt among their companions from free Dominions. If decorous speeches delivered at formal functions can express so much undercurrent of disappointment, let the British people realise, how much must be the

depth of feeling in this country and how delicate the "flexible" thread that binds us to the Empire. No one desires to mar the Coronation jubilation and the subsequent contentment by striking a discordant note, but it is time that people in Great Britain understood that India has struck its tents and is on the march. Whether she keeps on to the Empire path or strikes one of her own which may or may not run in the same direction as the Empire's, is dependent entirely on the wisdom and understanding with which the Indian constitutional problem is handled. The choice is not India's, it is Great Britain's.

DEFEATING THE PAYMENT OF WAGES ACT

THE Government of Bombay have issued orders under the discretionary power vested in them under the Payment of Wages Act which will have the effect of empowering the employers to deprive the working class of all its freedom. The orders authorize the employer to deduct from the wages of his employee for cheap grain, working clothing, electric light and water; and the services of canteens and hostels supplied by him. They clearly violate the spirit of the Act. The Act, after enumerating exhaustively the items for which deductions should be allowed, vested in the Local Governments the discretionary power to cover unforeseen cases and cases in which circumstances were peculiar. The Central Legislature were fully aware of the items, deductions for which are authorised by these orders. The inference, therefore, that the Government of Bombay have abused their discretionary power is irresistible, since they have authorised deductions for items which the framers of the Act knew well and had yet purposely discarded.

The orders are totally opposed to the object of the Act as conceived by those responsible for it. The Hon'ble Mr. D. G. Mitchell, Member for Industries and Labour, in the course of his speech in the Legislative Assembly made the unequivocal and definite statement that deductions for cheap grain and cheap cloth were not permissible under the Act. He said:

The workman will draw his full wages for all work he has performed and the deductions will be confined to a very narrow list. . . . The Bill will unquestionably do away with certain traditional relationships between employers and employed which have existed in India for a long time. I refer, as examples, to the system of bonuses for good work, of the supply of cheap grain, of the supply of cheap cloth and other products of the industrial undertaking. In the hands of a humane employer, there can be no question that these old systems can be of very great benefit to the employee, but in the hands of less desirable type of employer, of whom I regret many exist, these systems can undoubtedly be made a means of exploiting the workmen. The policy of the Bill is to remove the possible contingent advantages of these old traditional systems and to substitute for them the certain benefit of prompt and full payment.

Thus the orders of the Bombay Government have affected the resurrection, with the help of their discretionary power, of what the Act had buried.

The orders of the Bombay Government have created ludicrous contradictions. While one of the

important objects of the Act was to "confine deductions to a very narrow list" as stated by the Hon'ble Mr. D. G. Mitchell, the object which is achieved by these orders is to extend them to all conceivable items. He also stated that the task which was undertaken by the Act was "to secure to the humble worker the prompt and full payment of wages he has earned". But the orders of the Bombay Government authorising deductions for almost all the items of expenditure in the family budget of a worker will have the only effect of securing to him the payment of a negligible fraction of the wages he has earned. The consequence of the orders of the Bombay Government has been the transformation of the Act which was intended to regulate 'payment of wages' into a measure for authorising deductions from wages in such a way that the cash wages paid to the worker would be ridiculously low.

The Payment of Wages Act is based on the Truck Act of England. The primary principle underlying that Act is to secure for the worker absolute freedom as to the manner in which he may spend his wages. To achieve this object the Act deprived the employer even of his right to sue the workman for goods supplied by him. The Payment of Wages Act, however, allowed the employer freedom to recover his dues with the help of the civil court. But by investing the employer with power to deduct, the orders of the Bombay Government have dispensed with the necessity of even approaching the civil court.

The skill with which the discretionary power has been exercised by the Bombay Government not only defeats the object of the Act but will have the effect of severely curtailing the freedom of the working class. The workers desire to be protected from such services and amenities of the employers. The practice of purchasing the necessaries of life from the employer's shop is an undesirable thing in itself as it increases the dependence of the worker on the employer. It is universally known that the worker enjoys very little credit. But as a result of this practice his credit will vanish. It will reduce him to an utterly helpless state in times of trade disputes as he will be without any credit with the shopkeepers in the market on which he can rely. It will make it increasingly difficult for workers to strive either to better their conditions or to defeat the attempts of the employers to worsen them. These orders deliver the workers into the hands of their employers. They are detrimental to the interests of the working class as they cripple their bargaining power.

It is true that the orders do not empower the employer to compel his employees to make their purchases at his shop. But who is not aware of the omnipotent power of the employer to compel his employee to obey his will? The authority which the employer wields over his employees is more potent than what law can bestow. The worker depends for his employment, which is his only means of livelihood, on the will of his employers. The employer, who realises the value of increasing the dependence of the worker on himself, will not fail to use his influence to induce workers to make purchases from his shop.

The programme of the Bombay Government shows that they are anxious to shower innumerable benefits on the working class. But they have made a woeful beginning by issuing these orders which will tighten the shackles of the working class.

The orders create a curious anomaly by authorising deductions from wages on account of Sickness Benefit Fund. The order of the Bombay Government assumes the role of rectifying the mistake of the framers of the Act by not only adding a new item for deductions but by thoughtlessly bestowing wide and indiscriminate powers on the employers for deductions. The order does not define the Sickness Benefit Fund and lay down conditions similar to those prescribed by the Act in the case of the Provident Fund. The benefits to which the workers are entitled under a sickness benefit scheme may be in kind or cash or in both. Under the orders the employer will be free to include the services of dispensaries in the category of benefits in kind, and to effect deductions from wages of workers for charges incurred on dispensaries for which they at present pay nothing. It will be clear how, owing to the orders of the Bombay Government, the Act which is intended to benefit the working class will in reality benefit the employers. The workers do not desire that employers should start a private Sickness Benefit Fund as it curtails their freedom. A worker who has contributed towards the fund is tied down to the factory. He does not feel free to leave it when conditions become unfavourable since he loses the amount contributed by him. The programme of the Government of Bombay includes introduction of the Social Insurance Scheme. But the orders of the Bombay Government prejudice the feasibility of the scheme and imply that the Government is not serious about it.

The order empowers the employers to deduct for supply of electric light and water at reasonable rates to employees housed by them. There can be no justification for deduction on account of supply of water. The logic of such an order leads to absurd conclusions. The employers may as well be justified in deducting charges for construction and maintenance of roads near the chawls and lights on those roads.

The Government of Bombay have approved all co-operative societies registered under the Bombay Co-operative Societies Act, 1925, for the purposes of deductions. This order defeats the object of a more recent piece of legislation of the Central Legislature which declares salaries and wages below Rs. 100 immune from attachment. It supersedes the specific provisions of the Act of the Central Legislature by restoring the privileged status of co-operative societies which the Act intended to nullify. By bestowing powers on employers which even civil courts do not possess, the Bombay Government have exposed the new piece of legislation to ridicule.

To conclude, the advantages that will result to the employers from these orders will not be of a trifling character. They arm the employer with a weapon which is powerful enough to throw the working class upon his mercy. They reduce the pay-day to a day of adjustment of wages. The industry will

require less running capital for its maintenance which will be an advantage of no mean degree to the employers. The orders possess potential capacity of doing immeasurable harm to the interests of the working class and therefore deserve to be scrapped off.

S. V. PARULEKAR.

Reviews.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

INDIAN CONSTITUTION, VOL. I. PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY. By K. T. SHAH. (Vora & Co., Bombay.) 1937. 20cm. 444p. Rs. 1-8-0.

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LEGISLATURES. By R. R. SAKSENA. (The Universal Literature Co., Lucknow.) 1937. 20cm. 270p. Rs. 6.

AMONGST all the recent publications on the new constitution the book of Prof. Shah on Provincial Autonomy stands out as a very prominent one. The book is issued as Vol. I in a series of national publications the nature and object of which is indicated as follows: "Beginning with a study of the new constitution, the subjects for the monographs in the series will, it is intended, be so selected and written up, as, in their aggregate and viewed collectively, would help to show the inherent weaknesses or obstacles in the present system of administration in the country." Each monograph is to be accompanied by a preface and a conclusion, in the latter of which the author's suggestions for modifications are to be included. As the present one is an interim volume it is issued without any of these accompaniments and we are promised that Vol. II, which will deal with the remainder of the new Indian constitution, will contain these by far the more interesting features.

The Editors of the series are a trio well-known to Indian public life, Jawaharlal Nehru, Narendra Dev, and the author himself, K. T. Shah. These names are sufficiently indicative of the objective towards which the combined conclusions of the series will be intended to lead the readers. This aim is described as consisting of "a community aiming at socialising all material wealth and all means of production, distribution and exchange of such material wealth." This is full-blooded socialism. But what is peculiarly suggestive is that at every important stage it is coupled with the mention of nationalism. Only future trends of extremist politics in India will show whether this combination is only tactful, aimed at keeping together the two 'lefts' in the Congress—the purely nationalist and the purely socialist, or whether it is deliberately intended to veer towards a National-Socialism in India, the German prototype of which is too well-known to need description. The association of a group of Indian capitalists with left-wing politics suggests at least a possibility in this latter direction.

The contents of the book bear full testimony to the wide knowledge and critical acumen which all students of Indian public questions have learnt to associate with the name of K. T. Shah. The present work is not only descriptive but in a very real and helpful way looks before and after—gives the historical background and forecasts the political future. So far as the latter aspect of the work is concerned, it is deeply tinged with the Congress blend of mistrust and pessimism about constitutional progress. In the light of subsequent events it is very significant to see,

that the author has pointedly and exhaustively referred to the position of Ministers under the new constitution in the provinces and the desirability of Congressmen accepting office wherever they happen to be in a majority. On the technical question as to whether it is open to the Governors to surrender by a 'gentleman's agreement' his function of exercising his discretionary and special powers, the author's interpretation would clearly point to the conclusion that neither the letter nor the spirit of the new provincial constitution allows such a development. Whatever might be the ideal form of responsible government, the new provincial governments must contain as an integral part the discretionary and special powers of the Governors.

It is precisely for this serious drawback in the constitution that the socialist element in the Congress has been exercising its influence against office acceptance, and the views of the author also appear to coincide with this end. In the light of this fact it is interesting, as an indication of the way in which the minds of the non-acceptance school of Congress politicians are working, that the Editors of the present series, including the Congress President, give a four-year period for the completion of their self-appointed task outlining the programme of comprehensive action when Congressmen do come into office.

The time limit is self-imposed, says the author, but not quite as arbitrary as it may seem at first sight. Assuming that the first legislatures in the country under the new constitution would be unable to achieve any constructive good for the collective welfare of the people of India, and given a normal life of five years for these first legislatures, a programme of constructive work must be ready and clearcut before their successors come into office, as it were, for the following quinquennium.

Will it be too far-fetched a construction to conclude that at least one section of Congress thought desires to repeat the tactical programme that was worked immediately after the inauguration of the Montagu constitution?

Whatever the political persuasion of a reader, the book of Prof. Shah ought to serve as an invaluable companion to every student of the new provincial constitution. In issuing a volume of 450 pages for Rs. 1-8 the publishers have played more than fair by the public.

The other book, that of Mr. Saksena, is in a different class. It is mainly a descriptive and analytical study and deals with the federation, the provinces, procedure, electoral law and other cognate matters. It is well calculated efficiently to serve the purpose implied in the title: 'A hand-book of Indian legislatures'. The price, Rs. 6 for 270 pages of this type, would appear to be rather high.

D. G. KARVE.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE.

PACIFISM IS NOT ENOUGH. By WILLIAM E. RAPPARD and others.

ANARCHY OR WORLD ORDER. By R. B. MOWAT and others. 1935. 1936. 20cm. 269, 272pp. 8/6, 7/6.

SPECIALISTS in International Law have to thank the growing number of publications. Besides the treatises, every student admitted to a study of the English periodicals has to refer to the Annual of International Law Cases, the British Year-book of International Law, the American Year-book of International Law, and the Transactions of The Grotius Society. The Problems of Peace Series also deserves to be gone through by every student of Politics. Every year,

eminent workers deliver lectures under the auspices of the Geneva Institute of International Affairs round one chosen topic, and they are published.

In the ninth series, the problem of securing and maintaining peace is tackled by different lecturers. The rise of Nationalism faces the statesmen today, and Dr. G. P. Gooch after an examination of the growth of Nationalism comes to the conclusion that "the insufficiency of Nationalism is as obvious as its strength"—though the terms used might be "collective security" or "international order," the pivotal terms round the Covenant of the League of Nations. The status of the small states in the League is examined by Prof. W. E. Rappard. He exposes through figures "the artificial character of the bipartite division of countries into Great Powers and small states." Professor Alfred Zimmermann examines with his well-known clarity the other side of the picture. Though without the smaller states the "League would be an oligarchy," without the Great Powers "the League would be nothing more than a debating society." The most thought-provoking contribution is the Socialist view brilliantly discussed by the Rt. Hon'ble C. R. Attlee. The Socialists' analysis is that "production for profit inevitably leads to a struggle for markets." Their avowed aim is "to convert political democracy into economic democracy through public ownership of the means of production." He stresses the vital importance of real "disarmament and of the creation of an international police force." Major Attlee wants the League to have the master weapon of today—"Air Force." He wants the main air services to be internationalized with strict control over private flying. If another distinguished Labourite, Arthur Henderson, would not to the end of his eventful life admit the failure of disarmament, it is now left to his successor to take strides by drawing mental pictures of an international police force! Sir Norman Angell follows him with the cry that "pacifism is not enough." The fundamental issues are analysed with convincing lucidity by the illustrious author of "The Great Illusion" who brings to bear on the problem his thirty years' variegated experience. Everybody wants peace and everybody goes to war. With unerring analysis, Sir Norman draws the conclusion that "we do not see the relation between the policy which we follow and the inevitable consequence of war;" thus it is "a problem of understanding, not of evil intent." There is besides an authoritative account of the Chaco war by Senor Alvarez Del Vayo. Mr. E. J. Phelan of the International Labour Office examines the deep import of the Preamble to the L. L. O., that "Peace can be established only if it is based on Social Justice." It was M. Theunis who laid down the following vital proposition when he presided over the League Economic Conference of 1927. "No machinery for the settlement of international disputes can be relied upon to maintain peace if the economic policies of the world so develop as to create not only deep divergences but a sense of intolerable injury and injustice." The volume under review concludes with three papers on economic subjects—on the Trends of Recovery, National Economic Planning, and the International Implications of the "New Deal."

The tenth volume deals with the extension of International Law and the attempts to establish an effective system of collective action since the war. Prof. R. B. Mowatt describes historically the problem of international anarchy. This anarchy is ascribable to two things, "unrestricted State sovereignty and national self-interest." The elements of World Order are unerringly analysed by Mr. W. Arnold-Forster. An unqualified renunciation of war, the acceptance of the authority of a world tribunal and a compre-

comprehensive limitation, reduction and supervision of armaments—these are among the essentials of the price of a peaceful world order. By far the most authoritative paper is that from Dr. H. Lauterpacht. International Law, conceived as the expression of World Order, "has suffered a severe set-back in the period from 1920 to 1934." While activity displayed by the I. L. O. has surpassed all expectations, the Permanent Court of International Justice has not, "except in one or two isolated cases, been called upon to decide disputes of conspicuous political importance." The overwhelming "legal reality" of the Treaty of Paris deserves not to be forgotten. That much discussed body, the League of Nations, has been correctly evaluated by the learned author. The right of war has been limited; the Covenant abandoned the principle that sovereign States cannot be punished by collective action; through sanctions the League Covenant effected a substantial change in the conception and law of neutrality as between members of the League. The Covenant, Dr. Lauterpacht reminds us, has to be conceived as a "legal document, not so much an instrument imposing legally effective obligations in the field of collective enforcement of the law as a legal authorization to act in that capacity." The correct view is that "the very disappointments of the period (1920-1934) constitute an indirect contribution to further development." Mr. John B. Whitton of the Princeton University examines the possibility of American neutrality in the next war. Eventually, it will become impossible for the United States to remain neutral. This writer is inclined to say ditto to President Wilson's view that "neutrality was no longer feasible." The rights and duties of neutrality have yet an important place in international law and Mr. Whitton is more optimistic than warranted. The failure of the collective system (?) is noted in the Far East by Dr. Scholefield (New Zealand). Japan's successful adventure in Manchuria is now history and she has successfully outthorowed the West-European Imperialistic Powers. So long as China is a helpless prey of her neighbours, Japan would never tolerate the West-European states dominating the trade with China. Nor is there any sign of Art. XIX of the League Covenant being ever put to the test. That the problem of peace is very largely an economic problem is again reverted to by Mr. Mortished of the I. L. O. and stress is laid on a comprehensive plan of social reconstruction. The problem of international administration is correctly stated by E. T. Phelan. Sir Alfred Zimmern lays down as the wisest policy to promote the closest possible association between the liberty-loving peoples. But will the Committee of free and liberty-loving nations have the courage to deal with the miscreants, be they despots or democrats? The disease is disunion among the few democracies. The problem of world organization in the near future is in essence the organization of these democracies.

K. R. R. SASTRY.

SEX AND RELIGION.

SEX IN RELIGION: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY.

By G. SIMPSON MARR. (Allen and Unwin.)

1936. 20cm. 285p. 7/6.

THIS is one of the very few instructive and interesting books on this subject. The author is an earnest and sincere theologian and at the same time a doctor of medicine and Divinity. As such, he has earned for himself authority to speak on this subject.

The author appeals to the Church to direct its attention to the subject, because some new problems

are raised by the variety of new laws relating to marriage, divorce and birth control, and some authors like Mr. Lawrence have gone to the extreme by seeking "to make of sex a new religion". Not only lay authors say this, but even men of science and philosophy like Shaw, Russell, Joad and others are not satisfied with the hush hush attitude of the Church towards the problem of sex. He is, therefore, right when he says that "a book to elucidate the true relations between sex and religion meets a felt want to day".

Dr. Marr's historical survey of this subject is simply enchanting. Here he has unearthed all the religious books and found many parallels of phallic worship in all primitive religions including Hinduism. In Central America, for instance, Westropp found "universal reverence paid to the images of sexual organs". Again, we are told that "the Hebrew oath was taken upon the male organ itself". "Sacred prostitution was a marked feature of religious life in the pagan world, a custom still existing in India to-day". Amongst the Romans, "Priapus was the god of sex" and his worship was accompanied by ceremonies which were highly sexual in character.

The author has some highly grotesque and absurd remarks to make about Hindu religion. Here he quotes old Abbe Dubois and the notorious Miss Mayo to boost up his views, but we are constrained to say that he has seen only the ugly side of the picture. True Hinduism has become as pure as crystal to-day, though it is true that it resides side by side with the old tribal religion of the aborigines. It is, therefore, not only incorrect but highly objectionable and even defamatory to say that "underlying Hinduism there is something approaching sex worship." Hindu culture has outlived many such criticisms and an author who, without study, makes such insulting remarks cannot go unchallenged by respectable journals.

Other chapters are devoted to the reaction which this gross phallic worship has produced in the west, and the author shows how the pendulum swung to the other extreme in Christianity and sex became a matter of abhorrence. Not only was this reaction visible in Christendom, but it spread in all countries where culture dethroned flesh and enthroned spirit as in Hinduism. We find this even in Bhagvadgeeta where "Kam is said to be the door to hell". This reaction held sway till the beginning of this century; and now it seems sex is again raising its ugly head to the utter dismay of the old orthodox thinkers, as we find in communist Russia. Economic considerations have been undoubtedly undermining the old age-long views about family and the sanctity of marriage; new conditions are demanding late marriages, birth control, and divorce on new grounds. All this has to be faced, and properly guided and the best guide, in the author's opinion, would be the Church, and we thoroughly agree with him. But, in our opinion, the balance was properly struck by Shrikrishna in the Geeta when he said: धर्मविरुद्धो युतेषु कामोऽसि भरतर्षभ. The definition of धर्म i. e. religion may change but the truth that religion (i. e. the Church) must guide sex is and must remain immortal. The author, we see, comes to the same conclusion.

V. M. BHAT.

SHORT NOTICES.

LANGUAGE, UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONALISM IN INDIA. By SOM NATH CHIB. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 19cm. 59p. Ra. 1.

THIS is an admirable little essay which the intelligentsia of this country could hardly afford to miss.

As Mr. H. N. Brailsford says in the foreword, the essay is an "objective study," which is the right foundation for the treatment of the subject under review. The author does not want people to agree or to disagree with him, but he does want them to think seriously about this question of vital importance. This object has been well served by this short treatise. The author sums up his constructive suggestions as follows :—

1. The medium of instruction and consequently of examinations up to Matriculation in all subjects (except of course English) should be the vernacular of the area controlled by the university.

2. After four years for all arts subjects in colleges up to B. A. History, Economics Philosophy, Politics, Mathematics, Geography, etc. the medium should be the vernacular.

3. (a) In the case of the sciences,—Medicine, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology—and professional courses such as Engineering, the *status quo* may be maintained for ten years more.

(b) Teaching in Law for the LL. B. degree should be done in the vernacular, for in all lower courts the vernaculars are freely used for most purposes.

4. English should be taught as a compulsory second language in all schools and colleges. The study of the English classics—poetry and prose—should be confined to those who want to take a degree in English literature.

5. Every university should establish a Board of Compilers, who should translate textbooks in arts and science subjects from European languages. Where two or more universities have a common vernacular, they may establish a common Bureau of Compilation.

Taking a dispassionate view of the position of this country in the comity of nations, one can agree to the above proposals which have been admittedly put forth as tentative and are subject to changes that may be necessary in the light of different conditions in different provinces.

M. S. MODAK.

EARLY LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, Vol. I (1765-1772). By D. N. BANERJEE. (Longmans.) 1936. 22cm. 228p. Rs. 5.

THE volume under review furnishes a historical background of the events which eventually led to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The facts dealt with are well-known. The East India Company, on acquisition of the Diwani, inherited a thoroughly vicious system, having for its object the realisation of the largest possible revenue from annual lessees who, enjoying no security of tenure, often succeeded in bleeding white the impoverished peasantry by levying unauthorised dues and adopting questionable means through their unscrupulous and tyrannical agents. The change of masters, instead of bringing about any improvement in the situation, made matters worse, mainly because of the persistent demands of the Court of Directors for an increase in revenue. The experiment of appointing European supervisors proved a failure, partly because the persons appointed were young and inexperienced, but chiefly because they used to carry on trade on their own account and wielded autocratic power.

Prof. Banerjee has done well to emphasise the fact that, not until the servants of the Company were

prohibited from carrying on trade on their own account, was there any appreciable improvement in the machinery of assessment and collection of revenue. Exploitation of one nation or class by another is hardly, if ever, conducive to the lasting good of the exploited; and if the agents of the exploiters were directly interested, pecuniarily or otherwise, in such exploitation, the evil was bound to be accentuated. It is a pity that the Company took a long time to come to a right decision on this important question.

Although the author has broken no new ground, he has, as a result of much painstaking research and by reference to original manuscript documents, lent weighty support to the conclusions already arrived at. In a few instances, he has differed from the acknowledged authorities, citing original records in support of his views. His presentation of facts in a logical sequence and lucid manner is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject, and we await with interest the publication of the second volume of the work.

B. DE.

ASPECTS OF MODERNISM. By JANKO LAVRIN. (Stanley Nott.) 1935. 20cm. 247p. Rs. 6.

JANKO LAVRIN shows in this book his deep and wide knowledge of the trends of modern European literature. His searching criticism and constructive evaluations spring from a rare insight and a sound judgment. He has written a book of great value to everyone interested, and even to those who are ignorant of the movements of intellectual thought in Europe and its influence directly and indirectly on the thought and production of literature in modern days. This compact survey ought to make us delve deep into the thought of some of the writers he has referred to.

SWAMI YESUDASA.

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