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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

**OUR congratulations to the Govern-
ment for having at last ended the
war with Germany by having now agreed to admit
into India citizens of the German Republic on
exactly the same terms as other aliens. Seven
years after the Armistice and six years after the
Versailles Peace! Nobody could say that the Govern-
ment of India has behaved precipitately in the
matter of treating Germans again, just as if they
were—human beings. However, better late than
never. It is amusing in this connection to watch,
how the intended punishments of Germany under the
Versailles Peace Dictate have recoiled on the victors.
The latest instance is that of China, which had been
told to deprive the wicked Hun of all his former
rights of extra-territoriality: with the result that
Russians and Germans (who are citizens of the only
Powers in China today without extra-territorial
rights) are the only foreigners against whom the
Chinese have no animosity, and with the further
result that German trade with China booms, whilst
British trade languishes. We are only waiting for
Germany to be in the Council of the League of
Nations, to see some fun in connection with the
administration of mandated territories. What if
Germany as the only colonially unencumbered Great
Power were to become the champion in the League
of all the coloured races? Or will the other Powers
then try to buy Germany's connivance, by retroced-
ing to her one or another of the ex-German colonies?
What farce, you say? No, Nemesis.**

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S speech in the
House of Lords on July 7th was
supposed to contain an invitation to
Indian politicians to frame a constitution for India,
and it was widely felt that provided certain pre-
liminary conditions were fulfilled, a generally
agreed scheme for constitutional advance would re-
ceive earnest consideration at the hands of the pre-
sent Government and the British Parliament. The
Secretary of State's pronouncement on this subject
had already been very nearly explained away by
Earl Winterton two days later in the House of Com-
mons, and the construction which Sir A. Muddiman
now puts upon the speech clears away the last
lingering doubts on the subject. It would appear
that what his Lordship was trying to ascertain all
the time was, not the *quantum* of further reforms
which all shades of political opinion in this country
unanimously demanded, but the kind of self-govern-
ment that India wanted. Swarajist leaders had de-
clared, we are now informed, that a constitution
modelled on western lines would not suit India and
Lord Birkenhead was therefore desirous of finding
out whether Indians were averse to responsible gov-
ernment copied from the west. The reference here
is no doubt to the late Mr. C. R. Das who in his
Congress Presidential speech at Gaya had expressed
himself against the parliamentary form of govern-
ment. "No system of government," he had declar-
ed "which is not for the people and by the people
can ever be regarded as the true foundation of Swa-
raj. I am firmly convinced that a parliamentary
government is not a government by the people and
for the people." It is also well-known that Mahatma
Gandhi too has often spoken against the modern
democratic system, and it is the fashion of many of
our politicians to say in public that Indians do not
care for the reproduction of the western form of gov-
ernment in this country; that what they desire is a
constitution that is suited to their national genius.
Such declarations apparently made Lord Birkenhead
wonder whether India would not retrace the steps
she had taken on the road to responsible govern-
ment under the Montagu constitution and start
afresh on the road of her own making, and the Home
Member now assures us that all that his Lordship
meant by his offer was to have a clear indication of
the general wish of the Indian people on this point.

* * *

MAHATMA GANDHI'S condemnation
of modern democracy has always
been regarded by the Indian public

The Red
Herring.

as one of his several idiosyncrasies, not for which but in spite of which the Mahatma is to be revered. Deshabandhu Das's contentions also found very little support even in the Swarajist party. His suggestion to appoint a Committee for the purpose of drawing up a scheme of government on lines indicated by him was cold-shouldered by the Congress and Mr. Das, having failed to get the support of the Congress, had to go to his own party for sanction for a Committee to consider his proposals. A Committee was thereupon appointed, but the scheme it produced carried out only partially the basic ideas propounded by Mr. Das in his Gaya speech, and even so the scheme was considered to be so fantastic that the Swarajist party promptly put it away. The party has not yet considered it and recorded its opinion on it. The fact was that, hot-gospeller of Swaraj as Mr. Das was, he displayed very little constructive thinking on this as on other political subjects, and it was well that the Swarajists refused to commit themselves to the constitutional ideas embodied in their Committee's scheme. Lord Birkenhead, who was careful enough to note an expression of opinion by Mr. Das, should have also taken care to see what scant regard his own party paid to it. Parliamentary government has no doubt its defects, but no responsible person in India would now contemplate a departure from the path on which Indians' feet have been once set. The efforts of Indian politicians are now concentrated on achieving full dominion status on this very road. If any adjustments be required in the system of responsible government by India's peculiar characteristics, they will think of these when they are free to shape their own constitution; they will not complicate the issue of self-government by raising an academic discussion of the type of Swaraj they would like to have. Lord Birkenhead has verily drawn a red-herring across the main issue, but Indians will not thereby be diverted from their pursuit of freedom. The Government throughout the reforms debate maintained an impossibilist attitude on the question of further reforms, and the Council of State proved as ever the obedient slave of the bureaucracy in this respect. But we feel confident that the rising tide of public opinion on this supreme question will sweep away all obstacles in the path.

* *

Use of Firearms. THE Legislative Assembly carried, against the opposition of the Government, the third reading of the Firearms Bill of Mr. Rangachariar, but as it is sure to be thrown out in the Council of State, verily the grave of all progressive and popular measures, the bureaucracy is not much perturbed by its defeat in the lower House. The Bill provides against the use of firearms till other lesser weapons have been tried or are judged to be inefficacious. The objection is raised that it will be very difficult for the court to decide whether an assembly, which was fired on, could not have been otherwise dispersed. No doubt it is difficult; but it is no more difficult for the court to decide this question than to decide whether the rule, already embodied in the existing law, that no more than minimum force necessary for dispersal should be used, was in any particular transgressed by the police or the military officer on the spot. If the courts are competent to judge the latter issue, they should be competent to decide the former as well. The main controversy however centred round the proposed cancellation of the existing requirement of an authority from the Governor-General in Council for the filing of complaints by aggrieved persons against officers responsible for firing on crowds. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Wm. Birdwood, appealed to the Assembly to protect an officer on whom an

unpleasant duty was cast from the caprice of individuals. But the officer concerned can only be brought to trial by private individuals and will be convicted only by a court satisfied on evidence produced that firing was either unnecessary or had been kept up too long. Where is the use of enacting a rule regarding the use of minimum force, if by § 132 of the Code of Criminal Procedure the aggrieved persons are shut out from taking legal remedies? The Commander-in-Chief would however appear to hold that the police or the military officer must be given the last word on the subject, for he is reported to have said that "the officer in command on the spot alone could decide the necessities of the situation." It is perhaps natural for one in the position of the Commander-in-Chief to hold this view, but we cannot imagine how Mr. Jinnah could have seen fit in his Minute of Dissent to the Select Committee's report to have said on the very clause in question, "I am very doubtful as to its real use that might be made (sic)." Mr. Sastri first raised the question more than three years ago, but even our prominent legislators do not seem to have grasped its fundamentals yet.

* *

Age of Consent. THE Age of Consent Bill has passed both Houses of the legislature in the form in which it was introduced by the Government. It raises the age of girls to 13 as against husbands and to 14 as against strangers. These provisions fall far short of what Sir Hari Singh Gour as the spokesman of social reformers demanded, but even so the Bill evoked quite a scream from the representatives of the orthodox section. Their objection was most vehement against the raising of the age of married girls, for it somehow appears to them to be an inroad on the indefeasible right of the males to work their will upon their child-wives. That even Mr. Kelkar figured among opponents to this particular measure shows how strong orthodoxy is in seemingly enlightened persons. Reformers have, however, received support on this question from an unexpected quarter, for Mahatma Gandhi, without committing himself to the details of this measure, has expressed the opinion that steps should be taken to prevent the consummation of marriage till girls reach the age of 16 at least. Such a provision would find large measure of support in the Legislative Assembly, and if no one tried to push on the limit of age it was merely because the Home Member, in introducing the Bill, had given warning that in case amendments were carried in the Assembly raising the age laid down in the Bill, he would have to refer them to the Council of State, where of course they would have no chance. It is not therefore surprising that members thought it tactical to have half a loaf immediately rather than have no bread at all. It must be made plain, however, that when a suitable opportunity offers, an attempt will be made to carry out the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi, which in this respect coincide with the wishes of social reformers.

* * *

The Asiatic Bill. THE debate on the Asiatic Bill in the Council of State ran on usual lines. The Government of India expressed full sympathy with Indian settlers in S. Africa and promised every support to them in their hour of trial. But what action it was prepared to take in case the Bill went through, as very likely it would go through, was not disclosed. Perhaps it could not be disclosed at this stage, when negotiations for a Round Table Conference with the South African representatives are still in progress. But it is only when the Government of India makes up its mind to take what retaliatory

measures it can that the words of encouragement which it addresses will have their desired effect. The Hon'ble Sir B. N. Sarma, on the eve of laying down office, employed expressions which give reason to hope that should the present negotiations fail, the Government of India will adopt measures in the direction indicated by the people. It is a sign of the intensity of public feeling on this subject that Mr. C. F. Andrews, who opposed such measures heretofore, now supports the use of the Reciprocity Act and such other measures in order to bring pressure to bear upon the offending Colonies. It may have been necessary for Government to refrain from holding out the threat of retaliation, but there was no need for non-official members to withdraw a resolution for the application of the principle of reciprocity and to substitute for it another embodying a pious wish that the Government of India would stand by the people. This was however what was done in the Council of State, and therefore no expression was given to the feeling of resentment in the country and to the determination to use every legitimate weapon for the vindication of national rights and national-self respect.

* * *

A Query. "THE Maharaja of Patiala", says *Reuter* on Monday, "addressing the Committee of the League of Nations dealing with traffic in women and children, said he counted it an honour . . ." What we would like to know, is, who else in India will count it an honour.

* * *

Opium & Malaya. IT is probably a fact that few people in this country think of the Opium Conference of 1924-5 as anything but a complete failure and of the rôle of Great Britain at Geneva as anything but that of a Machiavellian schemer, trying to perpetuate his profits out of the vice of opium smoking behind a smoke screen of smooth phrases and pious resolutions so worded as to evacuate them of all practical force. The latest news from Malaya, however, puts quite a different complexion upon such interpretation and proves, both that the Geneva Conference has achieved a substantial success and that the British Government really does mean business. The agreement signed at Geneva last February binds the signatories to "take measures to reduce consumption of prepared opium in the territories under their authority, so that such use may be completely suppressed;" and though such total suppression is not to take place until 15 years after smuggling from opium producing countries has ceased to make such suppression elsewhere nugatory, it is very clear now that the British government does not mean this date to coincide with the Greek Kalends. At a meeting of the Legislative Council of the Straits Government, held on August 24th the acting Governor declared his government wished to "give tangible proof that no question of dependence upon opium revenue will be allowed to interfere with an earnest and sustained endeavour to overcome the evil of opium consumption within our borders"—and that "tangible proof" means no less than renouncing an annual revenue of \$ 15 millions in the Straits Settlements and of \$ 8½ millions in the Federated Malay States. And if the totals are pretty handsome when taken absolutely, they are fairly staggering, when taken relatively to the whole income: the percentage of revenue from opium to the total revenue being in

	All Malaya	Straits Settlements only
1918	32.4%	54.1%
1919	29.4	41.8
1920	30.9	47.2
1921	28.0	38.7
1922	28.6	42.9

Now Malaya has always protested that it really did not like this state of affairs, that it had not sought it, but that it had been forced upon it by the peculiar habits of its Chinese population, which forms the bulk of the people living there. However, with an annual revenue made out of opium of between twelve and twenty million dollars, protests from the Straits Settlements are naturally apt to be suspect. So the order has now gone forth to make the Colonial revenue independent of opium—and as a start the Colony has now decided to set aside \$ 30 million in a special reserve fund to be added to annually and to be used for replacement of opium revenue.

* * *

Handsome is that handsome does. ONE may be not at all sure that the method proposed—to capitalize a huge surplus, on which to draw in the lean years to come—is the best: we certainly believe that this shirking of the re-imposition of an income-tax will have fatal effects and tend to make the government of the day in future even more independent of the Legislative Council than it is today. But here we are merely concerned with the opium question and can only say that "handsome is that handsome does", and that to doubt any longer the *bona fides* of the British government (as some enthusiasts still seem to do) is simply foolish. As the *Malay Mail* of August 27th says, "the die is cast; the decision is taken" and we are glad to note that even this paper, which represents the local European element, admits that this decision "is definitely approved by the great majority of responsible individuals living in Malaya." But the Colonial government is not only making ready financially—here and now!—to meet the engagement solemnly entered upon of suppressing opium smoking: it has evidently some other proposals as well which were made public at the same meeting of the Legislative Council. For from what the Colonial Treasurer said, it appears that two years ago already the government had decided on eventual total prohibition and that since December 24, 1924, all licences for the retailing of opium have been endorsed with the notice that such licences would not be renewed after December 31, 1925. The government now apparently propose that, directly an adequate number of Government retail shops are ready, these shops will be opened and all previously licensed private shops and divans automatically closed; and the purpose is not only to reduce the total to one seventh of the existing number, but also to enable the government "to get control of individual smokers", in the words of the Colonial Treasurer, who, significantly enough, prefaced his remarks with the statement that "it is quite clear that prohibition must eventually come"—the abolition of all private traffic in opium being a deliberate step to that end. To all of which we can only say: "Bravo!"

* * *

Mr. Joshi's Work in England. COL. WEDGWOOD writes to Lala Lajpat Rai: "This year, for the first time since 1920, we have had real live M. L. A.'s over here, speaking with the authority of their rank to their colleagues of all parties in Parliament. Goswami of Bengal, Chamanlal of Rawalpindi and Joshi of Bombay have been a success. The last named gave us all exactly what we wanted to know, almost with the clarity of Srinivasa Sastri. The first two, young and chubby, made speeches of inconceivable bitterness with a bright smile which endeared them to their victims. We did not learn much from them. . . . I can safely say that half my colleagues of the Labour Party have learnt more about India in the last two months than in all their previous life."

THE LATEST FROM AFRICA.

Reuter on the 1st inst. vouchsafed us a short and rather mystifying piece of news about a "scheme of limited self-government for natives" said to have been outlined by General Hertzog. As for the "limited" nature of that self-government, we at once felt that in this respect at least the report could be fully trusted. As for the rest, we rather wondered, what on earth the Boer Government was up to now. This curiosity on our part was to some extent satisfied, on seeing the special cable to the *Hindu* of the same date, which—quite unlike *Reuter's*—gave a straightforward and complete, if succinct, account of General Hertzog's "scheme". The latter apparently comes to this that "the intellectual natives found in towns" are to be transplanted into the Reserves of "tribal natives who still regard obedience to their chief and respect for the white man as natural"—thereby with one fell swoop "cleansing" the urban areas from the polluting presence of non-whites and effectively muzzling "those educated natives who otherwise were bound to become mere agitators". Not enough with this, the South African Premier sketched out a hierarchy of Native District Councils and Municipalities, which would culminate in a "Council of Natives", to be "developed on lines similar to the Union Parliament." From this one gets the impression that what General Hertzog aims at, is a zebra-like South Africa, striped black and white in parallel and quite distinct lines of the two hues which never, never are to merge. Territorial segregation would thus find its complement in parliamentary and administrative segregation and imagination boggles at visualizing a country composed of two peoples, black and white, each rigidly contained in completely watertight compartments, with no contact of any kind.

Fortunately for one's imagination, General Hertzog has spared it such impossible strain. For in the *Hindu* cable quoted he "added while giving natives the institution by which to govern themselves, regarding purely native matters, those interests which natives had in common with Europeans should specially be represented in Union Parliament." And since after all the inhabitants of a country must necessarily "have interests in common", whether black or white, whether living in a delectable suburb or a filthy location, the net effect of course will be that the Union Parliament will continue to rule South Africa—"Councils of Natives" or no "Councils of Natives"; and that the latter "to whom the education and taxation of natives and other important matters might truly be entrusted" will in the end be left with the power of providing schools for natives at the natives' cost, after the latter have dutifully paid all taxes required by the Whites for the White Government of their piebald country and the safety, comfort and prosperity of their White masters.

One would have thought that this was good enough from the White point of view—but there are apparently Boer purists who cannot away with even the semblance of any rights for Natives: wit-

ness the outburst of a colleague of General Hertzog's Mr. Tieleman Roos, as dutifully telegraphed to us by *Reuter* a couple of days ago. The exacting nature of Mr. Tieleman Roos' intransigence becomes all the more startling, when one realizes that even what we have said already about General Hertzog's proposals does not exhaust the inwardness of the solemn farce of "Council of Natives" so laboriously staged by General Hertzog. For in the *Church Times* of August 21st we see its always excellently informed South African correspondent under date July 29th reporting that "it is probable that legislation will be proposed in the next session of Parliament for dealing with the native vote in the Cape Province" and that "the natives will very likely be invited to surrender their franchise in return for the very dubious advantage of Native Councils"; significantly adding that "there may be also a further attempt to carry out the policy of segregation." This exposes in all its nakedness the goal the South African government is single-mindedly working for: the complete vindication of the Boer *grondwet*, "No equality for black and white in State or Church" and the blotting out of all vestiges of the former English principle, "Equal rights for equally civilized persons". When the Union constitution was on the anvil, British and Boer statesmen faced each other with these two contradictory principles and any nation but the British would have decided either in one way or in the other. The British of course, with their fetish of "compromise", sold the pass by admitting the Boer principle in the former Boer Republics and getting as a sorry *quid pro quo* permission to continue the English principle in Cape Colony. Needless to say this British "statesmanship" of putting off the evil day and of muddling through meanwhile has not worked. You cannot serve two masters; you cannot coordinate justice and racialism: either you subordinate racialism to justice or justice to racialism. The British idea in 1908 of subordinating both to each other is just nonsense and can only mean that you really are throwing justice to the racist wolves, but wish to preserve "face" while doing so. Nobody in South Africa could interpret the compromise differently at the time and in fact the vast majority of Whites in South Africa, whether British or Boer, has all along believed in the Boer, and not in the old English, principle. The last issue of the *New Leader* to hand (of Aug. 21) supplies—if proof was needed—an illuminating corroboration. A Mr. Cranko, a South African visitor to the I. L. P. Summer school held in the middle of last month, is reported as giving "a frank account of the problem of the Labour Party there, which refuses to help on the native in any way, from fear of the competition of cheap native labour". Is greater plainness of speech possible? And remember, that Mr. Cranko does not speak for the Boer backwoodsmen but for British Labour in South Africa! General Hertzog therefore to-day is perfectly safe in carrying out his policy; but as a matter of fact he is to-day merely carrying out to its last logical conclusions the process begun, when the

poison of the old Boer *grondwet* was admitted into the Union constitution; and it is significant that he is putting all his cards with brutal frankness on the table the moment he believes that he has sufficiently squared English public opinion, by having played up to that gallery in the Grand Imperial Pantomime *Ons Prins*, staged so successfully and recently in that great and so intensely loyal Dominion of his.

But even if English opinion had been completely stifled by this slim manoeuvre, unfortunately for the Whites in South Africa they number only 1½ millions out of a total population of seven millions and the 5½ million Blacks are increasingly ready for such organizations as have actually been started, demanding "Africa for the Africans." Such movements may be crude and Marcus Garvey-like to-day: they are bound to fructify tomorrow and the harvest then garnered will be to the Whites of South Africa bitter and deadly in the proportion that to-day the Whites are making of the children of the soil victims of White greed and White injustice.

In fairness to English opinion however it must be said that the English Church at least, whether in England or in South Africa, has always stoutly refused to be stifled on this paramount question of principle and the *Church Times* just quoted has some trenchant and most apposite remarks from the Bishop of Truro on this latest Boer move, "emphasizing the sometimes uncomfortable truth that white man and black man are the same in the sight of God"; that "the day had gone by for the treatment of Negroes by Europeans as if they belonged to another species"—a procedure which "was always anti-Christian and to-day has even become impolitic." We therefore welcome the news which appeared in *The People* of the 6th over the initials C. F. A. that the National Christian Council of South Africa is inviting the National Christian Council of India to send a deputation, along with the Indian Labour deputation, to discuss with them the whole South African position to-day. We were not aware of the existence of a "National Christian Council of South Africa," but in any case would suggest, as a possible improvement, that what is needed is to make the deputation fully representative (as it could not be, if it was restricted to a Protestant organization) by sending from India a deputation of, say, three persons—one Free Church, one Anglican and one Roman Catholic—to bring home to Christian opinion in South Africa, quite irrespective of sectarian considerations, what Christian opinion in India as a whole feels on this matter. Such a visit of Christians to Christians would, we feel sure, be bound to be productive of good—whether for India, or for South Africa or even for Christianity itself.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

The following is the Foreword contributed by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri to "Woodrow Wilson's Message for the Eastern Nations" just published by the Association Press, Calcutta.

WHEN I met Dr. Woodrow Wilson towards the end of 1921 he was full of hope that his country would soon join the League of Nations and help it assume the tone and authority befitting it. The hope was unfortunately premature. Even at its birth it was not so strong as the ex-President wished it to be. Since then the great Powers controlling it have not allowed full scope for its proper political activity. Quite recently, however, its aid has been invoked in the settlement of certain weighty issues which seemed to defy other ways of settlement. With its prestige heightened in this way, it might in no long time become the ultimate referee of great international disputes. Grim portents forebode the advent of war in the more or less distant future. Heaven forbid that it should be a war between colours, cultures, and continents! In view of this dread possibility it is a blessing that the League should have from the first found room for Asiatic peoples. Of course we owe this circumstance primarily to the inclusion of Japan among the allied and associated Powers. If only she had not been persuaded to withdraw the demand for the recognition of racial equality at Versailles! It was indeed the missing of a great opportunity for the peace of this planet. China, Persia, India, Turkey—each has so many potential causes of dispute with Western Powers that sooner or later the interposition of the League may be called for. The representation of India is for all practical purposes only the representation of the Government of India. Wilson's dictum that the peoples of the world, not merely their governments, were to come together to settle the affairs of the world is ignored in her case. In the strict legal sense it could not indeed be otherwise; but a mitigation is practicable through informal consultation with the Indian Legislature, though for some reason or other the idea has not occurred to the authorities. The educated classes in this country and, we may take it, in the other Asiatic countries as well are very far from understanding the value of membership in the League. Much education with this special object in view has still to be undertaken, but the opportunity does not seem to have arrived yet. In a quickly changing world it is difficult to foretell what dramatic events will bring the League and its beneficent intervention to the centre of the consciousness of the East, but careful observers of the undercurrents of affairs can conceive more than one such possibility. The education of the East then in knowledge of the League can no longer be postponed. This little book will start it under the very best auspices. The words of the Message were not indeed expressly intended for us, but they have an appeal to the Eastern as well as the Western hemisphere. That the selection was made by the author himself adds immensely to their efficacy as well as to their pathetic interest. His appearance in London was hailed with unparalleled demonstration. Imagination fails to picture the wild delirium of joy with which he would have been welcomed in Asiatic capitals. It would have been as though one of the great teachers of humanity, Christ or Buddha, had

come back to his home, crowned with the glory that the centuries had brought him since he last walked the earth. Now Wilson can only speak through the printed word, through translation and the mouths of more or less competent interpreters. It is good work though humble, and sure though slow. Let us take heart and go ahead.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES.*

UNDER the present industrial system the basis of payment of labour is either time or output. A labourer is paid in accordance with the number of hours of work or the units of output. The employer takes no account of the needs of individual workers and wages are paid on the principle of 'equal payment for equal work'. In the competition for wages the married man with a large family is obviously at a disadvantage compared with a bachelor, whose needs are less and who can underbid the worker with a large family. The choice before a worker with a large family is thus either unemployment or the acceptance of remuneration which is insufficient for his needs. The rates fixed by trade unions are no doubt based on the needs of an average family, but the average family is a statistical abstraction and while wages based on 'average family' needs certainly leave a balance in the hands of unmarried workers, married workers very often find it insufficient for their needs.

A more equitable system is payment according to need. During the war many countries paid the workers family allowances, i.e. "periodical payments to the worker in respect of his family rather than of the work done". "Family allowances may therefore be described as an attempt to apply the social principle of payment according to need, to a certain extent as a corrective to the more or less mechanical working of economic tendencies." During the war rise in the cost of living led to a reduction of real wages. Employers in various industries met the demand for increment in wages by granting a cost of living bonus on the basic wages, thinking the rise in prices to be an incidence of war conditions and hoping to restore the pre-war wages rate with the return of normal conditions. The bonus was in some countries based on the changing level of prices only and was paid to workers without any consideration of their needs. In some countries, however, the size of family was taken into account in fixing the bonus. In the latter case the principle of considering the needs of the individual worker was thus adopted. After the war the system of paying family allowances declined in many countries, specially in the Scandinavian countries, Italy and Switzerland. In some other countries, however, such as Germany, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Austria and Belgium the system

* Family Allowances: The Remuneration of Labour according to Need." (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1924.

"Family Allowances in French Industry" by Roger Picard. (International Labour Review, February 1924.)

"Wages and Allowances for Workers' Dependents." (International Labour Review, September 1924.)

has developed very rapidly since the war. What is the legal character of the family allowances? Do they constitute a part of the wages or are they merely an expression of employers' benevolence? Those who hold that the family allowance is a free grant of the employer support their view by saying that (a) the family allowance is instituted for the benefit of the worker's children and not for the worker himself; (b) it is not paid on the same terms as the wages and sometimes, indeed, it is not paid by the employer himself, but by an equalisation fund; (c) the allowance is sometimes paid even when the worker is involuntarily unemployed. On the other hand those who hold that the family allowance is a part of the wages contend that (a) the method of payment does not affect the nature of the allowance and the equalisation funds in paying the allowance act only as the agents of the employer; (b) if the allowance is paid when the worker is ill, this is because it is treated as a part of insurance; it forms part of the deferred earning for which the worker furnishes his services; (c) the family allowance is bound up with that of the employment contract and its duration is strictly coterminous with that of the contract; (d) stability in work is a condition which the employer legitimately expects and obtains in return for payment of family allowance: the employer thus secures an economic advantage.

In France the Court of Appeal inclines to the view that the allowance forms part of the wages. Mr. Picard says: "In practice it cannot be doubted that the worker regards everything paid to him in any form by his employer or by a representative of his employer as part of the remuneration for his work. The legal view taken by the Court of Appeal, thus corresponds to a psychological reality".

With the exception of Belgium and France the family allowances in European countries are mainly regulated by collective agreements between employers' and workers' organizations. The allowance is regarded as an addition to the wages. "Under the terms of the agreements, the allowances are paid by the employer together with wages, but in some cases they are controlled or administered by a joint committee of workers and employers. The terms of the agreement regulate the amount of the allowances, the workers entitled to receive them, the children in respect of whom they are to be paid, and also the method of calculating allowances for periods of short time or overtime." In almost every country, there are some private employers who pay family allowances to their employees on their own initiative and not through any organisation. The payment by State departments in several countries in Europe during the war is an important example of this type.

The prevalent method of organising the payment of family allowances in France and Belgium is through the equalisation fund. The isolated employer paying family allowances runs the risk of drawing only workers with large families to his undertaking; on the other hand the employers paying

family allowances will avoid workers with families as far as possible. In order to equalise the risk among the employers and protect the worker against this danger the equalisation fund has been adopted, mainly in Belgium and France. The fund is instituted by a group of employers and from it allowances are paid at uniform rates and under uniform conditions to all workers with dependent children employed in any of the undertakings. Altogether there are two types of equalisation funds, the industrial and the district fund. On behalf of the former type it is said that it helps to make the organisation better adapted to the peculiarities of each industry. The regional basis is supported by others who say that as the allowance tends to increase the population, it affects all industries in a district equally.

In some countries a certain amount of compulsion has been introduced in the matter of paying family allowances. The French Act of 19th December 1922 provides that employers tendering for State contracts must pay family allowances at given minimum rates; certain municipal and provincial authorities in Belgium have also adopted similar regulations. In Austria a general system of family allowances was introduced by an Act of 1921 and is continued today. In Australia Mr. Piddington moved a Bill in the Commonwealth Parliament that the government should pay children's allowances in respect of dependent children, the necessary funds being raised by taxing the employers. The Bill was defeated. By an Act of 1923 the French Government undertook to pay out of general funds an allowance to families having more than three children under 13, in respect of each child after the third.

Broadly speaking the main objects of family allowances are: (1) to remove or reduce the disabilities under which workers with large families suffer in competing for wages with unmarried workers or workers with small families; (2) to remove or reduce to a certain extent the economic restraint on parenthood. In countries with a large population the second object cannot be desirable. But by making the allowance regressive instead of progressive after a certain point this objection can be eliminated. Another object of family allowances is to help forward the equalisation of the pay of men and women for equal work. "When the national endowment of mothers and children becomes an accomplished fact, this excuse for the underpayment of women (i. e. that the men have families to maintain) will no longer hold good and women will be free to claim whatever position in industry their faculties fit them for at a wage based on the work they do and not on their supposed necessities."

The system of family allowances has not yet been sufficiently long in operation to warrant a forecast of its future development. Nor are opinions agreed on the various aspects of the system. But one fact stands out in significance: it is the recognition in practical economics of the principle of payment according to the needs of workers.

J. B. S.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, August 28.

DOINGS IN THE ASSEMBLY.

NEWS of the doings of the Indian Legislative Assembly is beginning once more to come through, and that concerning the fact and the circumstances of the election of Mr. V. J. Patel, as President of the body, in succession to Sir Frederick Whyte, has been very well received. Appreciation of Mr. Patel's attitude upon his election to the high office is widespread, his election having been to some extent prepared for by a recital of his success as President of the Bombay Corporation. Mr. Patel's speech is welcomed here as some indication of a closer *rapprochement* between Indian nationalist opinion and British opinion. Indeed, some such signs are badly wanted, and I have little doubt that their multiplicity will be not only welcomed on this side, but that they will also receive a considerable amount of generous reciprocity. The average Britisher is never so sullen and unresponsive as when his *bona fides* are attacked. Even when he is in the wrong, he likes to think that he has erred in good faith; and when he believes that his good faith has been unjustly suspected, he resents the imputation vigorously, but obstinately refuses to give proof. In other words, he is a very bad propagandist, until he is pushed into the position of one by one by sheer force of circumstances.

On the other hand, the line that the Assembly has taken over the personnel of the Currency Commission has aroused a certain amount of dismay in important quarters here. The City columns of the *Times* strike approximately the note that is common in financial circles, and I quote the following excerpt:

It would be unfortunate if the newly-appointed... Commission were to begin its sittings in the atmosphere indicated by the carrying of the Swarajists' motion in the Legislative Assembly at Simla on Tuesday. It is most desirable that Indian co-operation may be assured in giving effect to the Commission's findings, and the passing of such a resolution tends to prejudice the chances of its Report being regarded by Indian opinion as impartial. Such assumptions would, of course, be entirely unwarranted, but if an alteration in the constitution of the Commission would enable it to start its labours with greater prospects of Indian confidence in its impartiality, the suggestion has been made in some Anglo-Indian circles that the question should be given serious consideration... If such a course were to be decided upon, Sir Dadiba M. Dalal might be a suitable choice for one of the additional Indian representatives.

MAHARAJAS AT WORK.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, who has been putting in a good many hours at the India Office, with Dr. Rushbrook-Williams, getting up his "brief" for Geneva, left for that place, with his rather large staff, last Monday, and was accompanied as far as Boulogne by Scotland Yard officers, by whom he was turned over to the French Sureté officers. He will not be back here until October, when he hopes to discuss with the Press his views on the Assembly of the League and the work accomplished at the forthcoming sessions. In the

meantime, he is wisely silent. His brother Maharaja of Jodhpur, who is now in Scotland, has been spending some time cutting coal in a Lanark colliery. Perhaps his Highness is practising in anticipation of repeating the feat in an Indian colliery. The Maharaja of Jind, who has been spending a quiet holiday in England, left this morning *en route* for India, via the Continent. The Maharaja of Kapurthala has just started on a long American tour, from which he is not expected to return for a long time. His journeyings will include the South American Continent, where the Prince of Wales is now enjoying some novel, if fatiguing, experiences.

REVIEWS.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By ALEJANDRO ALVAREZ. (Oxford University Press, New York.) 1924. 13 × 6½. pp. 573.

THIS book is one of the publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and celebrates the 100th anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine. It is divided into three parts, an historical section, an annex of documents and a collection of the opinions of leading statesmen in North and South America. Mr. Alvarez is to be congratulated on the clarity of his historical summary and the diversity of his collected opinions which range from the masterly survey of ex-Secretary Hughes to the jeremiads of Calderon of Peru. Not the least amongst them is the article of Mr. Alvarez himself. There is only one point which we would venture to question—when he distinguishes the "policy" of Europe with the "international solidarity" of America (p. 29). International Law has no other sanction than agreement, and "international solidarity" is really a unanimous policy by all the powers of a certain area. The difference is not of kind, between the expediency in Europe and principle in America, but one of degree. Even in Europe there is a common policy of "international solidarity" in some things as Mr. Alvarez points out; the real difference is that in America there is more agreement in more important questions, so that American States have a common foreign policy in addition to, as in Europe, common police regulations for the exchange of criminals. There is greater unanimity, not greater principle.

The book is lucid and authoritative and will long remain an authority for the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine, says Mr. J. B. Scott of the Washington International Law Division, already "makes a claim for immortality," and the claim is worth investigation. To-day in America the Monroe Doctrine is nearly as meaningless a term as the word Democracy; it is invoked nearly as often, and worshipped nearly as ardently. But unlike the word democracy it has a definite ascertainable origin and a definite ascertainable meaning. The doctrine, that no European power should acquire fresh territory in America or threaten the independ-

ence of American States, was proclaimed in 1823 by President Monroe; his object was to checkmate the design of the Holy Alliance to recover the Colonies which Spain had lost, and he was supported by Canning, who wished to limit the Holy Alliance and reactionary France.

But time, loose talk, and American self-confidence have obscured its meaning. Its employment by Americans to justify their later aggressive policies has caused it to be confused with the hegemony and imperial policies of the United States. So Bismarck in his rough way called it "a species of arrogance peculiar to the Americans," and "an American impertinence"; and many South Americans openly detest it. "The tutelage of the United States," says Mr. Calderon of Peru, "seems more dangerous to us than a German invasion": Mr. Triana of Colombia already talks like one of the small nations of Europe before the War with the words, "we weak who have no other protection than the law": and Mr. Martinez of Chile exclaims, "Monroeism is Napoleonism". Americans on their side have fanned the smouldering suspicions of the South with statements like that of Senator Bell in 1853 that the Monroe doctrine had "become a doctrine of progressive absorption and annexation and conquest of Latin America", or boasts like that of Secretary Olney in 1895: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. It is not . . . because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States. It is because . . . its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable to any or all foes who may threaten it".

Americans, not Monroe, are responsible for these travesties. The fact is that the Monroe doctrine, which at the time of its enunciation was the whole foreign policy United States, has since been overlaid by two other policies—hegemony or interference in South America and imperialism or annexation. The development of hegemony is seen in the Protectorates established over Haiti and San Domingo, and the arbitrary recognition of revolted Panama, of Imperialism in the Mexican annexations of 1845 and the later acquisitions of the Philippines, Hawaii, and the Samoan Islands. This tendency has often been denied by successive Presidents and even for a time abandoned by President Wilson when he repealed the Panama Canal Tolls Act in 1913. But Henry VIII's faculty of persuading himself that whatever he strongly desired must also be right triumphed in the long run, and in ex-Secretary Hughes' centenary speech the idea of hegemony, while explicitly repudiated, reappeared and was defended with the familiar pleas of "humanity", "stability", "security" and "debt collection". Two movements have been developing: on the one hand the United States have more and more developed their paternalism; on the other the Latin States, especially the Argentine, Brazil and Chile, have grown more able to defend themselves and more resentful of interference. States

can hardly be grateful for protection, when they are acutely afraid of the protector. Thus the more Americans adulate the doctrine in theory, the less does it appear in practice. Monroeism has become a doctrine in fact as well as in name.

The original objection to the Doctrine was that it was called a doctrine when it was really a policy. A doctrine is based on right, a policy on interest backed by force; Monroe's doctrine was in the first place inspired by fear of European intervention in South America and was backed by the threat of armed support for injured States. That it was a policy is shown by interventions in the Gulf of Mexico where foreign conquests would threaten the United States, and by their occasional refusal to support their own doctrine elsewhere. The Caribbean Sea has been called an "American lake," but the United States allowed Britain to acquire the Falkland Island and Honduras without protest, and opposed the emancipation of Cuba with European aid in 1829 because it would result "in the sudden emancipation of a numerous slave population."

As a policy the Monroe Doctrine finally died with the Great War. Time had already so overshadowed it with new policies that many doubted its continued life, and with the war the essential conditions of its existence passed away. Europe is now become a province of America, and is much more likely to be overrun by American bankers than to overrun America with troops. The balance of power has crossed the Atlantic and with it the last reason for the existence of the doctrine. United States is now looking west and scanning the Pacific in fear of Japan; the Hay doctrine of the Open Door in China has replaced the Monroe Doctrine as its working foreign policy. The Latin States of America have none to fear except the United States, and they will soon be looking to Europe for defence against the North, rather than welcoming the North as a protection against Europe. Monroeism may continue as an academic doctrine, but it can no longer pretend to be a serious policy.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

AGAINST NATIONALISATION.

THE FAILURE OF STATE RAILWAYS. By HAROLD COX. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1924. 8½ × 5½. pp. 40. 6d.

THE reputation which Mr. Harold Cox has achieved by his other writings had led us to expect a high degree of close correspondence between the title of the booklet and its contents and therefore an able presentation of a formidable case against State railways. But in this we have been disappointed. The booklet bears distinct marks of having been written under the influence of panic caused by the growing demand for nationalisation of British railways which, the author has persuaded himself, is in imminent danger of becoming an acute political issue. The opening chapter attempts in a little more than 10 pages to show how the management of the postal service and

of the telegraph and telephone services by the State furnishes no argument whatever for the nationalisation of railways, and produces certificates in favour of private enterprise. The reader is here introduced to the discovery that the analogy of the postal service does not apply because the carrying of letters and sealed parcels, limited in size and weight, is comparatively speaking, an extremely simple task; while that of the telegraph and telephone services does not hold good for the all-sufficing reason that the services are financially unsuccessful. The next chapter constitutes a feat in condensation. It gives in about 19 pages the lessons learnt by the author from the experience of no less than 12 selected countries of the world, viz., the United States, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and India. Not to weary the reader, we shall give as examples of fatuous logic the arguments advanced with respect to only the first two countries, viz., the United States and Germany. The Government of the United States assumed control of the railways during the great war, resulting in a loss of \$ 1,696,000,000 which, the author says, though not constituting a final argument with regard to peace administration, is certainly not encouraging to the advocates of nationalisation in Great Britain! The German railway system in the pre-war period showed a "striking success" on the financial side. But this, the author contends, was *in spite of* State management. Its financial failure since the close of the war is, however, put forward as the *consequence* of State management! The convenient assumption evidently is that the post-war period in that unfortunate country is synonymous with normal peace conditions. The third and the last chapter criticizes some of the selected views of the different socialist groups. The author comes dangerously near accepting the views of the Fabian Society, but is saved in the nick of time by the sudden recollection of the shibboleth. "The successful management of railways requires a more elastic system of administration than any State bureaucracy is capable of providing." The author observes, "Human beings in the mass approach every problem from the point of view of their own self-interest. They cannot in the mass avoid so doing; it is the law of survival." We say ditto and are inclined to exclaim in the words of our author, "How completely enthusiasts for any cause can shut their eyes to the facts of life—even to those facts which they themselves have for other purposes emphasised!"

ECONOMY.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ × 6. pp. 134. 2s.

THIS is one of the recent publications of the International Labour Office, Geneva. It opens with a brief historical account of the international development of unemployment insurance during the last forty years. This is followed by an analysis of the

existing system of insurance in different countries under the following heads:—

- (i) The scope of unemployment insurance;
- (ii) The definition of "unemployment" for the purpose of insurance and the conditions for granting benefit;
- (iii) The nature and duration of the benefits accruing from insurance;
- (iv) The financial organisation of insurance;
- (v) The administration of insurance.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that while insurance organisation is subject to great differences from country to country it might be possible for the International Labour Conference, which has already recommended the institution by each of its States Members of an effective system of insurance, to go further and lay down in the form of a Convention certain broad principles based on practical experience. The author has not attempted to state what those principles are. He has however indicated the more important of the problems which the Conference will have to solve and thus prepared the ground for a discussion.

The questions raised by the author are of great practical interest to all countries where there is a large population of labourers. Unfortunately, they have not so far received any serious attention in this country. But the widespread misery which prevails amongst our labourers during periods of unemployment and the obvious failure of the temporary expedients on which we have so far relied for the relief of their sufferings will soon bring these matters to the forefront. The participation of India in the International Labour Conference is also calculated to work in the same direction. Wise statesmanship demands that we should prepare ourselves for the event, and a study of the book now under review will probably be an excellent preliminary step. It places at our disposal the experience of other countries, directs our attention to the various problems which we shall be called upon to tackle and suggests the manner in which we may proceed to their solution. We commend it to our countrymen and hope that at least those who are interested in the welfare of labour will be able to appreciate its value.

A. B. C.

CANADIAN FEDERATION. By REGINALD GEORGE TROTTER, Ph. D. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1924. 8 × 5. pp. 348. 7s. 6d.

THIS book tells an old story, but it is claimed by the author that its "contribution is something new and significant, in incident or in point of view." The first section gives an account of early Federation proposals, of the political situation which brought the various provinces together in conference, their negotiations over the drafting of the scheme and how its acceptance was secured. The second treats of certain economic phases of the movement with their political implications. The author claims to have ransacked manuscript records which had never been previously available to anybody. With all this air of originality, however, the book has not much new matter. The author has no pretensions to diction or skill in presentment either. He has thus unfortunately turned out a very dull and unreadable book.

S. Y. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE EVOLUTION OF PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN BRITISH INDIA.** By B. R. AMBEDKAR. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 285. 15s.
- LE TRAFIC DE L'OPIMUM ET D'AUTRES STUPEFIANTS.** By OLOF HOLJER. (Editions Spes, Paris.) 1925. 10 × 6½. pp. 300. 14 francs.
- EGYPT UNDER THE EGYPTIANS.** By MURRAY HARRIS. (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 × 5½. pp. 240. 12s. 6d.
- THE DANCE OF SIVA.** By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY. (Simpkin Marshall, London.) 10 × 6½. pp. 139. 10s. 6d.
- CO-OPERATION AT HOME & ABROAD.** By C. R. FAY. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) Third Edition. 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 481. 15s.
- WOODROW WILSON'S MESSAGE FOR EASTERN NATIONS.** By WOODROW WILSON. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1925. 7½ × 4½. pp. 105.
- INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA.** By S. V. VISWANATH. (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 214. Rs. 6.
- LA THEORIE GENERALE DES MANDATS INTERNATIONAUX.** By J. STOYANOVSKY. (Les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris) 1925. 9½ × 6½. pp. 251. 15 francs.
- OUR CAMPAIGN FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM TAFT TO HARRISON, 1901-1921.** By RAPHAEL PALMA. (Bureau of Printing, Manila, Philippine Isds.) 9½ × 5½. pp. 47. . . .
- THE ARCTIC HOME IN THE VEDAS.** By BAL GANGADHAR TILAK. (Tilak Brothers, Poona City.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 500. Rs. 5.
- THE ORION.** By BAL GANGADHAR TILAK. (TILAK Brothers. Poona City.) 1925. 6½ × 4½. pp. 227. Rs. 2.
- REMINISCENCES OF LOKAMANYA TILAK, Vol. II.** By S. V. BAPAT. (S. V. Bapat, Poona.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 119.

Gokhale Hall. WE are very gratified that the scheme of the Gokhale Hall, Poona, is making steady progress. On September 10 the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas performed the ceremony of laying the foundation stone. Mr. Lalubhai was an intimate friend of Gokhale's and may be trusted to carry the scheme through successfully. The total estimated cost is one lakh and half, nearly a half of which or Rs. 75,000 has so far been promised, Rs. 45,000 having been realised in cash. The site has cost the organisers about Rs. 35,000, and, we have no doubt, is worth the price, looking to its central and very convenient situation. The decision to spend not more than Rs. 60,000 on the building is, in our opinion, a wise one. Similarly, the idea to have a political library in connection with the Hall will, we hope, commend itself to all politically-minded people. What the organisers of the Hall have so far succeeded in achieving no doubt deserves praise; but the ground that remains to be covered is larger and will claim their undivided attention for some time to come. Nor is their task lightened by the general trade depression and the industrial crisis in Bombay. But a cause which has secured the support of a financier of Mr. Lalubhai's capacity and experience and the hearty co-operation of staunch friends like Sir Mahadeo Chaulal need have no fear as to its success. We hope and trust that public support for the scheme, without which nothing would have been possible, will be forthcoming in ample measure and that the scheme will be carried to a successful conclusion at no distant date.

APPRECIATION OF
GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

BY

the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, C. I. E.'

On the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Gokhale Hall in Poona on 10th September 1925, the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas made the following speech in appreciation of the services of Gopal Krishna Gokhale :—

FRIENDS,

I deem it a proud privilege to be asked to lay the foundation stone of the Hall to keep alive the memory of one whose services to the country will always be cherished as that of a far-seeing statesman and a selfless worker for the country's good and of one who was to me a personal friend and guide in politics for well-nigh 20 years.

The first time I saw Gokhale was in 1896 when he came to Bhavnagar to collect funds for the Fergusson College with letters of introduction from Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others to my brother, the then Diwan. Although previous to that time he had not taken any active part in politics, he had already made his mark as a close student of economic and financial problems of the country under the guidance of another distinguished citizen of Poona, Mahadev Govind Ranade. It was easy to see from his earnestness and burning love of his country that the work he had already begun at the Sarvanjanik Sabha and on the Congress platform would carry him forward from the educational to the political field. I felt then that though education was his first love at that time, the impulse to have a wider field of national service would make him forget his first love and that national work in the field of politics would be his second and lasting love. The acquaintance that began then developed into a warm friendship later on and continued unbroken or undiminished up to the time of his premature death. We were more like brothers in the last days of his life. Although I was senior in years, I always looked upon him as my leader in politics, and therefore I consider myself very fortunate in having been afforded this opportunity of paying my tribute to him and acknowledging the deep debt I owe him. The assistance that he rendered to me in the study of the political questions of the day has been mainly instrumental in enabling me to achieve my present position in the public life of this country. I must also express my sincere thanks to the promoters of this movement for having invited me to perform this function, which I look upon as a sacred duty that I owe to one who was as near to me as my own kith and kin.

It may perhaps interest you to know that when Gokhale was asked by my brother at Bhavnagar how he was able to maintain himself on Rs. 75 per month he said, "While you put on a Nagpur dhoti with

silk border, I put on an ordinary dhoti; while you put on boots and stockings, I put on the Poona shoes; and while you put on rich turbans and Dupattas, I am content to have simple clothes." He was very fond of tennis at that time and when we played against each other he took off his shoes and played with bare feet, which shocked us all, for we had not imagined till then that tennis could be played without tennis shoes.

Poona is well known for the leading part it has taken in the history of the Presidency and the country for more than three centuries. Leaving aside the time of greatness which it attained during the days of the Mahratta Empire and the Peshwas' regime, we see that Poona has during the last century produced a galaxy of distinguished men who have always given the lead not only to the Bombay Presidency but to the country, as regards education, politics and social and economic reform. I need mention only four of them—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, M. G. Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and last but not the least, my friend Gopal Krishna Gokhale—men whom I knew and whose work I had seen. The first-named gentleman, a great veteran, died only a few days back and with his death the link with the past has now been broken. It is very difficult to say how far the younger men of to-day will live up to the ideals of these eminent sons of Poona, but I do hope that the intellectual atmosphere created by these great men will be ever present to inspire the young men of the day with their spirit and will enable them to carry on the work begun by these great leaders.

It is interesting to note that some traits were common to all these great men, howsoever they differed in their views regarding politics and whose activities led them in different directions. These traits were the close study they devoted to the subject that they took up, hard work even at the expense of their health, devotion to the interest of their country and an earnest desire to improve the intellectual, social, religious and political condition of their countrymen. All of them were men of pure personal character and all of them eliminated "self" from their work. They have all left behind a band of followers, trained under their very eye, to carry on the work they had undertaken.

As most of you know, the idea of the present memorial originated with the Deccan Sabha, an in-

stitution of which Gokhale was the Founder-Secretary. That Sabha embodied, and I believe even now holds fast to, the Liberal faith of Gokhale, and his successors want to raise this Hall to be better able to carry on political work on lines chalked out by Gokhale, and also to keep alive his memory in this centre of political life where he spent most of his time. Although the need of a Hall for the Sabha was felt for many years and a movement for erecting one was in the air for some years, the idea took shape only in 1922, when Sir Mahadev Chaubal inaugurated a scheme for this Hall. It is always difficult to get subscriptions for a Memorial of this kind, more especially when that Memorial is to take shape ten years after the death of the person whose memory it is proposed to keep green. The difficulty is much greater in the present case as within these ten years so many new leaders have come to the front that the work done by their predecessors is likely to be forgotten. That so large an amount as Rs. 45,000 has been collected shows that there are still people in this Presidency who have not lost faith in the teachings of Gokhale and whose love and regard for the departed leader is as great as it was while he was living.

Although Gokhale began his work as an educationist—his Arithmetic is still considered as one of the best text-books on the subject for students reading up to the Matriculation—he ended his life as a politician and, according to some of us, as a statesman. His work during the first few years is overshadowed by his later work, and when people judge of him they very often remember Gokhale the Politician and not Gokhale the Educationist. To me and to all those of us who had the good fortune of coming into intimate touch with him it was Gokhale the Man that appealed most and neither Gokhale the Politician nor Gokhale the Educationist.

In the days when Gokhale began his study of politics under Ranade, it was considered essential by the leaders of political thought that the young man who wanted to take an active part in politics should read bluebooks and Government publications on important subjects. Before any paper or article was accepted for the Journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha, Ranade insisted on the writer carefully studying all the published literature on the subject and putting the whole case as fairly and as fully as possible. The Journals of the Sarvajanik Sabha of those days contain solid material for study and thought even for the young men of to-day, though, perhaps, the method of treatment may not appeal to the changed tastes of the present day reading public. Strong language or statements that could not be justified were eschewed by the Ranade school. As Gokhale belonged to that school, he had learnt to study carefully the evidence in support of any statement that he made and to weigh each and every word that he uttered. It was only once that he made the mistake of publishing statements based on information supplied by friends and he had to pay heavily for this

mistake. Although he acted as a gentleman in frankly apologising when he could not secure corroboration of the evidence in public, I know that for years together he smarted under the severe castigation that he had to put up with both from Europeans and Indians, from the former for having made the statements and from the latter for his having withdrawn them with an apology. That chapter is now closed, and my object in mentioning it was merely to show that with that notable exception, Gokhale always studied figures for himself, and personally went through everything before making any statement in public or before referring to figures in his budget speeches. Even his strongest critics on the Government benches never doubted the accuracy of his figures and the truth of his statements. They might not accept the conclusions that he drew from those figures, but they all respected the labour that he devoted to the study of financial and other questions and the fairness with which he put his case before the Council.

Over and above the witnesses selected by Government to give evidence before the Welby Commission, the Poona Savarjanik Sabha or rather Mr. Ranade decided to send Gokhale to give evidence on their behalf. Although Gokhale was the youngest of all the Indian witnesses, his evidence shows a deep study of his subject and a power of clear exposition, both characteristic of his public utterances and writings. He stood the cross-examination of men like Sir J. B. Peele and others as well as if not better than his colleagues.

The first time that he spoke in the Viceroy's Council was when Lord Curzon thought that he was introducing a prosperity budget again and that he deserved the congratulations of his colleagues on the Council and of the public at large. Gokhale in his maiden speech showed that this prosperity was a faked one due chiefly to the manipulation of the exchange and he insisted that the surplus raised by the exchange policy should either go back to the tax-payer or be utilised for expenditure on what are now known as nation-building departments. Gokhale told me that as he was speaking he noticed anger rising on the face of Lord Curzon, at seeing that a young man who had come to the Council for the first time had the audacity to controvert his conclusions about the finance of the country and to raise doubts about the good effects of his general policy. Gokhale further told me that Lord Curzon was so angry that when at the end of the Budget debate he went round bidding good-bye and shaking hands with everybody, he came near Gokhale and turned round without wishing him good-bye. In spite of this feeling against him, it was Lord Curzon who honoured Gokhale by giving him a C. I. E. which shows that Lord Curzon in the end recognised the ability and patriotism of Gokhale. Within a few years after that speech his policy about the reduction of the salt duty and of spending more money on education, sanitation, etc. was accepted by Government, which meant that Government by their action acknowledged that Gokhale was in the

right and they were in the wrong.

His work in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Universities Bill is perhaps forgotten by this time. He put up a strong fight against the Bill because he thought that an attempt was being made to officialise the Universities. I believe it is now recognised that the University Commission's recommendations were not meant to take away the control from the public men who were on the Senates at that time but were intended to emphasise the need for greater educational efficiency in the administration of University affairs.

By his Budget speeches and by the debating strength that he evinced during the discussion of the Universities Bill and other legislative measures, Gokhale secured a pre-eminent position in the Imperial Legislative Council and within a few years he was recognised even by his seniors from other provinces as the leading authority on public finance and economic questions.

His activities were not, however, confined to the Imperial Legislative Council. He tried his best to carry on Congress work and to popularise the objects of the Congress in the country. Till he began this kind of propagandist work, the Bombay leaders of the Congress had not tried even to approach the intelligentsia in the mofussil. Lokamanya Tilak was the only man who had been carrying on a propaganda of his own in district towns and sometimes in taluka towns. Gokhale, whose politics were opposed to those of Tilak, carried on a propaganda of a different type not only in the Bombay Presidency but in the other Presidencies and he was thereafter looked upon as an all-India leader.

It has been often said of late that Gokhale and even Tilak worked for and through the intellectuals and that they did not approach the masses as Gandhiji has been doing now. It is easy to pass criticisms of this kind, but those who do so forget the fact that the former leaders had to carry on the work when the field was not even ploughed and when there was no chance of the seeds sown taking root. The ploughing begun by Dadabhai Naoroji and continued by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Ranade in Bombay, Sir Surendranath Banerji, Anandamohan Bose and W. C. Bonnerji in Bengal and G. Subrahmanya Iyer in Madras, was carried on by Gokhale and by Tilak, each according to his own light. The ground was therefore really prepared by these old leaders when Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene and took up the work to carry it forward in his own way and according to methods which he had followed with successful results in South Africa. It is now recognised on all hands that the real work, both social and economic and even political, has to be done amongst the masses and that unless they are at the back of the leaders, the leaders, however intellectual or capable they may be, will not be able to achieve any lasting good to the country.

One of the finest services that Gokhale rendered to his countrymen was in South Africa when he went there at the suggestion of Gandhiji and where he helped him both with advice and with money

raised in Bombay. It was after Gokhale's visit that the agreement generally known as the Smuts-Gandhi agreement was entered into. The policy then adopted by Gandhiji and Gokhale met with approval from most of those who were carefully following the fight that was being carried on by Gandhiji. There were some eminent political leaders who thought that there ought not to have been any compromise regarding the rights of Indians to free immigration into South Africa, whatever the effects of such a fight might be on the position of Indians in South Africa. Perhaps it is now acknowledged by all that as practical politics the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement was the last word that could be said on the subject. The fact that the present South African Government is going behind that Agreement and that the Indians in South Africa desire to stand by the same shows that even if those who criticised the policy of Gokhale and Gandhiji might have been right as regards the constitutional aspect, they had not taken into account the effect of their policy on the Indians living in South Africa and the fact that as the fight had really to be carried on in South Africa, the opinion of the people there ought to count most.

Gokhale's work on the Public Services Commission came to an abrupt close by his premature death. It is thought at least by his friends that if he had been able to take part in the drafting of the report, it would have been more liberal in its tone or at any rate there would have been an unanimous and strong minute of dissent put up by the Indian members.

Soon after he began his work in the Viceroy's Council, he found a dearth of young men who had studied political science or Indian economics or Indian public finance or even social questions, and he also felt the want of an institution where such training could be given. He began to think out and devise measures whereby such need could be met. As a result of prolonged and careful deliberation of the problem he decided to start a Society of full-time workers devoted to the national cause. Having made up his mind to start a Society, he drew up rules for the same and began to collect funds. On account of the work he had done to get subscriptions for the Fergusson College he had become an expert beggar and had learnt to seek and get co-operation from some business men in Bombay. He took me with him to people whom I knew and who I thought would appreciate his political work and his idea of starting a Society to train up workers for the country. Once or twice, I advised him to accept smaller sums from persons from whom he had expected more. He got annoyed at this as I did not come up to his standard of begging and said: "Lalubhai, you a Brahman and yet you don't know even how to beg." Such a remark shows that he had become a master beggar, an art which it is perhaps difficult for many to learn.

Soon after the establishment of the Society, on account of his personal magnetism and also the way in which he put his ideals before younger men keen to take their place in national politics, he was able

to attract not only young enthusiasts, but he was able to get sober, staid, middle-aged men who had settled down in life and were earning their living in educational and other fields to join the movement. The most prominent example of the latter class of persons who joined the Society is that of my Right Honourable friend, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, whose presence here at this time I consider to be most opportune.

Gokhale's original idea was to create a band of political workers and missionaries, but as he began to work out the idea he found that it would be necessary to widen the scope of work to be done by the Society and consequently he included other national activities besides politics amongst the objects of his Society. As a result of the widening of the field of work we see amongst leading members of the Society men who have devoted themselves to co-operation, women's education, social service or social welfare work. India needs workers in all fields and the country must always feel grateful to the great man who initiated the movement that has trained up workers in all these different activities.

The work that Gokhale did in connection with the Morley-Minto Reforms must be well-known to those who have read Lord Morley's reminiscences or Lord Minto's life. It has been said that Gokhale was satisfied with half a loaf when he could have got the whole loaf, if he had put up a stronger fight. It is easy for those who have not worked to get half the loaf to make such remarks. A man who is in the ring and who is fighting knows much better than the outside critics what advantage he is likely to get by giving in and what would be the loss if he was defeated and floored on the ring. In politics bluff, according to some, is the only thing that counts and Gokhale was perhaps not so great a bluffer as his critics wanted him to be. He was, however, far-sighted enough to know that it was best to get what one could get and then try for more a policy to which in recent years Tilak gave the name of Responsive Co-operation.

Various surmises have been made as to the line that Gokhale would have adopted in politics if he had lived till now. It is a well-known fact that Gokhale was in advance of the Liberals of the day and as he had far greater opportunities of coming into direct touch with the younger generation, he was able to understand their view-point, their aspirations, and even their impatience, and he was at the same time able to mould their views to a certain extent. He believed that in politics one could not afford to be stationary, but that one had to march forward. And therefore it is permissible to surmise that if Gandhiji and he whom Gandhiji called his Guru had opportunities of working together, Gokhale would have insisted on being fully satisfied that Gandhiji's movement would result in ultimate good to the country before he gave his name and support to the movement. At the same time, it is not difficult to suppose that Gokhale with his vast experience of the existing conditions of the country and its peoples

would have been able to exercise a restraining influence on Gandhiji. This is, I need hardly add, my personal opinion based on my knowledge of Gokhale's views.

Gokhale was so insistent as regards the necessity of a preliminary study of existing material and conditions in the country for those who wanted to work in the field of Indian politics that when Gandhiji expressed a desire to come and join him, he laid down the condition that Gandhiji should tour round the country to see Indian conditions as they existed and if he thought thereafter that he could work with Gokhale according to his programme, he might join the Servants of India Society. Gokhale was seriously ill when Gandhi returned from South Africa and died a few months later. Even after that sad event, Gandhiji carried out his Guru's instructions and for one year went round the country to study the then existing conditions. On his having completed one year's probationship, he expressed his desire to join the Society, but for reasons well known to many of you the proposal of Gandhiji to join the Society fell through. Gokhale's chief object in asking Gandhiji to study Indian conditions was that he thought that Gandhiji's method of work in South Africa, where in spite of some differences there was a homogeneous body supporting him, might not succeed in India, where conditions differed so very much from those in South Africa.

Gokhale's desire to foster Hindu-Moslem unity was as keen as that of Gandhiji at present. He was anxious to give in to the Mahomedans and to work with them instead of being always under suspicion and being opposed at every step. I remember Gokhale telling me that when it was resolved to have a Conciliation Board of Hindus and Mahomedans at the Allahabad Congress, Gokhale was not elected by the Hindus, and the President, Sir William Wedderburn, put him down as one of his nominees. This is the fate of those who, in trying to carry their community with them against the wishes of the latter, find that they have cut themselves off from them. They thus lose the confidence of the majority of their community and are not able thereafter to give any lead to them. The result very often is that they are not trusted by their own men and, on the other hand, they do not win the complete confidence of the other party. As Gokhale's aim was not merely to be considered the leader of the Hindus, he did not mind being misunderstood at times and was prepared to face distrust from his community as long as he knew that he was conscientiously doing his best to bring together both the communities.

Gokhale had inherited from Ranade, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the other senior leaders of the Congress, their faith in British justice. That school was of opinion that if all facts bearing on Indian questions were properly brought to the notice of the British nation, India was sure to get justice done to her claims. According to that school, ignorance of Indian affairs was the main stumbling block in

the way of Britain granting full Dominion status to India.

He was told at times by friends in England that his work lay in England and that he should enter Parliament through a safe seat which they proposed to find for him either in a Labour constituency or in Ireland. They thought that if he presented his case to Parliament with all his resourcefulness and his knowledge of the existing political conditions of the country, he would be able to take India forward towards the goal of colonial self-government. His other friends in India thought that his duty was to educate his own countrymen and Government and also to prepare the ground here for taking the country onwards towards its goal. He considered the matter very carefully and after consulting his best friends on the subject came to the decision that for years together he should work in the country both in educating the public and in educating the Government of the country. This meant his giving up the idea of entering Parliament, but it did not mean the abandonment of the propagandist work he was carrying on in England, which he thought was essential for the better understanding by Britishers of Indian conditions and demands of his countrymen. He worked very hard to make the weekly "India" a success and if he had more funds at his disposal and more workers he would surely have tried his best to make "India" full of interest to the Englishmen interested in Indian matters. That, however, was not to be.

Gokhale was a strict disciplinarian both with the members of the Society and also with the younger members of his family. Probably his work for some twenty years as a teacher at the College had inculcated this habit of exacting work and discipline from those whose work he was supervising. I know that on one occasion when he found that his daughter, Kashibai, now Mrs. Dhavle, did not get on as well at the school as he had expected, he had prepared a time table for home work for her which hardly left her any time for leisure or light reading. I very well remember my daughter's distress at seeing such an exacting time table for a girl of tender age. She got so annoyed with Gokhale that although she respected him almost as a father, she told him to his face that he must not be a hard schoolmaster only, but a loving father also. I told her that this remark was really unkind as I knew the love that Gokhale had for both his daughters and his care and anxiety for the younger daughter, whose health was always delicate and who succumbed to the first attack of influenza. In spite of my knowledge of his loving nature, I felt at times that such strict discipline was unreasonable.

He very often told us that one of the chief lessons that we had to learn from Englishmen was discipline. He had trained himself to obey his seniors whom he respected and he expected the same sort of obedience for his followers and the younger members of his family. His heart was as simple as that of a child and he could love with the love of the kindest man possible.

He was very much in the forefront of public life when my daughter to whom I referred just now was taken seriously ill. His time was so much taken up by public activities that he hardly found time for social duties. And yet owing to the love and regard that he had for her he not only came very often to inquire after her health, but to read to her selected poems from some of his favourite poets, chiefly Robert Browning. He told me that as he could not give her any other relief in her physical sufferings, he wanted to do all that he could to keep her mind away from those sufferings by reading to her the gems of English poetry. That was the real Gokhale, thoroughly kind-hearted and loving.

Although Gokhale had taken Mathematics as his optional subject for his B. A., and had soon after graduation devoted himself to the study of history, politics and economics, he was a keen student of English literature and specially of English poetry. The Bombay University showed their appreciation of his knowledge of English by appointing him an examiner in English at the Matriculation, the first time that an Indian was selected for this work.

In the Senate he was a follower of the school of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Ranade and whenever he felt that there was an encroachment on the rights of the Senate, or that an attempt was being made to keep the students ignorant of subjects that ought to lead to intellectual freedom, he always put up a strong fight against these encroachments or restrictions—a fight that was as good as that put up by any opponents of such a policy.

Gokhale was very careless of his health and although reminded by his doctors and by his friends that he could not afford to burn the candle at both ends, he thought that so long as he had any energy left in him it was his duty to spend it in the interests of the country, regardless of how that work and also the worries and anxieties that he often had affected his health. Had he been a little more careful of his health, had he conserved his energies as all reasonable, sensible men—men who were not such idealists—would have done, he would have been spared to the country for a few years more. On one occasion, I had been approached by Sir William Wedderburn through Sir Dinshah Wacha and other friends to write to Gokhale when he was in England and to tell him that it was absolutely necessary for him to have complete rest. I appealed to him in my own name, in the names of his daughters, one of whom, alas! is no more, and of the country also to preserve his energy so that he could do more useful work after regaining his health. At that time, he was so anxious to get things done that he did not listen to my appeal and came back a man in broken health. Some of our best men think that in ignoring the warnings of nature and the advice of friends and rushing forward to complete their labours they are helping the movement for which they work. This is sometimes due to a mistaken belief in the staying-power of their bodies and minds. In this matter we have, I think, a lesson to learn from Englishmen in this respect. When they work, they work with will and

earnestness second to none, but when they need rest they have it, and forget for the time being that there is any work to be done by them.

I think his sensitive nature had something to do with his early death. He could not and would not be indifferent to criticism, specially when the criticism attributed ignoble motives to his work. He was also very touchy about the question of money. He knew that he was poor, he wanted to be poor and he wanted to die a poor man, and therefore whenever any question of money arose he seemed to shrink with horror from the same. His friends including myself asked him very often to be a little more thick-skinned, but being a man of very sensitive temperament he could not accede to our suggestion and as a result he suffered acutely from unkind attacks as sensitive temperaments are bound to suffer. He used to save a little from the fees earned as University examiner, and from the monthly allowance of a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. These savings and the royalty of his books on Arithmetic and other subjects which he had written in his younger days were all that he left for his daughters.

When I referred to Gokhale the man, I did not merely mean the mere intellectual, moral and social man, but the spiritual man also. Like many of us, he passed through the stage of agnosticism but he came back to the faith of the Bhagavad Gita and the teachings of the Upanishads. The last time I saw him, I remember having found him reading Moksha Dharma from the Shanti Parva of Mahabharata and we had thereafter a very interesting discussion about the advisability and necessity of belief in higher Powers. It was he who introduced me to Cardinal Newman's "Lead kindly light," etc. and he had almost made it a rule at that time to read every day a few English hymns or a few mantras of the Upanishads and Shlokas from the Gita. He had not of course the faith of a Bhandarkar or a Ranade in a personal Deity. He had too much scientific training to think of the world as the creation of an extra-cosmic God. But he did believe in the Parabrahma of Hindu philosophy. His soul must be in peace, for he died in full faith that whatever judgments may be passed on his work in this world, in the other world his work would be judged with mercy and with favour.

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