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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Kellogg Pact was signed last Monday by the plenipotentiaries of 15 Powers at Paris. MR. Kellogg must be congratulated on his persistency in his idea of a multi-lateral treaty between several nations undertaking to renounce war as instrument of national policy. The most important article of the Pact is the second in which the signatories affirm that the time has come when a renunciation of war should be made in order to perpetuate the existing peaceful relations between nations. Although it is a mere ideal and many hypothetical conditions will have to be realized before it becomes an actuality, still considering how much the betterment of humanity in the history of the onward march of civilisation owes to ideals, we cannot afford to ignore or belittle it. It is only by a perpetual striving towards ideals that we can achieve the moral goal, however inchoate and ill-conceived it might be. In his reply to the welcome at Plymouth Mr. Kellogg said that he believed a great moral step forward was represented by the treaty and one can easily endorse the statement. Even bellicose nations in future will have to think twice before they decide to break this plighted troth. In view of the many reservations made by Great Britain, France and U.S. herself there are people who are cynical about the efficacy of the Pact and one finds it difficult not to sympathize with them. Even then the great moral value of the Pact cannot be gainsaid and it would be better if carping criticisms are not allowed to mar the effect of the unanimous greetings with which the Pact has been received. The working of the League of Nations even during its short career has proved that when the majority of nations agree about a plan it would be difficult for recalcitrant nations to resist it

and prevent its coming into being. *A propos* of the Peace Pact it is worth noting that the Soviet Government has asked for expediting the Disarmament Conference, believing it to be a better guarantee of peace. We hope that juridical solutions will be substituted for solutions by force, as M. Briand said on this solemn occasion.

* * *

IN the name of public safety the Government of India are proposing to arm themselves with what seem to us very drastic powers of dealing with Communists who are not British Indian subjects or subjects of Indian States. Though aimed at Communists, who can say that the operation of the proposed measure will be strictly confined to them and that its provisions will not be abused by the executive, with whom rests the sole discretion of making it applicable to anybody they like? The most objectionable feature of the Bill is the total absence of any sort of judicial check over the action of the executive, which leaves the aggrieved party completely at their mercy. All that they have to do in the case of a person whose presence in this country they consider objectionable is "to direct him to remove himself from British India within a stated period." But that is not all; even the manner, means and route of such removal will be dictated by them! So far as the interval between the service of the deportation order and the date of departure of such an unfortunate man is concerned, he may under this measure be asked to appear before a Presidency or District Magistrate, not of course to stand his trial, but "to execute a bond with or without sureties" for his good conduct while he has to be in this country. The Bill is so thorough-going that it proposes to empower Government to detain a ship about to leave Indian shores for the purpose of sending such a man out of the country. A person disobeying a deportation order passed under this legislation will make himself liable to arrest without warrant and a maximum of one year's imprisonment which may in the discretion of the trying magistrate be coupled with a fine, the limit of which is not laid down in the Bill. If a man refuses to pass a bond for good behaviour, he will immediately be taken into custody by the Government.

The genesis of the Bill is to be found in the belief held by Government that the recent industrial and agrarian troubles in this country are all the result of Communist propaganda conducted by non-Indians who must be summarily dealt with. This is a belief which we think is not very widely shared; for if it were a fact that it was Communist activity which was responsible for the recent strikes, responsible Labour leaders would not have associated themselves with the strikers in the manner they have done. But it is not necessary for a man to be an active Communist propagandist in order to bring himself within

the scope of this legislation ; it is enough if he is "a member of or associated with any society or organisation whether in British India or elsewhere which advocates or encourages" Communist principles. The bill proposes to invest the executive with such arbitrary powers that we hope nothing, not even the fact that the measure is to be set in operation only against foreigners, and not against the people of this country, will reconcile the Assembly to it. We should also invite Government to take the Assembly into their confidence, if they are really convinced that they have a good case for such a measure.

* * *

THE Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa has voted for co-operation with the Cooperating Bihar Simon Commission ; but it can be confidently asserted that its vote on this point does not represent real public opinion which is bent upon boycotting the Commission. The passing of the official motion for the appointment of a committee to sit with the Commission was, as in the case of other provincial legislatures in this country, made possible with the help of the official bloc, for whose removal even the Associated Chambers of Commerce have pressed in their memorandum to the Commission. The official motion was passed by 50 votes to 44 ; but the majority included as many as 17 officials if we place the two Ministers under that category and 4 European non-officials. Thus if the voting had been left to non-officials, this majority of 50 would have been turned into a minority of 33, 9 of whom owed their seats to nomination by Government. In other words while the so-called majority in favour of co-operation contained only 20 elected Indians—9 Hindus and 11 Mahomedans—the minority of 44 opposed to it consisted of none but elected members. The official claim therefore that the vote is a true reflex of public feeling in the province with regard to the Commission thus falls to the ground. The Home Member, Hon. Mr. Sifton, who proposed the motion in question, twitted Indians by saying that when the Commission was not appointed they clamoured for its appointment ; and now when it had been appointed and had started on its work, they wanted to leave it alone. We cannot believe that by this time Mr. Sifton does not know that though Indians have all along asked that the inquiry into the Indian constitutional problem need not wait until the lapse of the statutory period of ten years, they never wanted it to be undertaken by a Commission of the sort that has been offered to them.

THE C. P. resignations hardly redound to the glory of the Ministers since there is no important constitutional issue on which to base their action. It appears from the statement issued by Mr. Khaparde that Mr. Rao's insistence on the exchange of certain portfolios and his threat to resign without even consulting his party were hardly consistent with his loyalty to the party which helped to place him in power. Leaving aside the point of party discipline the very fact that Mr. Rao did not resign as soon as he learnt of the resignation of his colleague does not do much credit to him, as he was pledged to the principle of joint responsibility. The general impression left by the perusal of the several statements issued about the ministerial crisis is that the Ministers resigned on personal grounds and not for reasons of high policy which lend a constitutional significance to many a ministerial resignation. As for the Nationalist party, there is no wonder that a party based on no definite principles or policy should very soon totter to its fall and the lesson might be learned by new parties which are coming into being at the behest of opportunists.

To a crowded meeting of Bombay citizens, the Indian leaders who have just returned from England related their impressions in England about the political prospects of India. There are very few real surprises in the speeches and the burden of the song was self-reliance and distrust of Westminster. Dr. Besant said it was no use expecting anything from the English Press which had ceased to be free on account of the capitalist combinations. She next referred to the misrepresentation about India by high officials while in England and said that a proper reply would be the adoption of the draft Constitution framed by Indians and refusal to touch any Constitution prepared by the Statutory Commission. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar described the English public as impervious to Indian points of view and all political parties in England as unanimous in treating India as a subject nation and refusing freedom to her. The only bodies sympathetic to India he found are the Trade Unions to whatever party they belonged. As for our quarrels which were used as an argument against India's fitness for Swaraj, he declared that there were as many differences, as many quarrels, and as many squabbles in England as there were in India. Finally he said he had come away with the conviction that if they wanted to be free they must evolve strength out of their own being, instead of looking to others. Mr. Chetty observed amongst British politicians a reluctance to discuss Indian matters. When he was twitted by Englishman on the illiteracy of the electorates and the incapacity of Indians to defend themselves, Mr. Chetty said that he asked them only one question—whose fault is it? Mr. Chetty thought that the faith Indians reposed in the Labour Party was misplaced. On the whole the picture, according to him, was gloomy ; in spite of this he advised, as the best course for Indians, concentration of attention on the prospects of self-government in the country itself instead of looking across the seas for the solution of the Indian problem. The speeches at this meeting once more force the conviction that the discontinuance of the Congress journal *India* published in England has been a colossal mistake.

* * *

THE address delivered by Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, Mysore Convocation Address. at the Convocation of the Mysore University is not only frank and outspoken about the current defects of our Universities but is replete with practical suggestions for removing them and for this reason deserves pondering over by our educationists. Mr. Reddy after congratulating the Mysore University on its organization for giving varied and substantial education in all important faculties, emphasized the duty of the State to use the University as its "chief depot" for supplying the brains and training required in all its enterprises and consequently to finance it adequately. He insisted however on the autonomy of the University and warned the State off the exercise of bureaucratic authority on the ground of this financing, and in order to secure this autonomy he recommended a revision of the constitution. Mr. Reddy championed the cause of the vernacular and assured his hearers that research and original work need not suffer by the adoption of this medium ; as for the difficulty of text-books he said they would be easily forthcoming if the right type of lecturer is selected. On the subject of the education of women, he deprecated education which did not fit in with the scheme of life of the vast majority of them ; as a remedy he would recommend courses in Household and Social Sciences specially for women and side by side with the organization of the State in relation to women's

interests like welfare centres, hygiene, nursing, &c. Mr. Reddy does not share the opinion that technical education should be removed from the control of the University and the State's educational organization.

IT will be remembered that, as a result of their enquiry, the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21 pronounced a scathing condemnation of the system of railway finance of the Government of India, as it then stood. This was no doubt a painful duty. They evidently felt the necessity of finding something about which they could say a word of praise as a set-off, however small, against that condemnation. Conveniently enough they discovered, what, in their opinion, is a point of merit in the financial management of the Indian Government and in paragraph 69 of their report the Committee stated:—

"In our judgment, a financial system which produces these results stands self-condemned. We are far from desiring to suggest that blame attaches to the distinguished men who have held office for years past both at the India Office and in the position of Finance Member of Council or to the able and conscientious officials who have served them. From one point of view at least their financial management can be described as meritorious. Throughout history the capital which has been put into the Indian railways has been raised by entirely honest and straightforward methods of finance. The booked capital outlay of these railways, so far as we are aware, represents nothing but sovereigns and rupees actually put into the property. We have nowhere found any trace of what is commonly called 'water'."

We can understand, and to a certain extent even appreciate, the form of etiquette which separates men from system when fault is found with the working of an institution. But what we cannot understand, much less appreciate, is the passage which says that the booked capital outlay represents nothing but sovereigns and rupees actually put into the property. This passage states only a half truth and it is surprising that members of the Committee like Sir A. R. Anderson, Sir H. P. Burt, Sir G. C. Godfrey and their Accountant Secretary Mr. Ryan each with a long experience of Indian railways did not realise this. It is quite correct that the booked capital outlay represents nothing *more* than sovereigns and rupees actually put into the property, but it would not be equally correct to say that it represents nothing *less* than sovereigns and rupees actually put into the property. The other half of the truth—which is common knowledge to all who have given any study to railway finance and accounts—is that the booked capital outlay represents *very much less* than the sovereigns and rupees actually put into the property, and thereby gives a misleading idea of the return obtained on the capital actually invested in the property. This result has been brought about by various processes, as e. g., (1) by not including in the booked capital outlay the cost of lands purchased originally for guaranteed and subsidised railways, (2) by reducing the booked capital outlay by the amounts paid by means of annuities in redemption of the purchase price of the old guaranteed railways, and (3) by not charging to the capital account the full cost of replacing old assets.

A concrete example will best illustrate the third **Saner Methods.** process. Let us take the case of a locomotive which cost Rs. 40,000 thirty or forty years ago, and now has to be replaced. For a locomotive of similar tractive effort we should have to pay nowadays about Rs. 56,000, so that if we replace the old locomotive by a new one of similar tractive effort, the whole of the Rs. 56,000 is thrown on to the revenue account and the capital

account continues to show the cost of the new asset as only Rs. 40,000, against the actual cost of Rs. 56,000. Under the commercial method of accounting, however, the revenue account would be called upon to pay only the original cost of the old or replaced locomotive, viz., Rs. 40,000 instead of Rs. 56,000 and the difference of Rs. 16,000 would be charged to the capital account. The cost of the new locomotive would then be represented in the capital account by the correct figure of Rs. 56,000 instead of by the fictitious figure of Rs. 40,000. It will thus be seen that under the earlier method the booked capital outlay on one item alone comes to be understated by as much as Rs. 16,000. In fact such under-statements were recently estimated to amount to no less than Rs. 115 lakhs in a single year.

In 1924 the Government of India decided to abandon the earlier method in favour of a commercial one but only on condition that the Legislative Assembly agreed to the separation of railway from general finance; and with the acceptance by the Assembly of the separation, this vicious and wholly uncommercial practice was abandoned and it was decided after the fullest deliberation both by the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly that on State-managed railways (although for reasons of expediency not on company-managed railways) the revenue account should be called upon to meet only the original cost of the replaced asset, any increase or decrease over that cost being debited or credited to the capital account. This change may fitly be described as marking the beginning of an era of sane methods in railway accounting.

THERE is however now in view an imminent danger of a return to the old method. **Threatened** Sir A. Lowes-Dickinson in Chapter **Relapse.** XIII of his report of August 10, 1927, on railway accounts recommends what in effect is a clean going back on the wise decision deliberately taken only a few years ago, viz. that when a renewal or replacement takes place, the original cost should be charged to depreciation fund and the balance above or below the original cost should be debited or credited to a renewals account in the appropriate abstract to be included under the main head of Depreciation. We entirely disapprove of this recommendation, for the following reasons among others:—(1) It would constitute a departure from the principle that accounts should represent nothing but facts. (2) It would militate against the capital account discharging its primary function of providing an accurate and reliable gauge for measuring the remunerativeness of that undertaking. (3) The present day costs of replacement being in excess of original cost, revenue expenditure would be increased, surplus revenues payable to the Central Government and railway reserves would decrease and eventually rates and fares would have to be increased. These are a few of the principal objections to the recommendation made by Sir A. Lowes Dickinson; but these apart, there is one ridiculous feature about the recommendation to which it is necessary to invite attention. Supposing we purchase two new locomotives of the same type at a cost of Rs. 56,000 each, one in replacement of an old locomotive on the *existing* line and the other as part of the equipment of a *new* line, the capital account would show the correct cost of Rs. 56,000 against the new locomotive in service on the *new* line, while against the new locomotive of the same type and bought at the same time, for the *existing* line the capital account would show only Rs. 40,000 instead of Rs. 56,000!

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

THE recommendation in the Nehru Report which will perhaps cause the greatest concern and misgiving in thoughtful minds is the one regarding the constitution of the electorate on the basis of adult suffrage. This feeling is forcibly expressed by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer in the interview he gave to *New India* on the publication of the Report, but it is, we believe, very widely shared. Nor is it confined to the Liberal party, which is usually associated with the qualities of caution and circumspection, but it extends in equal measure to all parties, however radical their politics may be. This means that it is a natural feeling founded on intelligible grounds and it requires very good reasons on the other side to justify the extension of the electorate at one bound from 6 millions to 120 millions.

The reasons which prompted the Nehru Committee to make this recommendation are obvious. It was a mandate to the Committee from the All Parties Conference, which was its appointing authority, to formulate a Dominion constitution for India, and although the proposition has not yet been established beyond dispute that a system of full responsible government must be based upon universal suffrage or even upon universal male suffrage, the fact that most of the former restrictions upon the parliamentary franchise have been removed in the last half century in countries enjoying self-government points to the obvious moral that in India too, if we would have democratic self-government we must approximate as closely as possible to the establishment of universal suffrage. This is no doubt, as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer says, a "revolutionary" step; but it is no more "revolutionary", the Nehru Committee must have thought, than the sudden transformation of the present constitution into one of complete responsible government. Such a constitution postulates the abolition of nomination and of reservation of seats for the majority communities. It is not possible on this footing to provide for a Legislature fully representative of all the elements in the population except by enfranchising the masses of the people, as the Nehru Report proposes. If communal electorates are to be got rid of and if some of the other expedients like nomination, in use at present but incongruous with democratic institutions, are ruled out, there is left no alternative to the course adopted by the Nehru Committee.

It is of course not suggested that the immediate twentifold multiplication of the electorate does not involve risks. Of course it does; but so does the immediate establishment of responsible government, at the centre as well as in the provinces. A prudent man would naturally prefer to run only one set of risks at a time, but modern political theory and practice demand taking both risks at the same time or none at all. It is quite easy to show, as Sir Sivaswamy does in his "Indian Constitutional Problems", just published, that "at the time when the Reform Act of 1832 came into operation in the United

Kingdom the proportion of voters to the population was less than 3 per cent. (no higher than the proportion borne by the electorate in India); that it rose to about 9 per cent. when the reform of 1867-8 took effect and to 16 per cent. when the reform of 1884 came into operation" (p. 50). "It is only after a period of nearly 90 years and by several successive stages that the practice in England has been practically extended to all adults" (p. 338). Sir Sivaswamy therefore declares that he for his part would prefer "to follow the safe guidance of England which has urged universal suffrage only after nearly a century of responsible government." Such a leisurely broadening of the basis of government may seem to our public men to go well together with a rapid and in fact an immediate transfer of all political power into their hands.

This interim period of an oligarchic rule, we have no doubt, they will so use as to subserve true national interests. We do not of course mean 'oligarchy' in an opprobrious sense. For we believe, in the words of Dr. Herbert Fisher, that "the privileges obtained by the efforts of one class may become the rights and the liberties of the nation. Magna Carta was wrested from King John not by the people but by the barons; the revolution which established constitutional government in this country was the work of a Whig oligarchy; the Reform Act of 1832 of a Parliament of propertied men; that of 1867 of a Tory Government. The right of every child to an education in a State school in Great Britain was not won by the artisans and peasants of the country, but by the bourgeois members of a bourgeois Parliament. The Labour parties all the world over enter into a political heritage which has been created by the struggles and efforts of middle-class men." ("The Common Weal," p. 37.) We are sure that our middle and upper classes, if they are permitted single-handed to direct the affairs of the State will similarly use their power for the advancement of the backward and the upliftment of the depressed classes. They will also utilise the interval of bourgeois rule for that universal teaching which Mill said must precede universal enfranchisement. It would indeed smooth out not a few of the difficulties that we apprehend from the inauguration of the new régime, if we can be sure that the power of choosing the rulers of the State is vested in the hands of those who by a preliminary discipline have been fitted and made capable of exercising that important function. But political progress is not always timed just to suit our convenience. Two considerations must be borne in mind in this connexion. First, the dire results of anarchy and State suicide prognosticated by political writers like Bluntschli and Laveleye have in fact not ensued from universal suffrage in countries which have adopted it (and every country did not evolve universal suffrage by gradual stages as England did). Second, the franchise affords a potent and almost the only means for the political education of the masses, upon which (our cautious statesmen say) should wait their political enfranchisement. Our present legislative bodies compare very much to

These words are hardly assuring. What one feels lacking in it is the strong determination to purge the evil at all costs. True facilities for illicit distillation and import are great. Still it is impossible to believe that the problem is insoluble and it is hoped that the Durbar would give serious thought to the question and declare the progressive realisation of complete prohibition as its goal, taking at the same time suitable steps to attain the end as speedily as possible.

On the side of expenditure it is noteworthy that the State is spending Rs. 39½ lakhs or nearly 17% of the revenue on education. Travancore has always been generous in this regard and naturally she is in the forefront of educated India today. Her only serious rival is Cochin, another Malabar State. It would be interesting to investigate the causes which have led to the high percentage of literates in these two States but one can boldly assert that by far the largest contributing factor will be found in the generous and unstinted patronage of the State. In Travancore

"a notable feature in the domain of education is the part played by private enterprise. All grades of schools from the primary standard to the highest college course are run by private agencies... The further development of education in the country will have to depend more largely on private enterprise and this the Government are encouraging by a system of liberal grants in aid."

A few features of the Travancore educational system may now be noted. Primary education is free throughout the State. Co-education of boys and girls is usual up to the IV class in the primary standards and even in high schools and colleges where separate institutions for girls are not maintained. Out of 1,76,419 girls attending schools and colleges, 1,12,633 or 63% attended boys' schools and the Report rightly says that this custom has been largely instrumental in the rapid expansion of women's education in the State, for the provision of separate facilities for the education of girls in the different stages of instruction would have presented difficulties of a serious magnitude. The high percentage of literacy among women is another noteworthy feature as indicated by the fact that the proportion of girls to boys attending schools and colleges was 1 to 1.768 in 1926-27. In Travancore one not unoften hears of the problem of unemployment among educated women! The backward communities are encouraged by the grant of special concessions and facilities to improve in respect of education. They as well as girl students have to pay only half fees in cases where they are not free scholars. The loss to Government on account of concessions to the backward classes alone was Rs. 75,845. If we add to this sum Rs. 62,910 given as grants to managers of private schools for allowing similar concessions to pupils, the total loss comes to Rs. 1,38,765.

Of particular interest to us in British India is the administration of the Devaswam department by the State. This department deals with Hindu religious and charitable institutions and came into being only in 1922. Before that date its affairs were being managed by the Land Revenue department from which non-Hindus had rigorously been excluded. This was of course a great injustice to them, an injustice that was removed by the present arrangement. Under it a separate Devaswam department has been created with a Hindu Devaswam Commissioner directly responsible to H. H. the Maharanee Regent at the head. This official, in addition to supervising the management of temples, also arranges for their periodical *uthsavams* and for the renovation and reconstruction of such of them as he deems necessary. The public are associated in the administration of 31 minor Deva-

swams. The total receipts of the Devaswam Fund in the year under review were Rs. 17,39,062 and the expenditure Rs. 13,97,549. The balance of the Devaswam Fund is Rs. 17,28,901 which, it is said, is deposited in the Sirkar Savings Bank. It may be asked whether no urgent use can be found for it in the promotion and promulgation of Hindu religion and philosophy in the State. By this is not meant that the State should start missionary propaganda on behalf of Hinduism. It is merely suggested that in stead of the funds lying idle, they should be given to help predominantly Hindu organisations like, for instance, the Ramakrishna Mission which has branches in Travancore. Particularly gratifying to note is that animal sacrifices are wholly abolished not only in *Sirkar* and aided Devaswams but also in unaided private institutions.

What to us must appear very unsatisfactory is the fact that the people are very little associated with the Government in the administration of the country. No doubt there has been a Legislative Council since 1888 but its powers even today are extremely inadequate. It consists of 50 members, of whom 25 are elected and 22 nominated, 15 of the latter being officials. It may not inaugurate a measure affecting public revenues or the religion of any class without the previous sanction of the Dewan. Similarly it may not consider a measure affecting its own constitution without such previous sanction. But it has the power of voting on the budget, moving resolutions and asking questions. Token motions are freely resorted to, to discuss Government measures. In no case, however, is the decision of the Council binding on the Government. These are the powers—rather the lack of them—in the case of the Upper House. There is the popular assembly known as the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly the powers of which are even fewer still. Its strength is 100, 77 members being elected and 23 nominated. Every member is allowed to bring forward two subjects at the Assembly by previous notification and to them the Dewan replies on behalf of the Government. In respect both of franchise and of membership, women are on an equal footing with men.

In view of the high percentage of literacy in the State it is difficult to see why responsible government should not be immediately established. At present both the popular bodies are only consultative and have no powers of legislation. It may be conceded at the very outset that something is better than nothing, for his Exalted Highness the Nizam has no popular body at all in his dominions to mislead his omniscience. But it is scarcely a compliment to Travancore to say that she is better than the bad. Administration to-day is so complex an affair that no autocrat or set of bureaucrats can claim to know all about it. Is it too much to hope that H. H. the Maharanee Regent, a sympathetic and progressive ruler that she is, will take early steps to grant constitutional reforms to her subjects, reforms that give not only representation but also responsibility in the work of government to the people. The sooner she realises the wisdom, nay the necessity of this step, the better will it be for the State.

S. P. SARMA.

REVIEWS.

CONTEMPORARY IMPERIALISM.

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POLITICS. By PARKER THOMAS MOON. (The Macmillan Co., New York.) 1927. 8¼ × 5¾. pp. 583.

THE imperialism of the last five or six decades is one of the most remarkable features in modern history

and one of the foremost problems in world politics and international relations. So far no adequate account of the large and important part played by imperialism in world history has been attempted. Prof. Moon of the Columbia University has here attempted the first comprehensive survey of the causes, the motives and the effects of contemporary imperialism. The subject is so vast that it is at once a very difficult and interesting task, which the author has accomplished with remarkable success. He has analysed with great care and accuracy historically the part played by mines, railway concessions, colonial markets and naval bases in areas of conflict as remote as North Africa, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East and the Pacific. Thus an effort has been made here for the first time to study the economic and social forces behind diplomacy, rendering intelligible the story of pre-war diplomacy, of the world-war itself and of post-war conflicts regarding raw materials, concessions, colonies, protectorates and spheres of influence.

The first part of the volume under review discusses the motives and methods of imperialism, analyzing the business interests, the social groups, the professional propaganda, the popular sentiments, the theories and the economic conditions which have dominated the diplomacy of imperialism during the past few decades. Throughout the book, the reader sees the exporter, the factory owner, the concession hunter, the missionary and the admiral peering over the shoulders of the diplomat. In writing this story the author has not spared even his own countrymen and has described fairly well the working of economic imperialism and dollar diplomacy in Latin America, mentioning the part played by democratic America in this region. Oil interests in Mexico and rubber diplomacy in South America are both dealt with in relation to the part played by the U.S.A. in that region. It must be admitted, however, that for specialists there exist a large number of works on particular regions like the Far East and the Near East, and tropical sub-divisions such as Economic Imperialism and Mercantilism. But for the workings of imperialism as a whole in Europe and Africa in the Near East and in India, the Malaya and the Far East, the Pacific Islands and Latin America, there is no single volume written so far which is as interesting and as accurate as the present work written analytically and historically. The last chapter of the book is devoted to an evaluation of the past achievements and present problems of imperialism, though the author offers no solutions for these intricate problems of imperialism except more enlightened public opinion and more effective international co-operation. One would have wished that the chapter on the League and its mandates had been more elaborate, as it is in effect so far the only experiment based on enlightened public opinion and effective international co-operation in the government of dependencies.

The chapter on Imperialism in Southern Asia deals with British imperialism in India, describes the growth and progress of the nationalist movement in India, and the part played by its leader, Mahatma

Gandhi, who is described as "A Gentle Rebel." He describes dyarchy as follows:—"India was to be 'half free, half slave;' and that autocracy and self-government were to be twin columns supporting British imperialism", and concludes by saying that "Ingenious as dyarchy was, the scheme was by no means an unqualified success." He summarises his chapter on India as follows:—

"India, then, is not only the greatest example of imperialism, but one of the gravest problems of imperialism. It is a country in which imperialism has worked great good and wrought great evil; in which economic imperialism and humanitarian imperialism have been clearly enough revealed, often in conflict; in which imperialism has created what may prove to be, unless wisely dealt with, its own Nemesis—a native Nationalism."

He further adds that

"Expenditure for education in all India was less than half the expenditure in New York State. There can be no doubt that the economic progress of India under British rule has been principally beneficial to British merchants and investors, and to Indian merchants and capitalists, whereas the great bulk of the population remains poor, terribly poor, hovering on the edge of starvation."

In covering such an extensive subject, seeing the trees but not the wood is so natural a tendency that world events such as industrial revolution and contemporary imperialism are not easily envisaged in their full magnitude, until we come across a book of this kind dealing so accurately and so thoroughly with the many specified incidents of imperialism in the four corners of the globe in some intelligible-synthesis. Prof. Moon has provided us here with such a synthesis and every student of World Politics and of International Relations will be the richer for a copy of this book on his bookshelf.

V. SHIVA RAM.

CHINA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

CHINA'S INDUSTRIES AND FINANCE. By D. K. LIEU. (The Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, Shanghai.) 1927. 8½ × 5¾. pp. 238.

MR. LIEU has done a service to his own country and to the cause of economic literature by publishing in a book form a series of studies in Chinese industrial and financial questions. Peculiar importance attaches to the publication by the fact that the author combines in his own person a number of qualifications, which, taken singly, would ensure a ready reception for him. Mr. Lieu has at different times held the posts of Chief of Investigation Department, Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information; Technical Expert, Financial Readjustment-Commission Conference; Contributing Editor, *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* and Professor of Economics, Tsing Hua College. The book contains in all six different articles dealing respectively with industrial development, financial organization, the Likin system, international control of Chinese railways, iron and steel industry and the Chinese silk weaving industry. One special chapter is devoted to the recording and explaining of the principal industrial and financial statistics of China. The budget of the Chinese Government and of the Chinese workman, the production of agriculture and industry, the census of cattle and of human beings, the produce of the sea and of mines—all these are clearly set forth in tabular form and are eminently useful

their disadvantage to the Morley-Minto Councils in sheer ability and public spirit; nor were the latter less solicitous of the interest of the unenfranchised classes. But it cannot in fairness be denied that the present Councils are far more representative of the people and thus have a greater title to political power than the former ones; and that the political education of the electorate, extremely unsatisfactory as it may be, would never have commenced but for the later reforms, at which time too the upper classes were more keen on a share of power than on the enlargement of the electorate.

Whatever the abstract considerations may be *pro* and *con*, we may take it for granted that the conferment of further political power will at best keep pace with, and may well lag behind, the widening of the franchise; and we must make up our mind to the acceptance of government by the whole people, if our aspiration to self-government is to be realised. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer may maintain that "the proposition that responsible government can only be justified under a system of complete democracy is altogether unsupported by the teaching of history" (p. 338 of his book); he may even suspect that those English politicians who insist on instituting universal suffrage in India as a condition precedent to the establishment of full responsible government perhaps do so "because they wish to see India weltering in a chaos of mobocracy". But there is no doubt that our progress toward self-government will be conditioned by our compliance with an electorate co-extensive with citizenry. This is a hard fact from which we cannot get away. An illustration of this is afforded by the Donoughmore Report on Ceylon, by which the Nehru Committee was apparently influenced to a considerable degree. The constitutional advance which this Report recommends for Ceylon is nothing like responsible government; but even this advance, the Report contends, will be justified, not merely by a proportionate expansion of the electorate, but by what amounts to more than a proportionate expansion. For while the Report recommends the grant of a government which falls far short of what we ask for, it insists as a necessary condition upon the establishment of a universal suffrage with only a few minor limitations. "We could not," say the Donoughmore Commission, "recommend a further grant of responsible government unless that government were to be made fully representative of the great body of the people" (p. 83). "A large extension of the franchise is rendered immediately imperative by the great increase in responsible government which we have recommended. Such a responsible government, we feel, must be in touch with and ultimately responsible to the main body of the people whose interests it serves" (p. 89). Even if the condition here imposed is regarded as unreasonable and wicked, there is little doubt that a similar condition will be imposed upon us in India, who are asking for an unqualified and absolute equality with the self-governing Dominions, and that any pleadings we may make for a restricted suffrage will go unheeded.

It may be mentioned that what in the eyes of the Ceylon Commission makes it necessary for the electorate to be widely enlarged is: the backward character of social and industrial legislation, which indeed makes them think the extension of the franchise more urgent than increase of responsible government; poverty of the great mass of the people; insufficient spread of education; high infant mortality. In respect to none of these factors are Indian conditions markedly superior; in regard to some of them they are certainly worse. The Commission mention that in elections to the village communities in Ceylon adult suffrage already prevails; in India too in some provinces, e. g. Bombay manhood suffrage prevails in the elections to the village panchayats. There is no reason to suppose that in this country the extension of the electorate will be attended with graver risks than in Ceylon. The Donoughmore Commission has recommended certain reservations in the application of the principle of universal suffrage in Ceylon, and if a temporary limitation of the size of the electorate is desired, it must surely be secured on the same lines, though the Nehru Committee has considered these reservations and rejected them as unnecessary for India. The reservations are two. The first is that the registration of voters should not be compulsory or automatic but should be restricted to those who apply for it in a prescribed form. "This condition," the Report says, "will have the effect of subjecting the actual voting strength of the (men's) electorate to a gradual instead of an immediate increase (from 200,000) to the maximum of 1,200,000 and will go far towards ensuring that a political elector is not given the vote unless he has learned to appreciate its value." The second reservation is that in the case of women the minimum age should be 30. This would reduce in Ceylon the maximum women's voting strength from 975,000 to 650,000. In India a similar reservation would reduce the size of the electorate by about 20 millions or by 8.6 per cent. of the total population. The Ceylon Commission also considered raising the minimum age of all voters to 25. They did not favour this suggestion, but if it were adopted in India it would reduce the electorate by nearly 19 millions, and if it were coupled with the raising of the women voters' age to 30 it would reduce the electorate by 29 millions. Subject to any similar modifications that may be considered desirable, we must agree to the establishment of adult suffrage in our country, but to require the fulfilment of educational, property-owning or tax-paying tests would disfranchise far too many people, and would, in spite of the assertion that responsible government and universal suffrage are not inter-dependent, militate against the grant of self-government.

BENGAL TENANCY PROBLEMS.

BEHIND the raging controversies round the Bengal Tenancy Bill there are far deeper problems which the Bill has not touched but which are problems demanding the urgent and earnest attention of everybody interested in the welfare of the country.

The Bill which years of labour have produced is the handiwork of lawyers and politicians. They

have done their best and worst in the way of tinkering a decaying prop of an obsolete land system, but the system remains and with all the tinkering the prop will remain a prop and be nothing more. What is wanted is a more radical examination of the problem of organisation of agriculture. The land belonging to a community is in essence a means of producing wealth and subsistence for the community and every system of land-holding and land tenure is at best only an effort to provide an organisation by which the land can be best utilized to produce the maximum wealth for the community. This must, therefore, be the final test of every system of land-holding and land tenure: does it or does it not promote the development of the maximum agricultural wealth from the land? If the system satisfies this test it is worthy of great regard. If it fails, the paramount interest of the community requires that it should be changed.

Judged by this test the land tenure in Bengal must be pronounced to be a failure. The defects of the land system there have often been pointed out. Fragmentation of holdings into uneconomic units, an unwholesome division of the functions of ownership, excessive subinfeudation, absence of working capital and the want of an effective organisation for the improvement of agriculture are some of the consequences which have followed from the land system. The result is that, with an enormous area of cultivable land, which, developed according to modern ideas, might make us one of the richest people in the world, we are a starving people! It cannot therefore be questioned that the problem of revising the land system in the light of most modern and approved economic theories should be immediately taken up, and if possible a re-organisation should be made which would make the land productive of the utmost benefit to the country. By the side of this great problem, the question of transferability, the rights of under-ryots, rights to trees and such other problems, at which several persons and committees have worked for years seem to be extremely trivial, and hardly worth worrying about. With this problem unsolved, the work of a Royal Commission which set itself to solve the insoluble puzzle of improving agriculture with the present system intact—a business as impossible as drawing blood out of stone—must be deemed to be utterly futile.

The Agricultural Commission has found that the bulk of the land of this country has reached the lowest limit of deterioration. That may or may not be, but there is no gainsaying that, in point of productivity, our lands are now nowhere beside the lands of modern agricultural countries. There is no reason why our lands should not be made to yield more; and the problem of problems for us now is to find out how it can be made to yield more wealth to the community. The question is not one of improved methods of cultivation. Given a rational organisation of land on modern lines, those methods are well-known. The difficulty is to apply these methods in the conditions created by the land system of the country. Every effort at agricultural improvement up till now, not forgetting the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, has proceeded on the assumption that the system of land tenure, absurd as it is, is to remain intact, and improvements are to be found to work within the four walls of the system. And the result is that nothing fruitful has been achieved. It is time for us to think whether the conditions might not be altered and other conditions created which would make modern agriculture possible.

Apart from all these considerations one could say almost *a priori* that a re-examination of the land system of Bengal is overdue, if for nothing else, on

account of its hoary antiquity. The foundations of the present land system were laid towards the end of the 18th century. Since then it has been tinkered from time to time, but never overhauled. Since then however the world has moved very fast. The economics of 1793 is not the economics of to-day. Many things have happened since then which have changed the face of the world and upset its old economic organisation. There has been the industrial revolution and its aftermath of Socialism, Bolshevism and what not. There is hardly an aspect of life which has not been revolutionised. It would be strange indeed, if, while the world's thought is in the melting pot, while all other old institutions are being recast and remoulded, the land system of Bengal should be one piece of human wisdom that will outlast the universal reconstruction—the one thing that must be sacrosanct. It is not my purpose here to plead for any particular scheme of re-organisation or to advertise my own special nostrum. What I insist is that there is a strong case for re-consideration of the land system in the light of the supreme principle I have set out above and that examination must be made now.

I venture to hope, therefore, that when lawyers and politicians have done their worst in the legislative council, the economist might be permitted to have a look in. It is my earnest hope that out of the present discussion will arise the wisdom which will induce all parties to agree to a real, sifting economic enquiry into the problem of organisation of land in Bengal.

NARES CH. SEN-GUPTA.

TRAVANCORE IN 1926-27.

THE Travancore Administration Report for 1926-27 shows that the progress of the State has been steady, all-sided and satisfactory. Travancore is not one of those States, where the ruler draws no distinction between his private interests and public ones, between his private purse and that of the State. On the contrary, it is administered by a Ruler—a lady by the way—who can give points in conscientious discharge of public duty to many a Rajah or Nawab in our land. Travancore ranks seventeenth among Indian States in respect of area, having only about 7,600 sq. miles, but in population comes third with about 4,400,000 persons. The annual payment it makes for a British subsidiary force is Rs. 8 lakhs.

In the year under report, the revenue of the State was Rs. 238.54 lakhs and the expenditure Rs. 204.63 lakhs, the surplus of the year thus amounting to Rs. 33.91 lakhs. This is no new feature of Travancore finance. For a number of years it has been showing surpluses regularly. The estimates for 1928-29 also budget for a revenue of Rs. 242 lakhs and for an expenditure of Rs. 220 lakhs, the net surplus in the treasury thus coming up to Rs. 22 lakhs. One of the chief heads of revenue is of course Excise, which accounts for Rs. 52,37,100 in the year under review—nearly a fourth of the total revenue! This is also the case in the Estimates just published for 1928-29 because the estimated total revenue is Rs. 242 lakhs of which excise revenue alone is expected to yield Rs. 59 lakhs. This is not a pleasing feature of the finances of the State, for the higher the excise revenue, the greater will the difficulty be of foregoing it in the cause of prohibition. The policy of the State in this matter is stated on page 40 of the report.

"The policy of the department has been to make it increasingly difficult for the consumer to obtain strong drink. Every care is taken to minimise temptation for those who do not drink and to discourage excess among those who do."

in imparting an intensive and comparative knowledge of the economic background of Chinese life.

In his article on the industrial development of China Mr. Lieu traces the rise of modern manufacturing industries and examines in that connection the influence of the boycott of foreign goods and of foreign intervention in Chinese internal affairs. Regarding the latter aspect of Chinese economic development the author points out with remarkable restraint:—

"that Chinese politics has its international aspect and that foreign economic interests in China—in trade, industries and railways—while in some respects beneficial to China are also in other respects responsible for obstructing the industrial development of this country. The treaty tariff, the railway contracts and foreign influence in Chinese politics are some of the factors of the latter nature, and proper solutions must be found for them before Chinese industries will have untrammelled growth."

Taking the case of the umbrella industry, Mr. Lieu tries to prove that a boycott is an effective instrument of industrial development. This thesis, however, is likely to be misinterpreted if sufficient attention is not paid to the other positive and fundamental factors that determine the rise and fall of industries. These other factors include cheap and abundant raw material, supply of skilled labour, capital and industrial and financial enterprise. If these latter factors are assured a judiciously practised boycott might create a favourable atmosphere for the growth of an industry; in their absence a boycott movement can only result in lining the pockets of a few producers at the cost of the community at large.

The second chapter dealing with financial organization is replete with much valuable information and demonstrates once again how in that ancient country many of the modern financial practices have been widely followed for centuries past. In this connection also the author feels called upon to refer to the special privileges of foreign banks. Through treaty stipulations and loan contracts the customs and the salt revenues of the government must be deposited with foreign banks. The maritime customs revenue which now totals about \$100,000,000 a year is first deposited with a British bank. No wonder that almost the whole of the foreign trade of the country and a large part of the internal exchange is dependent on foreign finance and that the industry and finance of the country as a whole are sadly lacking in vigour.

To students of public finance Mr. Lieu's treatment of the Likin system and its effects on industry and finance is bound to be interesting. Likin, of course, means the host of internal transit duties which have been prevalent in China for quite a long time and is fruitful of the evil results that are generally associated with that form of excise revenue. The author's warmth of feeling can be easily understood when he observes, "Too much cannot be said of the hindrance offered by the Likin system to China's industrial development..." An old tax is a good tax.

"That is a general principle governing all kinds of taxation. If in addition to that consideration, the tax in question is also productive, why, then, should its abolition be contemplated?"

When we remember further that the Likin includes in all more than seven hundred tariff barriers and that the tax ranges from three to twenty-five per cent, we may get some idea as to the extent to which the economic development of China must have been hampered by it. The Likin apparently is also a great moral evil. For we are told that by means of squeezes the tax collectors make as much as, if not more

than, the State itself. The tax dodger and the tax gatherer combine to make the Likin a veritable moral and economic plague for China. The Nanking Government is known to be more eager to bring about reform in the existing system of indirect taxation, and it is to be hoped that with the consolidation of the Chinese national Government in that place the Likin will give place to a tax scientifically more correct and morally less objectionable. An important sidelight on the foreign economic interests in China is to be found in Mr. Lieu's article on international administration and financial control of Chinese railways. A very large number of the railway lines in China are either partially or completely owned and worked by foreign capitalists. The railways are the arteries of modern economic life and foreign control of Chinese railways as of finance easily explains the sustained bitterness of relations between China and the foreign powers. As a collection of essays in economic history and statistics Mr. Lieu's book is a commendable publication, though it lacks the unity and method of a scientific or a literary treatise.

D. G. KARVE.

AMERICA AND ASIATICS.

ORIENTAL EXCLUSION. By R. D. MCKENZIE.

(American Group, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.) 1927. 7¾ x 5¼. pp. 200. \$1.

THE book is a compilation of a series of papers prepared in connection with the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu in July, 1927, and presented to the Institute on behalf of the American Group attending the Conference. It is limited to a consideration of Chinese and Japanese exclusion.

The author in a profusely documented thesis traces the history of America's policy with regard to the exclusion of Asiatic races which culminated in the Exclusion Act of 1924. Chinese emigration to America commenced in the middle of the nineteenth century. The discovery of gold in California gave an impetus to it. As soon as the speculation fever was over and the Whites were thrown out of employment, the cry that "The Chinese must go" arose. The American Civil War and the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, however, intervened and once more placed the Chinese in a favourable condition. By the Treaty of 1868 reciprocal advantages to the citizens of both the countries for free immigration and emigration and "for the purpose of curiosity, or travel or as a permanent resident" were conceded. By the treaty of 1887, however, the emigration of Chinese labour was suspended for ten years. The Japanese filled the gap in the labour market caused by Chinese exclusion. Then American public opinion turned towards the Japanese "menace." But the opposition to the Japanese was based upon different grounds. Unlike their Chinese predecessors the Japanese adopted the policy of taking their wives to America and establishing home life there, and from economic competition it became a question of assimilation. Opposition to the Japanese started in the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1907, the Gentlemen's Agreement was signed, according to which Japan promised not to issue passports to labourers, "skilled or unskilled, except those previously domiciled in the United States or wives or children under 21 years of age of such persons." But from the American point of view it failed to solve the problem. Excessive birth-rate of the Japanese, coupled with their tendency to take up farming, furnished the necessary case for fresh anti-Japanese agitation which resulted in

the Exclusion Act of 1924 which excluded "parents, wives and children under 20 years of age of domiciled alien Japanese." It had the desired effect. It reduced the Japanese immigration to less than one-twelfth of its previous volume. This violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement antagonised the Japanese nation against the Americans. Ambassador Hanihara's note regarding the Gentlemen's Agreement addressed to Secretary Hughes in April 1924 stated:

"To Japan the question is not one of expediency but of principle—the important question whether Japan as a nation is or is not entitled to the proper respect and consideration of other nations. In other words the Japanese Government asks of the U. S. Government simply that proper consideration ordinarily given by one nation to the self-respect of another, which after all forms the basis of amicable international intercourse throughout the civilised World".

The Chinese accept the principle of exclusion but object to the method and manner of enforcement. Theirs is an attitude of resignation; they say "We as a nation seem powerless to resist".

"To the ordinary people", says the author, "the new law came as an inexplicable act of cruelty perpetrated by a country they were taught to idealize as the land of liberty and justice".

It is obvious, therefore, that the Exclusion law of America has alienated the sympathy of all the Asiatic races. It is a sign of the time, however, that thinking Americans, who are striving for amicable relations between their country and the Asiatic races and are working for international peace, are beginning to realise that the Exclusion law as it stands to-day is detrimental to the best interests of the country and that it ought to be amended. Recently "An appeal to the citizens of the United States" was issued by some of the leading American missionaries in India. It included men like Bishop Fisher of Calcutta and Dr. Stanley Jones. Referring to the cancellation of the nationalisation papers of Indians, the Appeal avers that "It has done incalculable injury to American moral influence in India and the East". They submit that the Asiatic Exclusion law is "unnecessary". They are of the opinion that if immigration on quota system is conceded to Asiatics, it will not constitute a social or an economic problem. Referring to Indian emigrants they submit that a "selective process would add a valuable contribution to the life and culture of the United States". Whatever may be the result of the Appeal, the fact remains that there are still some people left in Miss Mayo's country who feel the gravest concern for the international position of the U. S. The author, however, does not approve of the "selective process", and says that "it inevitably breaks up natural human groups. Human beings are not grain of corn that can be sifted and sorted into classes without doing violence to sentiment and causing individual suffering". The author's assertion may or may not be correct, but on humanitarian grounds, and broad Christian principles, since America's morals need toning up these days, India ought not to grudge if America accepts only Gandhis and Sastris and rejects smaller luminaries. That is what exactly the Appeal issued by the missionaries conveys. India is willing to help America in her difficulties.

The book further deals with non-quota immigration like that of Government officials, treaty merchants, ministers, professors and students, and also with the problem arising from the Exclusion law. Indian students contemplating a course of study in an American University will do well to study the Exclusion law thoroughly. They must have sufficient funds at their disposal and must travel first

class; otherwise they are likely to be detained at the port of disembarkation and subjected to hardship and humiliation, and may not even be allowed to enter the country. The American Consul's investigation regarding his financial position is not enough, for, as the author says,

"The investigation conducted by the Consuls in the student's country are not accepted as *prima facie* evidence of bona fide student status. *The credential must satisfy local immigration officers before admission is granted*".

According to Emigration Rule I of March 1st 1927, a student abandons his student status "who engages in any business or occupation for profit or who labours for hire". So there is not the slightest chance for an Asiatic student to work his way through a University in America.

The problem that confronts America, it will be admitted, is not so simple as it may seem to some of us. But what is the problem? In regard to it there is a conflict of opinion in America itself. Is it to avoid the violation of Christian principles and to be fair to all the races of the world regardless of their colour and race, or is it to maintain the white complexion of the American nation? The Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Immigration and Nationalization in 1927 stated:

"No question of inferiority or superiority is involved. We have built in this Continent an Occidental and not an Oriental civilisation. We mean no disrespect to any Oriental nationality or race when we insist that there shall be no Oriental colonisation within our borders".

The Appeal referred to above has it that discriminatory clauses are "a violation of good faith and of international ethics".

This very carefully prepared and compiled book is an authoritative treatise on American Immigration law.

S. A. WAIZ.

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN BRITAIN.

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE. By SCOTT NEARING. (Vanguard Press, New York.) 1926. 7 x 4½. pp. 186. 50 Cents.

A book dealing with the epic struggle in British Trade Unionism, namely, the general strike of 1926, is always informative—and interesting, no matter what the angle of vision be from which the author of such a book views his subject. There are for instance those who declare that it was not a general strike but a merely a sympathetic strike and there are those who have no hesitation in describing it as a revolutionary attempt to overthrow the Government.

In this book the strike is looked at through the blood red spectacles of communism, for Scott Nearing, the author, is a communist of international repute, and one of the most forceful and able writers on labour questions in America. So far as his general treatment of the strike is concerned, that statement gives you an inkling as to what you may expect. Excepting the fine introduction by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., the book from cover to cover, breathes the spirit of Moscow. Messrs. Baldwin, Churchill, MacDonald and Thomas are the villains in the piece and Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, another worshipper at the shrine of Lenin, is of course the hero.

But that is no reason why the book should not be read dispassionately, though I must confess that, knowing what I do about the revolutionary and anti-constitutional doctrines and thesis of the communist party and their utter unscrupulous and disruptive methods, I find some difficulty in reviewing it dispassionately.

Almost the whole of chapter 6 is devoted to an attempt to prove that veteran leaders like J. H. Thomas, Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, Arthur Pugh and others are "traitors" to the workers' cause.

Referring to the post-war period and the slump in British trade, the author says :

"British labour became aware of the need for a new social order. How was the new order to be attained? Two lines of action presented themselves: one constitutional, the other direct. If British labour was to follow constitutional means, it would elect its representatives to local government bodies and to Parliament, and would transform British Society by a series of constitutional, legislative and administrative acts from a capitalist empire into a workers' republic. If it was to employ direct action, it would seize the economic and political machinery, smash the structure of the old order and establish a working class government by the direct action of the organised workers. The MacDonald administration was a gesture in the direction of constitutional action. The general strike was the beginning of direct action and revolution." (page 13).

Here is the whole thing in a nut-shell and after that it really hardly seems worth while pursuing the matter further. It is as clear as daylight that though the ordinary unsuspecting Trade Unionists came out on strike at the call of their leaders, with no other thought in their mind but that of helping the miners, the extreme section, dominated by men with clear cut conceptions, had quite other and different ideas. It was this danger, and not the effort to stand by the miners, that roused the nation and gave the capitalist Government its opportunity. Had it not been for the general strike it is doubtful if the reactionary Trade Union measure would ever have been brought forward. It opened not only the eyes of non-Trade Unionists but of Trade Unionists also, and from that time onward both the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labour Party have given the communists of the orthodox revolutionary type their marching orders.

E. KIRK.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE CHANGING SOUTH. By WILLIAM J. ROBERTSON. (Boni & Liveright, New York.) 1927. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 311. \$ 3-00.

THE reason for the appearance of this interpretation of the Southern States at this particular time is stated to be the impending presidential election. The nomination of Governor Smith, which the author prophesies in these pages, has since become a fact. The "Solid South" is chiefly Protestant and dry; Smith is the first Roman Catholic ever nominated for this office and is, in his private opinions, if not in his public statements, notoriously "wet." Will the South support him? According to the writer, the South, in spite of its rapid changes in this changing age, still stands "solidly" for three things—devotion to the "lost cause" of the Civil War; refusal to allow the Negro political or social equality; and loyalty to the Democratic party, which has nominated Smith. "The Solid South will not break up politically until it is certain beyond a peradventure of a doubt that the Negro has no chance of obtaining political power... All that the South would demand of the candidate would be that he must be a white man and, in such an event, it would vote for a wet or Catholic nominee, as it has for Democratic nominees since the Civil War." In other words, if rightly interpreted by the author, political loyalty and race pride outrun religious affiliations and social reform. This

statement I have just seen absolutely contradicted in a current religious weekly.

The first chapters of the book are a sketchy history of the early days of the South, from the period of the early colonization of Virginia down to the reconstruction period following the Civil War. Consideration is next given to social, religious and political problems of the present day. Prohibition and the "Fundamental" type of Protestant theology come in for about equal proportion of contempt. But it is in regard to the Negro and the Southern attitude towards him that most readers of this review will find the book of interest.

The author is not devoid of sympathy for the Negro, or of admiration for many of his qualities. The institution of slavery is denounced in unsparing terms and it is admitted that all the colour problems of the South are due to greed and inhumanity of the men who were first responsible for the importation of African slaves. Negro education is treated sympathetically and the work of such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee is given due praise. It is when the problems of social and political equality come up that the author shows his background of deep racial prejudice. The Negro has been created "different", and the blame for this condition, if blame there be, can only be thrown back upon his Creator. He admits the existence of art and talent in the Negro race, but concludes that "emotions, dream and talent cannot eradicate the distinguishing lines that nature lays down." "White Supremacy", is to be maintained at all costs; and though the denial of political rights, such as that of the franchise, is technically wrong, the need of maintaining the supremacy of the White voter sanctifies all means used to that end.

On the whole, the book is a popular and superficial study of present day conditions in the Southern States, written in very colloquial *journalese*. It is chiefly enlightening as a cross section of opinion on social questions by a writer who may be, one fears, that elusive person, "the average man."

A. B. VAN DOREN.

A STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMICS. By PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA. (3rd Edition.) (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.) 1927. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 421.

THIS is the third edition of Dr. Banerjee's well-known introductory manual of Indian Economics. The author has carried out his intention of keeping free from political bias, which in itself is a great achievement. He believes with the late Mr. Ranade that Western economic theories must be applied to Indian conditions with certain modifications and limitations. Dr. Banerjee's description of the social structure is reliable, being free from any attempt to grind a particular axe. Under the head 'Production' he discusses the question of foreign capital and declares himself in favour of utilizing it, only stipulating that the profits of industry remain within the country so as to prevent exploitation. As for small industries he thinks that they need not die out. It is disappointing to find that there is very little that is illuminating on the important question of wages which has assumed a unique importance in the recent economic development of India. 'Exchange' is comparatively fully treated in the manual which gives admirably within a small compass an account of all the factors of the leading problems under the head. With respect to the rise in prices we are surprised to find that the author is so halting about attributing it principally to an increase in the amount of currency; a part of the rise he rightly attributes to a fall in the value of gold all the world over.

The account of 'Public Finance' given in the manual is very good; on the question of the Home Charges Dr. Banerjee says that two-thirds represent economic payments and that it would be a mistake to regard the whole amount as a drain on the resources of the country. Some very important questions are dealt with under the heading 'State and Economics'. The author thinks that there is considerable scope for the application of the 'infant industry argument' for protection to the case of India and seems to acquiesce in the policy of discriminating protection recommended by the Indian Fiscal Commission, considering an all-pervasive protection as entailing too great a cost and encouraging inefficient methods of production. After reviewing Imperial Preference he is inclined to think that a preferential tariff in the case of England is impracticable owing to the nature of British articles. In the matter of industrial development the author is a strong critic of the policy of inaction so far pursued and recommends the adoption of a rigorous policy. The manual is in our opinion admirably suited to the needs of the general reader who proposes to follow it up by a more detailed study of Indian Economics. The opinions expressed have the weight of the authority of an adept well-known in India for his erudition and balanced judgment.

V. N. GODBOLE.

THURSTON'S PHILOSOPHY OF MARRIAGE.

By WILLIAM ROBERT THURSTON. (Tiffany Press, New York.) 1927. 7¾ × 5¼. pp. 32. \$2.00.

IN this booklet Mr. Thurston discusses his philosophy of marriage in two parts. One he styles 'Condition' describing the present state of things in regard to marriage. In the other part headed 'Remedy' he condemns unreservedly the unquestioning obedience of women to their husbands especially in sexual matters and urges that the natural instinct in that respect common to all species of females ought to be curbed in the human race. This instinct is the one point on which he has based his plans to remedy the present state of things. He advocates a contract system of marriages after both parties have fulfilled certain conditions which he gives in short in the chapter on 'Remedy'. It is needless to say this is not a matter of practical politics at any rate in present-day conditions. The booklet is beautifully printed and nicely bound, which adds considerably to its attractiveness.

R. A. RAIRKAR.

MISCELLANEOUS.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Following are the "General Considerations" on Communal Representation advanced by the Donoughmore Commission in their Report on the Revision of the Constitution of Ceylon, which have a close bearing on Indian conditions:—

"It was generally admitted, even by many communal representatives themselves, that the communal form of appointment to the Legislative Council was a necessary evil and should only continue until conditions of friendliness and acknowledgment of common aims were developed among the different communities. It is our opinion, however, that the very existence of communal representation tends to prevent the development of these relations, and that only by its abolition will it be possible for the various diverse communities to develop together a true national unity.

"Communal representation in Ceylon has no great antiquity to commend it, and its introduction into the constitution with good intention has had unfortunate results. As has already been suggested, it tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the Council with the idea of defending particular interests instead of giving their special contribution to the common weal. We very gladly recognise that most, if not all, of the communal representatives have risen superior to this natural tendency and have shown an interest in matters affecting the general welfare of the Island. We believe, however, that if these same representatives were elected, as we hope they may be, as territorial representatives, they will be able to give a fuller contribution, unhampered by having to be constantly on the watch, fearful of the antagonism or the oppressive action of the other communities.

"We might have been encouraged to suggest the retention of some communal representation if there had been evidence of any diminution in the supposed necessity for it. We found, however, that not only did those who already had communal seats desire that the number of these should be increased, but also that a number of other communities, religions, castes and special interests, not at present represented, came before us claiming that it was necessary for them to have seats in the Legislative Council and that they were as much entitled to this privilege as those who already possessed it. The result was that, so far from the demand being reduced, increased and new claims were put forward which would have made the number of communal seats more than 50, instead of the 10 already existing. Our investigations show that the desire for communal representation tends to grow rather than to die down, and in these circumstances, it being in itself admittedly undesirable, it would seem well to abolish it altogether while the number of seats involved is still comparatively small.

"Although communal representation was continued in the last revision of the constitution, a step in the right direction was taken by giving communities a territorial as well as a communal vote. This may have involved an apparent unfairness to the majority communities in that it gave a member of a minority community two and sometimes more votes. It has, however, succeeded in paving the way for the elimination of communal representation altogether, by giving the communal electorates the opportunity of realising the common interest which they possess with their fellow-Ceylonese in the divisions in which they reside. The new conditions will thus be more easily understood and appreciated than would otherwise have been the case."

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