

The Servant of India

EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XII, No. 37 }

POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1929.

{ INDIAN SUBSN Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

The Mahatma's Decision.

THE persistent and, as we must now conclude, definitive refusal by Mahatma Gandhi to accept the office of Congress President this year has created a most intriguing situation. The reasons given by the Mahatma for his refusal command assent, however reluctantly the assent may come. His mental make-up is to-day just what it was in 1921 ; he would not, as was proclaimed by Mr. Vallabhai Patel for him, change the N.C.O. programme of that time by one iota. That programme, however, it is evident to him, the country will not accept. In these circumstances he finds it impossible to take it upon himself to lead the country. This is of course quite intelligible, but what is to happen to the movement which he has already undertaken to lead at the close of this year ? It would have been more appropriate if, realising his position of isolation, he had not emerged last December from his self-imposed retirement from politics and offered to put himself at the head of the no-tax campaign. We know that he intervened to prevent a rupture, but he incurred thereby a responsibility to which perhaps he may now feel unequal. He has frankly told us that he sees no prospect of initiating the campaign next year with a feeling of assurance about its success ; he only hopes vaguely that some way out will be discovered on the 1st of January. Perhaps it will be discovered ; but we should have felt that the reasons which decided him to decline the Presidentship of the Congress should have decided him even more stubbornly to decline the leadership of the political movement at the last Congress session.

THOSE who have been pressing Mr. Gandhi to accept the Presidentship do so just because he has already accepted the leadership of the mass movement to be launched at the beginning of next year in certain circumstances. Since he is to fight the battle, it should be left to him to choose both the time and the battle ground. They desire that it should not be open to any one to compel him to take up the wage of battle either when he is unprepared for it or when he feels that it is unnecessary. It is still not quite impossible that the Labour Government will make a pronouncement, which may appear to Mahatma Gandhi to call for a revision of the decision taken in December last in so far as to give the Government a little more time to redeem itself. (Mr. Wedgwood Benn has produced a good impression on all those who have had an opportunity of seeing him at work as Secretary of State. Mr. Brailsford who, in order to illustrate the cautious policy which the Labour Government has adopted, says in the *New Republic* that the Premier has deliberately excluded from the Cabinet all the "abler, younger men," feels constrained to make an exception in favour of Mr. Benn, who, in his opinion, is at once able, progressive and courageous.) If he is not in the chair of the Congress, even Mr. Gandhi's moral authority, great as it always will be, may, without the authority of President to support it, prove insufficient to persuade the Congress to take his view. This would not have much mattered if the burden of the struggle which the other view necessitates the country were able to shoulder by itself. This burden will necessarily be transferred to Mahatma Gandhi, which will be unfair to him personally, apart from the larger national issues involved therein. Similarly, if Mahatma Gandhi feels that, however imperious may be the need for starting passive resistance immediately, the country is not sufficiently equipped for it, his view is more likely to prevail when he is Congress President than when he is not. His resignation from the Congress Presidentship has thus produced a situation which is anomalous in the extreme ; for the Congress leaders still feel that they are entitled to look to him for leading the passive resistance movement, although the very causes which operate in compelling him to relinquish one task operate in unfitting him to take up the other.

The Assam Simon Committee.

AMONGST the reports of Provincial Committees, the report of the Assam Committee will easily rank as the most liberal document although it does not go nearly as far as the bulk of the nationalists would like it to go. It urges the complete abolition of Dyarchy and recommends transfer of all subjects including law and order. The ministers according to the Committee should be jointly responsible to the Legislature and the Chief Minister should preside over the meetings of the Cabinet. In the opinion of the Committee the All-India Civil Service and the All-India

Police Service should be retained for the present in the recruitment of provincial officers; excepting these two they recommend the provincialisation of all other services. Strange to say, the Committee declare themselves in favour of universal suffrage, the limit being placed at the age 25. The Committee do not recommend a Second Chamber but they disagree with the Government Memorandum when the latter says that there is no suitable material for it in the province. The Committee claims a representation in the Assembly proportionate to the area as well as population; to us it is inconceivable that area should have anything to do with the matter. As for the Council of State they suggest that every province should be equally represented in it so as to make it represent the provinces as opposed to the people. In contrast with this the memorandum submitted by the Assam Government regards complete provincial autonomy as impracticable on account of the interdependence of provinces; and it recommends the handing over of matters affecting internal security and law and order to the control of the Governor-General. The memorandum however proposes to make the Legislative Council completely free from official influence by the total exclusion of all officials. The Assam Government does not however muster sufficient courage to discard the principle of nomination: not only that but they insist on one-seventh of the places in the Council being filled by nomination. The Assam Government recommend that all subjects should be in charge of elected Ministers.

Deprivation of Citizenship in U.S.A.

THE statement made by Sir Denis Bray in regard to the rights of naturalisation of Indians in the United States is very disappointing since it clearly means that Indians in future will be debarred from becoming American citizens. As a salve to their conscience the U. S. Government after continued representations from the British Government have promised not to put the law into motion against those Indians who had acquired such rights before the date of the Supreme Court's decision declaring Indians ineligible for citizenship. The rights of several Indians would in this manner be safeguarded; but even then there is the implied threat referred to by the Foreign Secretary that this courtesy would be discontinued as soon as outside influences would be brought to bear upon the U. S. Government. This is a clear warning to the Government of India and the Assembly, not to approach the British Government any further in this matter. The present attitude of the U. S. Government is not only an affront to the people of India as the American missionaries have declared with admirable candour but is a great reflection on a country which has only recently prided itself on its offering the "Kellogg Pact" to the world. How can wars be ended when nations are thus heaping insults on each other's citizens? It is also clear from the statement in the Assembly that the Government intend to acquiesce in the decision of U. S. and let the matter drop here without pressing the claims of Indians any further. A Bill passed in the U. S. Legislature placing Indians on a par with other nationalities which can acquire complete rights of citizenship is the only solution of the problem which would be fair and equitable and in spite of the threat of the U. S. Government the Assembly must continue to protest against the iniquity of the decision of the Supreme Court of U. S. If the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature cannot befriend the Indians in U. S. nobody else can. Sir Denis Bray is self-complacent and regards it as gratifying that "immunity has thus been secured for several hundreds" of fortunate Indians against whom the process of the

courts withdrawing the certificate of naturalisation would not be set in motion. But there is hardly much ground for complacency since this is regarded by the U. S. Government as a matter of grace and not of right.

India and Palestine.

INDIA seems now to be irrevocably committed to a Declaration of Independence on the ensuing New Year's Day—if not earlier. Even assuming that the Labour Government's announcement of Indian policy, which is expected on the reopening of Parliament, is so satisfactory as to induce Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (who will in all probability become the Congress President this year) and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and others to stay within the British Empire for a little while longer, Independence will be called for for another reason, the injustice done to Arabs in Palestine. A Commission is being appointed to define the rights of Jews and Arabs in regard to holy places as provided for in the mandate for Palestine, but this apparently is not enough to satisfy Indian Moslems. They want the Balfour Declaration itself to be abrogated and the mandate cancelled: otherwise they will declare independence. The Moslems who make this demand are not the separatists like Ali brothers and Shafis but men like Mr. Brelvi, who have formed a Congress Muslim Party and thus shown themselves to be the most go-ahead nationalists among Mahomedans. Now this demand has not the least chance of success. Lord Passfield has already reaffirmed Great Britain's determination to stand by the Balfour Declaration and the whole British opinion supports him in that policy. If there is any doubt on this point, it will be resolved by a perusal of what Mr. Brailsford, easily the most liberal-minded free-lancer in the Labour Party to-day, says on the subject. "On the main question," he says, "there can be no going back on our words. In the hearing of all the world we promised this home to the Jews." We need not now consider the merits of the policy which got Great Britain into Palestine. The only thing that concerns us immediately is whether India is to be made a pawn on the chessboard of world politics, whether Moslems are to be allowed to link India's destiny to a policy, which may be good or bad from the point of view of Islam, but which can bring no good to India. If for this reason India is to declare independence, she need not wait till the 31st December, but can and must do so immediately.

The Asiatic Labour Congress.

AT an informal meeting between the representatives of the All-India Trade Union Congress and the representative of the Japanese Joint Council it has been decided to hold the first session of the Asiatic Labour Congress in India in the spring of 1930. The informal meeting has adopted the constitution of the Congress and it has been decided that the first Congress will consider, along with the agenda of the International Labour Conference, the condition of textile workers in Japan, India and China. We are glad to see that Mr. N. M. Joshi's suggestion for such a Congress has now been realized and we hope the Congress will set itself to solve the important questions concerning the labour movements in Asia. One of the main objects of the Congress will be the development of closer relations between the Trade Unions of several Asiatic countries; in addition the Congress will attempt to remove disabilities of a discriminatory character imposed upon Asiatic workers, to prevent the exploitation of Asiatic workers under foreign domination and to improve the conditions of life and

work of Labour in Asiatic countries so as to bring them into line with those obtaining in industrially advanced countries. It is quite reasonable that in the executive two out of three Vice-Presidents would be elected by the Japanese and Chinese Trade Unions thus giving adequate representation to the three countries which in the beginning will be the main participants. In an interview Mr. Yunekubo, representative of the Japanese Joint Council, said that as a result of international pressure Japan has prohibited night work in the factories. Thus one principal ground of complaint against Japan has been removed. Allowing for recesses the actual working hours in Japan are $9\frac{1}{2}$ and the wages in Japan, according to him, are higher than those paid in India. As for the organization of textile workers Japan seems to be as badly off as India and it is surprising to learn that employers there are keeping the workers safe from trade union influences by various devices. Mr. Yunekubo is of opinion that communism will never find favour with the Japanese people and for the present no communists are admitted into the Unions. The poor progress of the Trade Union movement in Japan is shown by the fact that out of ten millions of manual workers only about half a million are organized.

* * *

Indian Sugar Industry.

A PAPER read before the Annual Convention of Sugar Technologists' Association by Mr. V. Padmanabha Iyer, a sugar technologist in Hawaii, which has recently been published is very instructive as it lays bare the causes which have so far retarded the progress of the sugar industry in India. Our dependence on foreign sugar can be gauged from the fact that in the five-year period 1918-23 we bought nearly Rs. 100 crores worth of foreign sugar. The failure of most of the sugar factories is attributable, according to Mr. Iyer, to jobbery and appointment of incompetent relations by the organizers. The management is equally unsatisfactory; "machinery is ordered without regard to design, strength and equipment of the factory" and even here Mr. Iyer found that relations of the Managing Agents were appointed to be managers without the least competency. As for the technical staff engineers are prevented from getting the necessary materials and their plans are thwarted by incompetent managers. Mr. Iyer believes that the Engineer and the Chemist should convince the Management of the defects and causes of inefficient results, instead of being reticent and indifferent as they are at present. Other defects are a lack of Technical Associations for industries and want of a good reserve fund. Mr. Iyer has exposed the fallacy of the idea that without frequent improvements to original designs a large factory will be able to keep up its efficiency for years. Mr. Iyer has nothing but contempt for the work of the Supervising Chemists in the sugar factories who do not know even the correct meaning of the heads of a manufacturing report. Very few factories try to educate their labourers and the number of labourers who are willing to learn and work harder is also small as they see no prospect of promotion. As remedies Mr. Iyer suggests greater co-operation between the Engineer and the Chemist and the employment of honest and capable men; and he rightly points out that the failure of a factory means a general disinclination to start new ones. If things are what Mr. Iyer has described them to be there is no wonder that our sugar industry is not making any appreciable advance. Managers that do not know their business will not be tolerated in any other country.

* * *

Articles.

THE HUNGER STRIKE.

AS is the uniform experience of all of us, the Indian bureaucracy, makes the worst showing when it is confronted with a problem which must be handled with imagination instead of by a rule of the thumb. In the death of Jatindranath Dass and the continuation of the hunger strike by the other co-accused in the Lahore Conspiracy case it was faced with a problem which made possibly a larger call on sympathetic understanding and tactful statesmanship than ever before, and, as was to be expected, the bureaucracy has come off very badly indeed. Government have all along insisted upon treating political prisoners indifferently to every other class of prisoners; it denies to them the ameliorative treatment to which an honourable motive leading to crime is supposed to entitle prisoners in countries where prison treatment has been fully evolved. The denial aroused fierce protests from the public but was generally acquiesced in, and so Government never realized that a change was necessary. But Dass and others, by hunger-striking, produced a crisis which stirred Government to a realization of the abuses which a wise Government would not have waited for such an awkward situation to cure. Even now they have not weakened in their resolve to take no account of the motive in judging of the kind of treatment to be meted out to prisoners, and in ordering an inquiry into the other features of prison treatment, they have carefully excluded this particular question of the treatment of political prisoners from the purview of the inquiry. The root cause of the trouble is here: Government persist in treating political prisoners on the same footing as ordinary criminals. From this basic error, every other error follows as a matter of course. As Dass and others carried their hunger strike to the extent of disabling themselves from attending the court, Government became seriously alarmed and cast about for a remedy to end the impasse. Then they thought of improving somewhat the lot of prisoners in other ways and appointed a committee whose proposals, the *People* says, when put into effect, "would go a long way to improve the lot of under-trial prisoners and also of political prisoners accused of non-violent crimes." By this time the life of Jiten Dass was in serious peril, and Government, although still reluctant to modify their policy, were eager to bring about some compromise by which they could get Jiten off their hands. They offered to let him out on bail, but his brother refused to have him, being sure that his days were already numbered. Government's prestige ultimately prevailed, and Jiten died a martyr's death in the prison cell, evoking a sense of admiration in everyone, without regard to political party, for the almost unprecedented will power which he showed to the last.

Not only have the Government now a death on their hands, but they find that the trial of the

accused in the Lahore Conspiracy case cannot proceed. For some one or other of the accused makes himself too ill to attend the trial and it is the cardinal principle of British jurisprudence that no trial can go on and no evidence can be heard except in the presence of those who have to answer charges. Undaunted, the bureaucracy puts forward a proposal to change all this. If the administration of justice is going to be obstructed, the obstacle must be removed, for, after all, what the principle of jurisprudence requires is, according to the bureaucracy, that the accused shall have every opportunity of defending himself. If he does not avail himself of the opportunity it is his funeral. Government have thus discovered a lacuna in the law, which they want to remedy by means of a bill allowing a trial to proceed even in the absence of the accused. The very fact, however, that such a lacuna has been left in the law (purposely we should think, for contingencies similar to those that have happened could not but have been foreseen by the framers of the criminal law), should have led Government to think more deeply on the problem. The phenomenon of anyone starving himself voluntarily to death is so rare that the problems created by it cannot be solved by the ordinary method. If only Government will recognise that the motive actuating a person to commit crime must count both in awarding a sentence and in according treatment in prison, they will have no difficulty in handling such cases, and as long as they refuse to do so, that long the Bill that they contemplate cannot help them very much. A little tact exercised before would never have allowed the question to reach this critical stage; but the question having become critical, it cannot be solved in this sledge-hammer fashion. Government have now shown eleventh-hour wisdom in circulating the Bill for eliciting public opinion instead of carrying it immediately to the statute book.

THE RIOTS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

THE Report of the Committee appointed to probe the causes of the February riots in the City of Bombay has just been issued by the Bombay Government. The primary cause of these riots, according to the Percival Committee, is the Red Flag Union, the other causes in their opinion being contributory and therefore having a secondary importance. These latter are classified as hooliganism and the Hindu-Muslim tension. Many of the hooligans, remark the Committee, are old offenders and but for them the riots would not have been continued. The evidence about the Hindu-Muslim tension ought to show to the two communities that much might be said on the other side; this is the summing up of the Committee but we must say that this is too cryptic to be of much practical value and leaves the question as to which community is more to blame undecided. In one sense this reticence of the Committee is welcome as nothing can be gained now by the right apportionment of blame except perhaps further ill-will. The Committee is right in believing that Hindu-Muslim tension does not normally exist in Bombay to an appreciable extent. It is disposed to agree with

the witnesses who say that this tension is not caused by the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha as both these movements are controlled by moderate leaders in the City of Bombay, nor does it believe that there is any contact between these organizations and communism. So far as Bombay City is concerned, the Committee attribute very little importance to Shuddhi, Sanghatan and the corresponding Muslim movements and this is certainly the correct view to take.

The Committee make a pointed reference to the fact that the Girni Komgar Union were inciting the workers to take the law into their own hands and they think that the evidence before them shows that one of the leaders of the Union incited his picketers to intimidate the loyal workers at the oil installations. The Committee hold some of the journals in Bombay responsible for the spread of the kidnapping scare. We have grave doubts however whether newspapers can be held morally responsible for rumours which ultimately turned out to be false, provided they were believed in good faith to be correct at the time. It cannot be denied that they should have inserted a contradiction in their pages as soon as they found out that any rumour was proved to have been false and baseless. There was nothing communal, in the opinion of the Committee, in the first attacks on the Pathans since they were motivated by industrial reasons; it is only when the Pathans began to assault Hindus indiscriminately that a communal turn was given to the rioting. The Committee do not give credence to the allegations regarding Hindu or Muslim leaders being at the back of rioting and instigating their co-religionists to violence.

Reviewing the remedial measures, the finding of the Committee is that there is no criticism worth speaking of regarding excessive use of force either by the Military or the Police. In view of the criticism that the Police were themselves actuated by communal motives it is satisfactory to learn that they were impartial. A large portion of the public still believes that the Military should have been called out earlier than it was actually and the Committee admit that there is considerable force in this view of the case since on February 4 it was found out "that the Police after mobilising all their forces could not bring the disorderly elements in check." They exonerate the Home Member, however, from any blame on this account since in their opinion the responsibility for deciding about calling out the Military rested on the Commissioner of Police who in his oral evidence has admitted his full responsibility. The contention that the Home Member refused to call out the Military, when this was desired by the Commissioner, is not borne out by any evidence and the Committee therefore dismiss it as merely based upon impression. The consistent support given by the Home Member to the Commissioner is the only right course of conduct in their opinion. We hope we shall have heard the last of this unpleasant controversy about the location of responsibility on a particular member of the Service. It is enough to note that the Committee regard

it as desirable in future emergencies to call out a strong force of the Military at an early stage and also to take other drastic measures like those adopted in recent riots.

We are strongly opposed to the Committee's suggestion that the provisions of the Intimidation Act should be freely acted upon, as a preventive against further mischief. The Act, as we have already shown, is full of potentialities for inroads upon the liberty of the citizen and is as likely to be misused as to be used properly. The Committee is of opinion that it should be considered whether the Trade Union Act should not be amended so as to exclude communists from Trade Unions. The Committee have an equal faith in the Emergency Bill which provides for the extermination of bad characters from Bombay City. They also recommend that permanent measures should be taken against hooligans in Bombay, such as heavy punishments for old offenders and the institution of a settlement for Bombay hooligans where they can be made to do some useful work. These permanent measures will have the hearty approval of every one who has realized how much Bombay City has suffered from this class of undesirables and also the immense potentiality of danger possessed by it. We are glad to notice that the Police Commissioner has already got power to deport any trans-frontier Pathans and he has made use of it to deport certain bad characters. The Committee recommend an addition to the Police force so as to approach the figure recommended by Mr. Edwardes in 1910 and we are sure the Legislative Council would not grudge the expenditure. It is also recommended that special constables should be enrolled during riots in order to relieve a part of the usual force for riot work. While we agree with the suggestion that action should be taken against newspapers, pamphlets and books which excite communal hatred, we must warn Government against using 153 A and 295 A sections without great caution and deliberation so as not to penalise legitimate comment and criticism.

It is difficult to accept unreservedly the statement of the Committee that communism was the primary cause of the riots. For this view the Committee mainly rely on the evidence of European and Parsi witnesses. But against this we have the testimony of various witnesses including Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas that the strike leaders had nothing to do with the riots. In fact the industrial activities of these leaders had exhausted themselves before the middle of January.

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIANS.

BRASIL with a vast acreage of lands where careful cultivation will bring excellent results is a splendid place for the adventurer as well as the average emigrant; it is really a free country of tolerant views as well as wide spaces. The foreigner who comes here to work, to develop will find himself remarkably soon at home, in a friendly atmosphere, and if he cares to identify himself with progressive movements, he will be warmly welcomed. A very long list could be made

of foreigners who have attained wealth as well as high positions, among whom, was an Indian Lieutenant Colonel Biswas, who became Vice President of Brazil. Naturalized foreigners are eligible to the Legislative Assemblies of Brazil, and, whether naturalized or not, foreigners enjoy precisely the same rights and privileges as Brazilians before the law.

Vast virgin territories of surpassing richness call the workers and immigrants of every nation: to all who answer the call the laws for the comfort and protection of the foreign workman and immigrant give guarantees such as no other country gives. It is indeed a pleasant country for the foreigner, where he is received with such cordiality and such a welcome, and where he finds such freedom that he immediately adopts it as a second fatherland.

The Brazilians are exceedingly polite and hospitable. A stranger may address any passer-by in a Brazilian street in the worst Portuguese and will invariably receive serious and kindly attention. It is said that "the Brazilians laugh at everything except a foreigner who is speaking bad Portuguese." From the richest and most cultured to the poorest illiterate, everyone is received in a spirit of good manners and mutual courtesies. It is very common in Brazil to see men passing each other several times a day and at each passing lift their hats and murmur words of salutations. The politeness, hospitality, and manners of these people often remind one of France and its people.

We are often given the impression that Brazil is a backward country, with vast jungles, numberless wild beasts, snakes, etc. Only when we actually are in Rio De Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, or any of the State capitals and other cities there, are we really convinced of the splendour, beauty, and progressiveness of the country. It is a common saying, among people who have seen the capital city of Brazil and Paris, that "you can see Paris in Rio De Janeiro"—so beautiful and modern is that city of 1,250,000 people.

On the Amazon and its tributaries thirty-nine registered companies are operating a total route of 57,000 miles. Also numerous small boats are used for local purposes. Hence the real progress of the country can be shown from the fact that besides the network of inland waterways for cheap transportation about 17,483 miles of railroad have already been constructed to link some of the States and the inland cities to the capital and other sea ports.

In connection with the transportation system it may be well to state that there are many railroads under construction, and many projects under consideration. A movement for good roads throughout the length and breadth of the country is now on the way. Besides the good roads connecting the thickly peopled areas, the telephone, telegraph, and post offices system is quite efficient, and is doing its share in the work of communication.

Brazil, like India, is a fertile agricultural country which grows rubber, coffee, sugarcane, cotton, maize, tobacco, wheat, cocoa, rice, barley,

oats, pineapples, oranges, and all other tropical and subtropical products can be profitably cultivated. In order to maintain the price of coffee, the Government has restricted the opening up of new coffee plantations. Apart from coffee, one may cultivate any product one desires and after maturity be practically assured of a ready market.

At present the United States of America is paying more attention to her manufacturing than to her agricultural products; hence it is necessary for her to get some of these things from outside. Brazil supplies some foodstuffs as well as mining products to the United States. The principal things exported to the U.S.A. in 1924 were (in million dollars) coffee 216, sugar 14, raw cotton 12, hides 11, cocoa 9, meat 9, oil producing seeds 9, rubber 8, tobacco 6, and matte 6. Since then it has been increasing.

There have been found deposits of diamond, gold, iron ore, manganese, and coal, but unfortunately due to the lack of capital and labour very few of these deposits have been opened. Besides the mining industry, there are flour and sugar mills, cotton and silk weaving, and numerous other industries, and there is room for many more.

The man who goes to Brazil to be an agriculturist must, if he is without a family, pay for his land in cash; board, lodging, and transportation from the port of entry to the land is at Government's expense. A family is permitted to pay for its land in from four to six years. The present number of acres allotted to a single man is 60, and to a family 120. However, he or they may buy as many acres as they can pay for in cash and show their ability to cultivate, for this large country of 3,292,000 square miles has a population of only 40,000,000.

Colonial groups have been formed by the peoples of almost all nations except India, but now for the first time a group of Indians is being formed. Any one who is interested and wishes further information can obtain same by communicating with Chandra L. Singh, C/o The American Express Co. Inc., Hornby Road, Bombay.

MRS. CHANDRA L. SINGH.

Our European Letter.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

WHATEVER may be the consequences of the position which Mr. Snowden took up at the Hague—they are various and hardly discernible as yet—the one clear issue emerging from it is a very vigorous reminder of the decisive place that Great Britain occupies in the European system. This consideration taken together with Great Britain's relations with U.S.A. in the matter of naval armaments would make the situation in that country the dominating influence in the international sphere. An understanding of British politics is essential today for the appreciation of the general trend of events. Mr. Snowden has been almost uniformly blamed a broad for his action, and although he may have found at home almost universal support for the matter of

his arguments, his manner has not obtained the same degree of approval. In England itself the present Ministry has been compared to the Gladstone Ministry of 1880 which came into power with the catchwords of peace, economy and reform, to be characterised within a short time by the bombardment of Alexandria, the occupation of Egypt, and the prospect of war with Russia. It is not only possible but also probable that as the weeks pass by, Mr. Snowden's stand at the Hague comes to be appreciated not in accordance with the measure of the force of his resistance but in accordance with the ultimate effects on British prestige in international politics. Democracy is notorious for its short memories and sacrifices its Ministers with ruthlessness greater than any king's. It would be idle to dissimulate the fact that the course of events tends to disappoint the friends of Labour instead of creating more of these, and at this juncture, it would be well to enquire into the situation to which the present Government became heir.

At bottom Britain's strength lay mostly in financial prosperity. It is unnecessary to minimise in any manner the splendid equipment for action which British character provides (and which must be accounted for by some sort of inherent capacity) to see also that the manifestation of this very trait was rendered possible by the resources created by capital. The accumulation of capital may be traced to the industrial revolution which, in spite of all its displacements, conferred on England the benefits of industrialism earlier than any other country. In the ultimate analysis the predominant position of Great Britain in the world must be traced to this event. The knowledge of the vast changes which the last few decades, specially the one following the war, have brought about in this respect, is a commonplace. A very important result of these changes has been not merely the disruption of the industrial position of England but also of her financial position. I shall reproduce here a few significant sentences from a remarkable article written by Lord Rothermere in the *Sunday Pictorial* not very long ago entitled "Will Wall Street Swallow Europe?"

"These last five years have seen the birth of another world-power. It has more authority than the League of Nations, more subtlety than Bolshevism, and makes a direct appeal to the strongest instinct of human nature. Every discussion between men of authority in politics, economics or finance brings up the name of this new international force. Some of them speak of it with misgiving but all with profound respect, for it is one over which they have no control. Its vibrations are like the tremors of an earthquake beneath the floor of a council chamber, whose members know that it is capable of wrecking them and their plans together. This great new factor in international affairs is Wall Street. . . . Great Britain's total annual income is computed at £4,000,000,000. The annual savings of the people of the United States reach a higher figure. The Americans of today very wisely refuse to put their money into any European country with the exception of Britain, France, and one or two others, for they realise that though for a few years they may get a high rate of interest, they are practically certain in the long run to lose their capital. The result is that the enormous savings and surplus points of America are continually seeking investment in their home market, where the number of securities remain re-

stricted. Under the high pressure generated by the huge unceasing flow of money, American stocks are lifted to constantly increasing prices.... With trade depression hanging like a thundercloud over the European stock exchanges and political complications always possible, it is not surprising that money, which is the most sensitive and mobile commodity we use, should fly to the fairer field of the United States. America today is the goal of refugee capital just as a generation ago she was the goal of political refugees.... The expansion now going on in Wall Street is the greatest financial phenomenon of any age. It will have vast and widespread consequences. The absorption of European capital by America is rapidly giving to the United States the financial empire of the world. The Great European banks with the exception of the Bank of England and the Bank of France, will tend increasingly to become dependencies of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York."

Faced with such odds Great Britain had to tighten up her financial as well as her industrial systems. The first of these she did by returning to the gold standard at the earliest possible moment so as to ensure stability in economic affairs. When in 1925 the return to gold was effected there was considerable opposition to it in the country as there was a general agreement that the pound was overvalued. But it was felt that this bold expedient would ultimately be justified by the gradual adjustment of British price-level to world conditions. It should be now evident that this expedient has not worked and many authorities in England are of opinion that it constitutes one of the principal burdens from which British industry suffers. In the circumstances two policies are open to the Bank of England. It may raise the discount and reverse the movement of gold to which Lord Rothermere refers or it may maintain the present rate and allow the reserves to fall further. The first alternative would throw additional weight on industries which in their present condition few would venture to inflict, and the second must inevitably result in undermining British credit as it is wholly contrary to the traditions of the Bank of England. Before the Hague Conference it was permissible to hope that the Young Commission would bring about a really effective co-operation between Central Banks, but once more the financial issue was swallowed up by the political.

In such conditions it is not without interest that both Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Amery, the former marked out in his party for shrewdness although his name has not been heard nearly as often as his brother's, like several other men of eminence, are devoting their leisure to create an opinion for what has been termed "Empire Free Trade". Mr. Chamberlain does not hesitate to characterise the present juncture as the most decisive moment for the future of the British Empire, and Amery asks: "Is the British Empire to join together and make use of its unparalleled resources to create something far greater and richer as a basis of human welfare than either the United States or Europe, or are its constituent parts to become absorbed in their larger neighbours?" That question contains also Great Britain's answer to Monsieur Briand's scheme of the United States of Europe. Those that hoped that with the coming of the Labour Party into power the solidarity of Europe

would be assured because of its concern for peace little knew their Briton. The most casual acquaintance with the Party's history or with some of its leaders should have been sufficient to convince us that in matters of high policy—despite the effects of Trade Union solidarity—Labour was as little European as any other British party; in fact, much less so than both others. The principal factor in any European policy is an understanding with France, and of that Labour has shown no evidence at any time.

This new scheme of Empire unity—"The Third British Empire"—is an intriguing idea. A whole mass of arguments based on sentiment is in its favour, and like all dynamic ideas its force lies in fascination. In dealing with the Anglo-Saxon peoples, however, it would be best to base calculations on economic and political realities. Economically, the self-governing Dominions, it is well-known, resist British influences for fear of their standards being lowered. Politically, while they are intensely nationalistic, it is also evident that so long as Britain's naval strength remains what it is, they would be extremely reluctant to weaken the Imperial tie. But, the whole question of the efficacy of naval armaments is now being discussed anew. American determination in this regard is no mean consideration, and, further, Mr. Snowden's recent statement that the British tax-payer's only hope consisted in a cut in armaments should not be forgotten. It is highly doubtful whether the British tax-payer would long continue to endure the burden for the mere luxury of the name of the Empire.

Consequently, it would be a mistake to ignore the existence of that large remainder of the British Empire constituted of other than white races. For reasons which cannot be dealt with in this letter, their resources and the resources of Britain, in the material domain as well as in that of human relationships, are mutually complementary. The struggle in China is full of lessons for any Eastern country aspiring to independence. But it is quite clear that the existing traditions in this regard should be greatly altered for realising any such possibility. There are signs, however, that such a change is coming over Britain. In that country changes are always slow and unperceived. Besides, the British are never so adaptable as when the situation demands it. At any other time, writing of Lord Lloyd's dismissal, Mr. Garvin would not have charged him with having miscalculated the trend of opinion at home. At any other time Mr. Fisher, in opening the City of London Vacation Course in Education, would not have felt it necessary to dwell on India as much as he did and to say: "If political freedom is precious under a grey sky why should it be valueless under a blue? If parliamentary institutions are the last word of political wisdom at Westminster, why should they be denied to Delhi or Calcutta?" Whether a corresponding change is coming over in India, and whether negotiations, compromise, and statesmanship would rule our political endeavours is another question which only we can settle for ourselves.

Geneva, August 29.

Reviews.

THE DEMOCRATIC CULTURE OF AMERICA.

DEMOCRATIC DISTINCTION IN AMERICA.

By W. C. BROWNELL. (Scribners, New York.)
1927. 20cm. 27pp. \$2.50.

THIS book is intended to be a discussion and a criticism of the distinctive features of American culture. We must confess that it is not a readable book. The style has a peculiar formless and viscous quality which makes it impossible to read quickly and not very profitable to read slowly; one feels that something is missed if a whole chapter is skipped, and that not very much has been gained if it is read carefully. The ideas which exist in the book are not concentrated to a point: it is an irritating style because the reader is equally provoked by the loss of ideas as the penalty of omission, and by the suffering of much irrelevant and inconsequential matter in the search for those rare gems. In addition the book is overburdened with many quotations and by the excessive use of the pronouns "we" and "our." The effect is both to suggest an atmosphere of domestic complacency, and so to emphasise the intimate nature of the discussion that the foreign reader is inclined either to resent its exclusive tone, or to put down the book as only intended for home consumption.

But this is not to say that the book has no ideas. The author is concerned to discover the characteristics of American culture, and to suggest the best means of stating it. To the cynic the quest might seem fruitless, or the easiest method of discovery the study of a cheque book. But the book really raises two issues: is there culture in America, and is there an American culture?

In order to estimate the prospects of culture in America it is necessary first to realise that American society differs radically from that of Europe. There is a different social soil in America, and in consequence it is not surprising to find that the cultural flowers spring up in modified and unfamiliar forms. It is this which misled Matthew Arnold, whose intellectual snobbery required that there should be an aristocracy to set a standard for the masses, to say that there could be no culture in the United States, because he could find no class there to correspond with the English aristocracy. For America is not only a political but a social democracy; though the absolute differences of wealth are greater, the differences of living standards and the difference of class are much smaller than in Europe. Socially America is very homogeneous. It follows then that no aristocratic culture is possible in America as a whole; the aristocratic cultures which exist are either provincial or else foreign imitations. Then the culture of the South was definitely provincialised by the Civil War, and the culture of New England was modelled on English standards, though of course with strong local American characteristics.

In America as a whole we cannot yet say that an American culture exists, but culture exists in

America in a very wide though in rather a diffuse form. It is the outcome of popular education, of European travel, and of popularising scientific inventions like the gramophone, broadcasting, and the cinema, beginning of course with the printing press. The saxophone and the wild overt drama must not blind us to the real cultural value of such inventions. The American tourist in Europe reveals how wide and how diffuse this culture often is, but the more we insist on its diffuseness, the more we are compelled to admit that it is culture. Democratic culture depends on expert production and mass distribution. The highly technical profession, made possible by improved communications, taste, and resources, performs the one function, and science achieves the other. In such a society, scientific democratic culture is universal and empirical; it overrides local and national peculiarities, it is independent of tradition and bound only by universal rule. The folk song may be replaced by rag-time, but the wandering bard and the 'precious' court poet give place to the musical virtuoso and the great novelist. The modern orchestra performing a Beethoven symphony or a Wagner opera is perhaps the finest expression of modern scientific culture—the harnessing of science in the expression of beauty. When the process is complete the difference will disappear. The rag-time will give place—the process is already beginning—to community singing and mass distributed folksongs, the sensational gutter press to a more respectable if duller suburban press, and the chief dangers to democratic culture will not be vulgarity but dullness and standardization.

If these cannot be said to be an American culture as yet, we are witnessing the extremely important experiment of an attempt to civilise a community right through instead of only at the top. That it is a gain to the community as a whole is undeniable, for however much we may regret the old variegated aristocratic cultures with their picturesque individualism, the new democratic culture certainly gives to the average citizen chances of realising the best in himself that he never had before. The standardization and vulgarisation, which our author regrets, are really temporary phenomena, the growing pains of democratic culture; as the process proceeds the vulgarity—which is superficiality—will disappear and the standardisation will be corrected by a new and more self-conscious provincialism such as is already appearing in the English counties. The real danger is loss of vigour by the people themselves, and when this happens the result is the same whatever the society. Byzantinism would swathe a democracy in scientific bands as surely as it would an aristocracy in traditional bands.

In America there is no sign of cultural mummification. She exhibits the freshness and vigour, and sometimes also the dogmatism and unreasonableness of youth. Only a young nation could have staged the Tennessee trial. She has the impulsiveness, the mixture of undisciplined enthusiasm and occasional unaccountable hardness, of youth filled with strong desires and lofty ideals, moving un-

steadily in a chaotic world which has not yet been reduced to the order of a philosophy of life. She is still drinking the intoxicating draught of science, now delighted by its possibilities of good, now filled with its sense of power.

But out of all this welter which to-day we call America, a new American culture will slowly emerge. Some of its first signs are already visible. The most notable is the new American architecture which combines the handling of great masses with a sense of proportion and strength and zest, which expresses power by its scale, a Puritan discipline in its undecorated surfaces, and aspiring idealism in its immense towers and mounting spires.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS.

THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI. By R. GOPALAN.
(University of Madras.) 1928. 22cm. 245p. Rs. 5.

THIS neatly got up volume represents the thesis of a research student of the University of Madras produced under the guidance of the Professor of Indian History in the University. This is the result of a close study of the difficult subject carried on for four years. It opens with an introduction of 23 closely printed pages by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in which he attempts 'to draw attention to the salient features' of the thesis and to indicate points where more light would be welcome. Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's views on the rise of the Pallavas from the governors of the south eastern frontier of the decomposing Satavahana empire, the rule of Thirian and his successors, after Karikala Chola, over the Tondaimandalam region, and the displacement of the Kalabras whose consequent movement from the north to the south may be held to explain many an other wise inexplicable train of events, should be regarded as important contributions to the subject.

The main body of the work, for which Mr. Gopalan is responsible, treats of the history of the Pallavas in South India from A.D. 200 to 900. The work is in ten chapters. It deals with the history of previous research, the theories of Pallava origin, the individual reigns of three or four sets of Pallava rulers and some considerations on Pallava rule in South India.

Among the appendices is found a chronological index of Pallava inscriptions, which now number one hundred and fifty one. It is by no means the least valuable part of the work to the student as it provides the entire epigraphic material in a handy form.

No topic of South Indian history is more fascinating than the history of the Pallavas. They were a great people and naturally filled a large place in South Indian history between the third and ninth centuries of the Christian era. When the Kushans disappeared from N.-W. India and the Andhras from the Dakhan the Pallavas emerged in South India at the same time as the imperial Guptas in Hindusthan and the Chalukyas in the Dakhan. Their political life lasted longer than that of any Indian imperial dynasty, ancient or modern. They dominated the south so completely, during the period of their

greatest ascendancy, that we may style three centuries of such supremacy the Pallava period. This epoch saw the rule of kings who were brave and chivalrous warriors, pious builders of temples and great patrons of religion, art and letters. It was a period fraught with momentous consequences for the future. It witnessed the introduction of the Sanskrit and Aryan Culture in an area which in itself was not devoid of an already well-matured culture of its own. The seed was thus sown of the later social and cultural differences. In this epoch began the religious revolution which resulted in the establishment of the worship of Siva and Vishnu through the strenuous labours of the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints. The work of unification under the Pallavas which brought the whole of the eastern plain up to Madura under a single power should have greatly simplified the task of the late imperial Cholas and the establishment of their systematised administrative organisation functioning over democratic village communities. The Pallava period also witnessed the introduction of stone architecture in temple construction which paved the way for the outburst of the wonderful temple building activity of later times.

These people, with whose advent into the political arena the continuous history of the south begins, were, it is strange to note, not known to the world till 1837 when Sir Walter Elliot brought to public notice a few of their inscriptions. With all the theories which have tried to explain their origin, we are yet not in a position to understand who these people were that gave such a distinct tone to the events of their time—whether they were a race or a mere dynasty—wherefrom they came and how they vanished from history, leaving behind them but a few silent monuments of their power and greatness till recently all but unknown. Nor have we been able to construct their chronology on a well established basis because their inscriptions are dated in regnal years and are unrelated to any known era.

Mr. Gopalan has attacked these and other problems and displayed his critical ability in examining the materials and in the attempt to construct a synthetic study of Pallava rule in South India. Yet he has been able to give us nothing more than a thesis which may at best guide the faltering footsteps of a research student. For, the time is not yet, owing to paucity of material, for a stirring account of those epoch-making days which will be at once picturesque and accurate. When that time arrives, and a writer worthy of the task takes up that responsibility, he will, in no small measure, be indebted to the pioneers in the field like the author of the present work who have had to grope in the dark guided very often only by the light within.

Before closing, we venture to suggest to the author that, when he revises the work next, he will expunge from the chapters dealing with the reigns of individual rulers detailed considerations of architectural or literary works associated with their name and all subject matter which in any way interferes with the running of the narrative and put them all

elsewhere. The last chapter (X) which treats of the general importance of Pallava rule is rather short and sketchy. Its information can with advantage be increased and put into three chapters under art and architecture, religion and society and empire and administration. A few illustrations of Pallava monuments will also not be out of place.

T. M. KRISHNAMACHARI.

INDIA IN AKBAR'S TIME.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF INDIA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By H. L. CHABLANI. (Oxford Book and Stationery Co., Delhi.) 1929. 113p. Rs. 1/8.

A USEFUL monograph on a subject of great importance. It contains an interesting survey of the economic conditions of Indian History. Starting with the object of analysing the general economic conditions of India on the eve of the Mogul Conquest by Akbar or in the period immediately preceding the destruction of the united kingdom, he jots down the salient characteristics of the populousness of India and its cities, agricultural and industrial production, trade and commerce, mechanism of transport, economic security, currency and prices. In part three, the standard of living is described broadly under conditions of food, clothing, housing and luxuries. The conditions prevailing in Vizianagar, Gujerat, Mewar and Bengal are studied under all the above headings.

Differing as he does from Mr. W. H. Moreland's interpretation of economic facts of this period, he has not only carefully documented his statements but has traced vividly and accurately the significant facts about the diverse and unsettled conditions of Northern India as compared with the stable conditions of society in South India. The economic consequences of the breaking up of the Empire of Vijayanagar must have been felt far and wide.

Neither the purely mechanical work of fixing dates nor collating from unpublished manuscripts nor merely translating from foreign languages is to be noticed in this monograph. The picture would have been complete if the means of communication and intelligence had been taken into account. As monographs on these topics are easily available, the author ought to have referred to these sources at the same time.

Some of his salient conclusions need emphasis at the present time. "The total population then could not have been very much less than at the present time." "India was then a land of plenty", having almost all the same crops at this period as we have at the present. "Indian industries were then in a flourishing condition." Cotton, indigo, glass, paper and woollen industries existed during this period. The mineral wealth was no less astonishing. Metal industries were also in a flourishing state. "A large volume of commerce" must have existed during this period. Ship-building was a thriving industry at that time. Gold currency was an accomplished fact and low prices prevailed all over the country. Abundance of gold and specie co-existed with large production so that low prices could prevail. There was

cheap and ample food and most of the male people went about naked in spite of infinity of cotton. The condition of housing was quite in keeping with the general prosperity of the times. Women had ornaments of gold and silver.

As a corrective to some of the economic doctrines of Western writers, the monograph would be very useful. He has done substantial service by refuting the conclusions of Mr. Moreland and having drawn his information from reports of foreign travellers, viz. Mahaun, Conti, Abdul Rajak, Nikitin, Vasco-da-Gama, Ludovico-di-Varthema, Barbosa, Domingoes Paes, and Nuniz; Indian chroniclers such as Todd and Mirza Haidar and standard histories of India such as Elliotts' and Abul Fazul's Aini Akbari, there is no reason to be sceptical of his conclusions. It might be that he depends too much on their descriptions alone who, after all as in the manner of the 'present-day globe-trotters', might have had seen courts, cities and populous centres alone. Every reader of Moreland's works ought to read this stimulating and well-written book. It really reads like a fairy tale. It might or might not have been true of the then rural conditions but we wish modern India, urban as well as rural, to be like that.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU,

FIRST DECADE AFTER THE WAR.

1918-1928: A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD. By C. DELISLE BURNS. (Victor Gollancz, London.) 1928. 24cm. 447p. 16/-.

THE book is written by the author for the common man. It is a "summary record of the most important events of the past ten years," and as such deserves perusal. The author however does not either commend or condemn strongly the actions of men who have had a share in shaping the destinies of the world, and therefore the book does not create lively interest when one chances to read it. The author is always talking about the mentality of the "common man"; but the "common man" never makes history. It is always the uncommon men that make it, and the common man almost always takes it lying down unless the uncommon, by their foolish and oppressive actions, shock him and a majority of his class into revolution.

The period under review is a period of "Peace Settlements" after the bloodiest of the wars that humanity has ever seen. There was much bungling even in these settlements, and one sees here much stupidity of the statesmen like M. Poincaré, who believed that the Allies could crush German industry and yet, at the same time, extort reparations from it! The author's "common man" or a proletarian in Germany believed that the Allies would stick to the principle "no territories and no indemnities" from his nation and therefore he ought to end the war! History shows how both these were fooled, and how, under the guise of "Mandates" and "Reparations," the same old human instinct of greed operated, and how secret treaties between the Allies and Italy, and Allies and Japan were given effect to in parcelling out Africa, Austria, China and Turkey in direct contravention of Wilson's fourteen points! Even the simple U.S.A. men, who took so decisive a part in the war, felt to their chagrin that "the United States had been made to assist in a gambler's quarrel and had been deceived by the noble profes-

ions of politicians who had signed secret treaties " ! After the peace "the common man" went to the furthest extremes in Russia, and wrought as much havoc in that country by his insensate communism as the war had brought into it. The common man in Italy had to be at last silenced and even at times crushed by Fascism, and then alone was some ordered government possible there. In Turkey also the common man had to be pulled by his ears and Mustapha Kemal Pasha had to teach him how he must behave himself in modern conditions. The author himself has shown how in the creation of tiny little modern states in Europe the common man can delude himself in exaggerating a dialect into a language, and claim a national home relying upon "a legendary excursion of some knight into desolate plains." The book therefore cannot fail to furnish a very sad commentary on the actions of common men, and exemplifies the saying: "fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

There are many bright spots in the book. Notable among them is the author's description of the constitution and working of the League of Nations. He has very ably shown how the League can be made impotent if two unruly members of it refuse its conciliatory advice. He has also shown in the chapter on British Dominions, how the Dominions and India are lulled by the opiate of securing for them the so-called "adequate voice" in foreign policy and foreign relations. The author says, "In practice, their voice has said nothing but 'Hear' 'Hear' when British foreign secretaries have explained their foreign policy to Imperial Conferences." The author's treatment of "New Issues" in Part III of the book is exceedingly good, and at once arrests the attention of the reader. The chapter on 'Europe and Islam' deserves to be studied particularly by Indian Moslems. Therein Mr. Burns has shown how Turkey was parcelled out into Iraq and Syria in accordance with a secret Treaty between England and France, and how King Feisal was betrayed. The result of this and similar betrayals has been a sullen and sometimes a violent resistance of Islam to the French and the British in Syria, Iraq, Palestine and in other places. This revolt of Islam is against the "European Domination", and the Islamic nations of northern Africa are not exempt from this movement. Egypt is, since the armistice, a thorn in the side of the Britishers, and no satisfactory solution of its problem has yet been found. The Labour Government have now tried to tackle the problem. There is however one lesson to be learnt by our N.C.O.'s here. The author says: "*The situation thus, by a series of accidents, and by an intransigent policy on the part of the extreme Nationalists had passed out of their control, and was therefore much more completely in the hands of the British forces.*" Islam is however awakened, and is not willing to accept European domination any longer.

The chapter on "Unrest in Asia" is lucidly written and references to the Indian situation therein would naturally claim more attention from Indian readers. The author truly says that the Indian problem is "still the furthest from solution." The author is evidently wrong in saying that the Ministers are "chosen by the elected members of the Legislatures," but his judgment about the Montford Reforms is nevertheless quite correct, when he says that it is "really not more than a bare minimum of power" given to the people. His view that Indian unrest is "a part of the general revolt of Asia" against European domination is quite sound.

The "Awakening in Africa" is very ably written, and in that chapter one clearly sees the revolting picture of the Europeans' greed for land and labour of the poor natives. The author says: "In order to

provide labour in Kenya, as well as for the sale of land to settlers, native reserves have been restricted; of the good land 6000 square miles have been left for 2,500,080 natives and 9000 square miles given to the settlers among the white population of 9621." This is only one instance showing the general trend of the white man's rule in Africa. Naturally the natives are dissatisfied and are up against the white man's domination.

This revolt against white domination is not yet over, and we are yet to see how these new issues will be solved to the satisfaction of both European and non-European races in Asia and Africa.

V. M. BHAT.

THE U. S. PRESIDENT.

HERBERT HOOVER: A REMINISCENT BIOGRAPHY. By WILL IRWIN. (Mathews & Marrot, London) 21cm. 315p. 12/6.

A WORLD figure of portentous significance, President Hoover's biography comes opportunely from the pen of his life-long friend Mr. Irwin. Much as one would like to know the political stage, rather the powder magazine—created by the subtle Imperialistic designs of America, on which Herbert Hoover stands by the sensational choice of the nation, Mr. Irwin ignores it and gives us a thread-bare life history. There is no doubt, as Mr. Irwin says, that Hoover owes his greatness to his own native genius, and the rigorous Quaker discipline of his boyhood, thrown into the vortex of bewildering phenomena, all combining to bring out the architect of fortunes in him. Bearing the hall mark of the then infant Stanford University, where he first revealed the born "Chief" in him, he stamped it on every undertaking. Destiny meant him for a peripatetic engineer and so he found himself tossed from one scene of successful metallurgical operations in one continent to another far removed and in political ferment.

"The pay-roll of those industrial enterprises which he managed or helped to manage would be a roster of races—stalwart Americans in the mills of our Far West, brawny Cornishmen in the drifts or levels of Australia, booted Russians in the forests, cement works and furnaces of the Ural, fuzzy Tartars in the slopes of the Altai, little yellow Burmese wearing simply a breech-clout, and a hat in the tunnels of Mandalay... He was toward the end a great doctor of sick companies. When a concern which ought to produce and pay after every one else gave it up, they called in Hoover. He diagnosed the trouble and cured it."

Once in China, where he served as Engineering Advisor to the Imperial Government, "he was out of bed when all China blew up." With the outbreak of the European War, Hoover the engineer receded into the background, and Hoover the man overflowing with the unsentimental milk of human kindness pervaded the battle ground, feeding the starved nations, healing the sick and mending the shattered economic condition of Europe as well as he could. No European statesman, however dominating and obstinate, failed to admire his extraordinary driving power. American to his fingertips, and more passionately so than all the half-baked Anglo-Saxon and European immigrants, he possesses a cosmopolitan outlook, with which the average Yankee fed on the Munroe doctrine is unfamiliar.

"In entering a foreign country, he always considered and humoured its institutions, its customs and its mental attitudes. He made the natives forget that he was a foreigner; infused them with his own enthusiasm for the job."

At a time when the chessboard of the world is being rent and torn by the craze for mastery and mo-

nopoly, the presence of Hoover at the helm of the United States which unfortunately show a tendency to assume international domination, perhaps at the expense of spent up nationalities, will prevent a catastrophe and help in a realisation of the dream of a family of nations.

Great as Hoover is in his own right, he is to a very large extent, what the robust love and companionship of his wife have made him. Through thick and thin she has been his unfailing comrade, exhibiting an unflinching nerve under shell-shock which would have sent another woman fainting.

To read this extremely human biography of Hoover, the master healer as opposed to the callous political Neros of Civilisation, is a great comfort. One wishes it were richer and deeper than it has been possible for Mr. Irwin to make it. The biography of so unique a personality has to be set to an epic key, for more than any other person of note in the world, Hoover refuses, in the words of his illustrious countryman—William James—

"to look on life as a simple force or an elegant comedy. On the world's stage it is heroism and only heroism (such as his) that plays the great parts. We are conscious that in it lies hidden the mystery of life."

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

A JUST SOCIETY.

THE PEOPLE'S OWN SOCIAL ORDER: THE COMING CIVILISATION. By JUSTARIUS.

(Pharos Press.) 20cm. 154p. 2/6.

SETTING out to formulate the principles of a new social order and to lay down the path to be followed for its realisation is quite an ambitious venture. One does not expect a person undertaking a task of such gravity to write under a pseudonym, the more so because the degree of seriousness with which such attempts are usually considered depends largely on the already established reputation of the writer as a student of social problems. "Justarius" would have done well, therefore, to have frankly disclosed his identity on the cover of his book.

The title of the book is doubtless alluring. The contents, on the other hand, are rather disappointing, the language often pretentious, at places ungrammatical. The choice expressions which the writer uses in the opening chapters to denounce capitalism and capitalists, and the vehemence with which he condemns the division of society into two classes give the impression that he is a confirmed socialist. To him "all business is baseness," "all interest usury," and all profits the exploitation of the poor by the rich. The conclusion the reader is invited to arrive at is that the economic basis of the People's Own Social Order must be "The Earth for Everybody," "The Product to the Producer," and "Wages for all Work." Apart from lacking in originality, the conclusion is expressed neither in the scientific phraseology, nor with the lucidity, nor with the precision that might be expected of an average writer on socialism. The payment of wages in the People's Own Social Order, we are told, will be on the basis of the "labour value" and not the "use value" of the produce of every worker. The workers in all industries and their various branches, further, are to fix their own wages by means of a majority vote. What exactly the author means by "labour value," how it is to be calculated, and what is to happen if the workers in some industry voted themselves a rate of wages higher than the "labour value,"

of their produce entitled them to, are questions, it appears, the reader is to solve for himself at leisure.

Proceeding further, we note that the author has a supreme contempt for attaining his ends by parliamentary methods, not only because he is convinced that state capitalism can prove no better than private capitalism, but also because socialists, when put into office, usually leave their socialism behind. Neither has the author any faith in direct action, because he is of opinion that capitalism is too strongly entrenched an institution to be overthrown by such frail attacks. Lastly, he has a horror of revolution. How, then, is the People's Own Social Order to dawn? Firstly, by the capture of all retail trading in the country (the whole scheme is proposed for the English people) by means of what really amounts to co-operative societies, and secondly, by the gradual extension of their scope to banking, insurance and such other large-scale financial organisations in society. The idea, ultimately, is to bring all big manufacturers down on their knees by "cornering capital", and then taking over their concerns by compensation. Contradictions of the writer's own arguments and conclusions are also not entirely lacking. By the time he comes to the closing chapters of his book, the author has forgotten his earlier views about the division of society into two conflicting classes and argues that the "People" are all united by common interests. The whole reasoning is too amateurish, too naive, too much wanting in an understanding of the complexity and a judgment of the strength of modern economic and political institutions, to call for any serious attention. "Justarius" is evidently a man of good intentions, but in the twentieth century good intentions need to be coupled with deep study and a sound grasp of one's subject if they are to be taken seriously by others.

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 THE MEXICAN AGRARIAN REVOLUTION. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 20cm. 543 p. \$2.50.
 LEGENDS OF INDIA. By WASHBURN HOPKINS. (Yale University Press.) 1928. 20cm. 183p. \$2.00.
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 THE ANGORA REFORM. By COUNT LEON OSTROG. (University of London Press.) 1927. 22cm. 99p. 4/6.
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 REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EUROPEAN-BANTU CONFERENCE, CAPE TOWN, Feb. 6-9, 1929. (Lovedale Institution, Cape Town.) 1929. 20cm. 227p. 4/-.
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 A DECLARATION OF TORY PRINCIPLES, ESSAYS BY UNDERGRADUATES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE. (Heffer, Cambridge.) 1929. 24cm. 39p. 1/-.