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Topics of the Week.

League and I.L.O. Literature.

LIKE the League of Nations itself, the International Labour Office has recently decided to supply gratuitously to the Library of the Servants of India Society all its publications as issued. The Library used to receive already a mass of I.L.O. literature: the *International Labour Review*, *Industrial and Labour Information*, *Legislative Series*, *Studies and Reports*, &c.; most of these have been stocked in the Library from the very beginning; but in future every publication of the I.L.O. will come automatically to the Society's Library. As is well known, the Library is, under certain conditions, thrown open to all without a fee, and the League and I.L.O. literature will thus like other books in the Library be made available to all. But we would extend a special invitation to all students of international affairs and labour problems to make the fullest possible use of the privileges accorded by the League and the I.L.O. to the Society, which the Society in turn wishes to share with the public at large. Only the other day Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, who has broached the question of invoking the League's mediation in the movement for Indian self-government, expressed his regret that League documents being not readily available, he experienced a serious difficulty in the way of developing his thesis. To him and to all others like him we would repeat that the S.I.S. Library carries in stock the whole League literature from the beginning of last year and the I.L.O. literature from now onwards (with a good deal of older literature)—available for use to every student of public affairs.

The Situation in Sind.

THE crisis in Sind so far as the Sukkar Barrage is concerned is happily over and the peak of the flood has passed it, going further and further downstream. But the tale of woe due to the submerging of hundreds of villages, and consequent loss of cattle and other property continues. Owing to great pressure on the bunds several canals have been breached and several breaches have been made on purpose in places to pass out the surplus water and to maintain the normal level. In spite of this relieving of pressure the Nasrat canal has become uncontrollable and the district of Nawabshah presents a critical situation, a very large area in two talukas of this district having been completely inundated. The main problem facing the authorities latterly has been the prevention of the spread of cholera by taking precautions about sterilization of water by encouraging inoculation and by insisting on attention being paid to sanitary principles. It has been recently decided by a conference of engineers to widen a railway bridge on the N.-W. Ry. which is already drawing off a large volume of water into the waste deserts of the Nawabshah district; this it is believed will give an amount of relief to the rest of the district. The most reassuring recent news is the recorded reading at Bukkur, which was 16'3 feet on the 9th September, that is, a couple of feet lower than the threatening point at that place.

India at the League.

AT last the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations is led by an Indian, Sir Mahomed Habibullah, thanks to the unremitting effort in this behalf by Sir Phiroz Sethna. It would appear that the Princes do not feel an objection or have latterly waived their objection to an Indian official taking precedence over one of their own number, an objection which we are sure they still take to a non-official Indian occupying that position. The deference shown to the Princes in this matter is wholly misplaced, for as a matter of fact one does not see any cogent reason to their being included at all in the Indian delegation. If the Princes in their corporate capacity were willing to accept the obligations which participation in the League meetings necessarily implies, then they would have earned a place in the delegation. As it is, they share only in the privileges which such delegation confers without shouldering its burdens. And these persons who are themselves out of place at the Assembly are allowed by the Government of India to determine practically who the leader of its own deputation shall be! Sir Mahomed Habibullah announced at this meeting India's willingness to sign the optional clause. So far so good, but seeing how India was made to speak in a different strain when the Conservative party was in control in England, we cannot congratulate the Government of India upon arriving at a right decision this time. India's part at these

nalía, the romance and omnipotence that lie concealed in a bottle of ink, on the art of conversation and and so forth,—everywhere stimulatingly, sometimes with a glance of striking beauty and eminently readable in level parts and connective tissues. One essay contains a *tour de force* in the shape of the longest *periodic* sentence in English prose literature—written as an exercise, by way of mockery ("The Long and Short of it"). In another, Mr. Shepard makes capital fun of the members of the Society for the Preservation of Useless Knowledge—'Profs. Eitel Fleiszumnichts' and 'M. Czrdksmptja'—who waste their days and nights in pursuing such futile 'points' in scholarship as the colour of Helen's hair. Comparing two 'marginalians', a Barnes and a Smythe, he writes :

"Barnes reads as many words in a year, I suppose, as Smythe, but none of them ever take root and grow, in his barren margins, into flowers of fancy, thickets of erudition, or bitter weeds, even of disgust. How is it that the same verbal seeds, blowing over into Smythe's margins, shoot up there into jungles of comment, making two books grow where there was only one before? Although he has never published anything, and has no desire to do so, Smythe is really a voluminous author, for he has composed no small part of what is to be read in the volumes on his shelves... He mixes himself with a book as a silkworm mingles with a mulberry-leaf producing a compound better than either of the ingredients. He nuzzles and burrows in a book like leviathan in the ocean wave, gulping down great gallons of text and then blowing them aloft in a rainbowed spray of marginal notes.

A passage that reminds us of Charles Lamb's whimsical humour, and particularly, of his kindred observations about Coleridge in *Two Races of Men*. But quotation from a book which holds humour and wisdom in solution is difficult, unlike "extracting quills from the fretful porpentine."

There are born essayists like Max Beerbohm, Robert Lynd and J. B. Priestley, whose every sentence brings us either a thrill of mild surprise, or a risible excitement, or a gentle shock of aesthetic pleasure, each seeming to outshine its predecessor, making the completed essay a rare literary repast for lighter moments. We cannot say without exaggeration that Mr. Shepard is a Prince Charming of Essay-Land; we must think of him rather as a frequent and a distinguished visitor to that land, making welcome excursions to it from his native domain of scholarship. The robes of the professor are clearly visible underneath the *dishabille* of the fireside talker. Otherwise we should say that every word in that gem of "Foreword" to the book, from the magic pen of Walter de la Mare, absolutely hits the truth. The truth is there, of course, in the Foreword,—but rendered beautiful by the poet's sensitive sympathy and meekness of soul.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

THE KUOMINTANG AND THE FUTURE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. BY T. C.

WOO. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 22cm. 273p. 15/-.

To give an account of the Chinese Revolution is to sketch the history of the Kuomintang, for without the latter the former could not have been successful. Mr. T. C. Woo deserves the thanks of the public for the masterly way in which he has described the history of the Kuomintang. But being a Left Winger himself, he describes the revolutionary movement and the Kuomintang party from the Communist point of view. Thus, for instance, he says that the "Chinese

Revolution aims at not merely a change of government but a fundamental reconstruction of society in its economic and social aspects". True, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, whose writings serve as the guiding principles, the theory and ideology of the Chinese Revolution, aimed at a reconstruction of society in its economic and social aspects; but the majority of the Chinese revolutionaries were only concerned with a change in the personnel of government. Their labours were only devoted to the overthrow of feudalism, militarism and imperialism. If any proof were needed that the object of the Chinese Revolution was only to make China a really independent republic, and not to reconstruct society in its economic and social aspects, we would point to the National Government at Nanking which has not done and does not intend to do anything towards the economic reconstruction of society.

In his intense zeal towards the Left Wing of the Kuomintang, he throws the blame for the split that occurred in the Kuomintang in 1927 on the Right Wing. But we are inclined to believe that both the wings are equally to blame. The Left Wing used the Kuomintang to spread Communist doctrines long before political revolution was achieved, and the Right Wing therefore allied itself with the military commanders and wrested the power from the Left Wing by a *coup d'état*.

The author openly shows his contempt for the Right Wing. In one place he writes, "The leadership of the Right Wing of the Kuomintang is bankrupt, because it comes from the nascent bourgeois class that in ability and equipment is not equal to the work of revolution in China". And yet it is a matter of history that the Right Wing brought the Revolution to a successful finish and is enthroned on the seats of the mighty.

Suffering as it does from the defect of partisanship, the book is yet an admirable treatise on the history of the Kuomintang party. The learned author divides the history of the party into two periods. In the first period (1894 to 1911) the name Kuomintang was not used at all, and the party was known only as the Revolutionary party. In this period the party was a secret political organisation preaching the gospel of violence and planning the overthrow of the Manchu government. The second period which lasted from 1911 to 1924 was a period which saw the party working openly for China's salvation. After the Revolution of 1911 the Revolutionary party "emerged as a political body working in broad daylight", and the name Kuomintang was used to designate the party. In this period the Kuomintang had to face such difficulties as the *coup d'état* of Yuan Shi Kai, the intermittent civil war between rival Tuchuns and the opposition of the World Powers to the realisation of the principles of the Revolution. The leaders of the Kuomintang felt that if the party were to triumph over its enemies, it must be completely reorganised, it should keep an army in readiness and it must adopt an effective method for spreading revolutionary doctrines.

To carry out these suggestions, a Reorganisation Conference was called at Canton on January 20, 1924. Under the wise guidance of Dr. Sun, the Conference passed two vitally important resolutions which affected the future of the party profoundly. They were: (1) The Declaration of the First National Congress and (2) The General Constitution of the Kuomintang. In the words of the author,

"The Declaration was in its nature a pronouncement on the present conditions of the country, a concise re-statement of the basic principles of the party, and an enumeration of its domestic and foreign policies that it ought to be the minimum party platform to be put into effect in the immediate future. The organisation of the

party as provided for under the General Constitution was a closely graduated government with the central government at its head and the local units as its basis."

In Chapters III and IV the author describes in a masterly way the reorganised party and its work. These chapters are too full of matter to be summarised in a review like this.

In Chapter V the author describes the Russian policy of the Kuomintang. He enumerates the forces and factors which drew the Kuomintang and Russia together. First and foremost is the close contact between China and Russia, and the consequent cultural affinity between the two countries. Secondly, Russia appeared to the Chinese revolutionaries as a friend, for she renounced her special rights and privileges in China after the Russian Revolution. Thirdly the speedy success of the Russian Revolution produced a stir in the hearts of the Chinese patriots, and drew them towards the Russian Revolutionaries. Lastly, China and Russia are both proletarian and non-capitalist countries. After enumerating the cultural, political, and revolutionary factors that brought the Kuomintang into close touch with Russia, the author points out the contribution of Russia to the progress of the Chinese Revolution. He agrees with Arthur Ransome that the Russian contribution to the Chinese Revolution was of a spiritual instead of a military character. He denies that the Kuomintang is a machine controlled and paid by Moscow. The split that occurred in the Kuomintang in 1927 between the Right and Left Wings as to the direction the Chinese Revolution should take and the ultimate success of the Right Wing is proof positive that the members of the Kuomintang are not tools and running dogs of Bolshevist schemes. The author pertinently remarks,

"The interests of Russia and of the other powers vis à vis China are in sharp conflict. That is the fundamental reason why England and Japan, for instance, and the other powers to a less degree decri the so-called Russian influence in China. That is also the reason why the Russian policy of the Kuomintang receives so much misunderstanding at the hands of these powers."

Such, in brief, is the highly interesting story of the Kuomintang party which has made China a full, equal and independent state. The author does not merely narrate the history of the party, but describes very vividly the various forces that affected the course of its development. At the end of the book important documents relating to the Kuomintang and the Chinese Revolution have been added, which enhance the value of the book by making the original sources directly available.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MARRIAGE. By EDWARD WESTERMARCK. (Macmillan.) 22 cm. 326p. 10/6.

To those who have not the patience to wade through the three volumes of "History of Human Marriage", this book is an excellent substitute; it gives all the theses of the larger work so far as marriage is a social institution and it gives a sufficiency of facts which are illustrative of them. Discussing the origin of marriage, Prof. Westermarck does not support the hypothesis of a promiscuity or communal marriage which in his opinion is opposed to the most probable inferences we are justified in making as regards the early condition. He has succeeded in explaining away all the customs which have been adduced so far as evidences of a primordial communism in women. His conclusion is that family and

marriage are intimately combined from the beginning of the history of man and that marriage is rooted in family instead of *vice versa*. Prof. Westermarck attributes the decline in marriage in recent times to the ever increasing standard of comfort, to the economic independence of women and to the loss of the important advantages of married life over a single life in former times; he also assigns a large share to the irrational laws about marriage and divorce in most countries. The question of endogamy and exogamy is treated in the book very fully. The author explains exogamy as the result of sexual aversion between persons living closely together from childhood; he rejects all other theories which regard exogamous rules as social survivals from very remote ages. One good point he makes is that our laws against incest are rarely felt as a restraint upon our feelings but are in consonance with them. Besides, his theory easily fits in with the biological fact of the injurious consequences of in-breeding. We think however that the question must still be regarded as moot in view of the objections of psycho-analysts as well as other sociologists of repute. With regard to the future of monogamy the author opines that if the causes to which monogamy in the most progressive societies owes its origin will continue to operate with constantly growing force the laws of monogamy are not likely to be changed and he finds it difficult to imagine a time when Western civilization would legalise polygamy. In the account of polyandry and group-marriage Dr. Westermarck re-emphasises his favourite position that the hypothesis of an earlier form of group-marriage, out of which the other forms of marriage have gradually evolved, is unprovable. He has shown that the known case of certain Australian tribes is not a case of genuine group-marriage and cannot be regarded as evidence of a prior state of communism. In the last chapter there is a fine presentation of the factors that tend to make marriage durable and of others that tend to weaken or dissolve it—in fact the *pros and cons* of divorce. The author does not share the wide-spread idea that divorce is the enemy of marriage and, if made easy, might destroy the family. His main thesis being that marriage is not an artificial creation but a natural institution based on deep-rooted sentiments, he has no apprehension of the destruction of marriage and family, and he regards divorce as a necessity for putting an end to unions which are a disgrace to the name of marriage. The volume is characterized by a patient examination of facts, an impartial survey of evidence and a true scientific spirit in laying down the final propositions and ought to be in the hands of every student of sociology.

V. N. G.

SHORT NOTICES.

SEX AND YOUTH. By SHERWOOD EDDY. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1928. 18cm. 150p. 3/—.

A COMPREHENSIVE volume like the one under review containing all sides of the sex question was a pressing necessity. A theoretical survey of sex problems can be found in "The Psychology of Sex" and other works, but a consideration of practical questions which a young man requires most is rarely found in big books.

Dr. Eddy has devoted a special chapter for such questions. He has included some questions on marriage in this chapter. The Problems of Marriage and A Choice of a Life-Companion form separate chapters. The choice of a life companion is a problem unknown to many of us in India. Here the author suggests, among others, three considerations in the

character by prosecuting those who have published grave charges against him; it is for them rather to clear the character of their own officers. We have no intention to write more at this stage. We would only warn the Government of India that the British Indian public will not allow the matter to rest here. Silence on the part of Government in presence of such damaging statements made in broad daylight would be interpreted by the public at large as complicity in the vagaries and crimes attributed to the Maharaja. It is in the interest of the Maharaja himself and the Government of India that a searching inquiry be instituted into this matter.

THE AGES OF MARRIAGE AND CONSENT.

THERE are no universally accepted principles with reference to which the minimum age of marriage and consent can be fixed. The Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations recently collected information on this point from a large number of countries which showed that the minimum age of marriage is higher than the age of consent in 23 countries, lower in 8 countries and the same in 10 countries. The Committee itself has not arrived at any considered opinion as to what the age of marriage should be in relation to the age of consent; it says on the contrary that a comparison between the two ages cannot be instituted. "As regards the protection of young persons, the essential point is not whether the minimum age be higher or lower than the age of consent, but rather that both ages should conform respectively to the standards required by enlightened public opinion", which does not carry us very far. The higher age of marriage in a large majority of countries is explained, as the Committee observes, by "the serious responsibilities involved in marriage." In England recently the minimum age of marriage for both sexes has been raised, and the Select Committee of the House of Lords which recommended the change based itself principally upon this observation of the Committee. The legal age of marriage in England was for girls 12 and boys 14 till the other day, but the actual practice of the people was far in advance of the law. Out of the total number of 1,180,835 marriages recorded during 1925-27 only 4 marriages were of males and 119 of females below the age of 16. "The conclusion to be drawn from the figures quoted is," says the Select Committee's Report, "that the moral sense of the people rejects marriage at, or approximating to, the legal minimum age. It seems to the Committee undesirable that the law should thus sanction a latitude which public opinion in practice repudiates, or support a lower ideal of marriage than the existing standard of civilisation in this country demands."

The reason which has led the Sir Moropant Joshi Committee to recommend 14 as the legal minimum age of marriage in India is exactly the contrary. Here law does not lag behind practice; but law is to be pressed into service in order to improve practice. The marriage age, under the Joshi Committee's recommendations, is not to be in advance of the age

of consent in view of "the grave responsibilities involved" in marriage; nor are the two ages to coincide, but the age of marriage is to be below the age of consent—for a reason which was not present to the minds either of the Select Committee of the British House of Lords or the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. Truly does the Joshi Committee remark: "The exigencies of the Indian situation should really form the determining factor in the adoption of remedies to secure such further protection to girls as may be necessary;" and the exigencies of the Indian situation are such as to leave a Committee like the Joshi Committee no alternative to the recommendations which they have made. Medical science proclaims 18 to be the lowest really safe age for maternity. But such a high age will not receive any wide support in the country. The Joshi Committee therefore rejects it. 16 is, according to medical opinion, "the bare minimum at which consummation may be justifiable or at any rate maternity may be reasonably safe." The Committee's whole endeavour therefore is to secure that the age for consummating marriage is brought as close as possible to 16. It could possibly have taken courage in both its hands and fixed 16 as the age of consent. It might then have even left the age of marriage alone. It soon discovered however that the age of consent cannot be fixed far in advance of public opinion and that the law doing so would remain a dead letter, as has been the case of the existing age of consent law. The only way to tackle the problem therefore appeared to the Committee to fix a minimum marriage age. It is just here however that you come into sharp conflict with orthodox opinion, which may perhaps be induced to tolerate advance in the age of consent but not post-puberty marriages. Taking this fact into account, the Committee has recommended the legal minimum age of marriage to be fixed at 14 and the age of consent at 15. It does not fix the latter at 16 because it fears it would be inoperative, but just fixes it at a year in advance of the marriage age to show the direction in which progress is required in future. Considering all the circumstances, we cannot say that the legal minimum age of marriage is fixed too low; we would only remind the objectors that the Committee has not made marriage under age void or voidable, but subject to the ordinary penalties of fine or/and imprisonment. In the case of infractions of the marriage law, the Committee recommends—a very necessary recommendation—that the trying judge may "require the offender on conviction to execute a bond, with or without sureties, for separate living, custody and maintenance of the girl and for preventing the husband from consummating the marriage before she completes the statutory age of marriage." To social reformers the Joshi Committee's report cannot be entirely satisfactory, for, as the report itself says, the age of marriage has been fixed, solely "with a view not to disturb the practices of the conservative section beyond the necessary minimum;" but, in the present state of orthodox opinion, a greater advance would hardly appear possible.

We notice one defect in the Committee's recommendations, viz. that they are made with a view to girls and are meant to be applicable only to girls. In recommending a marriage law fixing the minimum age of marriage of girls at 14 years, the Committee says that "a period of 4 years beyond the wife's age would indicate a suitable minimum age for the marriage of boys," but does not make a definite recommendation to this effect. In the matter of its recommendation regarding the age of consent, it fixes the age only for girls. The recommendation is, in marital cases, that "sexual intercourse by a husband with his wife below 15 years of age be made an offence". The Committee makes a similar recommendation in regard to non-marital cases. Our

existing age of consent law contains this defect and the Committee has done nothing to remove it. But it is obvious that the laws fixing age of marriage and consent should fix them for both sexes. In most countries such laws are applicable to boys as well as girls, sexual intercourse between a boy of tender age with a girl of mature age being forbidden no less than sexual intercourse between a boy of mature age and a girl of immature age. In India marriages of the former category are not unknown; we believe that Mr. Patel stated some time ago that they were fairly common in Gujerat. This defect ought to be removed, and we hope the point will be borne in mind when the Assembly deals with Mr. Sarda's Marriage Bill.

CLOSING UP THE LOOPHOLES FOR WAR.

THE British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, declared at the League Assembly, now in session at Geneva, not only that Great Britain was willing to sign the so-called optional clause in the Statute of the World Court thus accepting the obligation to submit all her legal disputes with other countries to the arbitration of this Court, but that she was anxious so to amend the Covenant of the League as to fill up what are known as gaps in it permitting resort to war. The importance of this move cannot be overestimated. The mere acceptance of the optional clause by Great Britain and her Dominions (it appears all Dominions will sign the clause subject perhaps to some reservations) constitutes in itself a momentous contribution to the organisation of world peace. For, although some seventeen states have so far agreed, by signing and ratifying the clause, to use the World Court's services in their legal disputes, Great Britain will be the first among the great powers, barring Germany, to do so. Though arbitration agreements must be universal in order completely to renounce the weapon of war for use as a last resort, still the value of such agreements is not to be measured merely by their number. Great powers possessed of large armaments will, by abjuring war, make a larger contribution to the guaranteeing of international peace than small unarmed powers whose limited resources effectually prevent them from committing aggression. It is obvious, therefore, that the heavily armed powers which are likely to prefer the arbitrament of war to a judicial decision in the settlement of their disputes must recognise the World Court's compulsory jurisdiction if the reign of law is to supersede the rule of force. The adhesion of small powers to the optional clause which alone till now were willing to accept compulsory arbitration was, therefore, a good moral gesture, but, to take a realistic view of the matter, of not much practical importance. The adhesion of Germany too fell under the same category, for, being unarmed, there is no possibility of her going to war for a long time to come. All the great powers were so long hanging back, and among them Great Britain herself. Not that they would not take, without investing the World Court with compulsory jurisdic-

tion, many of their justiciable disputes to it for settlement; perhaps they would. But they insisted upon reserving to themselves the right in the last resort of having recourse to war. This attitude, however, of the great powers was a fatal obstacle to disarmament or even to a substantial reduction of armaments. For if Great Britain, e. g., would use the World Court in ninety-nine of her disputes but would resort to war in the hundredth, even then it is obvious that other powers must keep themselves fully armed ready to meet Great Britain's attack. It is necessary therefore not merely that great powers should in actual practice be willing to arbitrate a great many of their disputes but that they should bind themselves in advance to arbitrate all their disputes without exception. Great Britain, by giving up the right to go to war in the pursuit of any of her legal disputes, has given a lead which will, we hope, be speedily followed by other nations, thus excluding the possibility of war so far at any rate as legal and justiciable disputes are concerned. Great Britain's example has in fact had an immediate result, for France, which till now was willing only in principle to sign the optional clause, has announced her intention of doing so unconditionally. We therefore put a very high value on the action which Mr. Henderson proposes to take. It is true that the compulsory arbitration which Great Britain now accepts is confined only to justiciable disputes, that is, those disputes which turn on points of international law but as the sphere of accepted international law goes on expanding—and it is expanding with the progress of the codification of international law—the field of action of the World Court will expand *pro tanto* and the sphere covered by purely political disputes to be settled either by conciliation or by resort to force will diminish.

But Mr. Henderson is also trying to close up the loopholes for war which Articles 12 and 15 of the League's Covenant contain. Article 12 leaves to states-members of the League in the matter of settlement of international disputes a choice between arbitration (whether by means of the World Court, in which case it is called in the League's phraseology "judicial settlement" or any other arbitral body) and

inquiry by the Council. Sir Austen Chamberlain refused to accept the World Court's jurisdiction on the very ground that such acceptance would unnecessarily limit the processes of pacific settlement which are now open to Great Britain under the Covenant. It is clear, however, that so long as the Covenant makes it possible for states to refer their disputes to investigation by the Council instead of to arbitration by a judicial process, the tendency would be to prefer a reference to the Council instead of the Court—at any rate in disputes in which their case is not very strong. For there is a world of difference between the two methods. For one thing, the Court will decide the matter in dispute in a purely judicial spirit, while the Council's decision is apt to be coloured sometimes by political considerations which are out of place in legal disputes. For another thing, the Court's award is binding in every case on the parties to the dispute, while the Council's verdict is binding only when it is unanimous. Now in a body consisting of as many as fourteen members under the influence of conflicting political forces unanimity must always be a doubtful factor. It would not be difficult for a great power to persuade a small one, by the offer of a *quid pro quo*, to break the unanimity of the Council, thus leaving it free to have recourse to war if so desired. This is therefore a real gap in the Covenant which must be filled up. The Article reads as under:—

The members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to War until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council.

The gap can be closed by deleting all reference to "inquiry by the Council." There is another gap in Article 15 which requires states-members to seek conciliation in their legal disputes not referred to arbitration under Article 13 or non-legal disputes which are declared by implication to be unsuitable for submission to arbitration. When the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court is accepted, there will be no occasion to invoke the procedure laid down in Article 15 in the case of legal disputes. The closing of the gap in Article 15 would therefore mean reference of even non-legal disputes to arbitration instead of to conciliation, as is provided for, e. g., in the Locarno Treaty. Under the latter the contracting powers "undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein all questions of every kind which may arise between them"; and they "mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to War against each other." We do not know how exactly Mr. Henderson proposes to fill up the hole in the Covenant. But anyhow, having made up her mind to undertake that all her legal disputes shall be submitted *ipso facto* to judicial decision, Great Britain must put forth her best endeavour to conclude all-in arbitration treaties even as Italy and Germany and France have done. What Mr. Henderson's intentions are will soon be made known.

EXTENT OF MINORITY PROTECTION

GUARANTEED BY THE LEAGUE.

The Council of the League of Nations considered at its quarterly meeting held at Madrid in June last the question as to the best way of securing fulfilment of the obligations accepted by a dozen European States for the protection of certain racial, linguistic or religious minorities estimated to comprise some 40,000,000 people. The question thus related merely to the improvement of the procedure now in force for making the League's supervision of the administration of the mandated countries more effective. For the present we do not intend to describe the improvement effected, but we give below an extract from the Report of the Committee of Three containing an authoritative analysis of the extent of the material rights guaranteed by the so-called Minorities Treaties. It will be observed that there is a not single right mentioned here, which the Nehru Committee's Constitution is not prepared to recognise in a fundamental law, the effect of which cannot be restricted by any other laws, regulations or official measures of any kind.

"In the first place, the Minorities Treaties contain stipulations regarding the acquisition of nationality. These stipulations provide, in principle, that the nationality of the newly created or enlarged country shall be acquired: (a) by persons habitually resident in the transferred territory or possessing rights of citizenship there when the Treaty comes into force; (b) by persons born in the territory of parents domiciled there at the time of their birth, even if they are not themselves habitually resident there at the coming into force of the treaty.

"The treaties also provide that nationality shall be *ipso facto* acquired by any person born in the territory of the State, if he cannot prove another nationality. The treaties further contain certain stipulations concerning the right of option.

"The States which have signed the Minorities Treaties have undertaken to grant all their inhabitants full and complete protection of life and liberty, and recognise that they are entitled to the free exercise, whether in public or in private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

"As regards the right to equality of treatment, the Minorities Treaties lay down the following general principles: (a) equality of all nationals of the country before the law; (b) equality of civil and political rights; and (c) equality of treatment and security in law and in fact.

"Moreover, the treaties expressly stipulate that differences of race, language or religion shall not prejudice any national of the country as regards admission to public employments, functions and honours, or to the exercise of professions and industries. It is also provided that nationals belonging to minorities shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control, at their own expense, charitable religious or social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

"As regards the use of the minority language, States which have signed the treaties have undertaken to place no restriction in the way of the free use by any national of the country of any language in private intercourse in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings. Those States have also agreed to grant adequate facilities to enable their nationals whose mother-tongue is not the official language to use their own language, either orally or in writing, before the Courts. They have further agreed, in towns and districts where a considerable proportion of nationals of the country whose mother-tongue is not the official language of the country are resident, to make provision for adequate facilities for ensuring that, in the primary schools (the Czechoslovak Treaty refers to "instruction" in general), instruction shall be given to the children of such nationals through the medium of their own language, it being understood that this provision does not prevent the teaching of the official language being made obligatory in those schools.

"The treaties finally provide that, in towns or districts where there is a considerable proportion of nationals of the country belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities will be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes."—The League's Document C.C.M.1 quoted in the *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 73, pp. 47-8.

Reviews.

A SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF PROHIBITION.

PROHIBITION: ITS INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. By HERMAN FELDMAN.
(Appleton.) 19cm. 415p. \$2.00.

THE author, who is Assistant Professor of Industrial Relations in the Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance at Dartmouth College, gives us here an impartial, objective study of the industrial and economic aspects of the subject that all the world has been debating for ten years. The publishers' announcement goes too far in saying: "previous discussions of prohibition have been dominated by opinion and prejudice," but not too far in claiming that "in the present volume the author has employed the impartiality and disciplined mind of the scholar in analysing certain definite aspects of this complex question."

The first noteworthy conclusion of the author is that the oft-repeated and widely-accepted statement that "before national prohibition began in America temperance was making steady progress and the consumption of alcohol was falling" is wrong. A detailed study leads him to the conclusion that, despite local prohibition in a steadily increasing area, the total and even the per capita consumption of distilled spirits, wines and beers increased from the

beginning of the 20th century to the outbreak of the War in 1914. Deaths from alcoholism were most numerous just before the War, the years with the highest death rates from this cause being 1912 and 1913.

In a chapter entitled "The Newer Role of Alcohol" are included studies of the industrial uses of alcohol and the methods of treatment to make it unfit for beverage use. It is interesting to find that more than twice as much alcohol was made in the United States of America in 1926 as in 1919, the increase in alcohol made for industrial purposes being from 98,160,324 gallons to 202,271,670 gallons. Among the industrial uses of alcohol enumerated by the author are the following:—in tanning, manufacture of artificial silk, anaesthetic ether and other drugs, artificial leather, billiard balls, paint varnish, lacquer, shellac, embalming fluid, "sterno" and other heating substances, gas mantles, photographic supplies, and moving picture films, furniture, ink, pencils, shoe polish, disinfectants, lipstick, rouge, perfumes and anti-freeze mixtures extensively used in the U.S.A. in motor cars radiators during the winter months. In this chapter is also included a complete answer to those who have accused the American Government of murder because of its use of the poison "methanol" in industrial alcohol. Bootleggers have taken industrial alcohol, have redistilled it without getting rid of all the methanol, and their unfortunate patrons have died. But Dr. Feldman shows that methanol is used in all countries that have a demand for industrial alcohol, and the responsibility for the poison-liquor murders rests entirely on the criminals who treat it and sell it in defiance of the law. And with all of the treatment of the bootleggers the product into which methanol has been introduced has a taste very different from the ethyl alcohol of the beverage liquor traffic.

That milk consumption has increased largely as a result of Prohibition is one of the most definite conclusions reached by the author. In support of this conclusion he presents an impressive array of statistics and opinions by men engaged in the dairying business, by large employers of labour and by social workers. Orange growers are also shown to have profited enormously through the extensive adoption of the wholesome orange juice as a substitute for beer. Ginger ale, root beer (non-alcoholic) coca-cola and other "soft" drinks have also increased in popularity.

Liquor propagandists have written quite often about the turning of alcohol-drinkers to sweets and ruining their health by excessive indulgence therein. Some "dry" advocates, discounting the damage done by increased use of sweets, have pointed to the supposed gain to the sugar growers and confectioners as an example of how legitimate trade has gained by Prohibition. Both "wets" and "drys" find their arguments suffering from Dr. Feldman's conclusion that Prohibition has not been responsible for any considerable increase in the consumption of sweets.

The claim of increased use of narcotic drugs as a result of Prohibition is examined and rejected.

"Prohibition has had no effect on drug addiction," says Dr. Lawrence Kolb of the U.S. Public Health Service, co-author of the most careful and plausible study of the subject, who nevertheless declares confidently that "the number of addicts in the United States is certainly decreasing, and asserts that it is harder by far to get narcotics than alcohol." That being so, nothing is left of the arguments that men with an appetite for drink turn to drugs because of Prohibition.

That industry suffers much less because of drunkenness now, the author thinks is not in doubt. Attendance of employees in mills, mines and factories

is better since drink is not easily obtainable. That industrial accidents due to alcoholic indulgence have decreased is reported by more than one-fourth of the large business firms sending replies to an enquiry on this matter. Not a single person encountered in all his study of the subject said that prohibition was responsible for an increase in the number of industrial accidents a rather remarkable fact in view of the statements, the foes of Prohibition are continually making about worse effects being experienced now through the use of poisoned liquor.

J. W. PICKETT.

COMMUNISM vs. CONSTITUTIONALISM.

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER: PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS. By HARRY F. WARD. (Macmillan, New York.) 20cm. 384p. \$1.50.

THE PRAGMATIC REVOLT IN POLITICS. By W. Y. ELLIOTT. (Macmillan.) 1928. 22cm. 540p. 16/-.

THE two books under review are a very useful contribution to the political literature of to-day. They are all the more valuable as they are written from different standpoints and so are corrective of each other. Dr. Harry Ward is palpably dissatisfied with the bourgeois politics in vogue. He has definitely socialistic sympathies and sees in Bolshevism the harbinger of a new age. He frankly admits that his enthusiasm for it is based only on the declared policy of Bolshevists. He does not consider how far this policy is actually being realised. He is content to enter an apologia for the Bolshevist persecution of the bourgeoisie merely on the ground that every political party in the past has found it necessary to use force against its opponents. Dr. Elliot's book is a very reasoned and scholarly defence of what he calls the Co-organic State, which in common parlance is nothing but the constitutional state or parliamentarism as we have been knowing it. At a time when political writers never tire of picking holes in representative democracy, it is refreshing to come across a thinker, who has something to say in its favour. He undertakes a detailed study of Syndicalism and Fascism, both of which he traces to the vogue of Pragmatism in politics. He excuses himself from studying Bolshevism on the ground that it is no offshoot of Pragmatism, for in its fanaticism it displays an absolutist temper, which is a negation of Pragmatism. But in the course of his book he often speaks of both Bolshevism and Fascism as resting on force. *Prima facie* it does not appear as if Fascism has any affinity with Pragmatism. But Dr. Elliot has his own way of looking at the growth of Fascism. Pragmatism as a philosophy is a refusal to have any absolute standards or any absolute truth; it is against all abstractions as it is against any sloppy metaphysics. It aims at individual freedom of belief and tends to be pluralistic in its metaphysics. Hence Dr. Elliot traces the syndicalist state with its dethronement of an all-powerful and all-absorbing state, as the idealistic or even the constitu-

tional state tends to be, to pragmatic premises. It substitutes "sovereign group" for "sovereign state." The pragmatic temper in Mussolini is illustrated by an interesting anecdote. Ambassador Child naively asked Mussolini about the Fascist programme. And Mussolini answered: "Program? My program is work, discipline, unity... Programs are endless. It is the organization—it is the men—it is action, not talk—it is men!"

He "has interpreted social reactions and national survival as imposing organic solidarity upon the nation to the sole end of functional efficiency in the public services. If this concept of public services be extended to the whole economic structure of the nation as a productive unit which stands or falls together, it becomes Fascism. Mussolini has made a quite logical application of *droit objectif* to the Fascist corporative state, with his syndicates hierarchically 'disciplined'".

All the same, even though Fascism may be traced to Syndicalism, it has proved a rebellious offspring, and one may well harbour a doubt whether it is fair to Pragmatism that all the sins of an autocratic Fascism should be fathered on Pragmatism. So far as the scope of the book goes, the task has been well performed: it is a reasoned critique of Pragmatism as a philosophy and of its political offshoots, and it is equally a reasoned statement of the essential superiority of the constitutional state to meet the needs of political life.

Dr. Harry Ward is Professor of Christian Ethics in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Hence it is no surprise if he brings a definitely Christian spirit to bear on the problems he deals with. He is bitter against the capitalist system, as he thinks it is unchristian, resting as it does on human selfishness. He is dubious, even indifferent, if not positively hostile, about the League of Nations, because he sees in it only an expansion of the present politics of individual states. He is frankly socialistic, and for the matter of that even of the Bolshevist brand:

"The Red flag which is now so abhorred and persecuted is the symbol of solidarity: in its colour representing the common blood of all peoples, it expresses the hope of a common life" (p. 161).

He finds much in the programme of the British Labour Party to admire. Its emphasis on a thorough study of social problems, its enthusiasm for science and a scientific outlook on life are all commended: "Good-will without knowledge is warmth without

light." This is the faith of the Party, but Dr. Ward would prefer the enthusiasm for humanity to enthusiasm for knowledge. That is why in Bolshevism he sees the birth of a new world. The abolition of all national distinctions and of all class distinctions, the ideal of the whole humanity living in peace and harmony and real equality, the Soviet declaration that "the popular edition of classics is to be sold at cost, and, if means shall permit, even below cost, and may even be given free through the libraries which serve the working democracy"—all this and more make Dr. Ward uncritically warm about Bolshevism. The profit and the wage system is "at variance with the ideals of the Christian religion." He is not unmindful of the criticisms which have been passed against the Bolsheviks, but he allows himself to turn his blind eye at them. He has a fear that the majority, when they get power, may blunder in their use of it, particularly in their "estimate of the worth of intellectual processes in which the common people have not participated and whose immediate bearing upon social progress is not obvious". Therefore he advises "those who live purely by speculation to attempt to justify their social worth." "In the new order all the nations will view the earth as the common resource to be co-operatively administered for the maintenance of the common life. They will consider all other peoples as beings of infinite worth and will seek to find that worth in fellowship together". Bolshevism is now on its trial. It would be unwise to condemn it. But it may be wise not to expect too much and to patiently await how far it can succeed, for its success depends on how far human nature will change to keep pace with the demands of the Bolshevik Utopia.

America is not a congenial soil for the communistic theories to flourish in. They are inevitably the outcome of the struggle of the have-not's to become the have's. But in America a healthy industrialism has on the whole secured a high standard of life for its labourers, which is the despair of Europe and even more of the rest of the world. One man in America out of five is said to own a car. This in itself is a remarkable measure of America's go-ahead prosperity. The other day a friend, lately back from this happy land, said that even a municipal sweeper has a car, and it is nothing unusual for a gardener to own a car, in which he moves about from one garden to another where he happens to be employed. If capitalism is capable of producing such results, will it be lightly changed into Bolshevism, which holds out at best the prospect of equality in bare competence, but none whatever of each man becoming the owner of a car and a well-furnished flat? America is likely to be the final battle-ground between Capitalism and Bolshevism, between the philosophy of Henry Ford and Lenin, but the issue is in the womb of time. That an American should wax so eloquent over Bolshevism is anyway an interesting phenomenon. In the meantime it is as it should be that another American, Dr. Elliot, should seek to apply a brake to political pluralism or to the Bolshevik and

Fascist dictatorship. Dr. Elliot aims at a constitutional government "*obeyed legally, resisted politically*". He is even prepared to take up the challenge of Pragmatism and argue: apply your pragmatic test of satisfactoriness, working, consequences; even then constitutional government has made good its right to exist, and therefore the idea of the co-organic state is practically valuable.

A. R. WADIA.

ON FORGETFULNESS.

THE JOYS OF FORGETTING. By ODELL SHEPARD. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 23cm. 278p. 7/6.

It is a thrice grateful diversion for an arrant forgetter, for one who never carried any excess baggage—if any baggage worth mentioning at all—in his mind, to review a book that so finally and unanswerably sets out, in its title-essay, the case for the forgetter. The dreamer, the idler, the ignoramus, and the bore, have all had fascinating champions in literature to advocate their essentially weak causes, while the forgetter, with an impregnable position, has had to wait so long for an advocate. But the long wait was worth while, seeing that his brief is at long last in the hands of one with such a brilliant and suggestive forgetfulness as Mr. Odell Shepard. That, however, would be an understatement of his qualifications for descending on the "Joys of Forgetting"—or rather, overstatement; for, far more than forgetfulness, on which he so piques himself, he is aided by an alert, scholarly memory holding the candle to reflection and imagination; indeed, a good deal of his ammunition comes from the enemy's camp, however deftly and delightfully he might veil it. Perhaps we are confusing the issue when we talk thus glibly about 'Memory' and 'Forgetfulness,' considering that—as Mr. Shepard points out—"a man's memory is what he forgets with". What is called "personality" is only another word for that resultant self in which many impressions and experiences have been absorbed and allowed to sink into the deeper layer of consciousness, and made to undergo an alchemic change—from which deeps they could be brought back, at need, shining, as "the sand-grain comes from the oyster a pearl," to use the author's image. The originality and freshness of illustration and the ever-present felicity of metaphor and phrase, whereby Mr. Shepard refracts abstract ideas, transmuting them into the rainbow-coloured web of literature, constitute the enduring charm of this first essay as well as of those that follow.

Mr. Shepard has had an ideal equipment for the *métier* of essayist. In that walking-tour of 250 miles he performed by himself and similar achievements, there are at least a dozen supertramps, now enriching literature with their pens, who could challenge from him the pedestrian's laurel. For literary loafing, thank Heaven, no age—not even the Elizabethan—can beat ours! But Mr. Shepard is not less tireless a wanderer on the highways and byways of letters; a hibernant among the tomes of the British Museum,—if one may indulge in an Irish bull. Besides we are told that he was an organist at a number of churches, and professor of English at several American universities. Furthermore, he has wisdom, without its stolid gravity, rendered vivacious by a lambent humour occasionally edged with irony but always allied to reflection; while his learning never carries a pair of scissors to clip the wings of fancy. And so he talks to us like an all but inspired tatter on his pet cat, on dolls, hobby-horses, toys, on epistolary art and ethics, the trials of a lecturer, on margi

international gatherings is, we guess, supposed to consist only in toeing the line. Sir Mahomed also hinted at some formidable reservations in regard to disarmament by India, in view of her extensive frontiers. We are afraid he has here let himself in for severe criticism, but we shall forbear till we have a fuller report of his speech.

Mr. Sarda's Marriage Bill

THE Marriage Bill sponsored by Mr. Harbilas Sarda has come up for consideration in the Assembly as reported on by the Select Committee. One significant feature of the discussion on the Bill has been the wholehearted and unstinted support given to the Bill by the Government. Sir James Crerar speaking on their behalf explained that Government experienced no qualms of conscience now that the Bill was supported by the Age of Consent Committee which had a "high measure of legal, administrative and medical qualifications which were most essential for the consideration of this question". He admitted that there existed a grave and corroding evil clamouring for remedy and said that Government were convinced that the measure was a first step in the direction of seeking a practical remedy; not only that, he appealed to the great majority of the House to support the measure. It is an immense relief to find that Dr. Hyder from U.P. and Mian Shah Nawaz supported the Bill unreservedly and the former strongly criticized the views of the Muslims who wanted to exclude themselves from the operation of the Bill. As for Sind Mr. Price said that there was not one spot which was against the Bill. As expected, Mr. Jayakar's was the strongest advocacy of the Bill. He said that even at the end of three years there would be no reconciliation with the views of the orthodox party and hence urged the immediate consideration of the Bill. He protested against quoting texts which belonged to an age and scheme of life, the spirit of which had died long ago. It is surprising that Mr. Acharya, the redoubtable champion of orthodoxy, should still be obstructing the Bill on the flimsy ground of collecting more facts and the technical ground that there has not been enough time to study the report of the Age of Consent Committee. It is equally astounding to find Mr. Ansrnath Dutt denouncing the report because it emanated from a foreign government; perversity could hardly go further. Even Pandit Malaviya raised the cry that too deeply cherished religious notions were involved in the matter and said that Government should have nothing to do with the Bill. All this display of opposition to reason is very pathetic and shows that there is all the greater need for the supporters of the Bill to bestir themselves and organize all the forces in favour of the much-needed reform. The plea for delay in considering the Bill is absolutely fatuous and is perhaps intended only to postpone what the orthodox regard as the evil day. The large volume of opinion in favour of the Bill as expressed through meetings, conferences, associations of women and statements submitted to the Joshi Committee is unmistakable and ought to silence anybody who thinks that the Bill has no popular support behind it. It is the clear duty of all the members of the Assembly who have the interests of social reform at heart to muster strong and see that the Bill which has already been delayed too long is placed on the statute-book.

The Shafi Section of the Muslim Conference.

ALL nationalists and in particular Muslim nationalists will certainly deprecate the way in which the All-India Muslim Conference which has torn itself away from the main body of Muslims is carrying on its sectional activities so as to sow disunion in the ranks of political workers. Recently

the Executive Board of the Conference, under the presidency of Sir Mahomad Shafi passed a resolution calling on Indian Muslims to abstain from participating in the Congress session. The reasons given however are hardly such as would appeal to fair and impartial observers; it is asserted that the Congress has succumbed to the influence of the Hindu Sabha and has adopted the Constitution embodied in the Nehru Report which is almost identical with that advocated by the Hindu Sabha at Jubbulpore and elsewhere. In the first place it is not true that the Hindus dominate the Congress to such an extent as to make the latter a replica of the Hindu Sabha; in the second place the Nehru Report must be judged on its merits and not by the fact that many of its conclusions happen to be identical with those arrived at by the Hindu Sabha. The agreement simply shows that many of the Hindus are prepared to back the constitution adopted in the Report and to go as far as the Report in the matter of concessions to the Muslim minority and if any alterations are made by an All-Parties Conference after joint deliberation there is every likelihood of the Hindu Sabha accepting them in order to arrive at a united demand and further safeguard the Muslim interests. In any case to call the Congress a gathering of the Hindu Sabha in disguise is a travesty of facts. The whole trouble lies in the prejudice developed in the minds of the members of the Muslim Conference against the Nehru Report which, to say the least, is unreasonable. Another resolution recommends that deputations in England should put forward the claims of Muslims before the members of Cabinet and the British public as well as members of Parliament. No one can have any objection to the work of such deputations provided the demands are reasonable; but so far as we can see they are arranged with the purpose of intriguing against the Nehru Constitution and perpetuating communal electorates and pressing for an undue share in councils and services.

The East African Indian Deputation.

BOMBAY has given a hearty welcome to the East African Deputation and at a meeting held under the auspices of several associations, sympathy and support on behalf of the whole of India were assured to it. The Hon. Mr. Pandya, leader of the Deputation, emphasized the predominant part played by Indians in the development of East Africa as well as in civilizing its inhabitants. Under no circumstances, he said, were Indians prepared to accept a second class citizenship based on communal franchise; the latter meant the predominance of the White minority. He expressed the hope that the promise given by prominent members of the Labour Party to support the civilization franchise based on equality would now be carried out. Remarking on the halting character of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendation of a common roll, he said that one of the conditions was that it should be introduced only with the consent of the Europeans; and he declared that it was impossible to fulfil this provision since the Europeans did not welcome a policy of moderation towards the Indians and the Natives which would result from such an arrangement. Mr. Pandya also referred to the discrimination against Indians in the matter of education, medical relief and higher administrative posts; in fact there was hardly any provision for the medical relief of Indians. In conclusion he appealed to the Press and the public in India to take up the cause of the Indians abroad. The Resolution moved by Mrs. Naidu and unanimously carried declared its cordial sympathy with the demand of Indians in East Africa for a common electoral roll. Mr. K. Natarajan was right when, speaking in support of the Reso-

lution, he declared that all the people in India as well as the Government of India were in agreement on the question of the disabilities and aspirations of Indians in East Africa. The present position of the question is that the Europeans with the consent of Sir Samuel Wilson are trying to turn down the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission in favour of a common roll. Much therefore depends on the way in which the deputation to England presents its case and lays bare the weak points of the case of their opponents. The Labour Government is expected to take a more reasonable view of the Indian claims than the Tory Government bid fair to do and it is to be hoped that the Government of India will back the Indians in East Africa in respect of whatever claims they consider to be reasonable instead of keeping a discreet silence. We thoroughly endorse the statement made by Mr. Meyer Nissim, the Chairman of the meeting, that the treatment of our countrymen in East Africa will be the acid test of the position of India in the Empire.

* * *

Reassuring the Europeans.

IN a recent address to the Madras branch of the European Association Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar has made a successful attempt to enlist the sympathy of Europeans for Indian nationalism and disabuse their minds of the idea that in the new dispensation their rights would be ruthlessly confiscated by Indians. Recounting the history of the economic policy of the Congress, Mr. Iyengar showed how leaders like Dadabhai, Gokhale and others protested against the sacrificing of Indian interests at the altar of free trade and placing its finances at the mercy of doctrinaires in England and how in 1906 Dadabhai gave the country the gospel of 'Swadeshi and Swaraj' as the twin objectives of the Congress. Coming to the Nehru Scheme, he said that it contemplated the freedom of India from foreign domination in the economic and industrial sphere; unless therefore the British and other Europeans consent to become citizens of India they can only have the same status as non-nationals in other Dominions. Mr. Iyengar quoted from the report of the Joint Committee to indicate how there has been a change since the great war from the policy of Government dictating India's fiscal policy from Whitehall in the direction of the Congress policy and fiscal autonomy has been recognized as one of the basic facts of the new constitution inaugurated in 1919. The Indian Steel protection act was the first clear recognition of the new policy and since then several steps have been taken to prove the national character of the Indian economic policy; Mr. Iyengar claims for the future Swaraj government therefore the right to continue the same policy which has been so far accepted by Government as well as by Europeans. He admitted however that the just claims of foreign capital and the foreign services must be respected and in his opinion ample assurances in this matter are contained in the Nehru Report. Referring to the safeguards proposed by the European Association for the protection of their financial and commercial interests and examining them in the light of the standpoint of the Congress, Mr. Iyengar said that he would rather liquidate the whole liability of the foreigner than consent to incorporate statutory guarantees for preventing discriminatory legislation in respect of taxation, trade and industry. He thinks however that such guarantees are unnecessary since there can be no repudiation on the part of any future government which will succeed the present one. As for claims made on the ground of the Europeans being a minority community they could easily be settled, he said, at future conferences.

Articles.

UNDERWRITING ABUSE?

WE have been waiting for months to see what action either H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala or H. E. the Viceroy takes on a petition signed by ten prominent subjects of Patiala State making allegations of "a most staggering character against the present Maharaja. The petition has been published in responsible newspapers and circulated broadcast by no less reputable an organisation than the Indian States People's Conference, with which are associated such honoured names as Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. If it were not for the fact that the petition has received such influential backing it would be treated as utterly incredible, so astounding are the charges made. Even now we frankly confess we find it difficult, if not impossible, to believe that even an appreciable fraction of them could have any relation to facts. But the indictment is so circumstantial and withal so heavy that it is impossible to ignore it. But both the Viceroy and the Maharaja seem to be ignoring it. We have not yet heard of the Maharaja proceeding against the petitioners in his Courts or urging the Viceroy to set the Princes' Protection Act in motion against the publishers of the petition. On the contrary the latter are inciting the Viceroy to take drastic action against themselves (if on inquiry they are found guilty of libelling an innocent Prince). Is the Viceroy going to sit quiet under such provocation?

While thoughts like these were running in our mind, the news comes that the *Akali* has published in its issue of the 7th inst. the facsimile of a letter from the Political Agent of the Phulkian States purporting "to inform Sardar Amar Singh once again that if he is not prepared to accept Rs. 20,000 and to withdraw all claims over his wife no further action will be taken on any petitions that he may in future submit on the subject." It is perhaps possible that the letter is capable of a construction which reflects no discredit on the Political Agent. If so, the Government of India will, we trust, promptly publish facts to convince the public that the Political Agent's letter was quite innocuous. For it does bear an extremely ugly look. Or perhaps the letter is a fabrication. In that case this fact must be made widely known. The petition by ten citizens of Patiala to which we referred in the first paragraph recites numerous cases of alleged abduction and forcible restraint of women followed by an offer of bribes to their husbands or fathers with a view to buying off claims for their persons. The letter now published bears too close a resemblance to the cases mentioned therein for the public to desist from drawing the inference, unless facts negating such an inference are published, that it relates to a similar un-savoury affair. This letter now assigns to the Government of India quite a new rôle. It is not for them now to call upon the Maharaja of Patiala to clear his

choice of a life-companion : namely, (1) Deliberation, (2) Completion, and (3) Mutuality. Completion of one's own personality by that of another should be sought in such a choice. The problems of personality and mutuality are generally left for the fate to settle and the result of such a step is usually seen in so many unhappy homes.

The problems of family limitation on the one hand and those of auto-erotism on the other have been dealt with in this volume to make it as comprehensive as possible.

The appendices include a discussion on the sex education of the young and a practical method of achieving it.

The book is issued by the Student Christian Movement and can be had in India of the Association Press, Calcutta, which is its Agent in India.

R. A. RAIRKAR.

INDIAN PRACTICAL BANKING. By O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY. (Taraporevala.) 1929. 22cm. 137p. Rs. 2.

THE object of this book is to promote knowledge of banking even among laymen who ought to know more of the practical working of a joint stock bank if they are to take a keen interest in questions relating to the development of Indian banking. The student of economics also will find the book helpful in making him see the proper bearing of banking practice on the theories he is taught in general books. Mr. Krishnamoorthy shows in a comparative table how backward India is in the matter of banking. The capital and reserve in India is nearly Rs. 25 crores as compared to Rs. 77 crores in Australia and Rs. 234 crores in the United Kingdom; India has 500 banking offices against 9500 in U.K. and 30,000 in U.S.A. The cheque habit is poorly developed and there is very little inclination in India to invest in banks; the proper remedy in his opinion is to educate the public. A full account is given in the book of bankers' advances, one of the most important activities of a joint stock bank, including the discounting of hundis. The author recommends the formation of Investment Trusts to encourage middle class investors to invest their savings in safe securities; we think such trusts will go a long way to cure the nervousness of ignorant investors who at present are mortally afraid of shares. The author has given excellent hints for construing the balance sheet of a bank from the customer's point of view. Mr. Krishnamoorthy believes that there is a good financial future for India if only the necessary development of banking and credit facilities is secured; and he has unbounded optimism. He is besides very keen on the establishment of a Central Bank in India which will assist agriculture, commerce and industry. We are confident that his book will spread his own enthusiasm among the public at large, if they will only read it.

G.

THE MADURA SAURASHTRA COMMUNITY. By K. R. R. SASTRY. (Mysore Economic Journal, Bangalore City.) 1927. 16cm. 77p.

THIS is a detailed economic study of a very important community in South India which migrated from Kathiawar three centuries ago. 43% of the community have settled in the town of Madura. The Saurashtras of Madura are managing several spinning mills; while in weaving and lace-making they are unrivalled; much inventive capacity has also been

displayed by them in the discovery of colours. The community possesses a strong *esprit de corps* and has succeeded in organizing a co-operative society, the Saurashtra Sabha which aims to promote the moral, social and intellectual advancement of the people and a weekly paper; thus very few according to Mr. Sastry, they constitute one of the well-organized castes in South India. In spite of this the community is sadly deficient in higher education and impervious to cultural appeals. A thorough research has been made by him of the labour conditions of this community; what strikes one is the poor wages of female workers, which are Rs. 8 a month in silk weaving; Rs. 17 in mills and Rs. 15 to 20 in dyeing. An interesting list of family budgets is given which shows that except in the case of dye-workers the average expense of a whole family is Rs. 32. Regarding those persons who pay income-tax as the rich and middle class, the statistics show that only 1.6 per cent. of the persons can be said to along to this class. Among the evils affecting the community Mr. Sastri mentions the drink evil and early maternity and he says that the enormity of the former is still not sufficiently realized by even the enlightened members of the community. He recommends therefore a more vigorous temperance work by the communal organizations. The booklet is an excellent specimen of an intensive study of industrial and social conditions of a community and throws a flood of light on the good points as well as the weak spots of communal organization.

G.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1927.** By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 25cm. 613p. 24s.
- THE NEW CITIZENSHIP. A STUDY OF AMERICAN POLITICS.** By SEBA ELDRIDGE. (Crowell, New York.) 1929. 20cm. 357p. \$2.50
- SYSTEMATIC SOCIOLOGY IN GERMANY.** By THEODORE ABEL. (Columbia University Press.) 1929. 23cm. 169p. \$3.00.
- THE BANKRUPTCY OF MARRIAGE.** By V. F. CALVERTON. (J. Hamilton, London.) 1929. 22cm. 320p. 16s.
- INDIGENOUS BANKING IN INDIA.** By L. C. JAIN. (Macmillan.) 1929. 23cm. 274p. 15s.
- THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF PUBLIC DEBTS.** By SHUTARO MATSUSHITA. (Columbia University Press.) 1929. 23cm. 186p. \$3.00.
- HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. Vol. II. The Creative Period.** By S. K. BELVALKAR & R. D. RANADE (Bilvakunja Publication House, Poona 4.) 1927. 25cm. 512p. Rs. 15.
- THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE, 1815-1825.** By C. K. WEBSTER. (Calcutta University.) 1929. 24cm. 89p.
- MEMORIES AND REFLECTIONS, 1852-1927. Vols. I & II.** By THE EARL OF OXFORD AND ASQUITH. (Cassell.) 1928. 24cm. 284 & 288p.
- FOREIGN DIPLOMACY IN CHINA, 1894-1900.** By PHILIP JOSEPH. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 458p. 10s.
- THE ARAB KINGDOM AND ITS FALL.** By J. WELLHAUSEN. Translated by MARGARET GRAHAM WEIR. (University of Calcutta.) 1927. 22cm. 592p.
- AN INDIAN JOURNEY.** By WALDEMAR BANSELS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 273p. 7s. 6d.
- BRITISH EMPIRE, LTD.** By GEORGE HERBERT. (HODDER and Stoughton.) 19cm. 139p. 3s. 6d.
- OUTDOOR RECREATION LEGISLATION AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS.** By ANDREW G. TRUXAL. (Columbia University Press.) 1929. 23cm. 218p. \$3.50.