

# Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### India the Acid Test.

YES, India is the acid test. We are quite at one with the ex-Premier in this view. Only Mr. Baldwin thinks that the Labour Government's moderate and cautious policy is to be tested by the manner in which it evades India's demand for Swaraj. We on the contrary hold that its capacity for bold action and broad vision is to be tested by the quantum of self-government it confers on India. Anyhow India will be the test. For in foreign affairs the MacDonald Government may be relied upon to pursue a policy of peace and international co-operation. It will not perhaps fully satisfy the demands of radical pacifists; in many respects the policy will still run on conservative lines. Still, broadly speaking, it will be a fairly progressive policy. But its imperial policy causes misgiving, particularly with reference to India. The *World Tomorrow* says truly: "If the Labour Party's great opportunity is apt to be weakened by compromise and dilly-dallying at any point, that point will probably be its relations to traditional British imperialism. This was the place where the previous short-lived Labour Government made its worst showing. If the MacDonald ministry does not now definitely put a stop to the dropping of bombs on natives in colonial possessions, and, especially if it does not dare run grave political risks for the sake of justice to India in a crucial year of Anglo-Indian affairs, it will deserve the charges certain to be levelled against it from anti-imperial opinion the world around and from the more radical elements

within the Labour ranks." The *World Tomorrow* has hit the nail on the head: the Labour Government must be prepared to take risks, even grave political risks, for the sake of justice to India. But will a ministry which is kept in being by the tolerance of the Opposition parties be prepared for it?

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### Labour Ministry requires Watching.

IMMEDIATELY however the Labour Government need not adventure very much. India's demand is modest. We recommended last week a conference by special invitation with the chosen leaders of the people prior to the framing of Government's proposals so that Indian opinion thus elicited rather than English opinion as shown by the Simon Commission's Report be made the basis of the future Government of India Bill. Mrs. Besant however has put forward a suggestion which it would be still easier for the MacDonald Government to accept. The suggestion does not involve the scrapping of the Simon Report. The Government's own proposals may even be based on this Report, provided that it is understood that these proposals are to serve no other purpose than that of starting a discussion, the Government itself being willing to introduce such modifications as public opinion may suggest. Mrs. Besant's only suggestion is that with the Simon Report the Nehru Report too may be remitted to the Joint Select Committee for consideration, and that the Committee should be definitely charged to consider both the Reports together. Mrs. Besant says: "It is clear that if the Simon Report is by itself no Indian politician of any importance will have anything to do with it. But I do not think that the signatories to the Nehru Report—of whom I am one—would refuse to meet such a Committee as I suggest (viz. the Joint/Parliamentary Committee associated with a Committee of leading Indian representative politicians). Many of us are prepared to negotiate with the Labour Government, in which are many good friends of India." Of course, this preliminary step of submitting the Nehru Report as well as the Simon Report to the Committee which will examine the Government of India Bill is easy enough, but obviously it has no value unless the Ministry is prepared to go quite a long way to meet public opinion, and it is this which requires courage and which compels some misgiving in the public mind. Mrs. Besant herself is optimistic. "Is Ramsay MacDonald," she asks, "big enough and strong enough to turn the Empire into a Federation of free and equal nations, the Guardian of the World's Peace, the Friend of all Peoples?" And she answers: "I believe he is. And I shall hold that belief until he himself destroys it." This also typifies the thoughts running in the mind of the thinking section of the population. They are aware of the rich promise the MacDonald ministry contains and the magnificent possibilities that lie ahead of it; and

they are also aware of the numerous temptations the ministry will have to guide its policy by the pursuit of small expediences and cynical *realpolitik*. But they are prepared to give the ministry a fair chance, knowing that its proceedings will require careful watching.

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#### Congress Presidentship.

THE *World Tomorrow* calls this year "a crucial year of Anglo-Indian affairs". Truly, however, next year may be so called. For, after the publication of the Simon Report, the MacDonald ministry will be engaged in evolving its plans regarding Indian self-government. Then will be the time for all that is best in Indian constructive statesmanship to be employed in national service in negotiating with the Labour Government. Now that the election of this year's Congress President is being considered, may we suggest, though we know we have no right to intervene in this affair, that the Presidentship be offered to Mahatma Gandhi, who will then have entrusted to him the conduct of negotiations on behalf of the Congress? We are not unmindful of the fact that, so far as the Congress is concerned, the question of self-government must be settled *before* the close of this year and that even within this year the grant of self-government must be complete, thus apparently admitting of no negotiations this year, not to speak of the next. But we believe that if the MacDonald Government makes a right gesture now, convincing Congress leaders of its sincere desire to concede India's claims it will be possible to embark on negotiations next year with a view to reaching an amicable settlement. And whom can one think of in the Congress ranks who has not merely the supreme skill and ability that will be required but the unquestioned authority of the whole Congress behind him in handling this affair unless it be Mahatma Gandhi? He is among the three persons who stand the best chance of election. It will be no derogation from the merit of the other two if, in view of the present conjuncture, they are called upon to give way to him. The Congress organization relies wholly upon Mahatma Gandhi to carry on a campaign of civil disobedience in the event of Swaraj not being granted. It is therefore but proper that the Congress should also entrust to him the conduct of negotiations failure of which is to necessitate that action. He alone among national leaders can restrain as easily as inspire. To our thinking, he must be at the helm of affairs at this supreme moment in our country's political destiny.

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#### The Congress Muslim Party.

WHEN the All-Parties Muslim Conference decided a few days ago to send a deputation to England to combat the Nehru Report propaganda we had hoped that a section of the Muslims at least would protest against such a suicidal policy and would attempt to settle differences amongst different communities by consent in India instead of advertising them in England and playing into the hands of reactionaries there. The thing has come about and a party has been formed with the appellation, of the 'Congress Muslim Party', the principal object of which is to "combat the forces of communalism and reaction," while safeguarding the legitimate interests of Muslims. The circular issued with a view to calling a meeting of Muslims at which to inaugurate the new organization clearly stated that a community which at this critical juncture deserts the cause of freedom or fail to play its proper part is doomed. It deprecated the action of the reactionaries among Muslims who made common cause with the bureaucracy; among these, we suppose, it included those who are reviling

the Nehru Report and carrying on propaganda against it in season and out of season. The party will carry on a vigorous propaganda in this province in support of the national cause and prepare the Muslims for taking their proper share in the struggle for freedom. We would suggest to the new party that it should take the lead in bringing together the All-Parties Conference and representatives of Muslims in order to meet squarely the grievances of the Muslims and make the requisite alterations in the Nehru Constitution after they have been accepted by such a Joint Conference. It would be impolitic to allow the differences between Hindus and Muslims to reach a point at which it will be difficult to retrieve the situation and make honourable compromise. It is almost a case of now or never and the good offices of the new party ought to be requisitioned in order to evolve a constitution to which the major portion of thinking Muslims will have no cause to object. We are gratified to see that Mr. M. C. Chagla has just made an appeal to Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah to co-operate in arriving at a compromise with regard to the Nehru Constitution so as to make it into a national demand.

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#### Dr. Paranjpye and the Commission.

IN obedience to the mandate of the Indian National Liberal Federation, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye has refused to tender evidence to the Statutory Commission. This act has evoked widespread approval in the country. Says the *Hindu*:—Dr. Paranjpye's explanation of his refusal to give evidence before the Simon Commission is just what we should expect of a man of his independence and position in public life. That he happens to be a member of the Indian Council, is no reason, as he justly points out, why he should forsake his political affiliations or principles. The Liberal Party, of which he has been a life-long member having decided that the Simon enquiry should be boycotted, he could not as a man of honour, agree to give evidence before the Commission against his Party's express wishes. Nor was there any conflict of duties arising out of his official position to obscure this straight course. For co-operation with the Simon Commission is not, and cannot by any ingenuity of construction be interpreted as one of those obligatory executive functions which those placed high in the official hierarchy must discharge, the alternative being resignation. We do not, of course, overlook the fact Lord Goschen as Governor of Madras chose to think otherwise, so far as his Ministers' responsibilities in this respect were concerned. But it has long been clear that the position he took up was altogether untenable. . . . By his spirited action he has taught the bureaucracy a lesson that it needed badly and set an admirable example of loyalty to one's party which others similarly circumstanced in India might have anticipated with credit to themselves and honour and advantage to their country.

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#### Mr. Snowden on Imperial Preference and Free Trade

THE Labour Government has clearly declared in favour of free trade by helping to reject the amendment to the Address regretting the absence of a declaration of policy with regard to safeguarding and imperial preference. Mr. Snowden said that the country ought not to be surprised if the McKenna duties were to be repealed in the next budget. At the same time he renounced imperial preference as he did not believe that this was the most advantageous method of promoting closer relations between the different parts of the Empire. India would welcome this decision for the present as she has to offer very little in a proper system of imperial preference and the major portion of Indian economists and politicians has expressed

very little enthusiasm about it. Mr. Snowden proposes to hold an Imperial Economic Conference in order to suggest methods for extending trade between parts of the Empire. So far as India is concerned Indians cannot view without concern any extension of trade in which India supplies raw materials to Great Britain and the Dominions and colonies and in return obtains a larger amount of finished goods. In future India would only welcome an increase of her exports of manufactured goods if such a thing is needed at all considering the unlimited market for such goods in the country itself. Any other sort of extension can only be against her economic interests. Mr. Snowden again repeated his wish that the per capita income in India should increase by 6 shillings; in this case he calculated that British trade with India would be increased by nearly £90 millions. The method by which he proposes to do this is to lend capital to India to develop agriculture by the use of steel ploughs and motor tractors. In the first place, India is determined not to borrow abroad as far as possible so that we do not look upon the prospect offered by Mr. Snowden with much favour; secondly, if agricultural machinery is required Indians would rather have it made in India and they expect to be helped to make it. Mr. Snowden does not see that the plans of his Government for relieving unemployment in Great Britain are directly at variance with relieving unemployment in this country. It is the failure to see this essential antinomy that makes the economic philosophy of many a British statesman so far as it relates to India present ludicrous contradictions. If free trade is good for Great Britain it may not be good for India and perhaps even for the Dominions. In fact there is hardly a Dominion Government but would refuse to be brought into the meshes of unrestricted free trade even so far as the Empire is concerned. Mr. Runciman, supporting Mr. Snowden, wished that there was enough wisdom in the Dominions to induce them to adopt free trade. But wisdom does not always consist in adopting free trade; it all depends upon the stage of a country's economic development.

#### The New Tariff in U. S.

THE United States have passed an Act which will bring into effect a revised tariff of import duties which will react adversely on the trade of several countries. Great Britain for instance has to make yearly a debt repayment of a considerable sum which ordinarily will be in the form of exports to U. S. and the new tariff will make this operation extremely difficult. Thirty-eight nations have accordingly protested against the proposed new tariff mentioning particular goods that will be hard hit by the schedule. France feels greatly aggrieved on account of the fact that for the last few years her imports of U. S. goods have shown a steady increase; Spain proposes to boycott trade with America if these duties are made operative by the consent of the Senate being obtained. There is very little sympathy however for Spain in Europe because she herself has played at the game of high duties in a way to bring her into great prominence as an opponent of the policy adumbrated by the International Economic Conference. The Conference has unanimously come to the conclusion that the only method of achieving the reconstruction of Europe was by removing trade barriers all over the world and thus contributing to an enlarged production of wealth over such a wide area. In fine the ideal was that of the United States of Europe at least in the sphere of economics, the unity in the political sphere being at present an impracticable ideal. The argument however that America does not need the stimulus of a protective tariff in order to secure her prosperity

since she is already prosperous beyond the dreams of avarice is hardly convincing, since there is no reason why she should not attempt to be still more prosperous, granting of course that protection will achieve this object. The only plea that would stand against the doings of the U. S. is that based on moral grounds, and it is that a country which stood sponsor for a pacific movement like the famous Kellogg Pact ought not to retard the economic recovery of the world after the War by high tariff walls. After having assisted so generously in the solution of the German reparations problems by the Dawes Plan and similar financial schemes which without the good-will of U. S. would not have the least chance of inauguration, it is the duty of that country to complete the good work she has begun. It is just possible that the U. S. may be induced to enter into special agreements with particular countries, with respect to particular commodities the export of which may be vitally necessary for the maintenance of their normal trade. In any case European countries cannot throw stones at U. S., living in glass-houses—of protection—themselves.

#### A Multiple-Party System.

THE persistence of three big parties in England, none of which commands a majority has set thoughtful minds in that country a-thinking as to the changes required in the existing conventions regarding the working of government, which are founded upon the assumption of two parties facing each other in opposition. Mr. Ramsay Muir has contributed some fruitful ideas to the discussion of this subject which is of great practical importance to our country, where we have a multiplicity of parties not too clearly distinguished from one another in principle, Mr. Muir observes:—

The Opposition parties must abandon the doctrine that "it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose," and to use every possible occasion for discrediting the Government and seeking to oust it. They must accept, instead, the doctrine that it is the duty of Parliament to see that the King's Government is carried on, but that it is carried on under a continual searchlight of free and reasonable criticism. They must oppose only when they are convinced that the Government is doing something that runs counter to national interests. They must cease to practise the manoeuvres of the sniper, or to rejoice in placing the Government in a minority in "snatch" divisions, or to expect the Government to resign on anything less than a matter of vital principle.

In India of course the Ministers are none too ready to resign when defeated, though factious opposition is a common feature.

By the way we may quote here an observation regarding indirect elections in Professor Harper's *Civic Training in Soviet Russia* which has an application to Indian conditions. He writes:—

Whatever its defects may be in other respects, the indirect system of elections does mean that the voter has had a personal contact with the persons for whom he votes . . . It is possible that the indirect system is more applicable in a country with poor means of communication, a comparatively limited newspaper-reading public, and a population distinctly backward in education and general culture.

Referring to this, the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (June 27) remarks: "The judgment has its bearing, of which Moscow must be fully aware, on the special political problems of India. The system offers, indeed, a perfectly sound method of teaching an ignorant and inexperienced population the rudiments of self-government." This judgment, however, we believe, will not be widely endorsed in India.

## Articles.

### THE HORNETS' NEST.

THE Working Committee of the Congress, by its mere suggestion of a ban on Councils, has brought a veritable hornets' nest about its ears. There are energetic protests all round, not, be it remembered from the opponents of non-co-operation like Liberals and Independents, who do not come into the picture at all, and who view the whole spectacle in mute bewilderment, but from the friends and advocates of non co-operation. Nor are the protests confined to Responsive or Swarajist members of the Legislatures, in which case they could possibly be put down to an understandable desire not to surrender an advantage they now possess, but the protests have come even from those who from the first have steadily opposed the Swarajist move to go on to the Councils as a violation of the non-co-operation creed. The opposition of these virginal non-co-operators to what might at first sight be regarded as a reversion to the Gandhian conception of non-co-operation is a thing to be particularly noted and pondered. They would have rejoiced if there were no Swarajist revolt at all and if all who swore allegiance to N.C.O. had steadfastly remained outside the legislatures. But the Swarajists' psychology is different: they believe in Council work and if they propose coming out now it is only as a demonstration against a certain decision of the Viceroy which in itself is not of very great importance. Any equally trifling pretext may serve to persuade them to enter the Council chambers again, and these perpetual goings-in and comings-out only make the premier political organization in the country a butt of ridicule to the whole world.

Such is the reasoning, e. g., of Mr. Konda Venkatappiah, the great Andhra leader, who at a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee of Andhradesa, argued in earnest tones against the Working Committee's proposal. When the Government piled one repressive measure on another and flung the flower of the country into prison on mere suspicion, Swarajists remained undisturbed in their seats in the Councils. When the Simon Commission was appointed they were no doubt angry, but did not consider that the occasion called for such an answering measure from them as Council boycott. But this measure was being advocated now merely because the country was being deprived of an opportunity to pronounce its verdict on the Commission at the polls! How could one be sure that Pandit Motilal Nehru, when he was in a different mood, would not again issue marching orders to go and capture the Councils? Mr. Konda Venkatappiah therefore declared that if the Congress itself in a special session cancelled as a permanent measure its permission to Swarajists to occupy seats in the Councils and ordered them to devote their whole time and energy to a programme of direct action he would welcome such a decision and himself gladly join them as he did in 1921. "But to-day he could

not give his support to the Working Committee's resolution if the resolution was meant simply as an expression of resentment against the pronouncement of the Viceroy and the Premier." In the final voting both he and Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu remained neutral.

The opinion of Swarajist or Responsive members of Councils is decidedly against Council boycott. Among those who have thus expressed themselves are such prominent men as Babu Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. We need not repeat their arguments; they are substantially what we ourselves set forth last week. With one of these arguments however we have no sort of sympathy. It is being argued, e. g., that the Swarajist members, having given definite pledges to the electorates for various pieces of legislation, cannot now resign without betraying their trust. This is sheer buncum. Always pluming themselves as wreckers rather than workers, the Swarajists have given no pledge about constructive legislation. If any of them happen to have given pledges, these must be construed as subject to the underlying principle of the Swarajists, viz. subordination of every question to the all-important question of Swaraj. They therefore need not feel trammelled by their previous promises but might just do what they regard as the most expedient in the circumstances. They suddenly profess much concern for the acceleration of the constructive programme by legislative process. But the public know at what value to assess these professions. The *Janmabhumi* is brutally frank in stating it. "Our friends in Councils have not an iota of sympathy with this rigmarole of a constructive programme. It is all rhodomontade to them. They do not understand it. They have no sympathy for it. They give no thought or time to it."

Moreover, the Congress has a right to determine the policy for those who seek the suffrages of the electors on the Congress ticket. The Swarajists can have therefore no ground for complaint if they are asked to vacate their seats. We do not question the right of the Congress to do so. We question the propriety of exercising it in the way proposed. Is it believed that the legislators who come out will engage themselves in preparing the country for civil disobedience? On this point Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty was quite candid when he said that Congressmen in the Councils were either unfit or unwilling to undertake this spade work. Of the 37 Congress members in the Madras Council he calculates that there are not more than ten who may be willing to do the work, but every one of these ten gentlemen has wholly unfitted himself for it by his association with the Council. Instead of making them come out and spend their time idly why not let them remain in Councils to act, so to say, as policemen for the Congress? There is much force in this question asked by Mr. Chetty.

What however will weigh with the A.I.C.C. and decide it to turn down the Working Committee's proposal is the incipient rebellion that is brewing in

the Swarajist camp. The Swarajist members are not content merely with expressing their own view of the Delhi resolution; they often accompany it with a threat of schism. We are not in a position to calculate what proportion of Congressmen in legislatures are agreeable to the resolution. But of those who have spoken out an overwhelming majority is definitely against it, and there is no reason to suppose that among the rest the proportion of the dissident members will be very much less. On the whole therefore it may be said that those among the members of the Congress who have found their way to the Councils as a rule disapprove of boycott of Legislatures. It becomes then a question of forcing this policy upon them. Is the Congress organization so solid as to permit of this? Can it think even for a moment of being able to require compliance with its instructions against the wishes of the legislators? We are not therefore very apprehensive of the A.I.C.C. taking a wrong decision. Whatever its own inclination may be, it will be forced, we believe, to negative the Working Committee's resolution in view of the storm of protest it has raised. But the very passing of the resolution showed a tendency towards N.C.O. of the Gandhi school and away from that of the Swarajist school. The rejection of the resolution will however prove that the tendency is observable only on the surface. If Congress politics is made to take more and more the hue of Gandhian non-co-operation, the attempt will not only be defeated, but will be followed by a terrible reaction. Let it not be assumed therefore, as it is by some, that Congress politics will inevitably develop along the road which it took in 1921. It will be very unwise to force it into that mould. The A.I.C.C.'s decision will therefore be awaited with anxious interest.

#### EDUCATION IN BOMBAY.

THE quinquennial Report on Public Instruction which has just been published is not one to enthuse over, since it shows education proceeding at a poor rate of speed. The report begins by expressing regret that the finances of the Government have not permitted them to perform to the fullest extent the part contemplated by the Primary Education Act of 1923. The supervision of the Education Department over primary education is practically nil, being confined to financial matters, leaving to the local boards unfettered administrative control over it. The Director has not a good word to say about special representation given to particular interests and he says frankly that the evils of communalism have been shown in the educational administration of the local boards in the most pronounced way. The Report lays bare the questionable tactics introduced by communalism as for example the refusal to entertain an Administrative Officer who is efficient, simply on the ground of his caste. It is a pity that owing to financial stringency the scheme of medical inspection of the primary pupils has been discontinued. In the case of municipalities one inspector remarks it is found difficult to retain

the services of the better class of teachers, owing to the spirit of faction and intrigue prevailing in them; what he says is most appropriate and it is high time that municipal bodies recognized that at least education ought to be kept as a sacred preserve free from their sickening and demoralizing party squabbles. The number of primary schools has increased from 7,90,433 to 9,84,726, an increase of nearly 25 per cent. The contribution of Government towards primary education is nearly Rs. 122 crores at the end of the period and, compared to what it was in 1922 has risen by nearly 25 per cent., just to keep pace with the number of primary schools. It is a satisfactory feature to note that the number of trained teachers has not shown any diminution, forming nearly 60 per cent. of the total as in the previous quinquennium. The Report does not admit that there is much scope for an alteration in the curriculum in the earlier primary stage so as to make it partly adapted to the needs of the rural population by giving instruction in agriculture; probably the Government are right in thinking "that if they (pupils) are to become literate before they leave school, they must devote their whole attention to the three R's". It will not be wise to give vocational instruction prematurely. It is said in the Report that an agricultural outlook in the teacher is more important than an agricultural curriculum but it is curious that Government thinks that such an outlook can be assured by providing for a larger number of teachers from the 'backward' communities; we at least think it problematical that because a man comes of an agricultural stock he has a better agricultural outlook. So far as the principle of compulsion is concerned Government has decided that at least one-third of the expenditure on any scheme of expansion proposed by a District Board must be devoted to a scheme of compulsory education. This is as it should be.

The increase in the number of girls under instruction, primary as well as higher, is only to the extent of nearly 20 p. c. during the period of five years and is decidedly an index of the general apathy towards female education; it is to be noted however that taking the primary stage alone the increase of girls during the period under report nearly kept pace with that of the boys under instruction. The wastage therefore occurs during the stage of secondary education, which shows only 13,531 girls resorting to it in the whole province. Although the situation might change with the lapse of time, something has to be done to expedite the process if a set-back is to be avoided. The percentage of all pupils—boys and girls taken together—in secondary schools to total population is still 0.5, in spite of the talk we hear about the surfeit of higher education. With regard to industrial and technical education there is, according to the Report a danger of turning out a number of young men with a technical knowledge of industries which cannot provide posts for them. Of course this is true in the present state of things but those who urge the imparting of a technical education are simultaneously calling out for an extension of industry by the action of the State. The attitude

in the Report revealed in throwing cold water on schemes of technical instruction seems difficult to comprehend. Of course we know that it is not for a Director concerned with education to say how industries shall come into being; but the same excuse would not apply in the case of the activity of the Government as a whole. It would be pertinent to ask what the 'Industries' department of the province is doing all along in the matter of the revival of old industries and bringing into being new ones.

The Report draws attention to the disparity between the average pay of a teacher in Government schools and private or municipal schools. But considering that the private schools have to rely mostly on the income from fees, it is difficult not to sympathize with them in their troubles due to inadequate finance. To exact higher fees from parents in the present state of things is to court failure and unpopularity, at least for the private schools; while the solution of larger grants from Government is out of question for the present. It seems therefore that there is no solution at present for the problem of inadequately paid teachers. Out of the total expenditure 51.9 per cent. was met from provincial revenues and 18.7 per cent. was met from the funds of local boards. There is a possibility of increasing the contribution from the local areas if the people consent to tax themselves in order to meet the demands of education. It is not possible to have it both ways; in fact the conclusion is gradually forcing itself on our minds that fresh taxation of local areas cannot be avoided any further if stagnation is to be replaced by progress and that local needs are to be principally met by local resources. Whatever might be said of the responsibility of Government, the people cannot absolve themselves from their own obligations in the matter of the education of the future citizens, who are to bring about a reconstructed social organization.

### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

#### S. I. S. WORK IN MALABAR AND CUTTACK.

THE Devadbar Malabar Reconstruction Trust at Calicut which was started in 1922 to promote the work of social, educational and economic uplift in the Malabar tract has been rendering valuable service under the guidance of the members of the Servants of India Society stationed in the area, writes the *Guardian* of the 11th inst. It has started two co-operative societies for weavers, organized a scheme of village medical relief, and opened night schools at several centres. An attempt has been made to utilize the services of the teachers placed in charge of the schools as rural welfare workers and to develop the night schools as an agency for reconstruction work. To this end Mr. Suryanarayana Rao of the Servants of India Society has formulated a scheme of adult education based on his experience in the area which, however, may afford valuable guidance to organizations undertaking similar activities in other parts of the country. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao very rightly observes that

any system of education devised for the adult should be one that will strike his imagination, sustain his interest, provide a stimulus to understand and learn something which will not impose any additional strain on his tired brain, and impart knowledge while affording recreation. As music plays a great part both in soothing tired nerves and incidentally in attracting and concentrating attention, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao's scheme provides for all classes to commence work with music, instrumental or vocal, in which all, even outsiders, can take part. Story-telling and dramatization too have been recognized all the world over as valuable adjuncts in promoting adult education, and the next item in the programme for the day is the narration of stories on topics of absorbing interest, illustrated by lantern slides, dramatization being attempted wherever possible. Last will come the regular instruction, the syllabus for which is divided into courses for three years. As it is doubtful if adult pupils can be found who can stick to the schools for so long a period, the courses should not ordinarily occupy a much longer period than six months to a year. To prevent relapse into illiteracy the formal courses should be supplemented and followed up by the informal arrangements for continuation courses by the provision of facilities for group-reading in the village reading room or library and the encouragement of private study in leisure hours. The scheme gives an estimate of the cost of running adult schools on the proposed lines in six centres, situated near one another and total non-recurring and recurring expenses are shown to be Rs. 1,450 and Rs. 6,342 per year, respectively. The success of the scheme is dependent on its being placed in charge of persons who are well trained in different aspects of rural welfare work and properly guided by a local organization composed of competent social workers. Malabar is fortunate in having this interesting experiment initiated under the care of a body like the Servants of India Society, but even elsewhere it is possible to have similar attempts made if the local leaders can provide the nucleus of the funds required and trained guidance can be made available.

Members of the Servants of India Society have recently been undertaking rural reconstruction work in various parts of the country and the third annual report of the centre near Cuttack indicates that their efforts are evoking popular response and meeting with a fair measure of success. A school is conducted with the help of a paid teacher and it is hoped to attach to this a class in English as well as a separate school for girls. In addition to literary instruction, the students learn handloom weaving, spinning, eri-rearing and making of door-mats. On the grounds of the centre, some attempt at gardening is made which the workers would wish to see developed into a training centre in improved methods of agriculture. The workers have taken in hand the local co-operative society and a paid assistant has been engaged under whose care the management has been considerably improved. The work at present is done on a very modest scale; the total expenditure

including that incurred on the school house amounting to Rs. 1,640, of which only Rs. 500 were raised by public contributions and the rest met by the Servants of India Society.

#### ANOTHER REPLY TO MISS MAYO.\*

PROF. ERNEST WOOD, who has lived in intimate contact with Indians for nearly fourteen years, has drawn largely upon his own experience in this volume in order to answer the calumnies about India in Miss Mayo's book which has acquired great notoriety in India. The volume has all the good points of Lala Lajpat Rai's *Unhappy India* and in addition has a literary charm all its own. The striking note of this reply to Miss Mayo is rare sympathy with Indian life and character. "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant I should point to India"—this is what Prof. Wood says in the introduction. Reviewing the conditions of the family and marriage in India the author shows the viciousness of the conclusions arrived at by Miss Mayo after a study of stray and exceptional cases as to the utter decay of family life and feeble children "bankrupt in bone-stuff and vitality". As for the Hindu fatalism which Miss Mayo regards as the prime cause of Hindu decay he shows how the theory properly understood is philosophically justifiable and has besides very little operation in practical life. In a separate chapter the author demolishes the whole tale of phenomenal indecency and vice in India recounted by Miss Mayo. As to cruelty it resolves itself, according to the author, into the question: "Everywhere there is cruelty; how much unnecessary cruelty is there in India? and in the West? and which is more cruel?" And he has no hesitation in saying that Indians are not more cruel than people in the West are. The gibe of Miss Mayo that Indians love their illiteracy is shown to be without foundation; the real cause of the backwardness of education is, according to Prof. Wood, the small allotment of Indian revenue for education as compared with that for the Army. On the question of sanitation his judgment is that nearly every one of her statements is exaggerated in a misleading manner; and he retorts, "When we are talking about centres of infection let us not forget London and Chicago while we criticize Bombay and Benares." The caste system which fills so much space in Miss Mayo's book is, according to him, a system which enjoins each man to use his best talents for the service of the nation; although he admits that the Brahman has fallen from his duty and has grasped at material power and property. The way out of the present condition is not, he says, the path of bitterness, of hatred and social war but the path of brotherhood and of the Golden Rule of Christ. As for the outcasts the author is unable to understand why Miss

\* AN ENGLISHMAN DEFENDS MOTHER INDIA. By ERNEST WOOD. (Ganesh.) 1929. 23cm. 458p. Rs. 3.

Mayo makes constant derogatory statements about Indian indigenous efforts and lays emphasis upon the importance of Government work in this matter. He pertinently asks why the European schools which are more exclusive than the caste Hindu schools are set up by the Government which is so solicitous about the outcasts and points out that one of the very strongest caste distinctions in India is that between the white man and the rest of the community.

The rest of the book discusses Miss Mayo's politics. Her statement that Indian politicians intend to wipe out the Princes is contradicted by the fact that the leaders of British India have put in the constitutions they have framed clauses guaranteeing the recognition and support of their treaty rights. On the Hindu-Muslim question out of which Miss Mayo makes so much capital, Prof. Wood says that she exaggerates beyond all recognition whatever differences there may be in India by picking out incidents favourable to her theory of perpetual antagonism between the two communities and ignoring the points of unity. The stagnation of Indian industries he attributes to the unequal battle between the foreign giant industries and the infant industries of India. He is decidedly protectionist and would ask the Government to assist Indian industries with bounties and protective tariffs as Japan and the U.S.A. did during the last fifty years. Miss Mayo on the contrary attributes it to the personal inertia of the people and to their unwillingness to invest capital in Indian enterprises—a myth long ago exposed by Mr. H. M. Hyndman and others. Prof. Wood refutes Miss Mayo's proposition that military expenditure is justifiable by quoting from Mr. MacDonald who in one of his books on India admitted that the British "spent far too much of the income of India on imperial purposes and far too little on Indian development"; and he endorses the opinion expressed by Sir M. Visvesvaraya that the people of India are supporting one of the costliest administrations in the world. Discussing the Reforms from various points of view, the author thinks that one of the strongest reasons for giving Dominion Status to India immediately is that it will put an end to the development of the two extremes of the British ultra-conservative and Indian non-co-operator. He describes the account of the Indian Legislatures given by Miss Mayo as silly and he says:—"We could take the British Cabinet and sit them along a table and opposite them sit man for man an Indian just as good in every respect." This is no small tribute to Indian character and ability from an Englishman who defends Mother India.

V. N. GODBOLE.

### Our European Letter.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

THE results of the twelfth session of the International Labour Conference—one of the longest—which is now over may be summarised as follows:—

In accordance with the double discussion procedure which the Conference now follows, final discussions were held on two of the main subjects on the agenda, and preliminary discussions regarding the other two. The prevention of industrial accidents and the protection of workers engaged in the loading and unloading of ships were the two questions that came in for the second part of the discussion this year. The Recommendation that the Conference adopted concerning the first consisted in emphasizing the need to conduct special investigation of the causes of accidents and methods of prevention, the forms of close co-operation between the State and the employers' and workers' agencies, the obligations legally incumbent on both employers and workers, and the extension of the system of insurance. A draft convention regulating the cargo on boats and a proposal to introduce general legislation making it compulsory for every factory dealing with machinery to be adequately equipped with safety appliances were also considered in this connection.

The discussion on the loading and unloading of ships involved a great many technical details, Mr. Choudhury of Indian workers' group who spoke on this subject drew the attention of the Conference to the lack of any adequate legislation in India dealing with the dock workers. Mr. Clow, representing the Government of India, regretted his inability to go into the details mentioned by Mr. Choudhury but assured the Conference that his Government would consider the measure sympathetically. He said he would have spoken more definitely but for the delay in receiving the draft proposal in India which gave no time for the Government to go into the matter. Two Recommendations were adopted in this connection, one dealing with reciprocal agreements between member-States and the other, close co-ordination of effort on the part of employers and workers, and the setting up of a body of experts to devise standard types of appliances.

Forced labour was a special feature of this Conference on account of the extra-European character of the subject. While the Conference unanimously favoured the abolition of forced labour in principle, not many of those who worked on the Committee or those acquainted with the subtleties of the Geneva language would be convinced that the Governments concerned took a bold or creditable attitude in the matter. It was generally agreed that compulsory labour of any kind should be tolerated only on public grounds, and the spirit of the solidarity of labour was no doubt responsible for bringing up in the discussion such points as the rights of association of non-white workers, the maximum of an eight-hour day in cases of compulsory labour, the setting up of a permanent committee of experts in the International Labour Office to study forced labour and other cognate questions such as the indentured contract labour.

There was considerable opposition—Mr. Mukerji made himself an exponent of this opinion among our representatives and was corrected by Mr. Kalappa of the workers' group—to the idea of the Hours Convention being extended to the salaried employees, but this Conference would probably be of educative value in making the idea familiar. Among the other items on the agenda was the subject of unemployment, of which the Conference desired that it should be studied by the I.L.O. in conjunction with the economic and financial section of the League as regards the effect of fluctuations of exchange on unemployment and that the Governing Body should consider its being placed on the agenda of next year's Conference. Thanks to the change of Government in Great Britain and the new British Govern-

ment's message that the early ratification of the Hours Convention would be considered, the discussion on this point took a different turn this year. The Conference affirmed its conviction that any revision of the Hours Convention should be considered only with regard to some specific point and the general principle involved should be deemed established and irrevocable.

There were some interesting resolutions adopted by the Conference this year. Monsieur Jouhaux moved that the Governing Body pursue a generous policy in determining the budget of the I.L.O. and keep its expansion in view. The Chinese workers' delegate urged equal legislation for white and non-white workers and was warmly supported by Mr. Joshi who pointed out that this was one of the best means of dealing with the complaints sometimes heard that where white and non-white labour were co-existent, the latter tended to bring down the standard of the former. The Japanese workers' delegate put in a plea for the abolition of underground labour for women and children, and Mr. Joshi, for the representation of non-white labour from colonial countries in the Conference. The other resolution of Mr. Joshi recommending a revision of the provisions of the Hours Convention concerning India with a view to bringing India into line with other countries in this regard was also adopted, although Mr. Kasturibhai the employers' delegate vehemently opposed it, and Dr. Paranjpye, representing the Government of India, assumed an evasive attitude. Answering both these at the same time, Mr. Joshi said that the Indian employers could logically claim to have the Hours Convention properly enforced in India only after it was ratified by European countries if they followed in the footsteps of European nations in all other respects, and that the Government of India was ill-advised in using the newly appointed Royal Commission as a pretext for avoiding pressing labour legislation. If such be the case, he added, he would, if necessary, dissociate himself from the Royal Commission. The Chinese Government delegate, who wished to obtain the sanction of the Conference to his attack on ex-territoriality on account of its baneful effect on uniformity in labour legislation in China, was not quite successful, but few will deny that he left his mark on the Conference. China was notable not only because this was the first time that a complete Chinese delegation had come to Geneva for the Labour Conference but also because the entire delegation seemed to reflect the spirit of new China. More and more Eastern States are taking their due place and importance in international organisation and Geneva gives the opportunity for our representatives to confer with representatives of other Asiatic States in a meeting such as the Congress wanted once to bring about.

GENEVA, June 27.

## Reviews.

### CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY INFLUENCE.

**CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.** By ARTHUR MAYHEW. (Faber & Gwyer.) 1929. 22cm. 260p. 12s. 6d.

THE title of this book, written by a former member of the Indian Educational Service in Madras who rose to be Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, is too ambitious for its contents. From the title one would have expected a treatise on the influence of Christianity on the Government of



India and on the influence of the Government of India on the position and prospect of Christianity in India. Instead of that we get a review of the policy of British rule in India from the days of the East India Company down to the present day towards Christian Missions (especially Protestant) and Christian missionary enterprise in education. He traces the history of this policy from the proselytising tendencies of the early East India Company when, e. g., a charter of 1693 insisted that the company's chaplains "should apply themselves to learn the languages of the country the better to enable them to instruct the gentoos who should be the servants of the Company or their agents in the Protestant religion" through variations indicated, for instance, by the approval of Shwartz's work in the south or by the non-committal indifference in Bengal or by the attitude of frank hostility after the Vellore Mutiny up to the Charter of 1833 which finally gave the "liberty of proselytizing" to Christian Missions in India. Even as a review of the work of Christian missions in India, the work is not complete as the author has little to say about other than the Protestant missions, and of these mainly the C.M.S., the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.C. fill the bill. Mr. Mayhew has much to say of the influence of Christian ideas and institutions on Indian education and Indian social and religious reform, with most of which few Indian readers could disagree. But what has all this to do with the influence of Christianity and the Government of India upon each other?

In fact, Mr. Mayhew, when he tries to trace the influence of Christianity upon the Government of India, treads on rather shaky ground. For instance, he tries to prove that Bentinck and Dalhousie were roused into their social legislation by their Christianity. The most that can be said about this is the Scotch verdict "not proven". Bentinck's hatred of Bishops and the Established Church are referred to by the author himself and there is no reference to Christianity in Dalhousie's Act of 1850 removing the disabilities of converts from one religion to another. The fact of the matter is that it has not been their religion but genial humanitarianism, "Western science and Benthamism that prevailed with the good rulers of British India in their social reform legislation. What a great missionary Alexander Duff said of the policy of Lord Auckland, "that it was remarkable for its concessions and compromises, for its education without religion, its ethics without a God," may be said of the policy of British rule and British rulers of India. If Christianity did influence any of them in the reforming work they did for the country, they took good care to hide it. Except in the case of Lawrence and Ripon, public school, university, Aristotle or Plato, or Jeremy Bentham had more to do with their policy in India than Christianity. The book will however serve one useful purpose. In spite of its title and the author's failure to justify it, he has shown how much Christianity and Christian institutions can do for the progress of India and that this unofficial influence of Christianity will be welcomed by Indians that are interested in

the progress of their country. Although Christian Missions may not be welcome, their work in the field of education and social amelioration will always be welcome to the leaders of Indian society as to the Government of India. Of this we have abundant proof in the later chapters of Mr. Mayhew's book.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

### EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

**FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.** By CHARLES C. PETERS. (Macmillan.) 1927. 20cm. 447p. 10s. 6d.

EDUCATION is a very much more comprehensive and many-sided thing than we ordinarily realize. Too often, when we think of education, the idea of going to school or college is uppermost in our minds, but as a matter of fact, school and college is only a small—a very small—factor in the total process of education. For hundreds—perhaps for hundreds of thousands—of years men got along without any schools at all, and the founders of many of the great nations of the world had on the average only a few months' schooling in their whole lives; even now-a-days, the school occupies only a small part of one's time. A child spends six of his most impressionable years before he enters a school; during this time he learns the vernacular, learns to get along with his companions, learns to protect himself from countless dangers, and learns to help himself in attaining his ends when dealing with many material situations; in fact, there is no other six-year period in which he learns an equal amount that is so fundamental to social and individual living

For there are educational forces of the most profound significance continually playing upon him, whether out of school or in it, and it is with these educational forces that the book under review is concerned. "There is", says the author, "a need for an educational sociology that will be parallel to and equal in importance to educational psychology", and this seems to be especially true of a country like India where the great majority of the people have on an average only about four years of actual schooling, the remainder of their education being obtained from agencies which would perhaps be better organised if such a subject as educational sociology were made a subject in Teachers Training Schools and Colleges.

One very important chapter in the book deals with the press as an educational agency. There is no doubt that the press should be, and is, in most countries, aside from the school and the home, by far the most "potent of all agencies of education and social control." The platform and the play ground are also adequately dealt with as forces in moulding public opinion. "Utility as a criterion for Curriculum Building" is the subject of a chapter which should cause educationists in India furiously to think. The amount of time which is now wasted in the elementary school in the teaching of subjects of absolutely no use or interest to the pupil is a problem which is occupying the attention of all who have the

welfare of the child at heart. The term 'utility' of course needs to be taken in a larger sense than it is sometimes understood; we must employ the term in the sense in which the economist uses it, in the sense of *want-satisfying power* and this covers the spiritual as well as the material. No education can be complete which ignores the spiritual side of man.

"Democracy and Education", which is the subject of a chapter, should be of interest to educationists and politicians alike, and the author's claim that we must develop an adequate system of vocational education will be endorsed by many. One cannot deny that for the most part we have been conducting a school system that fits people for leisure, only encouraging the idea that the life of leisure is the ideal life and developing a certain snobbish contempt for common daily work. We need, for example, an education in the management of the home, when one considers the enormous waste which is going on in this sphere. Home-making is woman's chief vocation, and our school system is doing nothing, or very little, to prepare for this responsibility, and there are few, if any, outside agencies to make up the deficiency.

The second part of the book consists of scientific methods for determining the objectives of school education, and although it may not be of such general interest to the layman, it is a most important contribution to education, especially in India to-day. Perhaps the most pressing problem at present on the educational horizon is the development of an adequate technique for research as a basis for curriculum making, and this section of the book enters into the subject logically and concretely.

The book is certainly worthy to be placed on the bookshelf of every person who is interested in education—and who is not?—and it would make a valuable text-book for students of education in that vague subject known as "General Principles," in education examinations. We heartily recommend it.

CORRIE GORDON.

### AMERICAN CAPITALISM IN ITS TRUE COLOUR.

**THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOUR.** By ROBERT W. DUNN. (International Publishers, New York.) 1927. 19cm. 308p. \$1.75.

NO indictment can be severer than is contained in this book of the treatment of labour by the American capitalists which renders the so-called democratic system of government in the U.S. a sham—a pure plutocracy masquerading as democracy. World supremacy for the American ruling class followed from the World War. During the three war years the United States remained neutral: that is, its business men were free to sell to both sides, and to reap a profit which has never been equalled by any business group in a similar length of time. The result was that the world went into the debt of the United States to the extent of about eighteen billion dollars in six or seven years. Business interests took advantage of this and consolidated their position, their assets being (1) The ownership under the private property law of the entire economic mechanism including railroads, factories, mines, stores, banks and land; (2) The control through banking and credit of

the wealth surplus of the country; (3) A vast and rapidly increasing vested income from stocks, bonds, mortgages, notes; (4) The controlling position of international creditor; (5) Rapid colonial expansion, particularly in the Caribbean; (6) A well-organised and generously financed army and navy; (7) The control of propaganda machinery, including schools, the press, the church, the movie, the radio, the advertising profession.

Since the War American workers have been manoeuvred into a critical economic position. Their unions have lost a third in membership; they have suffered heavy defeats, particularly in the labour battles between 1919 and 1922. "American Plan" is the term the employers use to designate the open or non-union shop, the implication being that it is a patriotic measure and that the employers who resist this condition stand for something anti-American, or at least un-American. From time to time there are drives for the open shop. Big corporations of business not only keep an 'open shop' and refuse to deal with a labour union even though the union embraced 95 per cent. of their workers, but also refuse to sell their articles to other business men who would not adopt the same open shop—non-union—policy.

The employers' associations following this policy are of various kinds. Some are local bodies, and some cover only the employers in one trade or industry. Some are national trade associations, and some general employers' associations covering the whole country. Some use outspoken titles to express their object and purpose. Others adopt such protective coloration as "Citizens' Committee" or "Citizens' Alliance". The black list, political and legislative activity, labour spies, strike breaking, individual contracts are some of the means used for the purpose of smashing trade unions. A somewhat novel strike-breaking method was employed by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association during a miners' strike in 1925. The members of that Association boycotted the miners and refused to sell food, clothing, fuel and other necessities. Every order that came from a mining community was held up. This method of starving out workers by a sort of boycott was used also in the West Virginia coal fields. Still more inhuman were the operations of the police during the strike of Passaic woollen workers during the year 1926. The entire corrupt political machinery of most of the boroughs involved was at the disposal of the mill-owners. Clubbings, illegal arrests, the use of tear gas and fire hose, sadistic third-degree methods, forced 'confessions', and the usual cruelties were inflicted upon peaceful, underpaid textile workers and their families.

In addition to rough and ready methods, there are the 'newer tactics,' the foremost among which stand the Company Unions known variously as 'employee representation plans', 'works councils', 'conference boards', 'plant committees', and so on. Then come employee stock ownership, insurance and pensions personnel, welfare and service activities. These subtler methods are more dangerous. Labour organisations in America find it hard to withstand these 'older' and 'newer' offensive and defensive measures of capitalism. They constitute a challenge to the very existence of trade unions. One of the main reasons why American labour is so helpless before the onslaught of capitalism seems to be that organised labour in the United States has generally refused to take an active part in political struggles, contenting itself with action in the industrial field alone. But this cannot be for ever. There are indications of an active discontent leading to the for

mation of a strong labour party. Sooner or later, the American capitalists will have to face the danger of a proletarian bid for power.

P. G. KANEKAR.

### THE DYNAMICS OF PEACE.

#### THE COMMON SENSE OF WORLD PEACE.

By H. G. WELLS. (The Hogarth Press.) 2s. 6d.

#### DISARMAMENT. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA.

(Oxford University Press.) 1929. 23cm. 317p. 15s.

SOME two years ago or so, in another column of this journal, I had occasion to refer to an address of Mr. H. G. Wells at the Sorbonne in Paris which has since then become famous as "Democracy Under Revision". There Mr. Wells seemed to argue that with the evolution and establishment of democratic ideals the day of democracy was done, and to realise them and render them practical an *elite* comparable to the Japanese *Samurai* was needed. By expounding such a view the apostle of Socialism caused not a little surprise among his admirers. But no such feeling will overtake the readers of "The Common-Sense of World-Peace", an address delivered before the Reichstag last month and now as fully and widely discussed as all things Wellian. Mr. Wells now discourses on the prospects of world-peace and leads a vehement attack against those who lay stress on the first syllable of the word while professing to be internationalists. He sets off the idea of cosmopolitanism against this mild manner of bringing the nations together, for, in his opinion, it leads nowhere at all. The author of *A Modern Utopia* has lived to see the whirl of events shape the world in such a way as to render his dream most attractive and seemingly inevitable. And well may he lecture to a world weary of the propaganda for peace and for the League of Nations:

"Ten years of faith healing for the sickness of the world are enough. It is time that the issue between peace by treaty and peace by coalescence was made plain and real work for world peace begun."

By "peace by coalescence" he means the possibility for

"a man—with a ton of goods—to travel from Cardiff to Vladivostock or from Moscow to San Francisco, as he can travel now from San Francisco to New York, without a passport and without a customs examination and without seeing a single battleship on the sea, a single soldier in uniform or a single warplane in the air."

The task is human because

"loyalties vary enormously and can be varied enormously . . . What man has made man can remake, and if the real way to world peace is to be opened out, if we are needed to go on towards human federation, this vast complexity of patriotic teaching, emotional appeal, social and police pressure, cultivated hostility and distrust, flag waving, flag saluting and everlastingly reiterated patriotic sentiment which now divides man from man so implacably throughout the world has to be faced and fought and overcome."

Senor de Madariaga comes to the same conclusion, although differently expressed, in a study of, what may be truly called the burning question of the day, disarmament. Having been for many years the head of the Disarmament section of the League of Nations Secretariat, and possessing a style which, as always in good literature, can charm the cultivated and persuade the ordinary reader, he will not lack a public. Being a systematic study of the subject, the book will commend itself to all those who are engaged in the practical affairs of politics.

"What we call wars are but fits," he says, "of hostilities in a disease which is the real war, a state of open rivalry, of jealousy, of grab, of fear of our neighbours' progress."

He is right to draw attention to the fact that, quite apart from the vicious circle of armaments causing wars and wars creating armaments, there is a peace-time use of armaments, so to speak, which consists in backing up national policies with threats. Threats or potential wars have in international or political life much the same consequence as official power or authority has in ordinary life. Consequently, no fundamental enquiry into disarmament may neglect the importance of what may be called a pacific outlook. Senor de Madariaga does not quote Emerson, but a good part of his book is little more than a commentary on the text: "it is really a thought that built this portentous war establishment and a thought shall also melt it away." The real task of world peace is, therefore, as wide as the world and as significant as life.

"The world is one. It must be thought of as one governed as one, kept in peace as one . . . We need not simply a world community which will forestall conflicts and solve them peacefully . . . but which will regulate its life from A to Z on the principle that the world is one and that there is one common interest."

What are the obstacles in the way of such a realisation? Besides, differing national psychologies, of which we are given many illustrations in the differences between French and British tendencies in the disarmament discussions, there are political difficulties. There are changes of governments.

"By its constitution the League is like an orchestra of fifty-five musicians which must seek perfect unison. When this has been secured after infinite patience, one or two of the musicians are withdrawn and replaced by new artists with new instruments and new ideas about the tune to be played."

Different nations are at different stages of imperial evolution:

"for some of them (nations), youthful and cynical, it (the idea of giving up armaments) sounds like a hypocritical appeal to stop gambling made in the name of virtue by a winning gambler when he has wiped out the green table with his lucky hands."

Further, in dealing with disarmament there are "the forms of our dead ideas still lingering in our thought after we have discarded the ideas themselves."

"England, as a whole, still believes in the supremacy of the British Navy as the panacea for all her international ills. That it has been a panacea for about three centuries no one could deny. That it played its last scene in this magnificent rôle during the Great War no one can deny. But that it was the last scene is apparent to every one outside England and to those clear-sighted Englishmen who do not allow the glow of the past to interfere with the light of the present."

In both these books much space is given to the discussion of the deficiencies of the Kellogg Pact, and the grounds on which they condemn it are not unlike. Mr. Wells asks Americans to contemplate in the light of the experience of the Civil War whether their power and prosperity would have been possible but for their federal system, and Senor de Madariaga similarly makes out a plea for the French *l'organisation de la paix* because the Pact strengthens the assumptions of unlimited sovereignty and also, by rejecting sanctions, it fails to inculcate the necessary habit for nations to come together and pool their resources in critical situations. But whereas Mr. Wells criticises the League system as well as the Paris Pact in the same breath, Senor de Madariaga in the course of a long argument in the closing

section of his book concludes, like a good European, in favour of Great Britain's claims to lead the movement for world-peace after comparing them with America's. Here he is perhaps nearer earth and nearer the truth, but one sometimes feels as if one should like to know what exactly is meant by leadership in the matter of world-peace.

RAGHUNATH ROW.

### POST-WAR BANKING.

**POST-WAR BANKING POLICY.** By REGINALD MCKENNA. (Heinemann.) 1928. 21cm. 149p. 7s. 6d.

ONE is apt to think that a collection of addresses made from year to year cannot claim to be strung together by any central theme, though they be delivered by the same person and in the same institution. Mr. McKenna's book is singularly successful in that respect and full credit is due to him for it though it is a fact that the banker's problem remained fundamentally the same during the whole of the post-war period, viz., the adjustment of currency and credit on the one side and of price levels and economic efficiency on the other.

In his lectures Mr. McKenna is remarkably free from political or social bias so that he has tackled the post-war credit system strictly from the economic point of view and it is interesting to note that his massive common sense and orthodox economic views bring him to look upon the condition of Germany with the eyes of Mr. J. M. Keynes as shown in the latter's "Economic Consequences of the War." They have both evoked much sympathy for Germany and also much hatred for themselves, but there is no gainsaying the economic truth of their findings. Mr. McKenna has shown beyond challenge that the Allies' policy on reparations is wholly unfounded and hopelessly suicidal.

Another outstanding problem tackled in the course of these addresses is the difficult question of the relation between currency and credit and price level, and the interdependence of the Central and other joint stock banks since the war. His exposition of the subject reveals an infinite mastery of the monetary changes and international dealings and payments that followed the war, though perhaps he is now and then disposed to lay an over-emphasis on the financial policy of Government in the matter of loans and deflation even in such a country as Great Britain. What is of particular interest to India is the pronouncement by such a high authority that gold is the determinant factor in all monetary problems like currency or inflation or deflation or price levels or unemployment; it is however noticeable that latterly he has been impressed by the economy of the use of gold in America made possible by the adoption of an Exchange Standard instead of Gold Standard and Currency. He however frankly regrets that no gold using country is so favourably inclined towards a managed system, not excluding Great Britain herself. But his further conclusions that the American Federal Reserve System is more free and elastic, while the Bank of England constitution is too antiquated, and that exchange and credit systems should be made less and less dependent on the incoming or outgoing of gold, are less controversial and more readily appealing even to the orthodox gold users.

On reading these addresses in India one can only wish that a similar review of Indian monetary policy in the post-war period by such a high autho-

rity in such lucid style were also available to the Statutory Commission in order to revise the Government's financial policy for the future.

C. GOPAL MENON.

### RUSSIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

**THE LETTERS OF THE TSAR TO THE TSARITSA, 1914-1917.** Ed. by C. E. VULLIAMY and trans. by A. L. HYNES. (John Lane.) 1929. 22cm. 324p. 15s.

PERHAPS the most valuable document bearing on the last years of Imperial Russia is the "Letters of the Tsar to the Tsaritsa" written between 1914 and 1917. These letters were exchanged, almost day by day, during all the separations of the Tsar from the Tsaritsa. The correspondence was carried on in English, but the publication before us is a retranslation of the Russian translation of the English original.

The value of the letters consists in the fact that they disclose the most intimate traits in the characters of the principal persons of the period. They show the Tsar as a well-intentioned ruler, but entirely under the influence of the Tsaritsa and her evil genius, Rasputin. The Tsar's decision to assume the supreme command of the Army was due to the insistence of the Tsaritsa and Rasputin. His decision proved fatal, for it estranged the Throne from the country. The Home Affairs were left under the control of the Tsaritsa who was entirely guided by the narrow-minded, self-seeking adventurer, Rasputin. The ministers of the Tsar who had opposed the Tsar's assumption of the supreme command resigned one after the other, and were replaced by the nominees of the Tsaritsa. The Tsaritsa's Government, therefore became unpopular. In the meantime, the Tsar's assumption of the supreme command had not improved the military situation. The Revolution took place and Russia became a Republic.

To the future historian of the Russian Revolution, therefore, these letters are very valuable. But without the Tsaritsa's letters, they lose much of their value; for readers of this book will find for themselves that the Tsar's letters are in most cases answers to those of the Tsaritsa. When it is remembered that throughout the correspondence the initiative was chiefly with the Tsaritsa, the separation of the Tsaritsa's letters from those of the Tsar will be felt as unfortunate. We wish, therefore, that the Editor had taken care to publish the letters of the Tsaritsa too, so that the student of the Russian Revolution might have the opportunity of reading the whole correspondence in its proper order.

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