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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE have reason for regarding the personnel of the Royal Commission on Labour as very satisfactory in spite of the criticisms directed against it. Most of the members selected seem to have intimate knowledge of labour conditions and some of them although not immediately concerned with industry are expected to view the questions that will come before the Commission from a higher point of view, that is to say from the point of view of general sociology. Sir Victor Sassoon and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla can be trusted to put the case of the employers in its completeness before the Commission to enable it to arrive at a final adjustment of the various interests. Similarly Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. Chamanlal are competent to view things from the point of view of Labour and are expected to elicit replies from the witnesses, so that the Labour case may not go by default. And we are equally confident that they would muster sufficient courage to prevent the final report from being a sort of employers' charter. Finally the President himself whose name is associated in England with the joint councils of employers and men appointed throughout industry has marked Labour sympathies and may be looked upon as a safe custodian of Labour interests. It is quite obvious that the task before the Commission is inordinately difficult owing to the complexity introduced by factors peculiar to India, which the

English members of the Commission are liable to find puzzling. We trust therefore that the Commission will give close attention even to the smallest details and arrive at conclusions based upon an inductive generalization from facts, resisting the temptation of a priori disquisition. Again we would specially urge on the attention of the Commission the necessity of discussing thoroughly the question of a minimum standard of life than which no more vital problem from the Labour point of view can be imagined; without the wherewithal of a decent civilized existence the condition of the labourer can only be described as a semi-serfdom.

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EVENTS in Afghanistan have recently taken a most unexpected turn. To those who followed even cursorily the trend of Mah's Flight. events there, the weakness of ex-King Amanulla's position had no doubt become apparent for some time past; but nobody was prepared for his dramatic retirement from his country which took place last week. The immediate cause of this is stated to be the defeat of his troops at Kilat-i-Ghilzai on the 22nd inst. after which he perhaps found it personally unsafe to continue in Afghanistan any longer. Suddenly and without any previous intimation he appeared at Chaman where the officers of the Indian Government showed him all possible courtesy and helped him to put as much distance between himself and Afghanistan as possible by placing a special train at his disposal. His downfall is indicative as much of the extreme backwardness of his countrymen as of the radical nature of his reforms which were clearly very much in advance of Afghan public opinion. Though Amanullah has to be an exile for how long nobody knows, he has the satisfaction that he was a martyr to his convictions. The cause of social reform would have been, in the opinion of many, better served by him if in stead of pushing on his reforms recklessly in defiance of public opinion and public prejudices as he apparently did, he had gradually introduced them after the ground for the same had been prepared by a systematic education of public opinion as to their desirability and necessity for national uplift. But it is easy to be wise after the event. And it is no use speculating on what might have happened if he had hastened more slowly in the promulgation of the reforms upon which he had set his heart. There can however be no difference of opinion that by his retirement Afghani-

stan is deprived of a ruler whose enthusiasm for progress and whose willingness to serve his people according to his own lights were beyond question.

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THE Viceroy's decision to extend the life of the Assembly is in keeping with his unsuccessful attempts to get up a show of co-operation on the part of the Indian public for the Simon Commission. The decision is clearly dictated by the fear that if the election took place at the normal time the results would conclusively prove the utter want of confidence in which the Government is held by the Indian public mainly owing to the all-white composition of the Simon Commission. The elections in Bengal and Assam where contrary to Government's expectations large numbers of Swarajists are being returned unopposed have apparently served as a warning and the Government now probably realise the depth to which they have fallen in public estimation. Lord Irwin tries to support his decision by saying that if the election were to precede the publication of the Simon Commission's report both voters and candidates would feel embarrassed by the unfounded speculation as regards its contents which would find wide publicity. But he appears to us to be thoroughly wrong in thinking that the election would have been fought on the unpublished report of the Commission. So far as we are able to feel the pulse of Indian opinion, the two questions that would have prominently figured in connection with the election would have been whether to co-operate or non-cooperate with the exclusively British Commission and the issue of Dominion Status versus Independence. The Viceroy admits that his decision is in response to "strong representations" for the postponement of the elections "until it would be possible to bring any constitutional changes into operation." We can well imagine the quarters from which such representations emanated and must admit that the decision to grant an extension of life to the Legislative Assembly is a concession to friends whom Government is naturally unwilling to throw to the wolves. For it is beyond doubt that none of the so-called popular representatives with whose help the Government has all along maintained the paraphernalia of cooperating committees had any hope of being sent back to the Assembly. If the elections are to wait until the promulgation of the Simon reforms it would mean the prolongation of the present Assembly for a period for which the Viceroy's authority would not suffice and we should not feel surprised if Parliament is asked to amend the Government of India Act so as to make such a course of action possible. This would very considerably impair the representative character of the Assembly.

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IN view of the demand made by the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee for freedom to accept ministerships under certain conditions a peculiar importance attached to the All-India Congress Committee meeting recently held at Bombay. After the curious *volte face* of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, it was

expected that there would be acrimonious discussion in the A. I. C. C. over the Madras proposals; and the expectation did come true. There was discussion over the proposals in the Working Committee for more than three hours and yet there was no agreement. It appears now that the decision of the Viceroy about the extension of the life of the present Assembly has changed all the issues and Mr. Iyengar has consented to the withdrawal of the Tamil Nadu proposals in view of the new situation which has developed. Accordingly at the A. I. C. C. meeting Mr. Satyamurthi formally withdrew the proposal about acceptance of office. So far therefore the affair has ended without causing any split in the Congress Committee. The A. I. C. C. has done well in passing a resolution assuring the Indians in East Africa of its full support in the struggle for the achievement of political and economic equality in East Africa. In moving the resolution Mr. Oza referred to the fact that the Hilton-Young Commission had recommended a common franchise and a common electoral roll. In order to meet the situation created by the communiqué of the Viceroy, the A. I. C. C. has authorized the Working Committee to adopt any measures that the latter may think proper as regards the action to be taken by the Congressmen in the Assembly as well as in the Provincial Councils. As for the programme of wholesale non-co-operation and efficient civil resistance we do not think anything but harm can ensue from such a pursuit of a will-of-the-wisp. In any case there is nothing to make us suppose that the present time is peculiarly propitious for reviving civil disobedience. A needless amount of dust was raised over the academic question of a transfer of allegiance to which Pandit Malaviya did not subscribe. This is just an indication of the inanities in which the major portion of Congressmen are indulging simply as a salve to their conscience, without any practical reference to realities. The most appropriate thing for the A. I. C. C. at this time would have been to concentrate on the Nehru Report and devise ways of securing wider and wider adhesion to it. As it is, there is conspicuous absence in the proceedings of any such move

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THE death of Lord Rosebery removes from British political life the last Victorian Prime Minister and Liberal statesman. He made his *debut* in politics in 1871

when he was only twenty-three; but he came to the forefront of politics in the famous Midlothian campaign in which he took a leading part. Curiously enough, in spite of his ambition of becoming Prime Minister which he had cherished from his early days, he was never over-zealous about accepting office and at times he even allowed himself to be side-tracked by men more ambitious and unscrupulous. As Foreign Secretary he showed how even a Liberal politician could know how to preserve a continuity of policy in foreign affairs and maintain old traditions—a quality regarded by the Tories as their monopoly. After the retirement of Gladstone in 1894 he was invited to become Prime Minister and even in his short administration he held the Liberal party together in spite of marked tendencies towards dissension and in spite of the handicap imposed on him by his being a Peer and as such unable to keep in touch with the House of Commons. He finally retired from politics at the end of 1896 thus cutting short a promising political career. Apart from politics, he had shown his talents as an administrator in other spheres also; as the first Chairman of the London County Council he showed that municipal affairs should not be beneath the dignity of a first-rate politician since the call of duty in the smaller sphere was as urgent

as that in the national sphere. As a writer also Lord Rosebery's record is far from being negligible; his *Life of Pitt* is a memorable and powerfully written biography; his *Napoleon—the Last Phase* is the turning point in the British attitude towards Napoleon which up to the time was fanatically hostile and makes delightful reading. The reason why so little is known about him is that he rarely cared for limelight and was willing to plough his lonely furrow provided he did what he thought to be right, irrespective of other people's frowns and favours. Lord Rosebery's was a type of character which is rare in these days of democracy.

WE think that the Hindu Law Research and Reform Association, inaugurated some three years ago, will be of great service in acting as the intermediary between the people and the Legislature when bills affecting the provisions of the Hindu Law are contemplated. The Association has already examined several bills the object of which is to bring the rules of the Hindu Law into accord with the requirements of the modern Hindu society and with necessary amendments they will be gradually introduced in the Assembly. At the conference held at Poona during the week under the auspices of the Association Mr. Justice Madgavkar delivered a learned and stimulating address, inspired throughout by a progressive spirit. He pointed out that the excellence of a code was not to be judged by the complexity and minuteness of its laws but by simplicity and elasticity within the measure of well-defined principles. He rightly attributed the lack of progress of the Hindu society to extreme conservatism, stubborn pride in the past with insufficient thought for the present and future and consequent inability to adapt itself to altered environment. The remedy therefore is to alter existing laws when we find that they result in consistent hardship not contemplated by the ancient legislators, owing to the changed social structure and he illustrated it by reference to the joint family which has decayed because the economic and psychological factors which made for its stability in a simple agricultural Society have disappeared latterly. If the Association is not to belie its promise it would do well to follow the advice given by Mr. Justice Madgavkar to find out the men who would carry on vigorous research which, he said, would not be done merely by annual conferences and by the exercise of ingenuity in drafting bills and then remaining somnolent for the most part. While he did not underrate the difficulties in our path like the declared neutrality of Government, the dread of reform by the masses and their illiteracy, he felt that there was no cause for pessimism since the Hindus are realizing that unless they reformed their institutions and laws they will degenerate still further. About this awakening there is certainly no doubt in the mind of anybody conversant with the happenings of the last few years. Finally, he expressed his confidence that the Association would win over the Hindu community to its side provided it carried on its work in the spirit of disinterested service to the Hindus. Such research, if persistently carried out, would give us the needed legislation bringing the old laws in line with corresponding laws in the most progressive societies of the day and removing the oft-repeated censure about the stagnant condition of the Hindu social structure. The Association has resolved that the Central Association should arrange to get printed complete and authoritative editions of treatises and texts; such a series of volumes would be a valuable aid to the study of original authorities.

INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE.

AT a time when the Butler Committee's Report is being examined by various interests in the country it is quite opportune that the people of Indian States should express their considered views on its findings and on the way in which they would be affected by the new orientation produced by the Report. The address of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who presided over the Conference although principally devoted to the examination of the Butler Committee's Report also examines the present position of the States and urges a series of reforms which would facilitate the formation of a Federal Government for the whole of India. The address, while being outspoken in depicting the evils in the States, is by no means disrespectful to the Princes; and this ought to make the Princes appreciate the considerateness bordering at times on chivalry, discernible throughout the address. There is not much good likely to come out of the parleys at such conferences unless the Princes take the suggestions made therein in the right spirit and we hope it is clear by now to the Princes that leaders in British India, who champion the cause of their subjects are not actuated by any sinister motive but are only anxious to do good to the Princes and their people. Once this demon of suspicion is exorcised, all the steps after that will be easy and secure.

Mr. Chintamani has nothing but condemnation for the Report of the Butler Committee. Even the time chosen for its appointment is, as he says, inopportune; a betrayal of exaggerated anxiety for their rights by the Princes just when the extension of Reforms in British India is under consideration has created the impression that the Princes are distrustful of Indian politicians and they are prepared to repose more confidence in the present Government than in their own countrymen under a reformed Government. Mr. Chintamani made it clear that the Princes in asking for the Committee were not merely seeking to redress their own grievances but had in mind proposals for cutting up India into two entities, one politically separate from the other—proposals which were prejudicial to constitutional development leading up to full Dominion Status in India as one country. The absence of an Indian on the Committee was, in his opinion, a serious defect and as for the terms of reference they enabled the Committee to ignore altogether the existence of the people of the States who were not allowed to give evidence before the Committee. And he pertinently asks whether the States are the joint property of the paramount power and its allies for the purpose of taxing and exploiting the subjects. In fact he expressed great indignation at the turn of events by which the future of the States should be determined without reference to the wishes of the people who inhabit them. The greatest blot on the procedure of the Committee, according to him, is the secrecy enveloping its evidence and the examination of the witnesses many of whom were examined, as the Report says, only informally; and it is not known whether these last include any pri-

vate citizens of an independent character not afraid to speak their minds freely. In this connection Mr. Chintamani emphasized the fact that even feudatories were not shown more courtesy than the private citizens in the matter of presenting their case before this all-British tribunal.

The result of the Committee's Report, in Mr. Chintamani's opinion, is the degradation of the status of the Princes since the Committee has insisted on the right of interference of the British Government in the governance of the States not only on the ground of treaties and engagements but on that of usage and sufferance, taking their stand on Lord Reading's famous letter to the Nizam. That is the only safeguard enjoyed by States' subjects at present against tyranny and oppression by their rulers and it is no wonder that a large majority of subjects of Indian States desire the more frequent exercise of this right by the Paramount Power than in the past. Mr. Chintamani doubts the legal soundness of the position that the relations of the Princes, so far as treaties are concerned, are directly with the Crown and not with the Government of India for the time being charged with the administration of India. He says after quoting from Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's book *Indian Constitutional Problems* that he would rather be wrong with Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, and other Indian lawyers, than right with interested laymen and advocates of the opposite view. Although he is thus solicitous of preserving the treaty rights of Princes, he would not allow them to work the destruction of the integrity of India by splitting it into Indian India and British India and to assure the continued existence of a third party encouraging the Princes to render a Federated India impossible. And he is right in thinking that so far as this position is concerned, the subjects of the States will be on his side than on the side of their rulers. Mr. Chintamani has quoted the opinion of His Highness the Aga Khan in favour of a Federation but we must say that the latter's scheme is far from being a good model for the sort of federation that he has in mind, on account of its cumbrous nature. As for the financial claims made by the Princes, he is decidedly in favour of yielding them provided of course a detailed enquiry, an outline of which he has offered in his address, is undertaken in order to decide the equities of the case. At present he is not certain that the case for the States is as conclusive as the Princes would have the British Indians believe. As the money spent by the Princes on getting up their case has been coming from the pockets of the taxpayers of the States Mr. Chintamani hopes that a full account of the moneys spent by the States in connection with the Butler Committee will be published in the interest of constitutional reform in the States. We ourselves hope that it is not too good to be true.

Coming to the usual agenda of the States People's Conference with which it is so intimately concerned viz. the internal administration of the States, he said that the Swaraj enjoyed by the people of the States was not of the right sort. In the States even more than in British India, he said, constitu-

tional government is a desideratum. The present position of the Princes as despots over their people but subordinates of a foreign bureaucracy is, in his opinion, hardly enviable and he would like them to exchange it for the position of constitutional rulers loved and respected all the more on that account. The two examples of ill-governed States to which he made a reference will be far from exciting any great surprise; we are all more or less accustomed to hear such tales of utter neglect of education, medical relief, public health and measures of economic amelioration. But the fact of our familiarity with these phenomena does not make them any the less deplorable and the duty of the people of the States with regard to constitutional agitation to remove these vestiges of misrule is clear beyond dispute. Even in the State of Mysore which is rightly regarded as a model to be copied by other States we are told that the Representative Assembly "still remains a petitioning organization with no power or responsibilities of even the most limited sort" and that there is no freedom of association or speech. The percentage of state revenues spent on education and medical aid in a Kathiawar state is given by Mr. Chintamani as 1.7 and 1.6 respectively; further comment is needless. He therefore gave a list of vital reforms with which most of the readers are by now familiar; among these he included free elementary education to all the subjects, making 10 per cent. of the total revenues an irreducible minimum to be spent on education. And the appeal he made for the introduction of these elementary essentials of civilized government ought not to fall on deaf ears considering the urgency of the need for reform. For bringing about a Federation of British India and the Indian states he made the suggestion of a joint committee of the important political organizations to put forward a scheme of federal constitution for the whole of India. We do not think there would be any insuperable difficulty in the formation of such a conference.

The several resolutions passed at the Conference indicate a strong current of feeling against the Butler Committee's recommendation that the relations of Indian States should be directly with the Crown instead of with the Government of India; they also reveal a desire of the people of the States to be brought into constitutional relations with British India by being given an effective voice in any new constitution in all matters of common concern. If the Princes decide to take into confidence some of their leading citizens who are taking interest in the welfare of the subjects, as well as establish some contact with British Indian politicians they will not only be doing a good turn to their subjects but will be furthering their own interests as well. Otherwise if they ranged themselves on the side of the bureaucracy, there would be inevitably the parting of the ways described by Prof. Abhyankar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, as leading to a struggle entailing such sufferings and such tribulations on the people as he trembled to imagine.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

ONE of the questions on the agenda of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office which met in Geneva in March last was the examination of the draft reports prepared by the International Labour Office concerning the application of two of the Conventions adopted at the Washington Conference in 1919: the Convention on hours of work in industrial undertakings and the Convention on the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment. The Governing Body had to give these reports their final form and then to decide whether it was desirable merely to transmit those reports to the Conference or to take steps for the revision or amendment of these Conventions.

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, British Minister of Labour, proposed the revision of the Washington Convention on hours of work with special reference to certain definite points; at the same time he emphasised the fact that his Government and his country had always been in favour of the principle laid down at Washington. The workers' group was unanimously opposed to any revision. The employers' group declared in favour of revision but expressed a preference for a procedure which would permit of consulting all those concerned before laying the matter before the Conference. The Government representatives differed in their opinions. The representatives of Belgium and Italy were opposed to revision, while those of India and Sweden supported it. The Ministers of Labour of France and Germany defended the Washington Convention and pointed out the dangers of revision. However, in order to facilitate ratification of the Convention by Great Britain, they were prepared to consider the possibility of introducing in this Convention, either by an addition to the 1919 text or by the adoption of a supplementary Convention, the protocol agreed upon by the Ministers of Labour in London in 1926 by way of interpreting the Convention. Finally, the Governing Body rejected all the concrete proposals which had been laid before it.

Other important questions were dealt with at this meeting of the Governing Body. It will be remembered that the Governing Body at its meeting in March was to decide whether certain additional questions should be included in the agenda of the 1930 Session of the International Labour Conference. The decision was in the negative. This session will therefore be devoted to the second discussions which the Conference in June next may decide to include concerning the questions of forced labour and the hours of work of salaried employees which, as will be recalled, are to be subjected to a first discussion at the 1929 Session.

The question of languages was again dealt with. At its session in Warsaw in October the Governing Body, in response to a resolution submitted to the Eleventh Session of the Conference, set up a special committee for studying in all its aspects the problem of the employment of various languages in the constituent bodies and the publications of the International Labour Organisation. This Committee, in the report which it presented to the Governing Body, recommended that the matter should be tackled from a purely objective and practical point of view, setting aside all political considerations. In this spirit the representatives of the workers' group, the members of which had put forward the resolution to the Conference, stated that they did not insist on raising the question of official languages as such provided adequate measures were taken without delay to enable representatives who did

not know either French or English to take their full share in the work of the Organisation. This view of the question was approved by the other members of the Committee who further pointed out that the difficulties raised by the language problem were common to all three groups of the Governing Body and the Conference. The Committee proposed that the Office should be instructed to draw up a detailed report on the whole question taking into account certain suggestions and proposed practical improvements.

The budgetary provisions of the International Labour Organisation for 1930 were also decided upon. The net total is 8,405,678 francs. The Governing Body decided to continue to guarantee its contribution to the International Management Institute for a period of three years as from 1st July 1929 at the same rate as in 1927.

Finally, the Governing Body adjourned until its sessions in May the examination of the Director's report on his journey to the Far East. In this connection the Chairman, Mr. Arthur Fontaine, stated that all the information concerning this journey which could be gathered from the Director's reports and the speeches he had made since his return went to show how extremely important and valuable this journey had been.

P. P. PILLAI.

MR. LAYTON'S PROPOSALS.

THE views of Mr. Layton, financial expert to the Simon Commission, are now before the public though not fully expressed in the form of a right orthodox report. He calls them 'Notes' but they are certainly indicative of the lines of the Report and they are certainly valuable by reason of his position and authority as Editor of *Economist* and Director of *Daily News* and *Westminster Gazette*.

It would appear that the proposals are calculated to take us farther and farther away from Federal Finance. Mr. Layton remarks that the actual allocation of revenues after the Reforms was not based on the prospective yield of taxes of Provinces or their needs and the disproportion between province and province sought to be modified by the Meston Award became more marked with the abolition of provincial contributions. It is becoming clear that with increased inequalities between Provinces, other defects also appeared. Day by day the functions of Provincial Governments are being multiplied; but there is no corresponding increase in Provincial Revenues, nor are the sources, actual and potential, elastic. There is thus a clear case for a readjustment of financial relations between the Provinces and the Central Government.

The general position appears to be this. The increase and expansion of Provincial sources of revenue have not been and are not likely to be commensurate with the demands of expenditure on account of "nation-building" departments; while in the Central Government, the increase of revenues has not been sufficiently made use of and as a matter of fact, a fall in expenditure is probable with increased revenues. The corollary suggested therefore is that the *spending* departments might be transferred to the control of the Central Government, direct or indirect.

Presumably the position taken up by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, is untenable, according to Mr. Layton, in practice. The Report says, "It would be ridiculous to introduce wide measures of administrative and legislative evolution and at the same time to retain a centralised system of Finance".

Mr. Layton suggests the constitution of a National Fund out of the savings of Central Revenue and more largely out of the proceeds of new taxation such as the following (all of which are to be centrally administered):—taxation on agricultural incomes, death duties, excise on tobacco, matches and similar articles and other indirect taxes under the Central Government.

Again Mr. Layton attacks the principle and repudiates the position taken by the Meston Settlement, viz that equality of treatment can be effected by allocating identical sources of revenue to the different governments. Now this is based on the assumption that the present provinces of British India are suitable self-contained fiscal units entitled to all the revenues arising in them. It does not take into account other factors entering into the proper calculations. The provincial revenues not only do not expand but are bound to shrink and central revenues, though they are shrinking, are full of potentialities for increase and expansion in the future. Strict economy should be practised or fresh revenues of taxation should be explored. If the departments are to be centrally administered as proposed, then the central Government should not only raise the revenue but also see that it is properly spent. It is clear that Mr. Layton's proposals are calculated to create a structure of unitary finance vesting all residuary powers of taxation with the central Government and not with the Provinces, transferring perhaps those functions to the Central Government which have to be financed from the central revenues. The danger of course is that failing fiscal autonomy, there would be no political autonomy as well.

A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, May 9.

A TURNING POINT.

THE session of the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations, just concluded, admittedly marked a turning point in disarmament. Latterly, public opinion has been very much awake in this regard and its demands have been so great that proportionately the actual progress attained has seemed ludicrous. Consequently disarmament has come to be a term covered with ridicule. But while by that word in Geneva at any rate a definite practical programme is connoted and as such public opinion has every right to insist on tangible measures, it would at the same time be wise to keep in mind that no treatment of this subject with any claim to profoundness may leave the moral aspects out of account. These aspects have been again and again brought to the notice of this generation by some of the finest of its leading spirits. Professor Gilbert Murray's "The Ordeal of Our Generation" noticed in a previous number of this journal was one such review. Now, once more, Lord Cecil in the very midst of the tumults of an election emphasises the same point. Writing to a correspondent who sought his advice about the disposition of his vote, he says: "To me, then, the question which immeasurably transcends in importance all ordinary political issues is: Can we erect trustworthy barriers against war before it is too late? We have not unlimited time to accomplish the necessary work. If it is not done before the recollection of the realities of war has faded it will not be done at all. A vigorous and progressive peace policy is literally vital to every one of us. Therefore my counsel is, disregarding all party ties, to vote only for candidates who can be trusted to

stand for such a policy". This is a view by no means confined to the Anglo-Saxon world. Monsieur Wladimir d'Ormesson writes in the *Petit Journal*:

"At the present moment there is in Europe perhaps no graver question and none more decisive for peace in Europe than this of the limitation of armaments. I go further. I say that the military problem with which our generation is confronted constituted *par excellence* the only most important vital problem of our epoch. On its issue, positive or negative, depend the evolution of our customs, the organisation of a technique of peace, the developments of reciprocal confidence, common prosperity—or, on the contrary, the fatal return to race in armaments, the general belligerency materialised by arrays of artillery, the treading in the ruts of pre-war fashions of thinking and acting. The peoples—all the peoples—and ours in the forefront have made their choice."

Disarmament by all accounts has a far-reaching effect on the whole trend of history and such a profound change must needs be the cumulative result of many imperceptible turns. What public opinion asks is not an impossible single spectacular dramatic renunciation of arms but well-marked and well-meant stages on the path of disarmament. The universal approbation which attended the declaration of Mr. Gibson, the United States representative, in this session is proof of this. Its achievement has been entirely moral and the satisfaction derived from it is not due to any conclusive technical equation but to the enlargement in the scope of the discussions.

Mr. Gibson compromised on two points. He submitted a method of combining total tonnage and categories as regards naval disarmament. The advantage of this procedure is obvious. It gives the liberty to each party to build the type of ships particularly necessary for it ensuring parity at the same time owing to the limitation on the total tonnage which would oblige proportionate reduction under other heads. Great hopes of finding a suitable formula in this manner have been aroused and experts have been set to work, but that formula has not yet been found and no one doubts that any conclusion, when it comes, will be preceded by much difficult discussion. There is also considerable scepticism and no less a person than ex-President Coolidge is reported to have declared that naval parity is a highly ambiguous expression incapable of definition.

The other point is the concession which Mr. Gibson made to the French thesis that reserves should not be reckoned among effectives in considering land armaments, and to the claims of Continental Powers except Germany that their traditions of military training should not be interfered with inasmuch as they formed the basis of their political structure. This statement of Mr. Gibson has been much criticised specially in Germany and in British Liberal circles. At the close of the session in an interview to German pressmen the German representative repeated what he had said officially, viz., that Germany would share no responsibility in the new turn that discussions of land armaments had taken. Sir Austen Chamberlain attempted to derive some profit for his party in the present electoral situation by saying that the Government was unjustly criticised by the Opposition a year ago when it anticipated the concession to France that America has just made. Washington has promptly retorted to this by interpreting Mr. Gibson's stand at Geneva not as a change of front on the part of the United States but as a decision to leave discussions of land armaments to military

Powers unhampered by the American point of view. Between the British concession to France last year and the same concession this year by America there is this difference: in the one case it was a bargain between a preeminently military power and a preeminently Naval Power, and in the present case it is clearing the way for naval disarmament by sweeping away the prospects and possibilities of all such dubious bargains.

If the last session of the Preliminary Commission has brought the principal Naval Powers to face disarmament more directly than ever, it has also laid bare the difficulties. By a long drawn out and painful process which would have astonished a less sophisticated age the philosophy of common sense has been vindicated. Understanding between two Powers such as America and Britain, it has been shown, is possible not on any mechanical measures but only on an understanding between the two peoples concerned and a policy of conciliation and consideration on the part of the two Governments. Mr. Gibson recognised the futility of formulas and of facts. Hence in his memorable pronouncement he stated that any future attempt at naval disarmament should be based not on technical grounds but on a leading policy of Anglo-American friendship. He insisted that the negotiations should definitely rule out any possibility of a war between Great Britain and America and appealed to the moral and juridical authority of the Kellogg Pact besides drawing attention to the "indefensible" expense at present under the head of defence.

At this point the question naturally arises: "What are the misapprehensions which separate the British and American peoples?" The answer is not easy in detail, but the general nature of such misapprehensions may be seen in a series of questions which have been put to the American publicist, Mr. Price Bell, now in England and published in this week's *Observer*. The points in these questions being selected from a large number of letters received from the public reflect the popular point of view. The questions are: "Did Hoover send you over to lull us into a false sense of security?" "How about Big Bill?" "Your country has offended many of us by claiming that she won the war"; "America, we feel, is looking forward jubilantly to the suppression of England in the world"; "It strikes us that America is trying to dictate the kind of navy we shall have"; "What about the debt?"; "America wronged the world by keeing out of the League". I shall here quote only two of Mr. Bell's replies under the heads of "The question of the Navy" and "The freedom of the seas." "America wants England to have precisely the navy she herself feels she needs. America wants England to be impregnable against aggression and wrong. But we deplore useless expenditure upon armaments on either sea or land. We want to make progress towards lighter burdens for those who labour, towards more happiness for men, women and children, towards all the good things wrapped up in permanent peace. That is what we want, and all we want." "The fight for the freedom of the seas is the 'fight for peace. There can be no freedom of the seas in war. The position we want is exactly this: that, if war should ever come, the British and American fleets should be there to see that the food of innocent mankind moves to its destination and not only the food, but the other things necessary for the protection of that part of the world which is determined that we shall have peace. And given peace, industrial and commercial conflicts like the freedom of the seas will solve themselves". It is unnecessary to comment on this.

Mr. Bell would seem to argue that peace is the paramount need; that all the pending Anglo-American problems will solve themselves if the mechanism of peace is perfected, and that it is a political mechanism *par excellence*. In this connection it is instructive to note that in Mr. Bell's thoughts peace is as intimately related to disarmament as in the minds of pacifists and ardent supporters of the League. "A complicated, a long story, a story too long to deal with in an interview", Mr. Bell interjects when questioned about the debt and adds,

"But I will say this: Let us all show that we have lost faith in war, that we have turned implacably to peace and then there will be no trouble about the Debt. America will listen to war debt cancellations when we have no further threat of war. To cancel war debts with war still in preparation would be a mockery. Let me, strictly on my own personal authority, make this prophecy: The day will come when the creditor-power of Britain and America will do its part in the purchase of the peace of the world. But we must be sure of the delivery of the goods."

Now every step in the reparation discussions in Paris shows the intimate relation between debt and disarmament. More and more America's anxiety to leave the Allied entanglements to Europe and to make the debt payment independent of European political contingencies is discernible. The existing settlement between Britain and her Continental debtors is hardly likely to endure and no revision in this respect can remain without affecting the relations between Britain and the United States in this regard. In spite of what to Europeans at least appears the offensive attitude of America making the debt settlement conditional upon disarmament, circumstances are compelling Europe to take heed of this warning. Britain alone, strange as it may seem, on account of her very insularity can take the lead in European disarmament. So far as Geneva is well aware that lead has been noticeable more on account of its reactionary character than for anything else. Once in 1924 a Labour Government repudiated a plan matured by a Conservative leader for reasons which the Tories could not have bettered, and in the following year the Conservative Government threw out the Geneva Protocol. In the confused situation of today it is not a little difficult to visualise the future, but all those who deem that dalliance and drift lead to degeneration and would wish the disarmament issue to come to the surface even at some risk have reason to rejoice at the results of this session of the Preliminary Commission.

REVIEWS.

A DEFENCE OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

THE CONSERVATIVE OUTLOOK. By REGINALD MITCHELL BANKS. (Chapman and Hall, London.) 1929. 7½ × 5½. pp. 276. 5s.

IN view of the British General Election that will be over today, the appearance of this book is specially appertune. It constitutes a powerful appeal to the electorate to vote for the Conservative party based upon a comparison of the record of the party with those of the Liberal and Labour parties. The author, Sir Reginald Mitchell Banks has an abiding faith in the creed of the Conservatives and sincerely believes that that party alone can steer the nation through all the dangers and difficulties that lie ahead of Great Britain. But it has the usual defects of a party manifesto; it is needlessly aggressive at times and there is

an attempt to paint the opponents too black and their programmes in too lurid a hue. With all this one must say that his sallies are enjoyable and the refutation of Socialism which he offers in the volume is thoroughly convincing and unanswerable. Examining the creed of Socialism as described by its various exponents the author has easily shown that disputed and contradictory formulæ and unjustified claims are the characteristics of modern Socialism. Perhaps the author does not make allowance for the fact that it is a new creed and is bound to be halting about the application of its principles to the actual work-a-day world. The author takes credit to the Conservatives for the fact that most of the Factory Acts were Conservative measures and that political reform of 1867 was sponsored by a Conservative Government; but it is undeniable that the original impulse had come from Liberalism and Disraeli had the wisdom to recognize the inevitable and support a widened franchise. Reviewing the history of industrial relations during the last century, the author attributes all the trade disputes to the Labour Party and charges it with the "crime of prostituting the power of the strike", to use the phrase of Mr. Thomas. But considering that employers have displayed a melancholy lack of imagination and of sympathy, a fact which the author himself admits, the leaders of Labour had no option but to use extreme measures. No legislation would avail, as he says, unless there is a change of hearts and this applies to both the sides. The author justifies the existence of the Lords as a check against hasty legislation and as "the last guarantee that property would still be respected"; but his criticism of the Liberals for passing the Parliament Act of 1911 which weakened the Lords' power of vetoing bills is out of joint with his admission that under a democracy the hereditary chamber unless it is reformed by being made elective is bound to be resisted as an anomaly.

The author objects to land nationalisation because it will create a bureaucracy of officers and committees so numerous and so powerful that the tenant can only count upon tardy justice under the new regime. Sir Reginald Mitchell Banks is quite ill-informed about the recent developments in India. He still thinks that self-government would mean the Brahmin Raj and that the depressed classes look to the British Raj for protection and contemplate with horror a regime in which the Brahman will be predominant. He trots out the time-worn argument of the danger of handing over the simple masses of Indian peasants to be the subject of political experiment for town-bred lawyers and scribblers, and he places in the list of realities which must be remembered by those given to constitution-mongering the fact that the Indian Princes hold firmly by the British connection and the British ideals. As however it is a folly, in his opinion, to declare the Tory policy before receiving the Report of the Simon Commission he is careful not to say anything on the subject of Dominion Status. On the whole the chapter on India is a miserable performance; but to refute his charges would be simply a weariness of the flesh.

The author approves wholeheartedly the foreign policy of the present government and as for the bungling about the secret Anglo-French agreement he says that the whole affair far from being a treaty or a pact was a preliminary discussion intended to lead to a general agreement; in the light of recent revelations this is difficult to believe in. An author that makes fun at the cost of the League of Nations and the League enthusiasts can hardly be credited with genuine pacificism; in fact he frankly admits that he does not feel much enthusiasm about the Kellogg Pact. With regard to the problem, of unemployment, he regards safeguarding and

the rating reform as the great contributions of the present Government towards its solution and the praise that he bestows on the Local Government Bill sponsored by Mr. Neville Chamberlain is certainly well-deserved. Instead of complete prohibition, the author believes in the weeding out of unnecessary licenses by the magistrates and "the spread of education and higher conditions of life;" and he has proved that local option has been everywhere a failure. The Conservative outlook is therefore favourable to the continuation of the present position except for amending the present Licensing Act. In finance the author's examination of the budgets of the several parties is distinctly favourable to the Conservative Government; the total reductions made by it amount to £ 80 millions and he is right in retorting that the Socialists' costly schemes of reform are incompatible with retrenchment which is merely an election bait. But the method of comparing the post-War budgets is in our opinion defective since the budgets immediately succeeding the War are bound to suffer from its aftermath. As for the need for safeguarding, the author rightly contends that invisible exports ought not to be regarded as evidence of national prosperity so far as employment is concerned; these invisible exports simply prove that the British are buying with their brains rather than with their hands. In the final chapter the performances of the Conservative party are summed up and in the "lights" of the party are included a genuine patriotism and a sense of imperial position. The great defect of the Party is that this patriotism and the sense of imperial position come in the way of the patriotism of other nations including those forming part of the Empire and of the rights of the citizens which frequently suffer by an aggressive maintenance of the imperial position to the detriment of justice and equity.

V. N. GODBOLE.

THE PROBLEM OF WAGES.

WAGES. By MAURICE DOBB. (Cambridge University Press, London.) 1928. 7¼ × 8. pp. 169. 5s.

THE problem of wages is decidedly one of the most intricate in the realm of practical economics. On its satisfactory solution will depend not only the industrial peace of a country but also its moral, no less than its material, advancement. This book is an admirable attempt to set forth the outlines of that problem in as clear a manner as possible. It is one of a series, the general editor of which is no less an economist than Mr. J. M. Keynes and the aim of which is a systematic exposition of economics from the present day standpoint. In this book it will be found what Mr. Keynes says of the whole series, that the writer has been "more anxious to avoid obscure forms of expression than difficult ideas", that what has been omitted is only "the marks of chrysalid stage before thought had wings" and not the thought itself.

Even so, however, the intricacies of the subject present themselves to the reader often enough. The wages system is described at the outset as the culmination of the transition from status to contract and it is then compared favourably with the systems that existed before. But the freedom of the labourer under it is seriously circumscribed by economic considerations. Thus he is not able to wait for better terms; as having no property, he will have to starve in the meanwhile. And he is generally ignorant of alternative employment and even when not so, cannot easily move from place to place. These are considerations that are not always borne in mind by those who talk glibly about economic freedom for the labourer. After a description of the wages systems, the rela-

tion is explained between wage rates and earnings and between earnings and the standard of life in a working family. Whatever the wage-rate may be, the actual earnings of a worker naturally will depend on the number of hours or days he works. And his earnings will affect the standard of life he maintains according to the number of mouths he has to feed and the number of other wage-earners, and the earnings, in the family. The standard of life itself is as much a subjective measure as an objective one and cannot be fixed with mathematical accuracy on the basis of one's income. Next to the standard of life of the wage-earner are considered the different systems of paying wages. Piece-wages, while they generally mean larger earnings for the labourer, also involve greater energy being spent by him. On the other hand, they are very economical for the capitalist, for they mean increase only in his circulating capital and not in the fixed one which is, on the contrary, made greater use of.

The next two chapters deal with the various theories of wages and with wages as affected by bargaining power. The author rejects theories of wages like the Subsistence Theory, Wages Fund Theory and the Theory of Marginal Productivity and proceeds to advance his own. This consists in saying that the demand for labour depends not only on the past accumulations of capital but also on the "time-preference" or the capacity to postpone present enjoyment to the future, shown by capitalists. On the other hand, the supply of labour—which should include, strictly speaking, not only the number of workers and the number of hours they work but also the intensity of work and quality of it—depends on the total quantity demanded and on the standard of life labour is accustomed to maintain. If it is a low one, the supply will increase sooner than if it is high. Custom plays a large part in affecting both demand and supply. It affects also the variations that bargaining power on the part of labourers will induce in the level of prices. These variations are subject to the upper limit constituted by the Wages Fund which they cannot increase or decrease. They only relate to the earnings per head of the working population and not to the aggregate earnings of labour as a whole.

Wage difference between localities, industries and the sexes are then considered and it is clearly shown how untrue to life is the too simple theory of the classical economist that wages will directly correspond to the disagreeableness or difficulty of the work done. The influence on wages of the Trade Union movement on the one hand and of legislation on the other is the last topic to be considered. The Reformist and the Revolutionary Labour movements are rapidly sketched and in discussing the machinery devised to give control over industry to workers, the defects of the Whitley Councils in England are pointed out. They cannot discuss any questions which are not brought before them by the employers and since anything can be done only by agreement between the two sides and not by majority, not much work is done by them. A minimum may be fixed by a variety of methods but there are two difficulties in legislation on that head. One is to see that it does not apply to workers who are abnormally slow and the other to see it enforced. The workers themselves cannot enforce it as, otherwise, the legislation would not generally apply to their industry. And in England the inspectorate of the Ministry of Labour, the other agency that could do it, is inadequate. The result is there is wide evasion of law on this point. Apart from this fact, minimum wage legislation will prove beneficial only when the demand for a particular

type of goods is inelastic and machinery cannot in that industry be substituted for human labour. Otherwise either by the contraction of the demand for labour or by the substitution of machinery the purpose of the law can be defeated. The book is very well written and will be exceptionally useful to all those who want a very readable and clear introduction to a difficult subject.

S. P. SARMA.

SETTLING THE ARMENIANS

ARMENIA AND THE NEAR EAST. By FRITJOF NANSEN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 324. 15s.

WHETHER as an explorer of unfamiliar regions of the earth or as a surveyor of known lands, Dr. Nansen is pre-eminently a conjurer of enchanting beauties. Armenia and the near East is a vast panorama he unfolds to our mental eye. As the High Commissioner in charge of the Armenian refugees, it falls to him to discover habitable soil in Armenia for settling those homeless martyrs of inhumanity and fanaticism. It is not merely the physical nakedness of Armenia and its neighbourhood that he presents to us but a gorgeous mosaic, astir with old memories.

"How many ruins of past glories there are in these eastern lands! Inferior races who could pillage and lay waste, but could never build have had a free hand here to squander the lives and works of man." Though a vast stretch of devastation, Dr. Nansen finds in it some virgin spots whose forbidding appearance saved them from being tampered with by the marauders. Here in the Saradabad desert the Kirr District, and the marshes of Karasu, were the Armenian refugees to build their homes and fortunes anew with the help of the League of Nations. The history of Armenia is the history of its blood recklessly spilled by the Huns and Hooligans of humanity. As a distinct political entity, it makes its appearance in history as a Persian dependency, with a characteristic Indo-European civilisation of its own. "The important caravan routes from Persia, India and Babylon came to pass largely through Armenia" and so of necessity the Armenians became good tradesmen. "They therefore found it comparatively easy to acquire wealth and this together with their great fecundity accounts for the amazing staying-power which enabled them to survive the repeated devastations of their country." On the downfall of the Seleucid dynasty, the two satraps of Armenia automatically became independent sovereigns. The Artaxiad dynasty which ruled over Armenia phenomenally increased its prosperity. The Arsacid dynasty which followed close on its heels left even a more glorious mark behind. It was Trdat II the Great, a scion of that house who not only made Armenia almost unconquerable, but also adopted Christianity as the state religion. On the decline of the Arsacid dynasty, Rome and Persia furiously contested for power and they both made peace by dividing the country between themselves. Now onwards began for Armenia her prolonged blood bath. Turks, Mongolians, and Persians inflicted brutal wounds on her, slaughtering for mere amusement nearly two millions of her children. "In the Armenian people's long tale of woe, the most woeful chapters are concerned with the time when the Armenians were under Turkish rule." In utter despair and helplessness, she clutched the hand of Russia, only to drop it at once, finding no sympathetic response from it. The great War at this time shook Europe to its very depths and though Armenian agonies increased, it raised false hopes in them of a possible release.

from the strangle-hold of Turkey. But the Young Turks were too clever for the liberators among the great Powers, for they had "wiped out the Armenian population of Anatolia. No European or American Government or statesman troubles now about what has happened; to them the everlasting Armenian problem seems finally and definitely obliterated in blood." Fortunately her own domestic freedom, Armenia obtained because Turkey lay completely paralysed and dismembered, but her nationals, those who fought in the war for lofty ends, they did not get even bare justice. "They are waiting still." Anatolia, their precious property in a sense, is lost to them once for all. At long last, the League of Nations has assumed full responsibility for their safe settlement and that prospect is nearer fulfilment, now that Dr. Nansen has set his determined hands to the noble task. Dr. Nansen is a painter par excellence of pageants of history and landscape.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

ARABIAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF MUHAMMAD. By PRINGLE KENNEDY. (Thacker, Calcutta.) 1926. 22cm pp. 253. Rs. 7-8.

THE title is unfortunate for it raises expectations which the book does not fulfil, for that is only a history of the first two centuries of Islam. The plan too is bad. The book is divided into two parts: a history of the Caliphs and a statement of the causes of the rapidity of the Muslim conquests. This leads to some repetition. Further, the second part seems not to have received the author's final revision, for one sentence at least does not make sense. The spelling of proper names is weird and wonderful, e. g. Nushuriun and Kairwen for Anushirwan and Kairawan, while others would be unrecognisable if they stood apart from the context, such as Old Manaf, Murmuz, and Mira which stand for Abd Manaf, Hurmuz, and Hira. There are other misprints; 'reunited' is obviously a mistake for the manuscript 'recruited'. The frequent use of capitals in common nouns is irritating. The style is not always easy.

The author disarms criticism to some extent by stating that he has based his work on that of Muir and Weil but such an admission forces one to ask if the book is worth publishing. It is a competent and sympathetic outline of Muslim history. It traces the development from the theocratic state of Medina through the Syrian period when the Umayyats ruled as Arab chiefs in the grand style to the court of Baghdad which was the direct descendant of the court of the Great King, the King of Kings. The author has kept to the broad outlines of the story but these are well known and have been told often. When he touches on detail he is often wrong for he has ignored the work of Wellhausen and Caetani as well as the Muslim papyri which have been found in Egypt. Picturesque legends have been discredited. It is certain that the fingers (Mr. Kennedy makes it one finger) of Uthman's wife were not nailed up in the mosque of Damascus. It is highly improbable that Umar ordered Christians to wear clothes different from those of the Muslims; there was no need as they were naturally different. If he made the tribute in some places to consist of land tax and poll tax the rule was not universal throughout the empire. At the end of the first century the word 'jizya' was used in Egypt for the total contributions of a district, both money and corn. The Egyptian papyri show that long before the fall of Umayyads the taxes there were many and varied.

The position of Christians in the Muslim state is

of great importance for social history but it is hardly touched by Mr. Kennedy. The tribe of Taghlib took its share in the conquests and remained Christian; two of its chiefs were killed by Umayyad Caliphs for being Christians. Copts served in the army and at a later date we read of a Christian officer. Many of the clerks in the Government offices were of this faith. Periodically they were dismissed but they were always brought back because they were indispensable. If they provoked persecution it was largely the fault of their pride and ostentation.

The social life of the Islamic state still awaits a historian.

A. S. TRITTON.

ORAOON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By SARAT CHANDRA ROY. (Industry Press, Calcutta.) 1928. 21 cm. pp. 418. Rs. 12.

THE book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur and Central Indian Plateau. The book consists of six chapters and there is an introduction in the beginning and an index at the end.

It is an established fact of Indian history that many evolutions in the customs and socio-religious beliefs of the Aryan inhabitants of India were effected by the constant mingling of the non-Aryan elements, but until now the sciences of comparative mythology and religion as taught in the Indian Universities were restricted to the studies of those sciences as founded on the comparison of the customs of the Aryan population exclusively of the East and West; but the present volume must help the future student of India to trace the borrowing from the non-Aryan sources. Customs, wherever they exist, are interdependent, as Professor Hodson has said, and the science of anthropology teaches us to understand the relations which they bear to each other. The Atharvaveda of the Hindus which teaches us about magic and witch-craft must have been greatly influenced by the non-Aryan population and the worship of the Sun by the Oraons as the supreme being must have been incorporated into the non-Aryan element from the Aryans or rather Indo-Iranian sources. The author's division of the different classes of supernatural beings and powers of the Oraons is very comprehensive and the inclusion of the Devi Mai, Maha Deo and Chandi amongst them shows the borrowings they have received from the Aryan neighbours. It is the belief of the European scholars that the ideas about these deities were taken by the Aryan settlers from the non-Aryan population and they again have reverted, as our author proves, to the original inhabitants with the improvements which the Aryans effected in them.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the "Oraon Religion with its revival movements" is exceedingly instructive and reveals to us the spiritual developments which have unconsciously grown in that community following the lead of the neighbouring Hindus and Christians. The last few paragraphs of the book give us an idea, according to the author's standpoint, of the future development of the tribe in its cultural achievements and as to how in the end it will form a connecting link in the chain of the Indian nation as a whole.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

K. N. DAS.

INDIA'S HOPE. By FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE.
(Thacker, Calcutta.) 1929. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 61.
Rs. 1-8-0

"THIS vindication of the Bengali character" is dedicated to a Bengalee, Sir R. N. Mookerjee. The author is no cold weather tourist who has gleaned his information about Bengali character in a few weeks' stay in this country. He tells us he "spent twenty years in Bengal and maintained close relations with that province" since his retirement. His opinion about the Bengalis is that they "are a lovable race, quick to discern sympathy in an Englishman and eager to serve him with devotion. They have a long memory for acts of kindness... Injuries and insults leave a lasting impression on their minds... They are a highly gifted race." (pp. 40-41.) In his opinion Miss Mayo's fault is her "superficial knowledge" about India. He is right in saying that "To speak with authority on an ancient and alien civilisation demands years of sympathetic study and an intimate acquaintance with the language in which its various phases find expression." (p. 51.) This Miss Mayo lacks. The author echoes the general Indian view about "Mother India" when he says that it gives a distorted impression of Indian society. He even goes further and asserts that "every abuse that she pillories has its counterpart in her own country." (p. 54.)—a statement which, we hope, will catch Miss Mayo's eye. Apart from the fact that the author's politics are not the same as Mahatma Gandhi's, he admits that his (Gandhi's) character commands his respect and approvingly quotes Gandhiji's scathing criticism of Miss Mayo's "Mother India." Mr. Skrine's writing clearly marks him out as a person possessed of a sympathetic imagination which unlike Miss Mayo and Macaulay is not out to pick up only the bad points in Indian character.

G. M. M.

PEOPLE'S BANKS OR USE AND VALUE OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT FOR AFRICAN NATIVES. By REV. BERNARD HUSS. (Author, Mariannahill, Natal.) 1928. 9 x 6. pp. 124. 2s. 6d.

"IF there is any one country in which the need of cooperative credit was written plainly on the face of things prevailing and to which accordingly without question cooperative credit must come as a god-send, that country is India." It is years since Mr. Wolff delivered himself of this highly encouraging thought and many practical workers and theoretical writers interested in the field of cooperation have since been waiting patiently for the day when the hopeful prophesy contained in those words may come true. It seems, however, that the day is none too near, which will put the anxieties of the faithful to rest. Already there is talk of appointing committees to inquire as to the reasons for the 'failure' of the movement. The general opinion seems to be that there is something wrong in the technique of the organisation or in the association of the Government with the movement, which requires to be remedied. On the other hand, there are a few others who while agreeing that the cooperative organisation is capable of improvement feel that the real explanation of the unsatisfactory progress of the movement in India, contrary to the original expectations voiced by Mr. Wolff, is to be sought firstly, in the limited capacity of the average Indian villager to appreciate the true cooperative spirit, and secondly, in the restricted opportunities for productive use of the capital made available by the societies. The first of these defects, they further feel, will be remedied by the spread of education in the larger sense of the term and the second by an all round industrial revival helped and guided by the

state. The author of the present book has reviewed in bare outline the progress of the movement in a number of countries, including India, with a view to deduce lessons for the guidance of the South African movement. In doing so he has attributed the unsatisfactory state of the cooperative movement in India to the religious passivity of the Hindu, the caste system, the thriftlessness of the people and the all pervading ignorance. How far such an explanation is correct and complete, we leave to the experienced to decide. The real appreciation of the cooperative situation in India is essential not only to the cooperator in this country but also to those who would seek lessons from it for the guidance of similar movements abroad. The cooperative situation in South Africa, so far as the native population is concerned, is pretty nearly the same as in India and it has been well described by the author. Cooperators in this country will doubtless derive much benefit from a perusal of the book under review.

D. G. KARVE.

MISCELLANEOUS

MR. SASTRI AT MOMBASA:

On the 10th inst. a luncheon was given in honour of Mr. Sastri at Mombasa. Replying to the toast of his health on the occasion, Mr. Sastri said:—

I am indeed glad for many reasons to receive this cordial welcome in Mombasa. You have assured me that in this difficult task which has been assigned to me I have the support of the whole Indian community in Kenya and the neighbouring territories. That assurance is well worth the coming for. As you reminded us to-day there have been voices of dissent which, if I listened only to them, would fill me with dismay. The fact is that the remarks which have been attributed to me by the correspondent of the *East African Standard* are things which I have never uttered anywhere. To compare two peoples is always a most invidious and dangerous task and I am the last person to embark on any such foolish enterprise. The only thing I remember saying after returning to India when I alluded to Kenya and the Indian community here was when I said in Bombay that they seemed to feel apprehensive that the Agent of the Government of India, if appointed amongst them, might prevent the access that they now enjoy to the Government under which they live and that he would become the accepted spokesman of the Indian community instead of themselves, and I went on to say that that apprehension was ill-founded, because my own experience in South Africa was that it was no part of the Agent's business to disorder the community for whom he stands or to prevent their natural leaders from finding their own channels of expression. Beyond making this allusion I can assure the Indian people here and in Nairobi that I made no reference whatever to the Indian community of Kenya.

Now I will allude to one of the specific matters which arise out of the report of the Hilton-Young Commission. It will not be expected of me to go into the various recommendations of that Commission or how exactly upon each the Government and the people of India have regulated their plan of action.

On the matter to which the greatest attention has been drawn, perhaps it would be well for me to say a word, and that is the question of the common franchise. Now the common franchise has been the declared aim of the Kenya Indians. As long ago as 1923 when I had the good fortune to be in London

working with the authorities there the common roll was the great question upon which we laid emphasis. Mr. Tyebali was there along with several others, and he will bear me out when I say that my sentiment was as strong as that of any of them on that matter. The Government of India has also supported the contention of the Kenya Indians that not only their interests, but in the long run the interests of Kenya itself will be best served by the establishing of a common roll. Neither I nor the Government of India is likely to weaken on that decision at this moment when that view has received the support of an authoritative commission. That, then, I put aside, but I ask you to remember at the same time that the Commission laid a proposition down along with their recommendations of a common roll as an ideal to be kept in view. They said at the same time that it would be impossible to establish this common roll without the free and voluntary consent of the European community. Now on that point I suppose we are all equally strong. It would be idle for the Indian community to expect that such an important matter will be decided in their favour unless that decision was also based upon the consent of the European community. It should be our endeavour, therefore, to persuade people—is it by fighting them, by exposing their faults, by attacking them in season and out of season, or is it by arguing calmly with them and convincing them that what they now regard as damaging to their interests in the long run is not likely to have that result, but the opposite?

Now in order to be able to do that we should, whether in public or in private, whether on the platform or writing in journals or whether negotiating in the secret chambers of diplomacy, wherever we advocate this question, it is our business to argue, to reason, to get possession of the hearts of the people on the other side, and not to frighten them. How to reassure them that they would be safe to consent to a common roll should be our business and pleasure. Now I do not see, my friends, speaking to you with the utmost confidence, I do not see how we can hope to get results at all in this task unless in stating our case we are fair to the other side. We are reasonable and we are moderate. Moderation has been brought up against me as one of my chief deficiencies. I have been attacked in a Kenya paper as being a moderate in Indian politics. I am not going to plead guilty; I am going shamelessly to avow my moderation. I believe in moderation, and I hold therefore that those extreme people upon either side who shout their notions and have no time to listen to the other side, get the hearing they do only because the moderate man does not speak out loudly or often enough. Now I am told that in Mombasa there are a good many people who, if moderation were a crime, would have to stand in the dock with me. To these fellow criminals of mine I would make an appeal. Don't for goodness sake hide your heads in shame. Come out and own up fully that you are moderates and are not ashamed of being moderates, for when public questions have reached a point of difficulty believe me that just then it is for the moderate to cope with them. Come out, if you please, attack the extremists hip and thigh, tell them that they have had their day, and that we must now have ours. The extremists have their uses to test the tendency of a nation. When questions have to be argued out the extremist is good to show you where you are going and when he has had his say and set people by the ears you realise where he is heading, and that point has, I think, been reached in

Kenya, and we here who have been accused of being moderates must for a while plead the weakness of liking to hear our own voices. Only by moderation, by reason, and fairness in the heart will public questions be settled to the satisfaction of the community. Unless the British Commonwealth of races solves these problems in that spirit the effect will be felt in the future of humanity. It is in that light I look upon the difficulties in Kenya. If we learn to solve these difficulties in the right spirit, and are content to get what we can and to wait for the rest until the day after to-morrow, if the Kenya question is to be solved in that way then it seems to me it is a symptom not to be neglected of how more serious problems of the Empire should be solved, greatly to our own immediate benefit, but greatly also to the benefit of the people to come."

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