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Topics of the Week.

Anti-Intimidation Bill.

WE have said in our leader that the MacDonald Government has done well so far. We have said so advisedly. As an illustration of this we may mention that the Government has declined, as was recently announced in answer to a question in the Commons, to sanction the Government of India to issue an Ordinance making intimidation a cognisable offence. H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes had indeed felt so sure that the Ordinance would be had for the asking that at the Conference in Bombay he declared that an Ordinance would issue in a couple of days. He was warned that it was not the Conservative Government that was now in control, but a Labour Government. To him however it seemed to make no difference; and his assurance was in no way shaken by the change of Ministry. But the change has made a very great difference to the way in which Governments can handle strikes in this country. Mr. Wedgwood Benn has put his foot down on these short cuts to public security. He seems to have said: "If any special powers are necessary, seek them from your Legislature. I cannot help you there." And the Bombay Government has now laid two special measures (one making intimidation a cognisable offence and the other taking power to expel bad characters from the Presidency) before the Council. The composition of the Council is so unsatisfactory as to give us no ground for hoping that they will refuse to pass the bills without thorough scrutiny. They are almost sure to succumb to the cry, now current, "strike down the Communists." The fact however is that these measures will be of little practical use even assuming that they are free from any objection on the ground of principle. The organisers

of the Girni Kamgar Union have come to wield tremendous influence on the working population. The influence is not of the best. We are ourselves engaged in counteracting it. But it is a fatal mistake to proceed to take remedial measures by assuming that the influence is acquired by exercising intimidation. The recent General Strike was made effective in the course of one day. Can it be believed that intimidation accounted for so many people joining in? In any case, intimidation is not practised to the extent imagined; and if it were, the measures proposed would not help. The Labour Government has thrown on our local Councillors a tremendous responsibility. Will they rush in where the British Government fears to tread?

* * *

'Basis of Agreement' in Kenya.

The Europeans of Kenya have announced that the basis of agreement which Sir Samuel Wilson had been deputed to explore has been reached. This news may give our readers the impression that the Indian and the European communities have perhaps arrived at some settlement of differences on the common electoral roll. For the Hilton Young Commission had specially recommended the High Commissioner, after his appointment, to find out what kind of civilization test would make the introduction of such a roll acceptable to both communities. The agreement which the Europeans now proclaim does not refer to this question at all, and this question, on which it was his special function to try and bring about an accord, Sir S. Wilson never did handle. On the contrary he encountered Mr. Sastri when he visited Kenya as a representative of the Government of India for giving Sir Samuel help in reaching an agreement, with the announcement that he had no authority to reopen the question of communal vs. common electoral roll...

This foreclosing of the one issue which the Government of India was keen on discussing even before the arrival of its Agent in that country, after repeated promises to throw the whole question open for discussion and negotiation, is a scandal the like of which has not been witnessed for a long time past. As Pandit Kunzru says in an interview from Simla:

"While it was publicly declared that Sir Samuel Wilson's inquiries would be perfectly unrestricted, he was privately instructed to exclude the question of a common roll from the purview of his inquiry... The instructions of Mr. Amery regarding a common roll had been communicated to Europeans before Mr. Sastri landed in Mombasa."

And he naturally asks:

We are entitled to know why Mr. Sastri was asked at all to take the trouble of going to Kenya when the most

important question had been prejudged. Who was responsible for it? Did Government depute Mr. Sastri to East Africa with a full knowledge of the facts or were they as effectually deceived by the Conservative Government as the British Parliament?

The Hindu has well put it.

The way in which the mission was sent and the status assigned to the mission were humiliating, not to the Indian Government merely, but to India as a whole. The Government sent one of the most distinguished of Indian publicists as their Agent only to find that he was to go as a suitor and plead their cause before a subordinate officer of the Colonial Office. That Mr. Sastri found it his duty to discharge such a task, may be accounted to his sympathy with the cause to which he possibly subordinated considerations of prestige and status. The Government of India however ought not to have placed him in that oppressing situation. The country has a right to demand why the Government were guilty of so colossal a blunder as that involved in sending the Sastri mission and we hope they will lose no time in placing the full facts before the public regarding this unfortunate affair.

* * *

What then is this "basis of agreement" about? It is about the composition of Kenya Legislative Council and other matters on which no consultation was recommended by the Commission. The ex-Government has just left out of the scope of the inquiry the one matter on which, the Commission said, preliminary inquiry with a view to communal agreement was necessary, and it instituted an inquiry and sought to elicit the European community's consent on matters, decisions in regard to which were to be taken irrespectively of their consent. The Kenya Europeans had declared themselves unwilling to consider political federation unless they were granted additional powers in the Legislature, not merely advisory powers but executive powers. The announcement they now make declares that in the Cabinet would be included some, say two, Elected Members as holders of portfolios for public departments. The expression "Elected Members" as used by Europeans of Kenya only means Europeans; but no doubt is left on this point. The version of this agreement, which is published in the *Times* says in so many words "European elected members". Again the Legislative Council is to have complete control of the Native Policy, the Federal Council having nothing to do with it. The Hilton Young Commission had on the contrary recommended that the Federal authority should evolve a native policy common to all the East African countries and should see to it that it was faithfully carried out. The "agreement" now reached thus runs diametrically contrary to it. The fact is that Europeans will not tolerate any derogation of authority but will insist upon receiving some addition to it before they consent to any federation. It is said that Sir Samuel Wilson will lay the "agreed solution" before Government, and if it were the Baldwin Government that were it would have given effect to it without any ado. But the apple-cart of Mr. Amery has been upset by reason of Mr. MacDonald having turned out the Old Guard. Mr. Amery has now no power to give effect to this pact, and we have no doubt that the Labour Government will know what to make of it.

* * *

Naval agreement assured.

SINCE the breakdown of the Geneva Conference, statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic have realized that competition in naval construction between

Great Britain and the United States was not only financially disastrous but was a great obstruction in the path leading towards disarmament. Mr. MacDonald and President Hoover must both receive the hearty applause of all who sincerely wish for peace and who believe that disarmament can be a reality only by practical action instead of merely paying a lip-service to instruments like the Kellogg Pact. The wild orgy of naval building due to mutual suspicion had to cease and it is wonderful how in such a short time Mr. MacDonald has succeeded in allaying suspicions and arrived at a working agreement with the U. S. In his statement in the Commons he declared that he was determined to concentrate on the question of naval settlement until the issue is reached. As an actual proof of their real desire to further the cause of disarmament, the British Government has suspended a large part of the naval programme for this year; simultaneously President Hoover has announced that the construction of three cruisers would be suspended till a final agreement between Britain and U. S. had been reached. And all this has been effected with the consent of the Admiralty who, Mr. MacDonald said had, loyally helped him to achieve his object with the minimum of dislocation and hardship and to whom he paid a sincere tribute. It is quite clear that his task would have been well-nigh impossible, with the Admiralty working at cross-purposes and hindering his plans at every step.

After the preliminary Anglo-American agreement has been arrived at, Mr. MacDonald proposes to invite a conference of Powers to reach a comprehensive agreement on the question of naval building, which when ratified would be placed before the League of Nations Preparatory Commission as a contribution to its work of general disarmament. Thus there will be a continuous series of agreements to make the work of the League easy. Mr. MacDonald also made a pointed reference to the Allies' pledge to reduce other forms of armament, given at the Treaty of Versailles, when imposing disarmament on Germany, which we believe has been nearly forgotten by every nation. It is estimated that if the policy adumbrated by the Premier were to continue in operation there would be a saving of nearly £7 million every year; one can imagine the wide prospect of social amelioration work opened up by the saving of such an amount.

Apart from this aspect of the question the great value of Mr. MacDonald's naval proposal lies in its being a genuine gesture of peace and in its being the promise of a solid amount of disarmament work. It shows also that Mr. MacDonald realizes the true implications of being a signatory to the Kellogg Pact, in contrast to the Tory Government which regarded it as an idle formality. In view of the backing of President Hoover the Opposition in Parliament will find it a cheerless task to criticize the Premier's proposal or to display it as a breach from the tradition of British foreign policy. As a matter of fact the late Government were outwardly agreeable to the policy of disarmament and it is not for them to criticize the new policy. In any case having openly placed his pacific programme before the electors he may be certain to receive support from the major portion of the British people; in fact he may be practically said to have a mandate from the constituencies which have voted to place his Party in the majority. Besides he can point out to the intolerable burden of taxation which is weighing down on the British citizen from which naval retrenchment will give him at least some relief. Luckily at this time the

public opinion of the world is decidedly in favour of pacifism and is inclined to give a fair trial to the activities of the League of Nations.

Government and the Salt Industry.

AFTER much deliberation the Government of India has done the right thing in the matter of the Salt industry. They have decided to refer the matter to the Tariff Board, to consider the advisability of encouraging the production of salt in India of such quality as to be able to supplant the imported article and to make recommendations in case they are convinced about it. The purview of the enquiry includes the supplies from Aden and from Indian States. Reviewing the history of the question, the Government refer to the recent examination by the Finance Member of the possibilities of utilizing a suitable area at Karachi to the utmost for the production of superior salt, as a result of which they have arrived at the conclusion that this can be achieved by private enterprise and fresh applications will be awaited till the end of the calendar year. As we look back upon the reasons given a few days ago by the Central Board of Revenue for declaring that there was no *prima facie* case for a reference to the Tariff Board we realize that they are inconclusive. The Central Board of Revenue made much of the difficulty of transporting salt to Bengal whereas this difficulty ought to be solved by any Government which has the interests of indigenous industry at heart, by special differential rates. In any case the Government of India realize now that there is a strong feeling in the Assembly that the country should be self-sufficient in the matter of salt. It is a pity that the Government of India should require pressure from the Assembly in order to do the most obvious thing with regard to this important industry. If superior methods have succeeded in supplying a foreign article which has succeeded in ousting the home-produced salt the proper remedy is, instead of acquiescing in the result and merely looking on, to introduce the superior methods in India. It has been said that the taste of Bengal and Burma consumers for white salt is an acquired taste which could easily be modified; but we ourselves would not go to the point of interfering with individual tastes however acquired. But it would be highly absurd to maintain that India cannot muster sufficient skill and money to manufacture a refined variety. There is no doubt however that the Government have made a bogey of this gastronomic proclivity of the Bengal consumer. It is the duty of the enterprising manufacturer now to come forward in order to obtain leases in Karachi for the manufacture of the superior article suited to the Bengal market. The Government have every right to lay down conditions about the soundness and efficiency of the concern which agrees to undertake the task but they should be more sympathetic than strict. As for the interests of the consumer we may trust the Tariff Board not to disregard them in fixing the amount of protective duty if any is thought desirable. It is to be noted that Government are also examining the question of introducing control over the distribution and retailing of salt in the interests of the consumer.

The Bombay Council.

IN his opening address at the Poona session of the Bombay Legislative Council H. E. the Governor reaffirmed the intentions of the Government with regard to the future land revenue policy, which were

already expressed in a letter to Mr. Shroff M. L. C. and on which we have already commented. The delay in the presentation of a fresh Land Revenue Bill, His Excellency said, was the index of the anxiety of the Government to bring no measure on the statute book unless they are convinced that it will be able to meet all reasonable criticism. We are convinced that the Council will take this declaration in the spirit in which it is given. An equally serious matter to which H. E. the Governor referred was the unsatisfactory condition of provincial finances; we have already reached a point at which commitments cannot be met unless either expenditure is reduced or additional resources are found. This is perfectly true; in fact we have been urging this all these years in our comments on the Budget and allied topics. Apart however from the relief which may be expected from a readjustment of the Meston Award, it cannot be denied that in a large measure relief will have to be sought by cutting down many of the items of a top-heavy administration; the Council will hardly reconcile itself to the curtailment of beneficial services. Reading between the lines of the address, we can detect a suggestion that new sources of taxation will have to be found out; before the Council can acquiesce in the increase of the burdens of the tax payer it will have to be satisfied that all the avenues of reasonable retrenchment have been traversed. Among the answers given to questions asked by member we should like to draw attention to the reply given by the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture to a question asked by Mr. R. G. Pradhan with regard to the changes in the rationing system. From 1922 to 1926 the quota of each shop was fixed by a reduction of 5 p. c. in the mofussil and 10 p. c. in the town of Bombay on the consumption of the basic year 1920-21; from April 1926 the unit of rationing became the district instead of the shop so that collector could transfer the quota of one shop to any other shop at his discretion, not in exceptional circumstances only but at any time. In 1927-28 all further rationing was stopped in the districts of Panch Mahals and East as well as West Khandesh; at the same time the 10 p. c. reduction of the town of Bombay was brought down to 5 p. c., that is the percentage operating in the mofussil. Since April 1928 further rationing has been completely stopped in the whole Presidency with the exception of Sind, the reduction however being based on the ration of the previous year, instead of on the ration of the basic year. From this it will be seen that there has been a regular deterioration of the position from the point of view of temperance. We do not know whether the present financial position will be made a fulcrum for further deviations from the prohibition policy. It is not surprising that Mr. Pataskar's bill for amending the Local Board Act was defeated since many of the persons whom he wished to enfranchise did not pay the local taxes not being agriculturists; in fact his list reminds us of the fancy-franchises of Disraeli. No taxation, no representation seems to be a principle to which it would be impossible to object with any claim to be heard. Mr. Pataskar's second bill deserved a better fate since in it he had tried to give a better definition of 'agriculturist' and thus remove a familiar anomaly by which a rich trader or a rich moneylender got himself declared as agriculturist in order to benefit by the Agriculturists Relief Act. His definition applied only to persons having an income below Rs. 1000 and who ordinarily engaged *personally* in agriculture. As the Hon. Mr. Hotson declared that the Act was going to be repealed it was judged inexpedient to waste energy over it.

Articles.

THE ALLAHABAD DECISION.

THE A.I.C.C. found itself compelled at Allahabad to bow to the storm of opposition raised to the Council resignation proposal of the Working Committee, in spite of the fact that the opposition was poorly represented at the meeting, some of the most prominent oppositionists having stayed away, apparently, in a huff. The Committee postponed taking a decision on the question of resignation till next year and saved its face by recording a resolution that if the Congress decided upon mass civil disobedience in accordance with the Calcutta resolution, those of the Congress persuasion who were now on legislative bodies would *ipso facto* cease to be legislators and would come out of those bodies. In this opinion expounded by Mahatma Gandhi who moved the resolution Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who seconded it concurred, and it was adopted *nem con*. But we cannot believe that when time comes to give effect to it, there will be no opposition offered in any quarter. On the contrary we think that an argument will surely be advanced that there is no inherent incompatibility between membership of a Legislative Council and active participation in civil disobedience; that members of Councils will have means denied to others of offering certain kinds of resistance; that they in any case will be instrumental in keeping out of Legislatures henchmen of Government and so on and so forth; and a plea will be put forward at the proper time to allow them to retain their seats in the Councils. But no one thought it prudent to quarrel with an abstract proposition now, which laid upon them no immediate duties. The necessary opposition which Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose conceive between simultaneous membership of a Legislative body on the one hand and of a body engaged in passive resistance on the other arises from the requirement that those who take their seats in the Legislatures must take an oath of allegiance to the King-Emperor, which it is supposed a passive resister cannot conscientiously fulfil. If it is the only objection that stands in the way of the Congress members retaining their connexion with the Legislatures we suppose it is by no means an insuperable one; for we cannot believe that it is beyond the power of subtle brains like Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's to argue it away. In Ireland they have found it possible for Republicans who fight the party in control on the physical plane to sit in Parliament and at the same time pursue their violent activities. Swarajists may yet be able to discover means to prove logical consistency between an oath of allegiance resulting from membership of Council and a pledge to engage in a campaign of non-violent resistance. That is however for the future; for the moment an agreement has been patched up between the contending parties.

The resolution adopted by the A.I.C.C. speaks only of resignation by members of the Congress who are in the Councils. In respect of resignation

the resolution is clear: it allows them to retain their seats. But what happens to the earlier resolution of the Working Committee enjoining upon them to abstain from Council sessions? Does that resolution stand? Or is the abstention policy too suspended till the end of the year? We believe the former is the case. For the Working Committee in Delhi, reviewing its resolution regarding abstention, confirmed it and further sought to stiffen it by recommending to the A.I.C.C. adoption of resignation. This the A.I.C.C. has adjourned, without either cancelling or modifying the previous resolution of which it was an extension. It seems to us therefore that the policy of abstention persists, though to us it is surprising that no one protested against it at Allahabad. If the absence of protests is due to the belief that the resolution of the A.I.C.C. postpones the question of abstention along with that of resignation, we are sure to hear more about it as soon as the disillusionment comes. It is hardly possible that those who issued such strongly worded protests against abstention when it was first decided upon have now acquiesced in it because the first step of resignation which had been threatened had for the moment been retracted. Abstention, we think, will continue to remain as distasteful to them now as before, and we are likely to have a repetition of the exhibition of some temper. Mahatma Gandhi, in moving the resolution that was eventually adopted, expressed the hope that a campaign of civil disobedience to which the Congress was pledged might yet be averted. It is only in the hands of the Labour Government to avert it. We too hope with Gandhiji that it will avert it by a timely gesture to be followed by a substantial accession to the national demand. But the gesture must come immediately. The Labour Government has done well so far: it is pursuing a policy of energy and determination in foreign politics; in India it has not yet given any serious ground for complaint in administrative matters. But will it do anything to reassure the public mind that it is in full sympathy with the political aspirations of the country and will take measures to give them a speedy realization?

LORD LLOYD SACKED.

WE in India are not in the least surprised that the MacDonald Ministry had to sack the imperious Lord Lloyd. This "prancing proconsul" was the last man in the world who could be thought of to play the delicate rôle of High Commissioner of Egypt, a country which already enjoys titular independence and which has been struggling towards real and practical independence. The Declaration of 1922 gives ample room for a man of Lord Lloyd's ambition to practise, under cover of safeguarding British and foreign interests, an irritating and mortifying interference in Egypt's internal autonomy. And from the disclosures now made it would appear that the High Commissioner, ever since he assumed office in October 1925, utilised every opportunity he had of interfering in the internal affairs of Egypt in a way which the declared

policy could not conceivably sanction. It had ever been the complaint of the Egyptian people that Lord Lloyd had prevented the late Zaghul Pasha from forming a ministry early in 1926 although he was leader of the majority party in Parliament, which in fact commanded 200 out of 214 seats. Lord Lloyd feared that if Zaghul were allowed to take the reins of office he would use all his tremendous influence and resources in cancelling the "reserved points" in the Declaration and if possible in expelling the British from Egypt. It was therefore widely rumoured at the time that Lord Lloyd arranged a meeting with Zaghul Pasha, at which he imposed on Zaghul certain conditions which he could not accept. Thereupon Zaghul had perforce to retire and advise King Fuad to send for Adli Pasha and invite him to form the Ministry. A question was in fact asked in the British Parliament (June 7th) on this subject, but prompt came the reply that no kind of conditions had been dictated to Zaghul and that no kind of undue pressure was exerted on him in the domestic politics of his country. In spite of this categorical denial, however, from authoritative sources, the public mind was uneasy on the matter and it now turns out that the denial itself was contrary to fact and that the popular apprehensions were well-founded. For Sir Austen Chamberlain's despatch to Lord Lloyd, written only two days before the General Election, and detailing the various matters in which the High Commissioner misinterpreted and misapplied the provisions of the Declaration, admits that "Sir Austen was opposed to Lord Lloyd's wish to prevent Zaghul Pasha becoming the Premier." There could not possibly be found a worse type of meddling in the internal concerns of a country on the part of one whose primary business was to see that the Egyptian Government did not in its excessive nationalistic zeal encroach on the sphere included within the four "reserved questions" and for the rest to soothe the nationalist sensibilities. Here of course there was no question of possible infringement of British rights and the British Government could defend the interference only by denying its existence. But now we know that facts better.

Take again the interference exercised by the British Government at Lord Lloyd's instance in preventing the Public Assemblies Bill from becoming law in 1928. The Bill was supposed to give free rein to mob violence making it difficult for the police to control it, whereas the real object was to curtail the power which the police had in dispersing public meetings and putting down political demonstrations long before disorder had begun to show itself or was even likely to show itself. As Mr. MacDonald said in the House of Commons on 10th May 1928: "The present police law is the inheritance of military law and partly of special administrative orders created as the result of troubled situations in Egypt." "It ought to be liberalised." "There are deputies now sitting in Parliament who have never once been allowed to address their constituencies. Police barred their way wherever they went." "There are actual ministers, not only depu-

ties, who, when they had announced public political meetings in their own constituencies, when fighting their constituencies, were met, not by cheering crowds of supporters, but by police batons and, in some cases, bayonets, and were not allowed to address their constituents." It was said that one clause of the Bill empowered the police to break up political demonstrations only "after serious disorders had occurred," but Mr. MacDonald pointed out how the Bill, which was in French, was also susceptible of the more natural interpretation, viz. that the police could not proceed to break up such demonstrations till they had reason to apprehend that disorder would occur. But the British Government chose to put the other interpretation and therefore, smelling danger in the Bill, sent an ultimatum and warships to Egypt—really, as Mr. MacDonald put it facetiously, "to settle the question of a French idiom." Sir Austen Chamberlain himself regarded this interference on the part of Lord Lloyd, it now turns out, as nothing short of "tearing up the Constitution." But though the Conservative Ministry protested against this and several other high-handed acts of the High Commissioner it always ended by abdicating.

The Army crisis of 1927 fell into the same category. The Parliamentary War Committee in May of that year proposed increases in the strength of the Egyptian army and improvement in its *matériel*. Egypt had then increased its forces $2\frac{1}{2}$ times within four years and reduced the number of British officers in the army from 172 to 9. No doubt these changes were of a radical character but Egypt was fully entitled to make them; and when Lord Lloyd objected he was roundly told that he was not concerned with the affair. The military organization of the country was a matter solely for Egyptian politicians to tackle; that it was not one of the "reserved points"; and that the British Government had no right to interfere. But the British Government claimed the right of interference on the ground that the Egyptian army was "a potentially hostile force" (1) and supported the claim by sending two battleships to Alexandria and one to Port Said. After this naval demonstration poor Egypt had to yield, but the yielding did not give any superior claims to England. Why should Egypt be prevented for taking such measures as she considers necessary in self-defence? The Parliamentary War Committee also recommended cancellation of the customary appropriation for the Sirdarate, i. e., proposed the abolition of the Sirdarate. Here too Egypt was well within her rights. Every "independent sovereign State" like Egypt was recognised to have the right to control its armed forces. It is now quite clear that the objection to Egypt's increasing the army and improving its efficiency proceeded from Lord Lloyd, although Sir Austen Chamberlain was in favour of letting Egypt carry out her projects. All these and other crises were created by the provocative acts of Lord Lloyd, for which he deserved cashiering long ago. But the long-suffering Conservative Ministry always let him have his way. This however was no longer possible under the Labour administration which

obviously could have no use for a man of his domineering personality.

Lord Lloyd has gone : so far so good. But what is going to be the new Ministry's Egyptian policy? It appears that the Ministry is already engaged in negotiating a Treaty such as Sir Austen Chamberlain tried to negotiate with Sarwat Pasha. One mistake then committed must be avoided. There must be no haggling. Sir Austen then put forward extreme demands which he went on lowering at every stage. Not in this way can Egyptian confidence be won and Egyptian friendship secured. We cannot now say on what lines a settlement of the "Reserved Points" can be attempted. But one or two principles seem to be fundamental. There must be no military occupation of Egypt. It was on this question that the earlier negotiations really broke. Sir Austen amidst all his concessions was adamant on the retention intact of the British Army of Occupation. Sarwat Pasha too yielded several points but found that Sir Austen's insistence on this condition was fatal to the whole treaty. In rejecting the treaty he urged that nothing else was possible since the treaty "failed to provide for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory by the British Army. There is really no need for the British Army to occupy all important towns in the country or the Suez Canal. In the final analysis friendly Egypt is a better guarantee of British interests than any Army quartered on that country. Egypt is quite prepared to enter into an alliance with Great Britain undertaking to place at her service all her resources in time of war. Moreover there are enough British troops and warships in the neighbourhood to afford the protection that may be required in case of need. The Canal zone must of course be put unreservedly under international protection. Again, all disputes that can be settled by international arbitration must be so settled. The League should be made to fill as large a place in Egyptian arrangements as possible.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.

NOW-a-days it is usual to criticise the existing order; and the combined institution of marriage and family is not free from such criticism. During the last fifty years many changes have been effected in the marriage laws of most European nations; but it is only latterly that views calculated to upset our fundamental notions of marriage are being propounded. The nature of the functions and relationship of the various members of the family group has changed owing to the new ideas of freedom and self-expression as also to economic forces particularly in urban districts. This has led some thinkers to question the necessity of grouping in families. If the institution of marriage and family is to have a secure position in the new order, in the majority of cases it should be capable of affording full scope for the legitimate exercise of the new ideas of freedom and self-expression and of adequately fulfilling its social function. Otherwise the institution will succumb to the hostile

attacks, and society, in the opinion of most sociologists, will be the poorer for it. Information as to the forms this institution is taking in a country like the United States is very important as a guide to other nations. "Social Problems of the Family" by E. R. Groves* provides this information on some aspects of the question, states the problems and suggests some measures for strengthening this institution.

The author gives a brief account of the primitive family, which to students of sociology will appear rather sketchy and one-sided. The social significance and human need of the family are stressed in two chapters. The history of the American family—especially the contrast between the conditions of the Colonial period and those of the post-suffragette times—conclusively proves that the prophets who saw the devil itself in the movement of woman suffrage were utterly wrong. The author narrates the effect on the home of married woman's going out to work. The problem of the relation of this to the fertility of the wage-earning woman and the health of the children is too complicated to furnish a definite answer. Woman's employment in industrial establishments awakens in her the primitive human love of being with people and makes housekeeping in isolation irksome. Then follows an account of the new idea of marriage as a union for sexual and social comradeship. It is generally known as "companionate". The parties enter into such a marriage with the deliberate intent of escaping children and social and legal responsibilities of marriage. It is entirely a private agreement between two persons of opposite sex mutually granting the right of free divorce and remarriage. The advocates of this movement would like the State to recognise such a contract as marriage. The coming of children is so much dreaded that it is estimated that half a million abortions take place annually in the United States. The motive for "companionate", in the opinion of the author, is "a craving for personal advantage or the seeking of pleasure". The necessity of a long course of training for a career in the case of men is also partially responsible for the new ideas of companionate. A perusal of American methods of courtship described by the author will prejudice many Indian readers against the practice. In another chapter the reader is introduced to some of the circumstances that lead to marital incompatibilities. The divorce rate has been showing steady increase during the last twenty years. In 1923-24 one divorce was granted per 7.1 marriages entered into. The wife is seen to be more and more the aggrieved party. Whereas in 1896, 66.4 per cent. of the total divorces were granted to wife, in 1922 the percentage rose to 68. Regarding the causes for divorce in 1922 cruelty claimed the largest percentage, desertion coming very close to it. Adultery was advanced as the ground for divorce in less than a third of the cases in which either cruelty or desertion figured. While the husband was more culpable of cruelty, the wife beat him in desertion. Husband

* In the Lippincott's Family Life Series. Lippincott, 1927. 20 cm. \$14p. 9/—

committed adultery in more than twice the cases proved against wife. The existence of a child is proving more deterrent to divorce than formerly. Thus while in 1916, of the total divorces furnishing information as to the existence of a child nearly 42% were those of couples with a child, in 1922 these formed only about 38%. Discussing the effect of divorce legislation on family-life the author truly observes: "The friend of the family will remember that it is not the legal opportunity for the getting of divorce, or the desire for such separation, but the family situation that seeks court relief which constitutes the heart of the divorce problem." Outside employment of the mother has a very adverse influence on the children. The conditions in such a home resemble those where death has removed the mother. Secondly, the fact that the working mother has to depend on her older children for some care of the younger ones creates an abnormal relationship between the children.

Modern criticism of the family has three sources. The novelist drawing upon his experience of the bad homes has mercilessly tried to expose the shortcomings of the institution, while the psycho-analyst and educational psychologist have particularly shown that many of the defects of our adult age can be traced to the ignorant and ill-managed upbringing in the family. Some Socialists, looking upon this institution as the last stronghold of rights of private property, attack it "as an obstacle which prevents the development of a more wholesome social state".

The various movements contributing to the conservation of the family are clearly set out. Legislation against child-labour and in favour of the betterment of the legal position of women, family basis of wages, motherhood pensions and maternity benefits, and education for parenthood are the chief amongst them. The author regards co-education of boys and girls as also a factor making for the stability of the family; but in view of the trend of thought towards companionate the reviewer fails to see how coeducation can lead to the conservation of the family.

The author's comments on the idea and practice of the companionate are unduly halting. Thus he ends his remarks with the observation that "it leads a large proportion of those who are gifted and fortunate in material resources to deny themselves children and leaves to those less favoured the opportunity to supply in excessive measure the population of the nation" (p. 105). Yet he is prepared to opine that "the companionate is not without its responsibilities. It asks more of human nature than does single life; it contributes to the maturing of personality and the stabilizing of the emotions as well as to a *large sense of public obligations*" (p. 101). (the italics are the reviewer's). The author thinks that the companionate practised for a fair length of time will automatically lead to the family. "It is especially likely to be true of the woman that not until she has enjoyed several years of the comradeship of married life does she realize the strength of her own longing for children; then, finding that the

companionship of her husband is not enough to feed her craving for intimate response, she determines to have children. The maturing of the maternal instinct is hastened by the pleasure the woman gets from her companionate opportunity of mothering her husband" (p. 102). If this was the actual experience of America, radical thinkers would welcome the companionate with open arms. But the author's remarks are merely *a priori* reasoning. It is open to argue on the other hand that the effect of such circumstances may be the transference of the maternal instinct from its normal object—the child—to the husband, leaving no craving for children. Further, prolonged companionate may lead to total or partial sterility. The author himself mentions (p. 92) a case of a Mr. and Mrs. X who had to deny themselves any children for several years. The moment Mr. X settled down to a position the couple planned to raise a family. "To their dismay no children came to round out their family circle, and for ten years they deeply regretted the course they had pursued in the beginning of their married life; then one child was born to them, and with that abnormally small family they had to be content" (92). All that can be said at this stage is that the companionate is a novel and interesting experiment which should be keenly watched by all those who are interested in the problems of human welfare.

It is well-known that in the urban population of America there is a marked tendency for families to live in hotel-rooms. The sociologists and educationists who have tried to measure the strength of this tendency have noticed its baneful effects on the children as well as on the couple. Readers of the book under review will feel sorely disappointed to get no information on the actual strength of this tendency. The practice of families leading a hotel-life rather than a home-life undermines the claims of the family as an important centre for the nurture of the next generation. Bereft of this important social purpose, such a group can only be looked upon as great social waste. Common nurseries can manage the nurture of children much better and more economically. Those who value the institution must, therefore, try to inculcate in the minds of the young generation the social purpose and responsibilities of parenthood. A new women's movement must arise to impress upon the minds of young women the necessity of effecting a compromise in their desire for personal freedom and self-expression and their motherhood function. This can be brought about if women are prepared to look upon the first ten or fifteen years of married life as primarily consecrated to the function of motherhood and home-making, the later part of their lives being wholly reserved for the fulfilment of self-expression. In order that young parents may gladly undertake the onerous responsibilities of these ten or fifteen years, society must frankly recognise limitation of births as a desirable objective and actively help in the realisation thereof.

G. S. GHURYE.

RACE PROBLEMS.

THE FUNCTION OF THE S. AFRICAN JOINT COUNCIL.

THE problem of race is primarily a problem of understanding. The very word 'problem' implies that. When we understand a thing it is no longer a problem though it may well remain a difficulty.

This question of race looms larger as the world gets, as people say, smaller. The clash of tribes and families, the Montagues and the Capulets, has faded; the wars of religion have given way to mutual tolerance in matters of belief; it is not too much to hope that in our time the conflict between nations may be overcome; but the conflict of race looms ever larger and more threatening. "The problem of colour," "the clash of colour," "the menace of colour,"—these phrases are everywhere.

A difficulty that man has experienced throughout his existence is how to get on with his neighbour. Man is a social animal and needs the society of his kind, but, as often as not, he will quarrel with his neighbour rather than co-operate with him. The tendency to quarrel varies with people and with classes. The Anglo-Saxon people are less sociable than the Latin. The poor are more sociable than the rich.

The poor, of course, cannot afford to be bad neighbours. At seed time and at harvest, at childbirth and at death, at all the crises of this mortal life, the poor have need of each other. To be good neighbours is necessary to self-preservation. The rich are less fortunate. Money, which makes the owner more dependent, creates an illusion of self-sufficiency. And no relationship is so distant or so difficult to bring into the category of neighbourliness as that of paid service. If you grow potatoes in your garden and exchange your surplus with your neighbour for his excess cabbage you and your neighbour have a relationship of understanding and friendliness. But hire a gardener to grow your potatoes and buy your cabbages from a greengrocer and you at once lose a friend and acquire two alien acquaintances as likely as not to become enemies.

In those countries where European peoples have conquered native peoples the problem of race relationship soon becomes acute. The two races are at once sharply divided and mutually dependent. The European is mostly in strong economic superiority—he is at best the benevolent overlord. To differences arising from economic standards, customs, personal habits and ideals, is added a sinister and intense significance through obvious difference of colour.

Whatever may be the final outcome of the interrelation, in many parts of the world, of races of different standards and traditions, only the worst condition can obtain, involving injustice, discontent and even open conflict unless there can be some means of understanding. When two peoples live in one community, however widely separated their respective spheres in that community may be, they must have some kind of common understanding.

South Africa is probably not different from other countries in that the need for that common understanding exists without any proper and adequate means towards understanding, [and to meet that need the Joint Council functions.

In the first place the Joint Council provides an opportunity for members of different races to meet and talk together. To a Londoner or a Parisian, used to seeing people of all races in public vehicles, restaurants and places of amusement, such a need will seem strange. But in Durban (for instance) the need is very great. If I want to speak to a native or to an Indian, other than to give him an abrupt order, I cannot do so in a restaurant because he would not be admitted to any restaurant used by Europeans; nor in any public vehicle as he may not travel with me. If I speak to him in the street our action will cause an acute interest similar to that which exercises the nasty minds of any community when a man and a woman are seen twice together in public. If a young native or Indian were to ask the way of a European girl in the street and go on to discuss the weather, the result might possibly be race riot.

The Joint Council, then, is, first of all, a meeting place. At the Joint Council the members of different races can meet and talk to each other in natural conditions. They can comment on the weather, exchange tips for the races, or ask after each other's health according to the custom of mankind the world over. And the importance of that opportunity can hardly be overstated. Not to be on "speaking terms" is a sign of strained relations in most communities. Every child knows the pain of not being spoken to, of being "sent to coventry" by its fellows. A Joint Council provides the opportunity for this primary human need—speech with one's kind; other things come after that.

After intercourse comes knowledge. Most of the wrong in this world is done not wilfully but through ignorance. One race is cruel to another, once race is vindictive and resentful towards another, because it does not know how the other feels, what its circumstances are, what motives impel its actions. A Joint Council can accumulate knowledge and make it available.

For instance: the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives recently concluded an investigation into the home conditions of natives in Durban. A number of native families supplied their budgets. It was possible to disclose how much was earned, how much spent on rent, how much (or rather, how pitifully little) was available for clothes and for food, how entirely impossible were luxuries or any accumulations to meet contingencies.

Most Durban people think that wages do not matter much to the native—he has his land, he is happy with a handful of mealies to eat. The investigation made by the Joint Council showed that among many natives there is just the stark poverty

and sheer physical want that has characterised the lot of industrial workers in most parts of the world. It was necessary that this should be known in order that minds should be exercised, here as elsewhere, on the problems of poverty, housing conditions and wages.

Joint Councils throughout South Africa have undertaken many investigations: into the vexed problem of native lands to support the growing native population, into matters of law, of education. As a result there is now a fund of available information. There are people who have facts at their disposal when considering race questions. Informed representations can be made to Government and to legislative bodies when occasion requires.

The Joint Council serves to bring together people of goodwill and of vision to co-ordinate their efforts. There are many such people in all communities; but being isolated, they are largely ineffective. In a Joint Council they can find a sphere of useful service and can contribute to the common stock their fund of wisdom and experience.

In South Africa the Joint Council was first concerned with Europeans and Natives—it did not regard the Indians. And the forerunner of the Joint Council was the Welfare Society, a well-intentioned organisation founded, however, on the idea of the benevolent white concerning himself with the welfare of the black, for which the black should be duly grateful. This idea persists to some extent in Joint Councils and is to be regretted, as what is wanted is not the benevolent attitude of one people towards another but the united effort of men and women of all races to build up a homogeneous community.

Since the visit of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri to South Africa as the first Agent-General of the Government of India, the conscience of South Africans has been stirred to a recognition of the claim of Indians, resident in South Africa, to be considered as among its citizens, and there have been founded the first Indo-European Councils which are working, as between Indians and Europeans, in the same way as the older Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives function between these two races.

This is perhaps an unfortunate development, as it re-emphasises the idea of racial separateness and suggests that those questions that concern the relations of Indians with Europeans are essentially different from those which concern the relation of Natives with Europeans, whereas, such problems, though differing in detail, are essentially the same.

To have widened the scope of the already existing Joint Councils to include Indian as well as Native and European members so that the three races could have met together to consider the needs of the community to which they all belong, and to adjust difficulties and remove misunderstandings, would have been better than to set up separate bodies that are likely to cherish their separateness.

For the problem of race is one problem though

it presents many aspects. It is the problem of how people of different race, different creed, tradition, ideals and outlook, can work together and live together in harmony, with justice and self-respect.

MAURICE WEBB.

Durban.

Reviews.

TENETS OF COMMUNISM.

LENINISM. By JOSEPH STALIN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 21cm. 472p. 7/6.

THIS book contains an exposition of the teaching of Marx as interpreted by Lenin. This interpretation differs so much from the original ideas of Marx, that it must be considered as a separate teaching. This new teaching is known under the name of "Leninism."

Stalin is not satisfied with an objective description of Leninism, but interprets it in his own way as a result of which we hear only a little about Leninism, but much more of his own ideas.

From the very outset we learn one thing, that peasants and workers are by no means equally favoured groups in the sight of Stalin. He tries his best to show that the care of Leninism is not the peasant problem, but it is the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i. e., the mill and factory workers. He writes word by word. "Is it not plain, however, that unless Leninists had to solve the fundamental problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they would have no occasion to trouble themselves about a problem which only arises out of the former—the problem of the workers' allies, the peasants?" In other words, if the proletariat could do without the peasants, they would not care for them. Therefore, the revolution for which the bolsheviks are working, is not a democratic, and still less a national revolution, but a proletarian one.

According to Lenin, the democratic revolution has but one task to perform: to destroy all the fetters of the old society. The proletarian revolution adds to the task of destruction the task of a new organisation. This means the changing of the whole state economic mechanism into one single great machine, which shall guide the activities of hundreds of millions of persons in accordance with one comprehensive plan.

The second task of the proletarian revolution is that of bringing about a world revolution. The deliverance of the oppressed class is impossible without a forcible destruction of the state machine which has been created by the ruling classes. Lenin calls all socialists "henchmen of the bourgeoisie", because they say, that not until the majority of the population has declared itself on the side of the proletariat, can power be assumed by the latter. The proletariat must seize the powers of the state forcibly, and only then, by the revolutionary satisfaction of the economic needs of the masses *at the cost of the exploiters*, it must win over the masses.

What does this programme mean, when expressed in ordinary, not bolshevistic, language?—throw bombs, shoot and murder in order to gain power. And then, shoot again, murder and loot in order to retain this power. Let us admit for a moment, that after all this process of letting blood, first applied to a whole nation ("the state") and later to separate individuals ("the exploiters"), the blessed time of a paradise for the proletariat would really come, would it be worth while to lose crores of lives? After all, even a bourgeois is a human being, who cannot be denied the right to live. But that is precisely what the bolsheviks are doing, not in theory only, but also in practice. "Such are the characteristics of the proletarian revolution", says Stalin.

Further, in order not to leave any doubts, he quotes the words of Lenin. "The proletariat has seized political power *for itself alone*" (italics by Lenin). This class consciously takes all political power into its own hands, and does not fool either itself or others by any verbiage about "a national authority, elected by universal suffrage and consecrated by the will of the whole people". Is it not amazing, that after such outspoken statements there are still millions of people in the world, who believe that bolshevism is a message of freedom, equality and service?

Let us quote some other words of Lenin: "*We are for continuous revolution*" (italicized by Stalin); the dictatorship of the proletariat is a fight, fierce and ruthless, a hard fought fight... that is both bloody and unbloody, both violent and passive, both military and economic." Stalin adds to this: "The dictatorship of the proletariat... must not be contemplated as a fleeting period... It will be an entire historical epoch, an era of civil wars and international conflicts."

One of the most interesting chapters is the chapter "Colonies and Dependencies." There we read, that the Indian reformist parties are betraying their country to the imperialists. Therefore the bolsheviks must concentrate their attack upon the reformist section of the native bourgeoisie, and must prepare the way for the leadership of the proletariat. Only the proletariat must be the leader in the movement for national emancipation. Others must be dislodged from the leadership. Only the communists can prepare the proletariat for its task as leader. Yet the Communist Party may, nay must openly co-operate with the revolutionary section of the native bourgeoisie and with the nationalists, if it is to succeed in isolating the compromising and reformist section.

It is impossible to give a full account of the contents of the book, but the above mentioned extracts are typical of the spirit in which it is written. It gives a very full picture of Leninism as conceived by Stalin, but a less clear picture of bolshevism as preached by Lenin. During the life-time of Lenin there was not much love lost between him and Stalin. Lenin even warned the Party concerning Stalin. He predicted the end of bolshevism, if Stalin should become the leader. It remains to be

seen whether Lenin's warning will be correct. At present the influence of Stalin is predominant in the Party. In a meeting of the Comintern (communist international committee) in May 1929 the question about India was raised again. The results of the discussion differ considerably from the point of view expounded by Lenin (see above). Here are the main findings:

India is ready for a revolution. There must not be any compromise with the Indian nationalist groups, not even with the most radical ones amongst them. The proletariat must be raised against the nationalists. There must not be any temporary tasks. The one and only aim is the Indian Soviet Republic. Therefore all Indian labourers should become members of the Communist Party; all elements of an unproletarian parentage should be excluded.

This decision shows that Stalin has gone much further than Lenin.

Everyone who wants to know something about the present leader of the Bolsheviki will get all the information required in his work about Leninism. To understand the true nature of bolshevism it is undoubtedly better to read books written by their own leaders, than to rely upon secondhand information.

A. IRBE

THE HEY-DAY OF N.C.O.

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI.

Vol. II. By KRISHNADAS. (Gandhi Kutir, P. O. Dighwara, Behar). 1928. 18cm. 471p. Rs. 3-8.

IN this Khadi-bound volume—not so well got up as its predecessor—Mr. Krishnadas continues the story of the non-co-operation movement. The period covered is one in which the nation came into closest grips with the bureaucracy in the fight for freedom. The first volume narrated the story up to the end of the Bombay riots on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. The present volume takes up the thread from that point and carries it up to the arrest and conviction of Mahatmaji. A bare narrative of the exciting incidents of those stirring times should be full of interest to students of Indian national evolution. The experience of those eventful months has many a valuable lesson to teach to the Indian patriot and politician. The story is made the more interesting and instructive by Mr. Krishnadas because of the inside view of events that he tries to give in his volume and the wealth of details and fresh information that he has managed to give us.

The author gives the story in six parts. In the first part he describes the nation-wide campaign of civil disobedience against the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act that resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of almost all the leading non-co-operators of India with about 25,000 followers. The second part deals with two negotiations for a truce and Round Table Conference with the Government and how they broke down. The third part describes the proceedings of the Ahmedabad Congress.

In the next three parts the author gives the story of the Bombay All Parties Conference, Mahatmaji's ultimatum to the Government, the preparations for mass disobedience at Bardoli, the sudden halt on hearing the outbreak at Chauri-Chaura and other

places, followed by attacks on Mahatmaji from all sides, the ordeal of fire he had to pass through at the Congress Committee meeting at Delhi and his arrest at his Asram. As we follow the course of the gigantic struggle depicted by Mr. Krishnadas with the wealth of detail and realism that is a unique feature of the volume, we are carried, as it were, to those stirring times with feelings of patriotic pride, love of freedom and sympathy for the sufferers in the struggle surging within our hearts, mingled with a sense of gloom and despair at the sad and sudden fate that overtook a movement that once seemed to bring us so near to our goal.

The study of a movement cannot be held to be complete without a full consideration of the ideals behind it, the philosophy on which it is founded, its bearings on wider problems of human welfare and progress. The story of non-co-operation has been told by other writers also, but not in the detailed and scientific manner in which Mr. Krishnadas unfolds it, paying attention alike to principles and particulars. At the very outset of the volume, in the introduction, the author examines the evils of Imperialism and argues on the futility of all forms of constitutional agitation to combat the monster. The danger to dependent states from Imperialism, according to the author, is not always open, but insidious and subtle.

"Advanced imperialism no longer professes to govern as of old by constant threats of punishment or by an ostentatious display of military prowess. The mailed fist is always there, but it is not in evidence. Advanced imperialism becomes increasingly chary. Another stage is rapidly arriving in imperial governance. The arrival of the stage is a slow process, but an insidious process. It aims at capturing the minds and hearts of subject peoples, without, however, letting go, or loosening its essential grip, the grip of sovereignty. It is the stage when subject peoples, while still remaining politically dependent in all vital matters, would be made to feel and believe that the stage of political tutelage was rapidly passing away. It is the stage of "free-gifts" of so-called 'constitutions' from the sovereign imperial power, the object being to reconcile the progressive spirits among the subject peoples to a prolongation of the period of subordination and tutelage. The danger here is a real danger and it lies in this further reaction on the minds of the political classes. When the mailed fist was in evidence there was no fear of reaction in favour of imperial governance. But here the danger lies in a spirit of self-complacency, of self-satisfaction."

Mr. Krishnadas holds and seeks to prove that Mahatma Gandhi's method of political warfare steers clear of the snares of imperialism and places before subject nations an independent method of political emancipation in which the lead of the imperial sovereign power is given up in favour of national self-help and the education and development of the mass-will.

In Part VII, towards the end of the volume, the author again expounds at greater length the philosophy of non-violent non-co-operation, its double objective, destructive and constructive, corresponding to the programmes to be worked out by the educated classes on the one hand and the illiterate masses on the other. The unique glory and importance of swaraj through non-violence are also dealt with in this section in a chapter that shows how Mahatmaji was anxious to keep his movement pure so that we should have no interval of confusion, anarchy or civil strife, as in other countries that have won their freedom by violence. The last part of the book is styled "Prospect and Retrospect." Here the author gives his estimate of the political situation in India as it has developed since the suspension of non-co-operation and Mahatmaji's retirement from the field in favour of Swarajist politicians. Mr. Krishnadas deprecates

the return of Parliamentarism among the intellectuals as an obstacle in the path of constructive nationalism and mass-awakening. It has not only drawn away some of the stalwart leaders of the nation from constructive mass uplift, but also dragged into their orbit a vast body of workers creating in them a new mentality for winning freedom by short-cuts. This change, in the author's view, has adversely affected Congress work and morale throughout the country, necessitating a complete overhauling and reorganisation of the machinery for mass-awakening. There is also an appendix to the volume covering 18 pages wherein the author gives a bird's-eye view of the repression organised by the Government in 1921-22, to which frequent references are made in the body of the book.

The book is, on the whole, an able and elaborate exposition of the Gandhian school of political thought and action. The materials on which the study is based have been gathered by the author first hand during a period of intimate personal contact with the hero of the story. Some important facts and documents have been published in the book for the first time and afford valuable material for the understanding of Mahatmaji's conduct in some of the critical stages of the struggle, such as during the negotiations for a truce and Round Table Conference with the Government and after the outbreak of violence at Chauri-Chaura. The author claims in the preface that he has made a systematic attempt to study these questions, over which much controversy has raged, and vindicate Mahatmaji's political wisdom and leadership. It is thus a dual rôle that Mr. Krishnadas plays in the book, that of a political historian faithfully recording the story of the nation's epoch-making bid for freedom as well as that of a devoted disciple expounding his master's gospel and defending it against attacks. In addition to these two the author may be said to play a third part also, that of a biographical artist who gives us frequent peeps into the inner life and thoughts, daily routine and movements, talks and travels of a great soul who lives beyond the pale of all petty political controversies in the higher planes of moral and spiritual progress. Lovers of Bapu, to whom the work is dedicated, would like to have more of such peeps in preference to further arguments and political philosophising.

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

MARRIAGE OUTSIDE GOTRA.

HINDU EXOGAMY. BY S. V. KARANDIKAR.
(Taraporevala.) 1929. 22cm. 308p. Rs. 6.

THIS is an erudite book useful alike to scholar statesman and Hindu social reformer. To a Hindu legislator, the book would prove an indispensable one in his efforts to reform Hindu marriage customs by legislation. A bill introduced once in the Assembly by its present President Mr. V. J. Patel to legalize marriage amongst *Sayotras* (of course outside the usual degrees of consanguinity) provoked a good deal of opposition from the orthodox section of the Hindu community and had eventually to be dropped. But the reasons which induced Mr. Patel to introduce that very necessary bill still remain as valid as they were then; and Mr. Karandikar, apart from the services which his work has rendered to scholarship in Hindu sociological studies, has laid the reforming and advanced sections amongst the Hindus under a deep debt of obligation by his researches into the origin and development of the Hindu Gotras and Pravaras. Dr. Gour's Hindu Marriage Bill has now of course cut the Gordian knot by legalising even intercaste marriages amongst the Hindus. But those who want to respect

tradition, taking it only as a guide and not as a despotic master overruling the dictates of sound reason, will find great help in the scholarly treatise on Hindu Exogamy by Mr. Karandikar. The author has used both Eastern and Western sources of information on the subject and his conclusions are not spoilt by any extravagant speculation. "Hindu Marriage", says the author in the preface, "is governed by two sorts of restrictions, endogamous and exogamous. Every Hindu must marry within his endogamous sub-caste and outside the exogamous group called Gotra." The present treatise deals with the exogamous restrictions only. The author's researches point to the conclusion that *gotra* and *pravara* relationships do not necessarily postulate any blood relationship. Says the author: "Gotra institution was not based upon ancestry, and at least in the earlier stages the Brahmin law-givers were fully conscious of the artificiality of the organization and all their social legislation, except marriage legislation, was based upon family as a unit and not the *gotra*." And further: "Gotras did not signify anything more than family names or surnames, that *pravaras* were various schools of learning and rituals, that *pravaras* had no reference to descent... and finally the *gana* or group organization of *gotras* was in its early days a changeable factor." This is a conclusion which accords eminently with sound reason. In these days when even inter-provincial Brahmin and other marriages are becoming common, to suppose that any blood relationship or ties of common ancestry could exist amongst families though professing the same *gotras* would seem ridiculous in the extreme and the height of absurdity. A Brahmin from the South may marry a Brahmin from the North and yet, to be a valid marriage according to orthodox Hindu Shastras, it must be outside the same Gotras and Pravaras. Such silly restrictions will have to disappear of course: and in promoting legislation to achieve this object, the present treatise will prove an invaluable help. The author in the last chapter of the book has examined the subject from the eugenic point of view also and his conclusions all tend towards widening the field of choice for marriage partnership.

N. A. DRAVID.

SHORT NOTICE.

ENCLAVES OF ECONOMIC RENT FOR THE YEAR 1925. By CHARLES WHITE HUNTINGTON. (Fiske Warren, Harvard.) 1926. 21cm. 283p. \$4.

THE enclaves are territories in U. S. where the 'Single Tax' has been operative; they pay all the State and local taxes out of the realizations of a tax on land, turning the balance over for common purposes decided upon by a majority of members. The growth of the movement since 1911 has been remarkable. The historical account of the application of the single tax principle given in the volume shows that public sentiment is steadily growing in favour of it; in most of the European countries leagues and organizations have been formed to distribute literature popularising the movement. In most parts of the British Empire the taxing of land values alone for local purposes has been adopted for a long time. The volume gives complete details about the charter of incorporation, the constitutions, the names of lessees and the rentals and the systems of assessing adopted in the various areas. It is interesting to

note that the total economic rent in one of the areas succeeded in paying 50 p. c. of the taxes so that the champions of the system believe that with a little more progress the single tax on land would succeed in meeting all the expenses of Government. It appears from the account that great pains are taken in all the enclaves for ensuring an equitable assessment by a very minute analysis of all the factors in the valuation of land. Many of the enclaves have as their object the development of a living handicraft movement and all of them provide ample physical and mental recreation. Apart from the truth or financial expediency of the single tax principle, the movement deserves encouragement for the sake of the moral good that these colonies are achieving by spreading prosperity and happiness and teaching the great lesson of self-reliance.

V. N. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

- Protection of Linguistic, Racial or Religious Minorities. (C. 24. M. 18. 1929. I.) 1929. 24cm. 80p.
- Report of the Second Laboratory Conference on the Serodiagnosis of Syphilis, Copenhagen, May-June 1928. (C. H. 726.) 1928. 24cm. 184p.
- Report of the Technical Conference for the Study of Vaccination against Tuberculosis by means of BCG, Pasteur Institute, Paris, Oct. 15-18, 1928. (C. H. 745.) 1928. 24cm. 147p.
- Minutes of the Fourteenth Session, Geneva, Oct.-Nov. 1928. (C. 568. M. 179. 1928. VI.) 33cm. 286p.
- General Report and Proposals of the Technical Committee for Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts. (C. 59. M. 34. 1929. VIII.) 1929. 33cm. 36p.
- Report of the Economic Consultative Committee on its Second Session, Geneva, May 1929. (C. 192. M. 73. 1929. II.) 25cm. 37p. 1s. 6d.
- Memorandum on Production and Trade, 1913 & 1923-27. (1929. II. 13.) 26cm. 79p. 2s.
- Sugar Memoranda prepared for the Economic Committee. By Dr. H. C. Prinsen Geerligs and others. 1929. (C. 148. M. 57. 1929. II.) 32cm. 51p.
- The Problem of the Coal Industry. (C. 150. M. 58. 1929. II.) 1929. 26cm. 49p. 1s.
- International Statistical Year-Book, 1928: (1929. II. 16.) 24cm. 233p.
- Application of the Recommendations of the International Economic Conference—Report on the Period May 1928-1929. (C. 130. M. 45. 1929. II.) 26cm. 65p. 2s.
- International Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners—Geneva, 1929. Preparatory Documents. (C. I. T. E. I. C. 36. M. 21. 1929. II.) 32cm. 97p.
- Memorandum on International Trade and Balances of Payments, 1913-1927. Vol. 1. (1928. II, 531.) 27cm. 321p. 10s
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