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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN a speech made in South Wales the Rt. Hon. Mr. Hartshorn's indiscretion. Vernon Hartshorn attacked Indian Capitalism and in particular Messrs. Tatas as the "worst employers in the world". This is rather a tall charge and, unfortunately for Mr. Hartshorn, one impossible to substantiate as the firm of Tatas has been known as one of the most considerate and humane in their treatment of their employees. The Indian Chamber of Commerce in London has cabled to various commercial bodies in India to enter a united protest against these allegations and will most probably send a letter of representation to Mr. Baldwin and Mr. MacDonald. Sir Dorab Tata, the head of the firm, is in communication with other directors and with the legal advisers of their London agents. Naturally enough the Labour leaders in England are surprised at Mr. Hartshorn's indiscreet remarks. As a member of the Royal Commission, it was his duty to pass a self-denying ordinance imposing on himself a restraint with regard to complex Indian questions, till he had acquired more knowledge about them. In any case to cast aspersions on an individual firm would seem to require more firsthand information than Mr. Hartshorn can be credited with. It would appear that Sir John Simon is trying to persuade his colleague to retract the latter's unjust accusation, for he fears it would otherwise be difficult for the Royal Commissioner to retain his seat on that body after the betrayal of such flagrant prejudice. So far as we are concerned, whether Mr. Hartshorn withdraws his allegations or not, he and his President himself have both exhibited such a partisanship as to stamp the whole Commission as entirely unworthy to perform the great task entrusted to them. It is difficult to see on what ground Mr.

Hartshorn identifies Mr. Saklatwala with the Indian Mill-owners whom he styles as the 'Saklatwala crowd'. Touts the whole affair smacks of personal pique.

* * *

THE judgment in this case has roused a mild storm in England. The *Morning Post* has on the slender basis of a summary criticized the judgment. Apparently Mr. Dutt, the Civilian Magistrate, knows his business and had all the material before him for forming the opinions which he expressed. Even the *Statesman* in India is wroth over the audacity of an Indian Magistrate in passing censure on a European officer; and has lectured to Mr. Dutt on his failure to put great heart into the forces of law and order by passing an adverse judgment on the conduct of an officer entrusted with keeping order. The least that the Bengal Government ought to do, if it wants to review the case, is to appoint an independent committee for deciding whether the data before the Magistrate justified his findings. We doubt whether there would have been this storm in a tea-cup if the Magistrate had chanced to be a European. The head and front of Mr. Dutt's offence lies in his being one of the children of the soil and as such unworthy to sit in judgment over an officer belonging to the ruling caste. Lord Birkenhead has called for papers of the case in order to be able to take some steps in the matter; the nature of his action will in due course be revealed.

* * *

THE British Government were officially informed of a draft treaty containing a pact between six powers binding themselves not to resort to war with one another. In the beginning Sir Austen Chamberlain did not give a direct straightforward answer to the Kellogg proposals. Mr. Kellogg has made it clear that the renunciation of war does not imply any loss of rights of legitimate defence which the French Government urged in their reply. Sir Austen Chamberlain dilated on many difficulties that beset the path of the British Government and felt sure that he could not give a final reply without consulting the Dominions. The debate in the House of Lords on the Kellogg proposals has revealed an amount of enthusiasm for the draft treaty and yet Lord Cushendun is fighting shy of a formal acceptance of the Resolution moved by Lord Reading in the House. The question of a new treaty will have to be decided very shortly by Great Britain because the Bryce-Root treaty which has till now governed the relations between Britain and U. S. is about to expire. Mr. Kellogg apparently is very tenacious of his proposals and is not likely to abandon them. The note presented by Lord Cushendun to the members of the Preparatory Commission for an International Disarmament Conference suggesting a reduction in the size of a battleship, and in the calibre of its guns has been favourably received by U. S. and Japan.

This is an additional good augury for the cause of peace. In the meantime the British reply accepting the peace proposals for the outlawry of war has been thought by Mr. Kellogg to be encouraging.

THE recent attempt by Maharashtra extremist politicians to drop anti-untouchability from their programme has earned for them the following castigation at the hands of the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

"... The Maharashtra Conference took up an untenable position when it sought to simplify the political problem of the country by ignoring controversial questions on the plea of divorcing religion from politics. Many a crime against humanity has been committed in the past on the plea of "Religion in danger." The action of the Maharashtra Conference, however well-intentioned, illustrates the opposite danger of a wrong application of the healthy principle of divorcing religion from politics. If the wrong lead given by the Maharashtra Conference is to be accepted by the country, the Congress might, in the apt and vivid language of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, as well liquidate itself instead of continuing an existence which is both humiliating and futile. For, in that case as he truly points out, "it will not discuss the live problems of the day and will only carry on an academic debate on such subjects as the communal organisations in their wisdom agree to leave to it."

THE last U. P. quinquennial report for the years 1921-22 to 1926-27 affords food for thought to those interested in the progress of education among Indian Christians. We find that the number of scholars of both sexes under instruction in all grades has fallen from 9,155 in 1921-22 to 8,525 in 1926-27. In other words it has come down from 5.4 per cent. of their total population in 1921-22, to 5 per cent. The Hindus in the United Provinces have during this quinquennium shown a steady improvement; from about 2 per cent. of their total population receiving instruction in 1921-22, they have raised their percentage to a little over 2.6 during the last five years. But more striking than this is the growth in education among the Mohammedans of the U. P. Their percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population has risen from 2.8 to 3.7. We have presented these figures to show that the Indian Christian who was through the assistance of Christian missionaries in the vanguard of progress is receiving a set-back in education. In this connection we may point out that while the expenditure from Mission funds on education during this quinquennium has increased by about Rs. 75,000, the number of institutions run by the Christian Missions has considerably fallen from 288 in 1921-22 to 194 only in 1926-27. It is to be hoped the matter will attract attention of the authorities so that the next quinquennium, instead of recording a reaction in regard to Indian Christians, will show them to have taken a considerable step in advance.

THE railways owned by the State fall under two main categories, viz., commercial **Business Morality**, and strategic (or military). Strategic railways are primarily intended for the movement of troops, military stores and live stock and are not expected to yield a return on the monies invested in them; while the commercial railways are built as dividend-earning undertakings. Under a convention accepted by the Legislative Assembly in 1924, the Railway Administration is required to pay to the Central Government a sum equal to one per cent. on the capital at charge of commercial railways, and all losses incurred in the working of the strategic railways are to be borne by the Central Government. This convention involves to a certain extent a conflict of interest between the general taxpayer (as represented by the Central Government)

and the railway customer (as represented by the Railway Administration or the Railway Board), and it does not appear that under the present organisation for control over railway finance and accounts, the interests of the general taxpayer receive due attention. When the convention above referred to was passed in 1924, the capital at charge of strategic railways was only Rs. 27 crores, but within a year of the passing of the convention this figure was raised to Rs. 31 crores by reducing by about Rs. 4 crores the basic amount of the capital at charge of commercial railways. One per cent. on this amount comes to Rs. 4 lakhs, so that there is now a permanent reduction of Rs. 4 lakhs per annum in the amount receivable by the Central Government. This transaction appears to us to involve a departure from business morality. The calculations on the basis of which the percentage contribution was ultimately adopted are set out on pp. 91-94 of the Railway Administration report for 1923-24. These calculations contained no allowance for the above transfer; nor even when the question of separate railway finance was under consideration by the Assembly was there any indication of this transfer, although it was fully known to Government that such an adjustment was coming; further, the adjustment in accounts when actually made was also not brought to the notice either of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways or of the Assembly, the specious plea advanced being that a transfer of the character referred to was decided upon before the passing of the convention, though the actual adjustment was made a year later. The adjustment, it is contended, was rendered necessary in the interest of correct accounting. Which, in our opinion, is an arguable point; but in any case there is no reason why even correct accounting should necessitate a departure from fair dealing.

SENATOR COPELAND in an article contributed to the *Oriental Magazine* decides the question of citizenship in favour of the Hindus. It will be remembered that in 1790 Congress extended the privilege of American citizenship to "any alien being a free white person." Senator Copeland thinks that to assign a race to a geographical area is unscientific; for this reason to identify the Caucasian race with the European race is a blunder. According to him the speech is a more reliable proof of racial origin than colour. Here of course we cannot agree with him; a look at any current volume on Ethnology would tell him that language is the least reliable test of race on account of the adoption, voluntary or coercive, of each other's language by people of different races. Apart from this, even physically, Senator Copeland is certain that peoples of Northern India can trace back to the same ancestors as those whom Americans claim. The Hindu is as truly Nordic as the blonde citizens of Sweden. The Hindu, he says, is an Aryan, a Caucasian, in the true sense a white person. Therefore within the spirit of the law of 1790 the Hindu in his opinion is entitled to American citizenship. Senator Copeland however thinks that the decision of the United States Supreme Court regarding the naturalization of a high-caste Hindu is correct; what is needed to make possible the admission of Hindus to full citizenship is a modification of the law. We must thank him for introducing a bill in which he has proposed a new list of races and people to be regarded as white persons. With regard to the general policy of immigration he condemns the theory that future admissions should be in the same ratio as the one which held in 1790.

THE UNITY CONFERENCE.

THE All-Parties Conference, which took place in Bombay on Saturday last, was a dismal failure. It met chiefly for the purpose of bringing about an understanding among the various communities in general and between Hindus and Moslems in particular, but it found the communal forces so strong that it had to disperse without even making an attempt to solve the problem. The conference has no doubt appointed a Committee, a strong and well-chosen Committee, for drafting a Swaraj Constitution, but of what earthly use is a paper Constitution without a mutual agreement among the various sections of the community? In Delhi too the Conference left this main question on one side and concerned itself with a few minor matters, which too it discharged but indifferently, but it was hoped at the time that in two months it would be possible to discover a more hopeful approach to the communal problem. That hope is now completely disappointed. Indeed as the time for holding the Conference approached its futility became apparent, for the circumstances were extremely adverse to a possible reconciliation of communal differences. In the first place, Mr. Jinnah, who alone among the Mahomedans could conduct peace negotiations with any hope of being able to deliver goods, had to leave the country on private business before the Conference assembled. And in the next place, the Hindu Mahasabha leaders had definitely taken up a hostile attitude, which finally crystallised itself in the statement issued on the eve of the Conference under the joint signature of Dr. Munje and Mr. Kelkar. Between the intransigence of these conflicting groups the Conference was bound to come to grief if the communal question, the only question that really matters, was attacked. We are not therefore surprised that the promoters of the Conference thought discretion to be the better part of valour and left the problem over for future consideration when the skies would clear somewhat. But it is no use blinking the fact that the forces of nationalism have suffered at any rate a temporary reverse at the hands of communalism.

The appointment of a Committee for framing a Constitution is a mere eye-wash. If a serious attempt is to be made to write a Constitution, the Committee nominated certainly does not lack brains to do it, but we doubt very much whether the Committee will make an attempt, or whether it is even wise or necessary to make it. For a working basis of such a Constitution we have the Commonwealth of India Bill. It has its imperfections no doubt, but no Constitution which we formulate at this stage will be without imperfections, if only for the reason that it cannot from the nature of the case receive the public attention and criticism which are necessary to make any constitutional instrument satisfactory. It is almost impossible to persuade the people at large to take an interest in highly technical work, which is far removed from their practical life. If Pandit Motilal Nehru himself could not be persuaded so

long to interest himself in constitution-making when the Commonwealth of India Bill was considered, how does he expect the average politician to feel any concern in the Swaraj Bill? The Committee's time would have been far better occupied if, as proposed by Mr. Natarajan, it had set to itself the task of reviewing the working of the reforms for the last seven years instead of evolving a new Constitution. That would have been of far more practical utility and it would have been a far more effective answer to the Simon Commission than the Constitution, jejune and crude as it is sure to emerge from the Committee. But until a solution has been found for the existing communal discord all future progress must be barred.

EDUCATION IN MADRAS.

DURING the five years that ended on March 31st last, Madras has some educational progress to her credit; but it is very small progress. The number of educational institutions went up from 37,289 at the beginning of the quinquennium to 50,941 at its end, which represents an increase of 36½ per cent. The number of scholars also shows a corresponding rise from 1,745,518 to 2,440,874. The proportion of boys in receipt of instruction to the male population rose from 7 to 9½ per cent.; while the same for girls from 1.8 to 2.5. The percentage of general literacy increased from 4.3 to 6—a rise of nearly 50 per cent. It is clear from these figures that while the education of boys is making tolerable progress, that of girls is lagging woefully behind. The statistics in the report also show that literacy is not evenly distributed in the different parts of the presidency, being high in some and low in others. Thus we are told it varied from 21 in Madras City to 5.4 in Salem in the case of males and from 9.6 in Madras City to 1.1 in Salem in the case of females. What is needed is a strong effort on the part of the educational authorities to push on the diffusion of education in rural areas without detriment to the educational advance of the urban ones.

A feature of University work that deserves particular note is the fact that popular lectures were arranged on modern scientific inventions such as Telephony, X-ray, Aviation, etc. They were delivered by college professors and were so much appreciated that similar lectures in the vernacular were also organised. It is to be hoped that the example of Madras will be more widely followed elsewhere.

Physical culture of the rising generation has latterly been receiving greater, though by no means its due share of attention at the hands of our educational authorities. As will be remembered, the idea of giving some military training to College students was first placed before the Bombay University by Dr. E. P. Paranjpye who wanted every student to show a certain proficiency in military training as a condition precedent to his being sent up for his examination. Though Dr. Paranjpye was unable to carry the Bombay University with him, the idea mooted by him found more fruitful ground in Madras where in March 1925 the Senate decided that "every male student should, before being allowed to appear for any degree examination of the Madras University, be given facilities to undergo military training in the Indian Territorial Force, if he so desires and if he is physically fit". It will be easily seen that while under Dr. Paranjpye's scheme, no physically fit student could escape military training, the Madras University was more cautious and wanted to leave it to the option of students themselves whether to

receive or not to receive military training. A special committee appointed to consider the question recommended as a first step an increase in the number of battalions to be stationed in suitable localities. To this end Government seems to have been duly approached; but to such an important question who would be so foolish as to expect their reply within anything but a prolonged period? In the meantime we are pleased to note that physical training for Intermediate students has been made compulsory and that the question of formulating a detailed scheme suited to local conditions was receiving attention. Similarly a system of compulsory medical inspection in respect of Intermediate and B.A. students has been approved. In regard to the number of arts colleges, Madras seems to hold the first place among Indian provinces. They numbered 39 at the beginning of the quinquennium which has witnessed an increase of 5, four for men and one for women.

As regards elementary education we find that the number of elementary schools rose from 33,624 in 1921-22 to 46,378 in 1926-27; while their total strength from 1,371,779 to 1,985,617. The number of girls shows an increase of nearly a lakh, being 282,317 in 1926-27 as against 182,730 in 1921-22. Of the total increase of 613,818 pupils reading in boys' elementary schools, 64 per cent. were non-Brahmans, 12 per cent. Mahomedans, 11 per cent. depressed classes, 5 per cent. Indian Christians and only 2 per cent. Brahmans. But by far the most important problem in regard to this branch of education is how to enable pupils to retain their literacy in after-life. This problem is as bad in Madras as in any other province and by no means more easy of solution. Nor can it be said that any improvement worth the name is taking place in course of time in this behalf. It is true that the numbers in the highest three vernacular standards rose from 13,406 to 24,718, which means an increase of over 11,000. But it is no use basing any hopes on this, for according to the Report, the percentage of pupils reading in standards VI to VIII to the total number of pupils in the primary stage rose from 1 per cent. only to 1.2 per cent. In this connection it is interesting to observe how the increase in the number of pupils is shared by the different standards. 53.2 per cent. occurred in standard I, 18.6 per cent. in standard II, 13.5 per cent. in standard III, 9.7 per cent. in standard IV, 3.1 per cent. in standard V and only 1.9 per cent. in the last three. It will thus be seen how insignificant is the proportion of pupils who, having joined a primary school, succeed in reaching the higher standards. The Report also furnishes some statistics which conclusively show how the percentage of pupils in each standard to the total number has remained practically stationary. There is reason to believe that even the authorities now share the popular view that if pupils are to remain longer in primary schools than they do now, it can only be done by means of compulsion. And it is gratifying to note that this is being favoured more and more. Thus we find that at the close of the quinquennium there were 21 municipalities in the presidency which had introduced compulsion and 3 taluk boards which had done so in selected areas. But what is a matter for rejoicing is the fact that the application of compulsion is not confined to boys, but extends to children of the other sex as well. Of course this has not happened everywhere; but it is a hopeful sign that there should be two municipalities besides the Madras Municipal Corporation to enforce compulsion irrespective of sex. This is of course not too encouraging, but is certainly better than in Bombay where in spite of the longer existence of the Compulsory Education Act the number of municipalities that have availed themselves of its provisions does not exceed half-a-dozen!

The quinquennium has witnessed a definite attempt to provide schoolless centres with schools as a means of promoting diffusion of education. In May 1923 a conference held under Government auspices recommended the provision of all villages with a population of 500 and more with schools. About a year later Government ordered the educational survey of all taluks in the presidency with a view to find out how they were educationally situated, and to see if nothing could be done to improve the position. This survey was completed and a consolidated report on the same published in September 1925. It became apparent from the report that there were 4,037 schoolless centres or groups of centres with a population of 500 and above; but it is not clear from the report how many of these had been provided with a school by the time the report was written. It is to be hoped however that side by side with the spread of education on a compulsory basis, its expansion on a voluntary one should not fail to receive due attention at the hands of Government.

MR. HARTSHORN'S BLUNDERS.

Following is the statement of Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, regarding certain statements made by Mr. Hartshorn, member of the Simon Commission.

IN his zeal to defend the Simon Commission and his position in it, Mr. Hartshorn, in discriminating between Indian capitalists and British capitalists to the advantage of the latter, has gone directly against the sound principle of Labour policy not to show preference to capitalists of one nationality as against capitalists of another nationality, especially when the latter belongs to Mr. Hartshorn's own nationality. Mr. Hartshorn's conduct is against the international solidarity of labour. If Mr. Hartshorn praises capitalists of his own nationality, Indian workers may similarly show preference to Indian capitalists and thus Indian and British Labour will form two warring camps instead of forming themselves into one solid brotherhood against capitalism. Mr. Hartshorn has been carried off his feet by his hatred of Mr. Shapurjee Saklatwala in selecting Tatas for a particular attack which they do not deserve in the way in which it is made. Mr. Hartshorn has done great disservice to the Labour movement of Great Britain in showing that even some of their prominent men are incapable of being free from national and racial prejudices.

Mr. Hartshorn has made a similar mistake in stating that Indian workers are not against the Simon Commission. In this connection I wish to state that the All-India Trade Union Congress, which is the largest organisation of organised workers, is definitely in favour of the boycott of the Simon Commission. I also state that not a single Union affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress has expressed its dissent from the decision of the Congress. It is open to Mr. Hartshorn to challenge the claims of the All-India Trade Union Congress to speak in the name of the workers of India. But he will at least admit that there is no organisation in India which is more representative of workers than the All-India Trade Union Congress. I admit that under the present unorganised condition of the workers in

India it is open to Mr. Hartshorn to claim to read the mind of the unorganised workers and express their feelings better than ourselves who are connected with the Trade Union Movement in our country. I know that some people met Mr. Hartshorn in Bombay and spoke to him in the name of Indian Labour. But not one of them represented any Trade Union. I also know that he met a gentleman at Delhi who spoke in the name of Indian Labour. But I make bold to assert that he had not the authority to speak in the name of any Union. I also know that Mr. Hartshorn met a body of people who call themselves the Punjab Labour Board. I would like Mr. Hartshorn to state when the Board was established, how many Unions and members it represents and what class of workers are members of the organisation as well as to state the names of the persons who met him to speak in their name. The fact is that there is not a single Union in the Punjab which has expressed itself in favour of the Simon Commission. Although it is open to Mr. Hartshorn as a member of the Simon Commission to try to boost the Commission, still it is not open to him to make statements which he knows he cannot prove.

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY REPORT.

SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN, the founder and inspirer of the "Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College", which has since blossomed forth into a full-fledged Muslim University, placed high ideals before the Aligarh institution, the fulfilment of which he committed to the vigilant care and keeping of the entire Muslim community of India. Fifty years ago he dreamt dreams that the College then being founded "may expand into a University, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free enquiry, of large-hearted toleration and of pure morality"; and a few years later he compared his community to the firmament above and asked his Muslim friends if "we can raise our community and make it honourable in the eyes of other people without men who will shine like stars in the heavens." Great goal and inspiring sentiments! But how has the Aligarh University, the dream of the late founder, functioned since its establishment in 1920?

The Rahimtoola Enquiry Committee, which was appointed to examine the working of the University administration in all its bearings, has passed a severe indictment on practically everything related to it. It attributes the prevailing discontent there to one root cause: to wit, the non-observance of the Act, Statutes, Ordinances and Regulations whether in letter or in spirit, from the very inception of the University up to the present time. And the present Committee does not stand alone: only a few years ago another Committee went over the same ground and, one is sorry to say, came to the same finding that there has been general laxity in observing Rules and Regulations and that the administration, the staff and even the students are all responsible for this laxity. The Act and its provisions which are meant as safeguards have been violated, says the present Report, in the interests of party faction. "Every activity and every aspect of University life is tainted by party strife and intrigue with the unhappy result that ideals have been blunted and what was intended to be good has been diverted into evil." Elections to the Court and Executive and Academic Councils, opening of new departments

of study, appointments to teaching posts and promotions of teachers have all been made on party lines. Breaches of discipline among the staff have been condoned for similar reasons. The emergency powers of the Vice-Chancellor have been strained and broken. Even in the management of games which should stand for good fellowship, captains and secretaries have sometimes been appointed in the interests of party. If these indictments are true, the stars' brilliance seems to have been sadly dimmed by intrigue, incompetence and party spirit.

The Committee enquired into the qualifications and salary of the teaching staff and recorded its opinion that a large number of teachers of insufficient academic qualifications and in receipt of emoluments in excess of their qualifications have been appointed. What must be the influence, moral and intellectual, of such teachers over the young minds who come to office through the questionable door of nepotism and jobbery? The irregularity and unpunctuality of the members of the staff in the performance of their duties, non-maintenance of attendance registers for students and neglect to enforce the salutary provision of an attendance of 75 per cent. of the prescribed lectures are some of the other glaring instances pointed out in the Report. Having become "indifferent to punctual and regular habits and to sustained study" in such environments, in order to save a year "students claim class promotion as a matter of right." The reputation of Aligarh graduates that they carried with them the stamp of their training, the impress of the mind and the man under whom that training has been accomplished was principally due to the existence there of a unique residential system which has rightly been a cause of pride to the Muslim community, but deterioration has set in now even in the residential system on account of the disproportionate increase in the number of day scholars and inadequate arrangements for supervision of those residing in University hostels. There is not much evidence recorded of the lowering of standards in the public examinations, but when teaching has suffered because of incompetent teachers and "students have become indifferent to sustained study", it is not surprising if belief is becoming widespread, that the possession of an Aligarh degree, once a credential, may become a disability, and if the Director of Public Instruction, U. P., is reluctant to offer appointments to the teachers trained in the Aligarh University in view of the inefficiency of the institution. A grotesque illustration selected from among numerous instances is mentioned in the Report of utter neglect in observing rules for admission to examinations of private candidates. "We have seen the application from a boy who failed in his eighth class examination at the Muslim University School, who was re-examined later and again failed, who then left school but appeared only seven months later in the High School Examination as a private candidate and was successful. There is no report by the Head Master about either his class record or his character." In other words not only was the boy's failure in the class examination condoned but he actually appeared for and passed the Examination two years earlier than would have been admissible had he remained at school!

Chapter XI of the Report is on "The University and Politics" and the Committee expresses the opinion that the teaching work has suffered as it was bound to by the frequent absence of teachers on political duty. They recommend that the University teachers should not be permitted to stand for election to a legislature. The University, we are told, "stands for inculcating the spirit of free enquiry, large-hearted toleration and of pure morality, but it seems highly difficult to maintain this spirit if University

teachers enter the arena of active political controversies. We consider this practice, wherever in vogue, as unwholesome as it cannot but lower the teacher's moral hold upon the students and fritter away his energies in directions for which he is not employed."

The Statutes framed under the Act confer on the Vice-Chancellor emergency powers which should only be exercised in really urgent matters and be reported to the proper authority at the earliest possible opportunity. The Report takes to task successive Vice-Chancellors for not removing irregularities from the working of the University. Numerous examples are cited of action taken under emergency powers of the Vice-Chancellor, e. g. sanctioning sale of G. P. Notes or Bonds for Rs. 50,000 meeting public and other expenses; sanction of Rs. 25,000 for acquisition of land and getting on mortgage the two houses of Sarit Chandra Bengali and a loan to Dr. Zia ed Din of Rs. 4,000 in June 1927. The last was never reported to the proper University authority. Not one of them can be regarded as an "emergency case" and all ought obviously to have been dealt with by the responsible University bodies.

Chapter XIV deals with the authorities of the University and the Committee makes certain wholesome recommendations with a view to reducing the present "too large representation" on the Court and the Executive Council of the teachers of the University. The affairs at the Aligarh University, the Committee believes, have shown the need for broadening the constitution of the Court and enlarging its functions and powers, and minimizing the influence of the teaching staff in the Executive Councils of the University. The Enquiry Committee suggests the retirement of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Zia ed Din from the University and the appointment of a special officer unconnected with the parties and factions at Aligarh. He should bring in fresh air and light which are essential to the right progress of the University.

Briefly summarised, the Rahimtoola Committee Report makes sad reading and it looks as if drastic action alone will restore the good name of the Aligarh Muslim University. The future of Muslim youths and of the community; and the debt of gratitude it owes to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan alike demand that Aligarh should revert to the noble and patriotic traditions of its first years and become again imbued with the spirit and zeal of its Founder. That full success may attend this reformation in head and members must be the hope of every Indian, be he a Moslem or not, in the interest not of the Muslim community alone but of India as a whole.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

SOME EGYPTIAN REMINISCENCES.

WHEN, on entering Egypt in the winter of 1923, I was obliged to spend a couple of days in Port Said, that most detestable of all ports, I had my first glimpse into the problem of Egypt. The restaurant which I chose for my meals happened to have a large clientele of subordinate clerks, and hardly had one of them known that I was an Indian, they all gathered around me, crying out in a chorus the detailed description of what happened at the time of the Milner Commission. Of the usually vociferous brotherhood of clerks which extends the world over, this little band in Egypt seemed to me particularly voluble with philosophic gravity. One of them assured me that theirs would be the first among Oriental dependencies to cast away the chains of Europe. As there was no question of throwing away jobs in the Egyptian programme of passive resistance, they left no doubt in my mind that in any sufficiently large con-

flagration in Egypt, there would be no lack of inflammatory material to keep it going.

Moving on to Cairo, I came into contact with a different class of society, which also threw much light on the question. Falling in with a group of elderly gentlemen, who were previous to the War in the diplomatic service of the Ottoman Empire and who had then settled down in Egypt mostly as lawyers, I had an opportunity to notice their deep-seated hatred for the present rulers of Egypt. These men, and others of their set, who were in daily contact with Egyptian leaders had neither a good word for British justice, professing to have positive proofs of corruption on the part of high-placed British officials, nor anything but indignation for the present state of things. They were in evident touch with Muslim leaders all over the Levant. Of that smouldering resignation born of hatred, sullen, ominous, disdainful of empty expression, which bides its time, I have never been impressed as strongly as among the upper class Egyptians.

Another class which I encountered at Cairo was the landed gentry, folks with ample means, leisurely, suave, imbued with European culture, whose salons were undistinguishable, at first sight, from salons of the same kind in Paris. But a little conversation was sufficient to show that even this class was possessed of fierce patriotism, yet unknown to its representatives in India. I got the feeling that this sentiment was distinctly Islamic, albeit not of the variety which prevailed in the famous theological college in the city. Nowhere in Egypt did I get the impression that the forces of secularisation were in full blast as in Turkey. The distinctive marks of Egyptian nationalism must be most difficult to define, and as far as an observer could see them, they were predominantly negative and seemed to consist of general discontent against the show of superiority on the part of the British. It is not that the Egyptians either dislike the Europeans in general, or are ununderstanding towards them. On the other hand, they give the impression that they have much in common with them in the secular domain, at any rate. Nor is it an expression of race-consciousness. The revolt against the British domination is motivated perhaps by the provocation of the Englishman's habitual carelessness in dealing with others, for their feelings, besides the other ordinary causes natural to the situation.

I had some contact with the Europeans, including British, during my stay in Egypt. Leaving aside the standard specimen of the Britisher, civilian and military, who does his duty as his betters tell him, and uses such brains as he has in the tossing of tennis balls and in memorising the arguments of his morning paper, there were two interesting types which came in my way. One was a school-master and the other, the responsible head of a department. Of these, the school-master impressed me as being weary of dealing with the stormy petrels of Egyptian nationalism, the students. Far from possessing the sense of a burden or mission, the English school-master in Egypt is a worn-out, discouraged, pathetic figure full of curse for England for having put her foot in Egypt, and for his luck in having got him there. His one consolation is the easy access to Europe of which he avails himself fully, thanks to elastic regulations in this regard on the part of the Egyptian Government and to the steamship companies.

The departmental head was quite a different character. He was conscious of his mission, to which he attributed a high value. My stay in Cairo coincided with a truce in Egyptian politics, when the British High Commissioner was drawing

in his horns, rather than the contrary. The cry for the Egyptianisation of the services was strong, and it was being given heed to. I remember the excitement caused in a little group of Indian and British visitors, when an old distinguished British official's retirement was announced. His friends had known him to be possessed of liberal views and genuine sympathy for Egyptian nationalism. His decision was all the more surprising because he had accepted to serve under Egyptian officials, in principle. The fact, as it turned out, was that whereas he had imagination enough to submit to Egyptian control he had been too long in his profession to put up with what he considered outside interference in a technical domain. The cutting short of the departmental budget on the ground that the British precedents were based on extravagant estimates, and the substitution of his department's personnel with Egyptians without due regard to standards, were concrete measures that he could not put up with. I must add that I have been told that these irregularities were true, but they were the inevitable experiments of newcomers, and, contrary to the anticipation of this frightened official, matters were set right in course of time by the new régime.

The Britishers are not the only Europeans in Egypt, but they are the only ones that matter, in spite of assertions to the contrary. The other Europeans may be conveniently brought under the categories of rich and poor. The rich are financiers and capitalists, for Egypt is an incredibly wealthy country. And they verily know no fatherland. Most of them have international interests, and they would support any government in power, as long as it is stable and strong. They have no special affection for the British. The poorer Europeans are easily assimilable in Egypt, and I have seen Greeks, Italians, French, and other Europeans coming under this category mix freely with Egyptians of the same class, without so much as a hint about the difference, with the result that it is not always possible to distinguish them. The Englishman perhaps does not let himself be assimilated so readily, but even here, I have noticed surprising instances of fellowship between English workmen, mechanics and so on and Arabs, in the interior of Mesopotamia and Syria. I have always found that the Englishman's political consciousness is responsible for his rigidity, wherever this manifested itself in circumstances encouraging to it.

RAGHUNATH ROW.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, May 3.

AFTER THE BOYCOTT.

IN the lull between the Simon Commission's diplomatic and judicial missions there is time for introspection, and signs are not lacking that this is now taking place in Great Britain. Few in India realise the anxieties that the British Government are passing through at the present time when international and imperial troubles are brewing, and the economic conditions at home are at such a pitch that the question is being anxiously asked, what would India do next—after the boycott? The general feeling in the country is that political agitation would fizzle out, but the threat of an economic boycott is viewed with some concern. The industrial depression is no help to unemployment, and the export of capital from Britain to America for the refunding of the debt aggravates the evil. How badly Britain needs capital and where it has to come from are shown by the recent formation of the Anglo-American Company under the direction of Sir Alfred Mond.

American investments would however bring only that much wealth to Britain as British investments in India brought to our own people. American prosperity has served to boost up American methods and the proposition has been put forward that British finance must be reorganised on the American model. The automatic inflation and deflation of credit according to the state and needs of the industries is one thing for the United States which has its producers and customers under the same control, and quite another matter for Britain with her producers at home and consumers under other flags, or other Governments. The anxiety about the economic boycott at this moment is, therefore, comprehensible. But for the present Secretary of State's peculiar susceptibilities and habits of mind, there might have been some amelioration in the political situation so as not to drive India to despair. Lord Birkenhead, however, would seem to be so sensitive to the prevalent impression in political circles that his policy has been a failure, that he is afraid of seeming to confirm it by any relaxation in the position he has taken up.

THE POLITICS OF PEACE.

The publication of the French project for the outlawry of war, Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech at the Anglo-French Society in Birmingham about the Kellogg proposal, and the German Note to Washington in reply to the American communication, the three, taken together, represent a situation which might well make some pacifists exclaim that they wished they had not prompted Governments to turn their political batteries to the fields of peace. Barring the very remarkable idea that the world's greatest Power should invite other Powers to abdicate war along with it, which must mark a definite advance in human aspirations, there is not much to cause rejoicing in the present move. Indeed, the very fact of America's lead is the cause of the chagrin of Europe, the League included. What Europe is aiming at is to bring America into her fold and thus escape having to go into America's. The British Foreign Secretary's pronouncement was slow in coming, and it has confirmed the most pessimistic expectations about Great Britain's reactions to the American proposal. British apologists would have Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech regarded in the light of its setting, but the different groups in Great Britain are not unanimous in this opinion, and outside opinion insists on drawing out all the implications. The fact is that there is always a certain set in Great Britain intensely interested in the friendship with America and anxious that nothing should impair it. The Ministerial press and its friends are outside this group, and their resentment at the increasing power and prestige of America is as uncontrolled as it is undisguised. So it turns out that the interpretations of the British Foreign Minister's references to the American scheme to banish war range between the insistent denial that the emphasis on the solidarity of Entente implies no preference for the French project, and the view that America has had her answer from Great Britain and the Kellogg scheme now joins the limbo of forgotten projects. Both these interpretations are excessive, and what is far more probable is that all this is just the beginning and not the end of the politics of peace. Mr. Kellogg's persistent attitude towards the French modifications of his draft, which he thinks do not amount to much, has created resentment in France; while, on the other hand, the British inclination towards the French thesis has made America wary. The German Note to Washington, fully approving the Kellogg scheme has resulted in the usual reaction in France, and the cry has been raised that Germany is attempting to change the

status quo in Europe. What is perhaps even more important, it has made France cautious not to let Germany take her place on the continent of Europe as America's ally, by imprudence. In this whirlpool of suspicions, jealousies, and interests, the Kellogg scheme would no doubt be spinning round for a long time, and its ultimate end is not within sight. There is, however, a point of criticism which is forcing itself on the public view; it is that the American proposal would eclipse the League, and further, that such a superimposition would be a step backward. That view is worth examining.

THE LEAGUE'S IMPORTANCE.

There are two sides to the League, its political influence on the one hand, and on the other, its social and humanitarian activities. In estimating its power over political situations, the social and humanitarian activities must necessarily be left aside however much they may be of value by themselves. Besides, they do not need a League of Nations as at present conceived for their fulfilment. There is need also to distinguish the influence of the League and the international relations in Europe, for which it is not necessarily responsible either in fact or theory. For the moment, Europe's maladies are dormant. The Dawes Plan has ameliorated the greatest difficulty of all, the Franco-German relations, and they have been further assured by Herr Stresemann's successful diplomacy. The Balkan Powers have lately gone in for a series of agreements among themselves which somewhat reduce the development of a sudden crisis in that region, and Russia is at present following a policy of *rapprochement* with Western Europe unequalled at any other time during the past eleven years. The two enquiries to be made in this connection are, how much of this improvement may be credited to the League?, and secondly, should these dormant maladies of Europe become active again, what powers the League possesses to effect an adequate cure? No honest answer to both these questions can at the same time be laudatory to the League. The new relationship between France and Germany is a result of private and unofficial conversations for which any other capital would have served the purpose of Geneva quite as well, and Germany's entry into the League was the result of Herr Stresemann's diplomacy and not the cause of it. Russia's suspension of eruptions is due to the internal situation in the country and nothing else, and the Balkans are quiet only because Signor Mussolini would have it so. As for the League's power to prevent a crisis, the conception of effective sanctions disappeared long ago, mainly due to the British influence, its only power now is moral prestige. In theory Articles X and XVI of the Covenant dealing with law-breakers are always there, but in fact, there are few who would care to uphold that in a real emergency involving Great Powers, the League's *modus vivendi* would work. Far from being able to prevent a conflict between two major Powers by its moral prestige, the probabilities are that the League would run a grave risk of being entirely destroyed in such a crisis.

THE REALITIES.

The realities of the situation are that while doubtless, for the moment, in Europe, the sleeping dogs are let alone, everywhere there are signs that a situation is developing in Europe as a whole, causing the gravest concern. From the beginning France accepted the incorporation of the Covenant in the Treaty of Versailles only as a necessary moral counterpoise to the other terms dealing with Germany. It is only in such wise can her alliance with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, be understood. The foil to the French policy has been Signor Mussolini's activities in the Bal-

kans. Albania and Hungary have been drawn into the sphere of Italy's influence, and Roumania is swerving between Italy and France. England maintains her traditional policy of balance of power by running the furrow deep into the soil of the Entente and at the same time warmly sympathising with Germany's aspirations regarding the evacuation of the Rhineland, as well as emphasising the signs of an understanding with Italy. The competing system of the Franco-Yugoslav alliance, and the Italo-Albanian Treaty have underlined the danger recently. If the League of Nations were all it should be none of these alliances would either be necessary, or tolerable.

The situation is no less grave outside Europe. Clouds are darkening in Manchuria, and as the Chinese factions tend to precipitate some sort of central government at last by the process of elimination, the Chinese question assumes a pronouncedly international aspect. Japan is reported to be despatching large numbers of emigrants from Korea with the knowledge of America and assisted by American loans, so as to create a pretext for intervention by having nationals and property to protect in that area. Russia's concentration on that border is rumoured to be equally striking. Any control over this situation is obviously impossible for the League inasmuch as Russia and the United States are non-Members. If the League had real power over its members even, in similar situations, British forces would not be requisitioned in China as soon as some friction arose there, nor would Alexandria be the scene of British naval display whenever the Anglo-Egyptian differences entered into a critical stage. It is not the League but their own lack of unanimity which has kept the Powers from following a more aggressive course in China, or for the matter of that, even in the Near East.

From the point of view of realities the American plan has another factor to commend itself to India. In a recent publication of his, Sir Valentine Chirol narrates the reply which a powerful American statesman at the Peace Conference in Paris made to his proposal that America should take over the Mandate for Armenia and Syria: "The Orient is far from us both geographically and historically". By now we have known the results of the European Powers who are too near us controlling the machinery for world-peace. We might expect different results for us from the alternative scheme.

REVIEWS.

HOLIDAYS AND PROFITS.

VACATIONS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS.

By CHARLES M. MILLS. (The Ronald Press Company, New York.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 328. \$5.00.

INDUSTRIAL COPARTNERSHIP. By CHARLES

CARPENTER. (Labour Copartnership Association, London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 115. 2s.

EVER since the agitation for the shortening of the hours of work, the question of the use of leisure time by the workers has been engaging the serious attention of all those concerned with the industrial welfare of society. The custom of allowing holidays to all classes of workers, usually about Easter and Christmas time, was fairly well established by the end of the last century. With the passing of the English Factory Act in 1901, for the first time, a statutory provision was made regarding the granting of holidays to industrial workers. Though the Act

provided six annual holidays only to women workers and persons under 18 engaged in industry, and excluded the adult worker from this benefit, the vacation movement received a powerful stimulus. With the agitation for the 8-hour day and the 48-hour week, the question of granting paid vacations for workers became a 'live issue'; and the Trade Unions in Europe, especially in England, demanded annual vacations with pay as one of the specified conditions of work. The effect of the World War on the Vacation Movement was far-reaching. Working-classes the world over were in a position to demand and exact better conditions of service along with higher wages and the employers were no less anxious to meet the workers more than half way and to keep their men contented, if only to run their business as usual. Today both in Europe and in America, provision for vacations has become a more or less regular feature in collective agreements between the employers and the employees and it has been recognised on all hands that the vacation movement has come to stay in business management. In 1925 about two million workers in Great Britain alone were benefited by individual or collective vacation agreements and legislation and it is estimated that no less than 40 per cent. of the total number of workers in Europe have enjoyed paid vacations through the acceptance of this principle.

The vacation movement has had a different history in the Old World and in the New. In Europe, the system of giving holidays was originated by individual employers out of kindly feelings towards their staff, especially, towards those with long service. With the growth of the industrial system, the necessity and value of leisure as an integral factor in the promotion of the new industrial order was increasingly felt by the workers themselves and as a consequence, the Trade Unions, exerting their full strength and influence, secured vacation concessions from as many employers and in as many agreements as they could possibly get. The political power gained by the working classes in Europe was used by them in securing the passage of legislation making the provision for paid vacations obligatory on the employers. While in Europe the movement was furthered chiefly by the working classes themselves, through their political and collective bargaining power, in America the employers have taken more active part than the workers. Not that the American employer of labour is more kindly disposed towards his men than his European cousin, but that the American 'boss' is more fully convinced that vacation provision is a better business proposition and that a contented and healthy staff means an increase in output and profits. The apathy of the American worker can perhaps be explained as due to the relatively less strongly organised condition of the Trade Union movement in that country.

For a detailed study of the history of the movement, its present status and for an estimate of the economic advantages to be derived from paid vacations, as a factor in increasing output, as a potent cause in reducing absenteeism, as well as in secur-

ing an efficient and contented body of workmen, for all these and other interesting details, we must refer the reader to the excellent volume on the subject written by Mr. Charles Mills, which forms the first volume of a series of research studies on human relations to industry by the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. of New York. Mr. Mills has for the first time given us a comprehensive and a thoroughly interesting study of the vacation movement and the fully documented material given by him ought to convince the most die-hard employer in this country of the advantages to industry that can be derived by introducing some kind of vacation plan in his agreements with the poor and ill-organised Indian worker.

While the proposition of paid vacations concerns primarily the management and the workers in a business, the proposition of industrial copartnership touches the very fundamentals of the industrial system. In the little book before us, the president of the South Metropolitan Gas Company of London, has put before the public the policy of his Company and his own views on the subject of Copartnership in Industry. Mr. Carpenter, following the tradition and policy inaugurated by the late Sir George Livesy—whom he has succeeded to the Chairmanship of the Company—is a firm and convinced advocate of the advantages of industrial copartnership and he is therefore justified if he has drawn a too rosy picture of the future industrial society, on the strength of his Company's thirty years' experience in the matter. While appreciating the genuine desire evinced and the practical measures adopted by a section of employers of the type of Mr. Carpenter, to bring about real co-operation between the workers and the management, one cannot be too critical of schemes of copartnership and profit-sharing put forward by 'Big Business'. Such schemes have in the majority of instances proved failures and the reasons for the failure are not obscure. Where these schemes appear to have succeeded in large business undertakings, the explanation is not difficult to seek. In all such cases, the industry in question has enjoyed a legalised monopoly or a certain control of markets which has made it possible for the business in question to earn profits above the competitive level. This certainly is the case with the Gas industry, even though Mr. Carpenter is at pains to convince the public to the contrary. The success claimed by Mr. Carpenter for Copartnership is certainly not so obvious as Mr. Carpenter would have us believe. According to the author's figures, the share capital of the South Metropolitan Gas Co. is £6,429,895, out of which, shares of the market value of £352,743 are held by 6,774 worker "copartners" (p. 32), i. e. less than one-twentieth of the share capital is owned by the workers and that too after the plan has been in operation since 1889. Again, these 6774 "copartners" elect from amongst their number 3 of the directors on the Board of Management. The qualifications to become a worker-director are none too easy: fourteen years' continuous service and the holding for not less than one year prior to the election

and continuing to hold not less than £120 stock, the aggregate holding of employee-shareholders empowering the election of the employee-directors to be not less than £200,000 nominal stock (p. 55). Under such conditions, the number of employees would certainly be too few to influence the decisions arrived at by the stock-holders and the influence and the voice of the three worker-directors, out of a total of ten, too insignificant to effect any change in the policy of the management. In spite of the enthusiasm of the sponsors of these schemes, copartnership and profit-sharing have failed to usher a new industrial order. Even if the aim of such schemes is to be restricted to the less ambitious one of bringing about an immediate gain in productivity, they must not be "automatically organised and administered" by a paternalistic management "with some carefully chosen participation of the workers, on the other hand they must form a part of the ordinary administration of a self-governing business" (J. A. Hobson in "Incentives in the New Industrial Order" p. 112). For such and other reasons, copartnership cannot yet be accepted as a panacea for all the ills of our industrial system. (A much better system of copartnership has been outlined by Francis Lloyd and Bertram Austin in their book "Capital for Labour" which was reviewed in these columns soon after its publication.)

It is, however, not the business of a reviewer to underrate the contributions of businessmen like Mr. Carpenter or the Copartnership Juries or that of the Labour Copartnership Association towards that highly desirable end of establishing a closer harmony between the workers and the employers. The Labour Copartnership Association deserves the thanks of all students of industrial economics in bringing out the fourth edition of Mr. Carpenter's little book which presents in a nut-shell what copartnership stands for and what it has already achieved.

V. V. GIRI.

AMERICAN TRUSTEESHIP.

THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES BY THE UNITED STATES, 1898-1925. By MOORFIELD STOREY AND MARCIAL P. LICHAUCCO. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.) 1926. 8¾ x 5¾. pp. 274.

OF the many crimes which have been committed in the name of liberty and which disfigure the history of the world, perhaps the most striking instance is the conquest of the Philippines by the United States of America. It is this discreditable episode in American history that Mr. Moorfield Storey and Mr. Marcial Lichaucco have attempted to describe in the book under review. The authors—one an American and the other a Filipino—lay before the American people the exact facts as to the conquest of the Philippines and put forward a vigorous plea for the grant of independence to the Filipinos.

We are first introduced to the Cuban Insurrection. When America declared war upon Spain, she avowedly declared that Cuba was, and of right ought to be, free and independent. And America enabled the Cubans to be free and independent. While America is to be congratulated for the Cuban war, her Philippine venture is a black chapter in her

history. "It is doubtful", say the authors, "if an actual war had ever been begun with a purpose more lofty and humane or with a clearer declaration of that purpose." The Filipino revolutionists under Aguinaldo were led to believe that the U.S.A. planned to do for the Philippines what she was then actually doing for Cuba. Labouring under such a belief the Filipinos proclaimed independence and set up a revolutionary government with Aguinaldo as President. We are then taken through an inglorious chapter of American history when America disappointed the expectations of the Filipinos, and bought the Philippines from Spain by the Treaty of Paris. The authors rightly criticise this act of America and conclude thus—

"It is all a striking instance of the crimes which have been committed in the name of liberty."

When the Filipinos discovered the real intentions of their so-called deliverers, they fought against the American forces. The authors draw attention to the inhuman warfare conducted by civilised America. Witness for instance 'the water cure.'

Thus America got possession of the Philippines. It is a chapter in American history on reading which any sane American will hang down his head in shame. The conquest is a striking illustration of the old saying, "the weak for chains, the fool for tribute, the feckless for robbery, the helpless for bludgeon."

After getting possession of the Philippines in this disgraceful manner, America proclaimed that her mission in the Philippines was to educate the Filipinos in the art of self government, and to lead them out into the bright sunlight of western civilisation. Philanthropy indeed! But the Filipinos would not rest content until independence was granted to them. The Jones Act of 1916 was the result of the Filipinos' agitation. The Act said that it is and always has been the purpose of the U.S.A. to withdraw its sovereignty over the Philippines and to recognise their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein.

The Filipinos made marked progress after the Jones Act so much so that Mr. Wilson, on December 7, 1920, told Congress that America should grant independence to the Philippines. But Wilson could not give effect to his policy. The Republican party under Mr. Harding came into power, and the Forbes-Wood Commission was appointed. The Commission was notoriously retentionist. It recognised the marked progress of the Filipinos since the Jones' Act, but declared that the hour for independence had not yet struck. Then came the bombshell of Mr. Coolidge who declared that the majority of the Filipinos had no grievance against the American Government. Coolidge declared this at a time when the Insular Committee was about to propose a bill favouring independence for the Philippines.

"President Coolidge at the behest apparently of a few American capitalists settled the future of the Philippines for many years to come."

The last chapter of the book entitled 'An appeal to Reason' explodes the arguments of the Retentionists and puts forward a vigorous plea for Philippine independence. We would like to point out that the authors minimise the Japanese peril to independent Philippines. Their reasons are:—(1) Japanese-Filipino relations are excellent. (2) A Japanese base on the Philippine waters will be a direct threat to British supremacy in that corner of the world, and so Britain will prevent Japanese annexation of the Philippines. (3) Japan recently declared for neutralisation of the Philippines.

Knowing as we do Japanese activities in the recent past and now China, we would say the

Japan will certainly take advantage of the withdrawal of America from the Philippines. We also do not think that Japanese capture of the Philippines will threaten British supremacy in that quarter. What with her Singapore naval base and her treaty ports in China, Britain will be the last to fear a danger to her supremacy, and hence she will not interfere. As to Japan's declaration regarding neutralisation of the Philippines, she will follow in the footsteps of America! Thus the Japanese peril to independent Philippines is real; and it seems necessary that the Philippines before being granted independence should be sufficiently safeguarded from Japanese aggression.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

GERMAN FINANCE.

THE STABILIZATION OF THE MARK. By HJALMAR SCHACHT. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 247. 8s. 6d.

THE depreciation of the mark during the war was probably unprecedented in the history of currency; even the assignats during the French Revolution or the Greenbacks during the Civil War in the U. S. had not reached the depths to which the mark had sunk. It is very creditable to the new German Republic to have set about the stabilisation of such a depressed currency, against which the selfish interests of businessmen in Germany were clamouring and to have helped by this process not only the regeneration of Germany but of the whole world. The details of this scheme of stabilisation are set forth in this volume with the vividness of a personal narrative. The author as President of the Reichbank had a vital part to play in carrying into execution the scheme of stabilisation which accounts for the fact that most of the later chapters are personal; and yet there is not a trace of exaggeration or personal vanity in the review of his doings by Dr. Schacht.

The inflation of the War period was due to the fact that the German Government did not want to introduce new taxes in order to balance the budget. The whole War finance was met by the increase of fiduciary money with the hope of a rapid victory of Germany. But the cause of continued inflation even after the armistice was, according to Dr. Schacht, "the perpetual pressure exercised by the Reparation Commission on Germany in the attempt to extort payments to foreign countries which in the nature of things could not be made." From the year 1921 onwards attempts were made in various quarters to induce the businessmen to go over to accounting on a gold basis. But the Reichbank was not prepared to accept the position. From July 1923, sellers refused to accept the mark and the "catastrophe of the currency developed into a catastrophe of the food and other supplies". On September 27, 1923, a state of siege was declared. Two remedies were proposed; one was to return to the Gold Standard and the other was to create a new mark based on soil or agricultural and industrial real property. Dr. Schacht's proposal was based on the idea that it is possible at any period during an inflation to create a bank-note with gold cover which has the advantage of affording a means of measuring the value of the inflated currency. This was not accepted and a Rentenmark based on the value of the soil was established. But the execution of the policy of the Rentenmark was entrusted to Dr. Schacht as Currency Commissioner with fairly wide powers of intervening in any question affecting currency and obtaining a decision of the Cabinet in his favour. The payments in Rentenmark were calculated at the current of exchange of the gold or the dollar on the Bourse. In spite of

opposition from speculators the value of the Rentenmark was fixed at one billion paper marks and it is remarkable how courageous Dr. Schacht proved himself to be in a situation in which the whole business community was against his proposals. Dr. Schacht in addition refused the request of the Government for raising money by the credit of Rentenbank notes to unlimited amount. This led to the energetic action of Dr. Luther in stabilizing the budget with the resources of the Government alone.

In December 1923 Dr. Schacht was nominated President of the Reichbank and he found the position of the bank on his assumption of office desperate. By personal interviews he secured the co-operation of England and Holland for the creation of a gold bank. On the appointment of the Dawes Committee Dr. Schacht consented to merge his gold bank in the new currency bank proposed by the Committee. Without foreign credits such a bank could not be created and they could not be had in defiance of the Dawes Committee. Without however waiting for the Dawes Report, Dr. Schacht opened the Gold Discount Bank on 7th April 1924, on the strength of a credit of 5 million pounds sterling by an international group. The pouring of Rentenmarks into the channels of business however had produced a currency crisis by the end of 1923 which was prevented from becoming acute by a policy of credit restriction and rationing according to definite principles. As a result the German Government in August 1924, could say, in the international negotiations which ensued, that a stable economic system based on a stable currency had been attained by its own efforts without any foreign help.

One separate chapter is devoted to the Dawes Scheme. Dr. Schacht incessantly pleaded for freedom of the German Bank of issue from foreign influence. The new Bank of Issue was given the privilege of note-issue for a period of fifty years. Dr. Schacht describes how he resisted the plan of the Dawes Committee for winding up the Reichbank and succeeded in handing over the whole of the scheme to it after it was appropriately remodelled. And in many ways Dr. Schacht corrected the ideas of the Committee in the light of his own unrivalled experience of German conditions and practice. In this connection Dr. Schacht gives high praise to the members of the Dawes Committee who passed judgment on what they were told with insight and appreciation. The most important change made at the instance of Dr. Schacht was with regard to immediate redeemability in gold. Whereas the Committee in its Report had decided that redeemability could be suspended only by the unanimous decision of all these bodies governing the Reichbank, the new Bank Law stipulated that a decision of all these bodies was required even to introduce immediate redeemability, and pending such decision the question should remain in suspense. In fact immediate redeemability in gold would have been impossible. Germany thus got a respite till such time as the issue banks of other European countries had adopted redeemability in gold for their own currencies. With the signature of the London Agreement in August 1924, the Bank Law received the approval of the various powers represented on the Reparation Commission. Describing the feeling of those present at a meeting of the foreign representatives, the German Chancellor, the Foreign Minister and the Finance Member Dr. Schacht says, "Beneath all the latent bitterness there was nevertheless place for a silent feeling of gratitude for those who on the Dawes Committee had endeavoured to erect a barrier of economic reason in the face of political and military animosities."

As a result of the Dawes Scheme then began the much needed reconstruction of the German

money market and the capital market, the details of which have been lucidly set forth by Dr. Schacht. After the acceptance of the Dawes Scheme the situation changed with regard to foreign credits also. The stabilisation of the mark had a powerful effect on the formation of new capital inside Germany. The Reichbank at the instance of Dr. Schacht had always insisted on the reduction of the volume of foreign borrowing within the lowest possible limits. The reflex effect of foreign borrowing on internal currency in Germany was an increase in the note circulation of the Reichbank and its losing the mastery over the internal money market. Besides with each new credit the annual payment which is required for their redemption becomes bigger and bigger. Dr. Schacht's conclusion therefore is that only capital which is productively used should be drawn from foreign countries but no foreign loan should be contracted for unproductive consumption or luxury purposes and he has never failed to impress this need of economy and reserve on the public bodies in Germany. Lastly, Dr. Schacht pleads for international organization in order that new markets might be opened for Germany. The Reichbank, he says, has already taken its place in the ranks of those who are engaged on common international work. His ideal is a peaceful existence of people, side by side enabling nations and individuals to work out and develop their several capacities. We hope this is not temporary war-weariness of the German mind.

V. N. GODBOLE.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE ABC OF EVOLUTION. By VANCE RANDOLPH. (John Hamilton Ltd., London.) 6½ × 5¼. pp. 122. 2s. 6d.

THIS book is written by a well-known biologist. It presents in a concise form the main arguments in favour of Evolution combined with a chapter on the effect of the theory in various fields of human affairs. The most important aspect of Evolution, especially at the present day, is its effect on Christian dogma, and the author describes clearly how the Catholics and Anglicans fought the theory tooth and nail until they found themselves ridiculed by the whole scientific, and therefore reasonable, world. Thus the "infallible" Pope Pius XI :

"Darwinism is a system repugnant at once to history, to the tradition of all people, to exact science (sic), to observed facts and even to Reason herself, and it would seem to need no refutation, did not alienation from God and the leaning towards materialism, due to depravity, eagerly seek a support in all this tissue of fables." (p. 112).

However, the Church can also be sly once in a while. For, once it saw that the theory was generally accepted, its representatives (e. g. Dr. Borlodat of the Catholic University of Louvain) began to praise it as proving the infinite skill and glory of their God!! Is not this a repetition of the doctrine of the geocentric universe at first advocated by the Church? When will the Catholics recognise that the Bible is not a text book of science?

There is a full discussion in the book of all the different theories of Evolution and it has been made clear that although the actual mechanism of Evolution is a disputed fact, the fact of Evolution is not. The little volume is altogether readable and the downrightness with which the religious position is attacked is really refreshing in these days of soft talks and compromising attitudes.

D. D. KARVE.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. (The Woman's Press, New York.) 1926. 9 × 6. pp. 221.

THIS source book is very valuable for a proper understanding of industrial conditions in the east with special reference to women. It contains nothing but extracts from Government documents and utterances and writings of well-known labour workers from the respective countries which throw a flood of light on the problem it deals with.

NEUVE CHAPELLE. (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9¾ × 7½. pp. 29. Rs. 1-14.

THIS is a very nicely got up and finely illustrated record of the unveiling on October 7 last of the memorial erected in honour of the Indian Troops who fought in France and Belgium and of those of their dead in France who have known no grave.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By FREDERICK C. DIETZ. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 1927. 9 × 6. pp. 772.

THE PROHIBITION MANIA. By CLARENCE DARROW and VICTOR S. YARROS. (Boni & Liveright, New York.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 254. \$2. 50.

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE. First and Second Series. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1928. 7½ × 5½. pp. 365, 379. 10s. 6d. each

SPEECHES ON ZIONISM. By THE EARL OF BALFOUR. (J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., London.) 1928. 5 × 4. pp. 128. 2s. 6d.

TALKS TO PARENTS AND TEACHERS. By HOMER LANE. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1928. pp. 197. 5s.

SUTTEE. By EDWARD THOMPSON. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1928. 8 × 5½. pp. 165. 7s. 6d.

TRADE UNIONISM. By C. M. LLOYD. (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London.) 1928. pp. 194. 5s.

JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER: An Autobiographical Memoir. Ed. by G. W. and L. A. JOHNSON. (J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., London.) 1928. pp. 276. 5s.

THE JESUITS IN MODERN TIMES. By JOHN LAFARGE. (The America Press, New York.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 146.

THE COMMISSION AND AFTER. By A LIBERAL. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 116. Rs. 3.

THE CHANGING SOUTH. By W. J. ROBERTSON. (Boni & Liveright, New York.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 311. \$5. 00

NEUVE CHAPELLE. India's Memorial in France, 1914-1918. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.) 1927. Rs. 1-14-0.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF GAGGAR BHANA IN AMRITSAR DISTRICT, PUNJAB. Ed. by W. H. MYLES. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1928. pp. 235. Rs. 4.

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