

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE presidential address of Mr. B. G. Pahaljani, M. L. C. and the welcome speech of Principal K. R. Kanitkar to the Primary Education Conference held at Poona early this week voice the general feeling that the present Compulsory Education Act is not going to take us much further on the road to compulsory education. The reasons for this are not far to seek. It is now felt by educationists in this presidency that it was a mistake for the Government itself not to have shouldered the responsibility of primary education for the whole province. To shift it on to local bodies under the guise of giving them educational autonomy with their very meagre resources was in a way to ensure the failure of the Act. The prevailing financial stringency has also made the situation still worse, necessitating retrenchment even in regard to education and exposing overzealous Government officers to the temptation of trying to reduce as much as possible the Government's share of its cost under one pretext or the other. Mr. Pahaljani's address in fact mostly deals with this aspect of the problem and quotes chapter and verse in support of his contention that no sooner was the ink of the Act dry than Government made up their mind to see that local bodies got as little out of them as possible. This has given a handle to the none too eager local bodies to put off educational expansion as much as possible. Moreover it is generally felt that the constitution of school boards is far

from satisfactory, placing as it does people who really understand anything about education in a hopeless minority. Then, it is also contended that the relationship between the school board and the parent body, viz. the district board, as defined in the Act, does not ensure complete independence for the former and exposes it to very undesirable influences. This is not inconceivable in view of the fact that many who succeed in getting themselves elected go there more for personal aggrandisement than for public good. Principal Kanitkar, who as Chairman of the Poona district school board, may be trusted to know something of its working, suggests that the school boards should be made responsible to the Education Department, and not to district boards and favours the creation of a strong central Elementary Education Board which should consist of educationists, both official and unofficial, and be in touch with the school boards all over the presidency. Mr. Pahaljani on the other hand contents himself by asking that the whole position should be reviewed by a special committee consisting of those who have had something to do with the actual working of the Act.

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To people outside Sind the extent of the evil of cattle thefts may be unimaginable. According to the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government last year to go into the question, however, about Rs. 20 lakhs worth of cattle are stolen every year in Sind. Some of the mischief is due to causes beyond anybody's control, like, e. g. the geographical situation of Sind and the river Indus, and cannot be helped. But a part of it can certainly be prevented if cattle-owners gave up their slovenly habits of sending out their animals for grazing without any attendant or with one who is very nearly useless. The inquiries made by the Committee show that corruption is prevalent among the lower ranks of the police which makes detection difficult. If the Government make it clear that severe notice would be taken of cases of corruption and actually see that this is done, it will go some way in checking the evil. The real remedy, however, lies in the growth of a strong public opinion which would look down upon corruption and thieving of any kind. This is always a slow process and doubly so in Sind where, we are told, a successful thief is regarded with something like admiration. The Committee throws lurid light on the character of many Sind zamindars, "who think their prestige is enhanced by the influence they are able to exert upon budmashes, and feel obliged to keep a few thieves among their followers." This is as much for their own safety as for harassing a neighbour in the event of a quarrel. One wonders whether there is anything to choose between the one and the other. And yet what is far more wonderful is that very often Government honours are showered on these patrons of budmashes! It is to be hoped that after these dis-

closures by the Committee greater discrimination will be exercised in selecting people for honours. Voluntary tattooing and registration of sales of cattle are among the measures suggested by the Committee for meeting the evil; while the non-official members in their minute of dissent recommend the complete stoppage of *rasai* by the police, rewards for honesty and condign punishment for bribery and corruption; and the provision by amendment of the law of greater protection to the bribe-giver so as to facilitate prosecutions against bribe-takers.

* * *

THE writer of the article in a recent issue of this paper on the administration report of Baroda for 1925-26 referred to the defective working of the law aimed at the prevention of early marriages and mentioned that the report of the Committee appointed by the Baroda Government to go into the question, was being anxiously awaited by the public. The Committee seems to have now submitted its report. The present law does not allow marriages of boys below 16 and of girls below 12. The Committee recommends that the marriageable age of boys should hereafter be 18 and that of girls 14. Another of its important recommendations is that the age of consent should be 16 within marriage and 18 outside it. A contributory cause of early marriages has been found by the Committee to be the practice prevailing in some parts of Gujerat which enjoins the celebration of marriages at particular seasons which recur only after the lapse of some years. The Committee rightly recommend that this practice should not merely be discouraged but should be made punishable by fine which should not exceed Rs.400. The caste of Kadva Kubis enjoys the concession of marrying their boys at 8 and their girls at 6. This is recommended for withdrawal with the reservation that the Zalwadi Kunbis should be exempted from the operation of the new measure for three years so as to give them time to adjust themselves to the new order of things. As regards penalties for breaches of the new law, it is recommended that in the case of marriages of boys below 14 and of girls below 10, the parties responsible for it should be sentenced to a maximum fine of Rs. 200; and that in the case of older boys and girls who do not come up to the limit proposed to be prescribed in the new law, the fine should not exceed Rs.100. It appears to have been suggested to the Committee that marriages not satisfying the requirements of the new measure should not be recognised by law. In view of the hardships which such a course would entail on girls especially in the present state of Hindu society, the Committee has, in our opinion wisely, discarded the suggestion. Imprisonment by way of punishment under this Act also does not commend itself to it, though some people like the writer of the article in question strongly hold the view that nothing short of it would act as a deterrent. The recommendations of the Committee are doubtless an advance on the existing state of things, and will, it is hoped, be given effect to without delay.

* * *

MRS. KHAN has made a spirited defence of her marriage outside her own caste and race. She did not enter upon it thoughtlessly but counted well the social penalties she would incur by seeking the comradeship of married life across the barriers raised by prejudice. She has satisfied herself that between her and her partner there exists a community of outlook, despite the divergence of race, which is so essential to a happy marriage. When such an assurance is forthcoming from a person of the education and culture which Mrs. Khan possesses, outsiders like

ourselves can only admire the courage with which she prepared herself to face the severe social disapproval and excommunication, with all the attendant trials and hardships, which are certain to be her lot rather than retain the fellowship and privileges of Hindu society by marrying some Hindu or other, though she may feel no instinctive sympathy for him. In this particular case perhaps too much is being made of the difference in religion. It is quite conceivable that both of them having outgrown the limitations of orthodoxy, are nearer to each other in their religious ideas than an orthodox Hindu girl mated to an unorthodox Hindu boy can possibly be. Their social environment too, their tradition and custom, may be far less heterogenous than is usually supposed. The Mahomedans of Maharashtra—Mr. Khan, we understand, comes from Wai in Satara district—do not maintain their separateness from Hindus as strictly as is done in Northern India. On all these points we do not presume to judge; we leave the decision to those to whom it properly belongs to decide, viz. the parties to the match, believing with J. H. Oldham that "Race does not in itself constitute an insuperable barrier to the most intimate mutual understanding. Marriage between those who belong to different races but are in mind and temperament suited to one another may prove to be far happier than many ill-assorted unions between members of the same race." Those who object to the marriage base their objection not on the supposed mutual unsuitability of the couple, but on the fact that they profess—or rather professed—different religions. This is an objection which no man of right feeling can support, though in fact it is shared by many persons who hold otherwise liberal views in social matters. In this connexion we may draw the reader's attention to an extract from a private letter written by a friend to another, which is published elsewhere.

* * *

A WELCOME addition to the ranks of Indian journalism is the *Indian States Review* edited by Mr. A. N. Sudarisanam from Poona and published at Madras. There are very few papers devoted to a discussion of problems relating to Indian States and the new journal has a useful future before it. Its primary aim, in the words of the editor, is "to open to the public the sealed book of Indian States, with the help of competent authorities". No body need be under the delusion that the task the new journal has set to itself it is easy. For one thing the paucity of such authorities fearlessly speaking out the truth is well known and the efforts so far made to open this sealed book have come to nought mainly through lack of co-operation by the rulers. It is a common experience that requests for information, and even for printed annual administration reports, are treated with scant courtesy. We shall, however, hope that Mr. Sudarisanam's efforts will meet with a better fate. The *Review* hopes to investigate impartially problems relating to Indian States and is therefore not going to be a partisan paper, siding neither with the Princes nor with their subjects. So far as the latter are concerned, it will emphasise that "the welfare and contentment of the people should be the guiding motive of administration, as well as the surest guarantee of the independent status of the States." As the editor says, rulers of Indian States are no doubt in the unique position of demonstrating the benefits of personal rule or of introducing responsible government; but despotism is only very very rarely benevolent and if the new journal wishes to have any hand in the lasting solution of the problem of Indian States, it cannot do better than by pressing for the establishment of responsible government in them.

* * *

A BETRAYAL

WHAT on the face of it appears an innocent announcement, viz. that of the appointment of a Commission to investigate the possibility of federating East African countries, carries with it an entire reversal of the policy of Trusteeship for the Native Races which was declared with such a fanfare of trumpets in 1923. On the narrower question of a co-ordination of administrative and economic policy among the Governments of Eastern and Central Africa little need be said: these countries are already co-operating to a certain extent in respect of transport, posts and customs administration, scientific research, &c., and a closer co-operation than at present is desirable in every way. But it becomes quite a different question when, as at present, under the guise of administrative co-operation, a political union is sought to be achieved on the basis of wider powers being conferred upon the white Colonists.]

The White Paper of 1923, grossly unjust as it was to Indians, embodied what may fairly be called a Charter of the African peoples; but the new White Paper, recently issued, which announces the Commission, undoes all that the earlier Paper had done. For the 1923 White Paper declared that "in the administration of Kenya (and the same principle was understood to apply to other Crown Colonies) His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and," what is more to the point, that "they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races." Further, the Paper declared that "as in the Uganda Protectorate, so in the Kenya Colony, the principle of trusteeship for the natives, no less than in the mandated territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable. This paramount duty of trusteeship will continue, as in the past, to be carried out under the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the agents of the Imperial Government and by them alone." The White Paper fully recognised that if the interests of the aboriginal inhabitants were to be fully protected, the political power must rest solely in the hands of Government; that the immigrant races, from whom the natives were to be protected, must not be allowed to participate in it; that if there were constituted any representative bodies their function should consist exclusively in voicing the grievances of the different classes of people, without any one class being allowed to share the responsibility for the final decision. Thus "His Majesty's Government cannot but regard the grant of responsible self-government as out of the question, within any period of time which need now be taken into consideration." They ruled out self-government or even the grant of a non-official majority, because they were persuaded that it would militate against the chief aim of their policy, viz. "the unfettered exercise of their trusteeship for the native races" and they laid down that the enlargement of the elective white element will depend upon subsequent developments, "especially in regard to African representation."

Thus the Government at that time very rightly came to the conclusion (a) that the natives require to be protected at the hands of the settler communities, and therefore the latter must not be allowed to lord it over the natives; (b) that other communities also have a right to ask that their interests shall be safeguarded and for this purpose they can lay claim to a certain amount of representation on advisory bodies, but this representation must be strictly limited and incapable of increase in future except in proportion to the growth in the capacity of native races to return their own representatives. This was a perfectly sound policy, but the White Paper now issued makes a complete reversal in all these points.

No doubt the Paper declares that His Majesty's Government "adhere to the underlying principles of the White Paper," but when it comes to deal with specific principles it infringes every one of them. As shown above the earlier White Paper emphasised the fact that the exercise of native trusteeship should not be devolved upon the settlers, for the simple reason that it is with the interests of these that native interests are likely to clash. But the new White Paper says that "while these responsibilities of trusteeship must, for some considerable time, rest mainly on the agents of the Imperial Government, they desire to associate more closely in this high and honourable task those who as colonists or residents have identified their interests with the prosperity of the country." Thus in terms is the policy laid down four years ago now repudiated. Again, "the administration of the East and Central African territories is based on the exercise of a trust by His Majesty's Government on behalf of the African population, and while they may be now prepared to associate with themselves in that trust the members of the resident immigrant communities they will still ensure that that principle will be observed." Here Government admit that a change is being made in the policy that was followed so far, but they claim that the change will be such as not to prejudice the protection of the natives. How this is to be done the White Paper does not explain. The very structure of the sentence shows that His Majesty's Government are conscious of the fact that natives cannot be protected from exploitation by the stronger races by entrusting the task of protection to these races themselves; they know that it is not the best means of saving a lamb to remit it to the tender mercies of the wolf, but somehow they think that these incompatibles can be reconciled and the Europeans may now be invited to share in the duty of—protecting the blacks from the whites. In fact His Majesty's Government have now persuaded themselves that the inevitable conflict between the interests of the two races can only be avoided by making the oppressor the guardian of the oppressed, for, says the White Paper; the whites' "claim to share progressively the responsibilities cannot be limited to representation of their own community's interests; and, if clashes between these interests and those of the vast native populations are to be avoided, their share in the trusteeship for the progress and welfare of the natives must be developed." If only the whites become the

protectors of the blacks, the latter will be safe from all outside trouble. This of course is true in a sense, for the blacks anticipate trouble from no other quarter than that of the whites.

This is not a mere verbal quibble. When the White Paper of 1923 was published the whites took this very objection to it. They said, "Native interests are of course a sacred trust. But this is no new policy. We, the settlers, have always looked upon ourselves as trustees for the natives. It is we who are the trustees and not the Government; we are at least the major partner in this trust." His Majesty's Government pretended to adhere to the White Paper for some time, but they have now given in to the settlers quietly and it is sheerly disingenuous on their part now to claim that they still adhere to the White Paper. Again they definitely give up the position taken up in the earlier White Paper that the settlers' representation on the elective bodies cannot be increased until the natives are able to send their own representatives. Now there is no thought of giving the right of electing their own representatives to the natives, and yet the possibility of increasing the white representation and giving it further powers is definitely foreshadowed. This is a complete betrayal on the part of His Majesty's Government. The settler communities require to be held in check, and we are quite prepared to have the restrictions imposed upon Indians as well as Europeans, though it is the Europeans who are marked in this new orientation of policy for relaxation from control and conferment of privileges,

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN MADRAS.

THE fifth International Co-operators' Day fell on the 2nd July, and it is a matter of great satisfaction that it was duly celebrated in our country, not only in provincial capitals like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, but in a large number of mofussil towns. This was certainly the case in Madras Presidency. The co-operative movement has a lofty ideal—an ideal of peace, goodwill, mutual help and equity in all dealings. It is the very opposite of competition, under which system the strong are permitted to exploit the weak—under which system the strong prosper and the weak are ruined. In the economic as well as the political sphere we see strife between individuals, classes and nations, all on account of the domination of the world by competitive ideas. If this strife should cease and human brotherhood become established in the world, competition has to make room for co-operation. The goal is far far away. Only a very small portion of mankind has seen it and taken a few steps towards it. But it is only by constantly dwelling on international ideas, as by observing the International Co-operators' Day and supporting the League of Nations, that we shall ever be able to get near the goal. We in India, forming one-fifth of the human race, being a subject nation, divided hopelessly into castes and creeds, kept apart by communal and provincial vanities and jealousies, are in greater need of cherishing co-opera-

tive ideals than most other nations. And it was particularly appropriate that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, being our greatest international figure and devoted promoter of international culture, should have presided over the International Co-operators' Day celebration held at Calcutta.

On an occasion like this one naturally feels inclined to compare the progress of co-operation in one's country with that achieved in other countries. Suppose we compare ours with Germany as it was, say, some twenty years ago. The co-operative movement in India is more than twenty years old and many thousands of societies are now working in different parts of the country. Credit societies of the German Raiffeisen type are the most numerous here and as Germany is pre-eminently the country of rural banks in Europe, there is a special appropriateness in comparing our country with Germany. It should quite suffice, however, to take one of our major provinces for such comparison. We shall select Madras Presidency because it can claim to be as progressive as any other province in the matter of co-operation and because the figures relating to it are easily available. The first Raiffeisen society in Germany was started in 1849, but it took some twenty years for the next three societies to be started. They really began to multiply only after 1880 and by 1905 there were some 13,000 on them. In Madras at the end of June 1926, there were nearly 10,000 societies of the Raiffeisen type. Germany has an area of 250,000 sq. miles and a population of about 60 millions, where as the Madras Presidency has an area of 142,000 sq. miles and a population of 43 millions. In respect of the number of societies therefore the progress made by Madras between 1906 and 1926 compares favourably with that made by Germany between 1880 and 1905. The average membership of a German Society in 1905 was 88, while that of a Madras village society now is about 55. Even this is not bad and so the spread of the co-operative movement may be said to be not less rapid in the Madras Presidency than in Germany, the birth place of the rural credit society. The average credit enjoyed by a member of the German society in 1905 was about 500 marks or about Rs. 350. The corresponding figure for a member of the Madras Society now is about Rs. 75. After due allowance is made for the difference in the standard and cost of living between the two countries a German rural co-operator may be said to have enjoyed an advantage over his Madras confrere. But the advantage is not very great. So much for one side of the shield.

The German society, however, is based both in theory and practice on thrift and gets most of its funds from local deposits, largely from the members themselves. In our societies local deposits are conspicuously absent and for our working capital we are almost entirely dependent upon the central banks. Mr. Wolff and other writers on co-operation speak of the miraculous changes which co-operative credit societies have wrought in the lives of German and other peasants. They speak of village banks "turning homeless labourers into cultivating owners, un-

employed journeymen into thriving traders, starving peasants into substantial yeomen etc," and of "idle men becoming industrious, spendthrift thrifty, the drunkard becoming sober, the haunter of taverns forsaking the inn" and so on. They speak of the whole aspect of the countryside having changed from a barren desert into a smiling garden. Can we claim similar results? Certainly not on any appreciable scale. The most obvious benefit which a co-operative society has conferred on the population in our country is the lowering of the rate of interest. This, however, is not an unmixed blessing, as in the majority of cases it has led to unnecessary borrowing. Our village co-operator has not substituted the society for the money-lender: he is borrowing from both and is on the whole more deeply indebted than before. According to the report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, for 1925-26, 69 per cent. of the loans issued during the year were for productive purposes, 29 per cent. were for the reduction of old debts, and only about 2 per cent. were for non-productive purposes such as marriage, litigation, etc. If only this could be true! It is a common knowledge that purposes of the loan are often not honestly given and that the panchayats connive at it. There are many villages where co-operative societies have been at work for more than 10 years. One does not as a rule see any appreciable improvement either in the condition of the people of such villages or in the cultivation of their lands or in the carrying on of trade or in their economic life in general. If any such changes had taken place, definite evidence regarding them would certainly have been produced before the Linlithgow Commission during its recent sittings. If one may venture to put in a phrase, the difference between a German credit society and its prototype in India is that the latter has form but no soul. The bylaws no doubt embody the principles of cooperation but they are hardly observed in the spirit. For instance, thrift is rarely emphasised, admission rarely refused on grounds of character, the purpose of the application of a loan hardly ever scrutinised and no control over the borrower is ever exercised by the surety. Mutual knowledge of the members may be present, but mutual control does not exist. That is why the soul is missing.

This is true of the Madras Presidency as a whole. It does not, however, mean that there are no exceptions or that the desert is without oases. One such exception is a portion of the Godavari delta which fortunately possesses some fine public workers of the kind whom Sir Frederick Nicholson had in mind when he condensed his great report into the phrase "Find Raiffeisen." The societies there are not only working efficiently but have produced some moral results which will gladden one's heart to know. At a recent co-operative conference held in that district, the chairman of the reception committee said that within the last 10 years, on account of people resorting more and more to co-operative societies for loans, money suits in the Ramachandrapuram District Munsiff's court had fallen from 70 per cent. to about 5 per cent. and that the cases on the file of the court

had steadily decreased from 1280 in 1918 to 263 in 1925. Formerly the file was so heavy that an additional court was stationed at Ramachandrapuram, but now there was not enough work for one court and the pleaders were suggesting that its jurisdiction should be extended. Judges and vakils were agreed that this decrease in litigation was due to the growth of co-operative societies. The reception committee chairman then mentioned the different kinds of public good which individual societies had done to their villages. One prosperous society was maintaining two night schools, a library and a reading room out of its common good fund. In another society the members had given the dividend on their shares and the secretary his honorarium for constructing a Rama Mandir or village hall for locating the society and transacting all the public business of the village. In a third society the dividend on shares and the common good fund had been utilised for providing a building for the village school. In yet another village the society had taught the people to co-operate for making good roads for the village.

Such exceptions only prove the rule. The present soulless condition of the societies is being recognised and remedies are being devised. "Consolidation" and "reconstruction" are being attempted in various places. "Rural reconstruction" which is very much in the air just now is largely but another name for the process of working co-operative societies in the right spirit. The Hon. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar, Minister in charge of Agriculture, Co-operation and other subjects, has magnanimously set apart a good portion of his salary for conducting experiments in rural reconstruction so that the State may take action on the result if it be encouraging. The Provincial Co-operative Union has resolved to adopt a similar course, while at least one local body, the Chingleput District Board, has already appointed a staff for it. The Y.M.C.A. has indeed been a pioneer in this direction. Rural reconstruction or national reconstruction, call it what you will, can be surely and easily achieved through the agency of the co-operative movement provided care is taken to see that the soul is active in the body.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 30.

REFORM OF THE LORDS.

THE British Government's proposals to reform the House of Lords are quite in keeping with the rest of their programme, and is typical of the Tory conspiracy to change this sorry scheme of things entire and remould it nearer to their heart's desire. Briefly the proposals are:—1. The absolute discretion now vested in the Speaker of the House of Commons to certify money bills is to be taken away and transferred to a Joint Committee composed of an equal number of members of the two Houses of Parliament. 2. In order to guard against legislation to abolish the House of Lords the Parliament Act is not

to apply to any bill to alter the constitution or the powers of the House of Lords. 3. Membership of the Lords is to be reduced to 350, consisting of the peers of the royal blood, the lords spiritual, the law lords, members elected by the hereditary peers, and a number to be appointed by the King on the advice of the Government of the day. All the elected peers would sit for twelve years, one-third of them retiring every four years. 4. Any peer not an elected member of the House of Lords will be eligible for election to the House of Commons. Considered from whatever point of view these proposals are so reactionary in their nature that they have provoked violent criticism from the Labour and Liberal parties alike, and even from within the ranks of the Conservatives themselves. Sir Herbert Samuel has called them 'revolutionary' and Mr. Lloyd George has said: "The House of Lords proposals are a greater attack on the liberties of the Commons of England than has been made since the days of Charles the First." Mr. Garvin, a Conservative, after an analysis in the *Observer* of the total voting in the last six by-elections pointing to Labour, Liberal and Conservative parties each securing 40, 32, and 28 % of the votes respectively, asks: "On this showing where is Mr. Baldwin's mandate? Where is his mandate for anything of a partisan character? Where especially is his mandate to fix the grip of a Conservative minority for ever on the constitution? . . . In the second quarter of the twentieth century it is an attempt worthy of George the Third and Lord Eldon." It is not the limitation on the membership of the Lords which makes the scheme novel, for the actual active membership of the Lords hardly exceeds the proposed 350, but the total effect of limiting the applicability of the Parliament Act, of the participation by the Lords in the Money Bills, and the futility of the King's prerogative of creating new peers under the new scheme is not only to take away a very effective power of the Crown but also to impose severe restrictions on the liberties of the Commons of Great Britain which go far beyond the nature of 'checks and balances' and which they are not likely to brook. As it has been already observed, these proposals will also have the further disadvantage of closing the doors of the constitution to any advance the Commons may make in regaining their liberties and thus rendering revolution inevitable.

IRELAND AGAIN.

The returns from the recent elections in the Dail of the Irish Free State were an eye-opener to those who had believed that the Irish question was settled for ever when the Treaty was concluded. Mr. De Valera and the other forty-four members of the Republican party who were locked out of the first meeting of the new Dail of the Irish Free State because they refused to take the oath of allegiance have issued the following manifesto:—"The undersigned deputies wrongfully debarred from taking their seats as representatives of the people because of their refusal to subscribe to an oath of allegiance to a foreign king emphatically repeat their election pledge that

in no circumstances whatever will they subscribe to any such oath." The result of the Irish general election which gave no single party a majority and which left Mr. De Valera's party almost as large as that of the Government had produced a difficult situation in Ireland by creating a contest between political principle and political expediency. While there was a general feeling in the country that in principle it was wrong to require from the Irish deputies an oath which many Irishmen were conscientiously unable to take, and it was also admitted that Mr. De Valera would be far less of an unsettling force if he were allowed to find a seat in the Dail, all politicians held that it would be highly inexpedient to choose the present moment to amend the constitution so as to enable Mr. De Valera to come in without taking the oath. It would be true to say that the results of the Irish election caused no little anxiety in England as well as Ireland though President Cosgrave's insistence on the fact that he no longer commanded a majority in the Dail and that consequently the responsibility for forming a new Government rested with the Dail, not with him, was never taken seriously and was treated as an outburst of peevishness excusable in a tired and disappointed man or as mere manoeuvre to compel the Independents and Farmers to bind themselves to give him unconditional support. His decision to assume the responsibility of government has no doubt eased the situation and produced some sort of relief, but with Mr. De Valera outside the Dail, and still a potent factor, the trouble in Ireland would seem only to have just begun again. However much the Republican party may lack in political and economic commonsense they have suffered no diminution in their capacity to upset the present arrangements, and judging by recent events England has still to reckon with them.

LOCARNO ATTACKED.

M. Poincaré's recent speech at Lunéville which has attracted wide notice all over Europe would seem to show him seeking to impose a new interpretation upon the Locarno engagement. At Lunéville M. Poincaré, speaking as the Prime Minister of France, declared that Germany's renunciation of force for ever does not suffice. He exacted a spiritual renunciation never yet demanded of vanquished by victor—the renunciation by the German people of a half-century of their history, of the whole of their past régime, the renunciation of future hopes, and of the acceptance of the thesis, no longer accepted by educated men in any country, of Germany's sole guilt for the world conflagration. Why, asked M. Poincaré, did a German Minister say that Germany had "renounced violence" but "had not renounced any German Territory"? In a word, Locarno is to be used, in M. Poincaré's view, for another turn of the screw. It is not enough for Germany to renounce violence; she must "say frankly. . . I will not try to retake. . . either by fresh violence or by ruse or in any other manner." "France," he concluded, wants only "peace in the observation of the treaties." He adds that chivalrous and victorious France will extend a hand to the vanquished, "but only on condition that

her victory shall not be questioned or taken from her. He would not accept an interpretation of Locarno which would mean Germany's simple renunciation of war, but would not necessarily mean "the moral renunciation of German provinces or German populations." Several of the Paris newspapers complain that M. Poincaré's speech puts the clock back three years to the evil days of the Ruhr and the famous Sunday speeches. "We ask ourselves whether Germany's entry into the League of Nations, the Pact of Locarno, and M. Briand's presence at the Quai d'Orsay are realities or a mirage," asks the *Volente* and says that this speech, following upon so many encroachments upon M. Briand's preserve, will be interpreted as a final proof of M. Poincaré's intention to dislodge M. Briand and seize control himself of foreign affairs. "The consequences of even a belief that this is M. Poincaré's intention would be regrettable". It continues, "for the person and the ideas of M. Poincaré excite in the international domain a reaction of distrust at least as great as the wave of confidence that he has profited by in the domestic field." The reactions in Germany of this speech with the failure of the German delegation at Geneva to obtain any relaxation of the hold on the Rhineland may be judged from the following newspaper comments:—"The address shows that the policy of conciliation, which is desired no less sincerely by Germany, than by France, is impossible with statesmen such as M. Poincaré"—*Vossische Zeitung*; "It is totally useless to discuss the statements made by M. Poincaré, who has never understood and never will understand the necessity of an agreement between the two countries"—*Barliner Tageblatt*; "The reproaches to Germany uttered by M. Poincaré are chicanery which nothing justifies"—*Vorwaerts*; Herr Stressemann's paper, the *Taegliche Rundschau*, asks whether it is dignified for a statesman to make declarations which are patently false even to the most unperceiving of French readers; and, the *Germania*: "The address at Lunéville has caused a grievous deception among Germans who hoped that the French premier had at last rallied to the policy of an accord."

ALIGNMENTS IN GENEVA.

A second week of negotiations has begun hopefully in Geneva, where three Powers have set about finding a way to further limitation of arms at sea. It has begun with any substantial agreement between the three Powers, to all appearance as distant as ever, despite all the official optimism which is displayed. That is anything but surprising in view of the disparity which divides the policies there put forward. For all the talk of new arrangements customary at such times, it is being demonstrated that one difficulty at the root of the question is the differing needs of the three navies concerned. Those needs differ so widely that it has proved impossible to apply to all classes of warcraft the formula devised for one class. A doubt is permissible whether it can ever be applied. The problem might be expressed in terms of the ability of the United States to be almost self-supporting in case of war, whereas Great

Britain and Japan are a great deal dependent on their trade routes for their essential supplies. This fact brings about a certain communion of interests of the two Empires where auxiliary ships are concerned. And yet the United States and Japan become aligned when it is suggested that the scope of the Conference be enlarged in order to include a remission of maximum tonnage for capital ships and of armament for cruisers. But the Powers keep in sight the consideration that the Washington agreement can scarcely be amended in this way without the assent of the other signatories, namely France and Italy. Now, neither of these latter powers is present officially in Geneva and both have given intimations that nothing done there is to bind them in any way. Japan and the United States, again, see eye to eye on the proposal to reduce the tonnage proposed for cruisers. Such a step would mean an advantage for Great Britain possessing as she does naval bases all over the world. In one sense, clearly, Japan holds the balance of decision in Geneva. Any outcome there will be determined in large part by the dominating factor of her special requirements for national defence and prosperity. Her spokesmen frequently refer to her "reasonable needs". The Washington Agreement was accepted readily by Japan because the lower ratio for her capital ships was accompanied by the agreement of the United States to abandon any idea of a naval base in Guam or in the Philippines. Japan was permitted to maintain and build auxiliary ships in numbers sufficient to meet any aggression possible immediately. What stands out in despatches from Tokio at present is an insistence that, if the situation cannot remain as it is there shall be no reduction of the Japanese strength in secondary vessels. For industrial Japan, with 70,000,000 people depending so largely on imports, it is vitally necessary to guard the waterways over which those imports travel. Japan today seems set out on a path of peaceful development. And in defensive warfare, these auxiliary ships play an important strategic part.

REVIEWS.

HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES.

A HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES. By U. N. GHOSHAL. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1927. 9 × 5½. pp. xi, 257. Rs. 8.

THIS is the second edition of Dr. Ghoshal's book which has deservedly earned for him high reputation as an oriental scholar. The author has had access to almost all the known sources of information, Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain, and the Arthashastras. From the scientific point of view this has great value, for it cannot be denied, in spite of the author's explanation in that connection (pp. 5, 230), that most of our ancient literature is affected by theological conceptions. Hence this variety of sources used by the author helps us to gather the purely political ideas common to all the speculative systems of India in the past, and we wish that the author had also done the same. It is found that the art of government was early recognized as an important branch of knowledge. It is included in the traditional list of

sciences and a rich literature has gathered round it. It should be noted that the systems studied by the author are evidence of the intellectual performance of the Indo-Aryans. The author says that the Dravidians "failed to make any notable contribution to political theory" (p. 11). This conclusion is hardly tenable inasmuch as it is based upon negative evidence only. From the researches of Aiyengar one should think that tradition of such contribution is not wanting in the ancient literature of the Dravidians.

The political theories of the Indo-Aryans have been studied in several stages. The first phase is that of the *Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas*. In this we hear only of monarchical organisations although the State had *samitis* and *sabhas* as assemblies. In some cases probably the monarchy was elective. In discussing the social system the author says that it "involves from the first a division into four classes" (p. 27). This is inaccurate, for the Rig-Vedic period in spite of the solitary but important passage in Rv. x. 90, which is of much later date than the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 7th *mandalas*. The cases of Vishwamitra (Rv. iii, 33,8) and Devapi (Nirukta, ii, 10) and the *purohita* being one-half of the *kshatriya* (Aitareya Brahmana, vii, 26) prove that the social system had not attained anything like the rigidity of the later times.

The second phase is the epoch of growth comprising the *dharmastras*, the early *arthashastra*, and the Buddhist canons. Here the ideas are much less definite, though more suggestive, than in the previous era. The king's political functions are mixed up with moral and theological duties. The literature of this period shows signs of new speculative activity. A special feature is that the idea of king's divinity has been dropped. The art of government was understood in its widest sense and included topics which would hardly be thought relevant in modern times. The State was conceived as a work of art (p. 52), Brihaspati and Sukra are important names here who realized the importance of the science of statecraft. We find also Machiavellian principles advocated by Bharadwaja, Vatsyadhi, and Ambhiyas. Next came Kautilya whose work is a great masterpiece and who outshone all his predecessors as also most of his successors. His work has been very well studied by several oriental authorities, and the author fully maintains his position by their side in his critical estimate of the great Brahman minister of the Mauryan period. Kautilya was like Machiavelli *minus* the latter's patriotism, for he sought to benefit the monarch at the cost of that of the people (p. 107). The fourth phase is that of the *Mahabharata* and the *Manusamhita*, two of the most treasured volumes of Hindu literature. To a king *rajadharma* is now recognized as the foremost duty and the refuge of the whole world (p. 117). Although in a preceding era republics were known and recognized, in this age monarchical State is considered to be only one that can save the people from the inevitable confusion of social life. The divine nature of king has been revived (pp. 124, 131-133), probably as an antidote against the anarchical tendencies of the populace (p. 126). Thus a rigid system of following *dandaniti* is advocated, and if it is wholly followed it is *sitya yuga*, if three-fourths the *treta yuga*, if half the *dwapar yuga*, and when it is altogether abandoned it is the *kali yuga* (p. 139). The functions of the king are given in great detail, but they are enforced wholly by moral and religious sanctions. From 900 A. D. onwards we meet with the decline and, to some extent, degeneration of Hindu political theories, any deviation from the older orthodox view leading to absurdities (p. 184) or identifying politics with ethics (pp. 211-212),

Thus we find that Hindu political theories were usually mixed up with theology, metaphysics, or ethics. Therefore, we can hardly follow the author to the conclusion that "unlike the theory of mediaeval Europe which made politics essentially a branch of theology, Hindu thought effected almost from first to last a complete separation between the two studies" (p. 230). Nothing can be more easily disproved from the book itself. Hindu political thought, throughout its long history, was as theological as in Mediaeval Europe, being expounded by the same class of priesthood, from the same point of view and inspired by similar motives. This is only natural if we remember that in history what is called epoch ideas has an important and organic place. Nor does this detract from the value of the past unless one is egotistic enough to believe that the epoch ideas of the present age is the only absolute truth.

The book is bound to be of great value to all interested in the history of Hindu political thought. So far as we know, this is the only book of its kind, the pretentious book of Benoy Kumar Sarkar being too scrappy to be of any use and too full of his *ipse dixit* to be classed as a scientific study. But Dr. Ghoshal's marshalling of the collated facts requires to be improved as they are too much jumbled up. Some of his conclusions also seem to be unwarranted by his own premises. Yet as a comprehensive attempt to envisage, in a single volume, the whole problem of tackling the Hindu art of government in the past, it has a value which will attract scholars to him for information, if not for inspiration.

P. BASU.

SOCIOLOGY.

SOCIOLOGY OR THE LAW AND PROGRESS OF MANKIND AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS. By RAM GOPAL & G. R. JOSYER. (Bangalore Press, Bangalore.) 1926. 7½ × 4¾. pp. xvi, 298. Rs. 2.

THIS book aims at supplying a full account of the progress of mankind and their institutions and the authors in the introduction regard wrong popular beliefs and theories as a great stumbling-block to progress. Hence they emphasize the teaching of sociology as a solvent of these beliefs by increasing popular intelligence. Amongst these erroneous ideas they include war and imperialism and believe that mutual help and co-operative life are the only vital conditions of the progress and evolution of societies.

After describing the basis and formative influences of society the authors analyse the psychology of the primitive man, and as a result they find a progressive movement from indefiniteness to definiteness, according to the famous definition of Evolution by Spencer. In studying the social growth and organization we discern that the book closely follows the lines of the Spencerian sociology, especially the distinction between the militant type of society and the industrial type of society. The institutions of society are reviewed under the headings of Domestic Institutions, Ceremonial Rules, Political Institutions, Religious Organizations, Professional and Industrial Institutions. Most of this description is a rechauffé of Spencer's masterly analysis of these institutions of course to say this is not to deprecate it, because in our opinion Spencer is far from being antiquated. Still we wish that the authors had included some reflections of later authors on these topics, for example, Ross, Westermarck, Hobhouse. As a result the authors copy the final conclusions of Spencer without putting them to further tests. Thus they say on p. 210 that there is no connection between religion and morality—a palpably absurd proposition to an up-to-date student of sociology.

The authors have rarely touched issues which would raise a lively controversy and hence we find no occasion to indicate our own position. In general, however, it may be said that the authors' bias against religion needs to be revised; the authors have throughout emphasised lower aspects of religion, completely ignoring the higher ones. A marked deficiency in the book is the absence of any systematic account of social control. Of course institutions are so many agencies of social control; in spite of this a special analysis of this factor is quite necessary in a book professing to be a complete handbook of sociology.

Similarly we miss in the chapter on political institutions any account of modern democracy—a topic which hardly deserves to be neglected in a complete treatise. This is due to the attention of the authors being concentrated on historical matter. As a matter of fact a small-sized volume cannot possibly do justice to the comprehensive subject-matter of sociology. All the greater reason therefore for congratulating the authors on bringing together a mass of varied information in such a small compass. This makes the book a very useful resume for the general reader. If the authors intend that it should also be a good text-book for higher students it should be improved according to the lines we have suggested.

The issue of the book is an additional indication of the new interest taken by our generation in this all-important branch of study and as such we welcome it.

V. N. GODBOLE.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. By ALLEN BENNETT FORE BERG (The H. W. Wilson Company, New York). 1926. 7¾ × 5. pp. 487. \$2.40.

FOR the purpose of this book, "The Unemployed" is defined as a person who is willing to work but cannot get any work; or a person who is out of employment for no fault of his. The question of unemployables is not dealt with in this book.

Unemployment is admitted by all to be a very serious question in modern times. It is caused by periods of boom and depression in industry and commerce. Every one is taxed by unemployment. It costs labour, as the modern wage worker has no legal right to his job and is therefore liable to be discharged to suit the requirements of business. He cannot, therefore, put his heart into his work and identify himself with his employer. To the manufacturer, it causes dislocation of business and introduces demoralisation in production morals. To the trader it causes less business and bad debts. To the local citizen, unemployment means increase in charity. To the society, it means family deterioration, physical, moral, and political.

What is the remedy? Organization of work to absorb all the unemployed and of production for use by the State is at present out of the question. The alternative suggested is a state-wide obligatory compensation law to meet the unemployment problem. The employers, who are responsible for unemployment, must pay compensation to the employee whom they discharge.

The disputes and claims are to be settled by the Government Department which will also conduct a State-wide co-ordinated employment exchange.

There is however a very great difference of opinion on the desirability of compulsory legislation. Those that favour it are of the opinion that the wage-workers' earnings are, owing to competition, very low and are insufficient to provide for a rainy day gene-

rally. Unskilled workers, who are generally very low-paid, are subject to unemployment more often than the skilled ones. Existing devices, such as trade union benefits, not being state-wide, have not been able to reduce the hardships of unemployment. Manufacturers have not sufficiently realised the losses from unemployment and do not therefore try to stabilize their business. Many of them are subject to booms and speculations and can not resist the temptation of making profits. They often try to restrict their production by closing their works, with a view to reduce the labour costs and to increase the price of their wares. They are not likely to co-operate, unless subjected to financial liability. Experience shows, as in the case of legislation for accident compensation, that obligatory measures will create prevention.

It will protect the workman and his family from physical, mental and moral degeneration, by enabling him to earn more and live better. It will prevent industrial autocracy and victimisation of workmen. It is desirable for the farmer, as it will stabilize his labour market and increase the demand for his goods. He will get manufactured goods at cheaper price. It is desirable for the merchant owing to the increased purchasing power of the workman. It is specially desirable, inasmuch as it will relieve the society of its obligations to maintain a charitable institutions. It will ensure industrial peace.

Compulsory unemployment compensation is quite practicable. It has been tried in several countries with good effects. It has spurred the employers to reduce unemployment, by stabilising their business and improving their management and their policy. The compulsory legislation, if enacted, will not mean any very great extension of the present administrative machinery and is not likely to make it more complicated. When once accepted, the business interests or employers do not find it harsh or troublesome in the long run.

Those that are not in favour of compulsory legislation are of opinion that a number of unemployed are necessary to meet unusual demands and emergency needs created, e. g., by war, political and financial disturbances, famines, earthquakes and floods. Technical improvements, which must not be hampered, disturb labour markets. Unemployment serves the purpose of penalizing demerit.

They further turn the tables and assert that it is morally unjust; economically unsound and undesirable for the employers, for labour; undesirable for the farmer; undesirable for the small businessman; undesirable for the public; undesirable for society; and lastly it is utterly impracticable. The arguments which they adduce in support of their view show that they believe that the people of the country are for the benefit of the trade and industry and not that the trade and industry ought to serve the public. Their arguments further show that they are cognizant of the seriousness of unemployment, but wish that no compulsion should be used. They therefore hold that the prevention of unemployment should be left to voluntary efforts. Against this, it is argued, that the question of unemployment is before the public for a long time past, but they have not made any serious effort to deal with the evil. The State must therefore come in to protect its members against deterioration of various kinds, since private initiative has failed to rectify the mistake. Private effort being necessarily limited to a small locality will not eradicate the evil, while the evil being nation-wide, needs to be treated on a very large scale.

A suggestion has been made that employment exchange offices be established all over the country, in order to distribute labour more rationally. In

order that these offices should work efficiently, it is necessary that all the unemployed should register themselves there. Experience of the working of these offices shows that the unemployed do not care to register themselves unless they are sure of some benefit by way of unemployment insurance or in any other way.

Since unregulated immigration, either interprovincial or international, is one of the contributory causes, it is suggested that it should be controlled by employment exchange offices. It has been found however that they are unable to serve this purpose, unless helped by legislation.

I have no hesitation in saying that the book is a very valuable contribution to the question of solving the difficult problem of unemployment.

D. R. THENGDI.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT; By E. ROY CALVERT.

(G. P. Putnam's Sons., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 204. 5s.

WE cannot imagine any defender of capital punishment—if such really exists in the twentieth century—reading this book and still remaining a supporter of the stupid and brutal method of social vengeance which is here pilloried. Mr. Calvert shows conclusively that capital punishment is no deterrent to crimes of murder—and the plea that it is such a deterrent is the only sane argument now put forward in its defence. "Most murders are passionate crimes committed when the person is incapable of considering consequences; the few murders which appear premeditated are committed by persons so confident of their ability to escape detection as never to consider the consequences. In neither case is capital punishment likely to prove an effective deterrent. The comparative infrequency with which the death penalty is inflicted (a guilty person, even if arrested, has in England four chances out of five of escaping that penalty) is an additional argument against its deterrent value." The propositions contained in the chapter of which this is the summary are supported by a weight of statistical evidence which is entirely convincing.

Equally impressive are the arguments brought forward by Mr. Calvert, and amply reinforced by similar statistical evidence, with regard to the demoralising effect of the death penalty, the fact that in the many countries where it has been abolished no dangerous result in the shape of an increase of murders has taken place, the fatal irrevocability of this form of punishment (cases of the execution of innocent men are unfortunately still by no means unknown), the unfairness of the punishment in view of the complex causes which lead to most murders, its ethical unsoundness, and so forth.

In brief, the book is a crushing and we believe unanswerable indictment brought against one of the most sinister survivals of barbarism which still disgrace our modern civilisation.

J. S. HOYLAND.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

MEMBERS' WORK IN 1926-27.

MR. DUBE'S REPORT.

SOON after the session of the Servants of India Society was over about the latter half of June 1926, I returned to Lucknow via Jaipur where I made an engagement to pay a visit to that city about the first week of October in order to raise funds for the Society's Fire Relief Fund. After attending to some

work connected with the Lucknow District Board I engaged myself in visiting places in the United Provinces to raise money for the Society. I visited during July, August, September and October 1926 Mussoorie, Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Khurja, Bulandshahr, Mainpuri, Allahabad, Jaipur and Jodhpur and was able to collect approximately about Rs.11000 for the Society. I delivered lectures on the work of the Servants of India Society in places such as Agra, Khurja, Lucknow and Jaipur and spoke on "Social Service" also at Khurja and Lucknow. During my tour between July and October, I kept in touch with my District Board work also and attended all the important meetings of the Board and of the Education Committee of the District Board of which I have been the Chairman. The month of November was spent in canvassing work for the Assembly election of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru at Muttra. This month was also taken up by running to Lucknow twice to attend to my duties in connection with the University and the District Board. From the first week of December I have at a stretch stayed on at Lucknow with one break when in Christmas week I attended the session of the National Liberal Federation at Akola. On my return journey I visited Nagpur and saw there the social work carried on by the Y. M. C. A. among the mill-labourers. The months of December, January, February, March and April were spent mostly in the study of educational problems and local self-government questions. A good bit of my time was taken up in arranging meetings of the Servindia Study Circle, of which we had 9 in the course of these months and were addressed among others by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M. L. A., the Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, the Deputy Commissioner (Collector) of Lucknow, the Director of Public Instruction U. P. and the Director of Industries, U. P. The meetings were very well attended. Another meeting was arranged on April 29th under the auspices of our Study Circle at Lucknow on "Joint Electorates" which was addressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Besides arranging these meetings a part of my time was also given to raising money for this Study Circle. At present, the funds of the Circle amount to about Rs. 500 and its membership extends to over 90 people.

The District Board work occupied a fair amount of my time. While I attended as many formal meetings of the District Board as was possible, I had also to attend several informal meetings of the Board. Then, a portion of my time is always claimed by persons either interested in the activities of the Board or in its employ. At the fresh election held in January 1927 for chairmanship and membership of various committees of the Board, I was again elected Chairman of the Education Committee and member of the Finance and Public Works Department Committees. My district board work necessitated a tour in the District of Lucknow and over 40 inspections. I also arranged a Conference of the teachers of the Lucknow District Board on March 27th, 1927, under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gokaran Nath Misra with a view to interesting these teachers in their wider responsibility towards the people of the village. Lectures were delivered on character-building, co-operative movement, agricultural development, public health and sanitation by experts in their line such as Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu, M. L. C., Mr. H. B. Wetherill, I. E. S., Dr. Saxena and Pandit Gur Sewak Upadhye. The attendance at the Conference was very satisfactory.

As an elected member of its Court, I took some part in the affairs of the Lucknow University. I put about 30 questions dealing with various aspects of University life and gave notice of a number of reso-

lutions. I took part in the several discussions that took place at the meeting of the Court.

I have been made a member of the Executive Committee of the Lucknow Branch of the League of Nations, and a Director of the Christian Co-operative Central Bank, United Provinces.

S. P. ANDREWS DUBE.

MR. SAHU'S REPORT.

I travelled in July, August and September in the districts of Puri, Sambalpur and Angul, and collected some money for the S. I. S. Fire Relief Fund. In October I handed over charge of the All-Orissa Students' Conference papers to another gentleman. I was General Secretary to this organization for over two years. In November I arranged the Society's Reading Room and Library at Cuttack, which has become very useful to the public at Cuttack. In December I attended the B. N. R. Labour Union meetings at Kharagpur and the All-India Liberal Federation at Akola. After returning from Akola in January I went to Burma to study the Oriya Labour Problem there and spent a month and a half there. In February and March I had to do some lecturing work in connection with the B. N. R. Labour Strike and had to preside over two Conferences in the Ganjam District—one Service and Social Reform Organization; the other, the Dandasi (Depressed Classes) Conference. After doing some routine work in April, I arranged the Shivaji Jayanti celebration at Cuttack in May. Besides these activities I have frequently gone out into the villages where I have preached co-operation sanitation, etc., and have talked to people about the lives of great men of our country and have helped educational propaganda. I have frequently written to local newspapers about the difficulties, wants and grievances of villagers. I have during the year written and published a small biography of Gokhale in Oriya.

LAKSHMINARAYAN SAHU.

MR. SIVASWAMY'S REPORT.

The month of July and the first two weeks of August were spent in collections for the Fire Relief Fund in Travancore, Tinnevely, Mayavaram and Tanjore. Nearly a month from September 23rd and October 25th was spent in co-operative propaganda in Southern districts. I also toured in Coimbatore district for doing flood relief work. Between October 25th to December 3rd I attended to the Provincial co-operative Union Work and prepared my evidence for the Royal Commission on Agriculture, before which I appeared in the last week of November. The period from December 3rd to March 13th was spent in co-operative propaganda in Tinnevely district. In February I prepared a report on the economic conditions in certain affected areas of Tinnevely district which had suffered from want of rains. This report was also sent to the Government (Ministry of Development). The Government was kind and prompt enough to appoint a special staff of four inspectors to organize fresh societies and consolidate existing ones with a view to issue short term loans for purchase of provisions and fodder for cattle. The whole of May I was in the affected area of the Tinnevely district for propaganda work regarding organization of societies on sound lines. Between March 13th and May 1st I was engaged in organizing the work of the Provincial Co-operative Conference.

K. G. SIVASWAMI

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE KHAN-PANANDIKAR MARRIAGE.

THE whole of Poona appears to be convulsed by the fact a Registry marriage has recently taken place there between a Brahman and a Moslem—Miss Malini Panandikar (a grand-daughter of the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar) and Mr. Gulab Khan. Both are teachers: she in a Girl's School, he in an Urdu School and though one is nominally a Hindu and the other a Moslem, it is apparent that both really belong to that growing section of our intelligentsia whose attitude to any sort of religion is Gallic-like. We may deplore this, or we may resign ourselves to it as a necessary stage of transition: at all events it seems clear that the young couple share outlook on life, tastes and culture and therefore are evidently well-matched. The bride, and in a less degree, the bridegroom, have certainly shown high courage in defying traditions in the validity of which they have ceased to believe and for this act of following what their own conscience tells them is a higher ideal, they deserve all the praise which their Social Reform friends are showering upon them. Politically moreover, at a time of such Hindu-Moslem tension, this Hindu-Moslem alliance is certainly a gesture which must appeal to all those who place nation before community. The Communalists of Poona however—an extraordinarily bigoted lot—have very nearly gone crazy over the event. Before the marriage all kinds of legal technicalities were raised and now that they have been of no avail, the communal fury finds expression in public meetings where the pair are held up to obloquy in the unmeasured term so dear to the Maharashtrian demagogue. The battle is the old one in Poona between the Orthodox Extremists, once led by Lokmanya Tilak, and the Reforming Moderates, once led by Mr. Gokhale. The former want political progress, but abhor social reform; the latter have ever held that the one is impossible without the other. And so it is only in the fitness of things that contemporaries like our Liberal friend the *Dnyan Prakash* and persons like Mr. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society, are assailed and covered with foul abuse by all the "patriotic" backwoodsmen of Maharashtra and those who—in the true Tilak tradition—believe in exploiting religious fanaticism for their own political ends.

Such a policy however seems to us not only wicked, but on the face of it rather stupid too—certainly in the present case. *The Mahratta*, the old Tilakite weekly of Poona, for instance, on the 3rd expatiates on the enormity of a high caste Brahman girl marrying a Moslem. *The Mahratta* calls it "revolting"—but in what possible other sense is such an alliance "revolting" than that in which White society, certainly in South Africa, the United States and even in England, finds it "revolting" for a White woman so far to degrade herself, as to marry a Black man? To commit fornication might possibly be overlooked—but to marry him? And so the laws of the South African and of some of the States of the American Union make marriages between White and Black a legal offence. Indeed *The Mahratta* in so many words approvingly quotes the prevalence of "the Lynch law" for dealing with such cases. Yet how is this point of view assailed by the very *Mahratta* and the people it speaks for, when a White person calls all Indians (even a Chitpavan!) Black and treats them to the very attitude of untouchability which they hold themselves so dear towards low-castes and outcastes, whether Hindu, Moslem or Christian? But of course one would not look for consistency in such quarters. Else would one ask, what *The Mahratta* and all these Hindu Communa-

lists like it can find wrong in the segregation policy of the South African Whites towards all Blacks—Indians, Negroes or Malays? Of course they do find it wrong and quite rightly so: but the beam in their own eye remains invisible to them. And since "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." India presumably, *pace The Mahratta*, will continue to be ruled by a caste of White Super-Brahmans, until the lesson is learnt and India has rid herself of all caste. In the meantime our congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Khan.—*The Week*.

The following is an extract from a letter written by a friend to another friend on the above subject:—

"I see that you are opposed to the Hindu-Moslem marriage, but you give no reason. You see no objection to a marriage between a Hindu and a person of any other religion than Islam, "but the matter is different with Moslems" for the "Moslem belongs to a different world altogether." It seems quite strange that that seems a sufficient explanation in your judgment. What is the different world a Moslem lives in? And if it is different, cannot the person contracting a marriage find it out for himself or herself? Supposing Moslems in general are in your view not fit to be joined in wedlock with Hindus or Christians, must the ban be on all Moslems? Can there not be some Moslems who live in the same world with Hindus and Christians and not in the peculiar world to which you consign Moslems? I know of some who are more Hindu than lots of "Hindus" I know of (just as Gandhi is more truly Christian than several so-called Christians). Are they also to be prohibited to enter into marriage with Hindus? How do you know that the Moslem in question is not one such? For my part I do not know, but I do not presume to judge. I leave it to the judgment of the bride. If you wish to judge you should know.

His first wife? You read of her in the papers and so you believe she must exist somewhere? If she were alive and known, are you not aware that the marriage could not have been registered under the Act? And do you think those who are making such a hullabulloo would not have ferretted her out if she were alive? The marriage would then be objectionable, but on the ground of polygamy and not on the ground that it is a marriage between a Hindu and a Mahomedan. It may be that the bride or bridegroom may not be educated or good-looking or well-behaved or any such thing. Then again the marriage must be objected to, but the ground would be different, and even in such a case I would leave the task of objecting to the parties to the marriage.

I am afraid you have not applied your full mind to the problem yet. We support the marriage only on the ground that a marriage between a Hindu and a Moslem is *per se* unobjectionable."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- HEALTHFUL DIET FOR INDIA. By H. CARLSON MENKEL. 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 160.
- ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS. 2 vols. By E. R. FAIRCHILD, E. S. FURNISS & N. S. BUCK. (The Macmillan Co., New York.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 568. 25s.
- THE RURAL INDUSTRIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES. 3 vols. By RANDOLPH FITZ, E. HELEN, and M. DORIEL HAY. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 239. 15s.

- MUSSOLINI, HIS WORK AND THE NEW SYNDICAL LAW. By C. R. MURIELLO, (Macniven and Wallace, Edinburgh.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 73. 1s.
- PSYCHO-ANALYSIS FOR NORMAL PEOPLE (2nd Impression.) By GERALDINE COSTER. (Oxford University Press). 1926. 6½ × 4. pp. 232. 2s. 6d.
- PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS UNDER THE REFORM ACT, 1918 (2nd Edition.). By J. RENWICK SEAGER. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London) 1921. 7½ × 4½. pp. 126.
- FASCISM. By GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 201. 7s. 6d.

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