

Servant of India

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

VOL. XII, NO. 50.

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1929.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	601.
ARTICLES :—	
Indian Discontents	604
Gen. Smuts on Segregation	605.
OUR LONDON LETTER:—	
Indian Situation in England. By A. Fenner Brockway, M.P.	606
REVIEWS :—	
Economic Theory Reviewed. By Professor P. G. Thomas, Ph.D., B.Litt.	607
Indo-China and Java. By Professor C. L. Marion, LL.D.	608
The Peace Settlement. By Professor T. G. P. Spear	608
The New Romanticism. By Raghunath Row	610
On Gold Currency. By B. Ramachandra Rau	611
Stabilization. By V. N. G.	612

Topics of the Week.

Ceylon Reforms.

By a narrow majority of two the Ceylon Legislative Council has accepted the reforms recommended by the Donoughmore Commission as amended slightly by the Colonial Secretary. It was not an easy decision which the non-official members were called upon to take (for the officials abstained from participation both in discussion and voting). If their decision was unfavourable, the Council was to be dissolved and a fresh election held, and if the decision of these newly elected members was again unfavourable, the country was to revert to the existing constitution, till it became possible for the Imperial Government in the indefinitely remote future to formulate another scheme more acceptable to public opinion in Ceylon. The rejection of the present scheme thus entailed upon the Ceylon leaders a grave responsibility. On the other hand the scheme contained such novel and fantastic features, which lay at the very basis of the whole structure, that acceptance of the scheme was no easy matter either. The Donoughmore Commission and the Imperial Government are both agreed in holding that Ceylon is not yet fit for a full measure of autonomy; with this conviction they set out on a search for a half-way house between representative and responsible government. While the latter is not yet a practical proposition, the latter involves a complete divorce of power from responsibility and must therefore be remedied at once. Since 1924 the Legislative Council is composed of an overwhelming majority of non-officials, who however are enabled merely to offer criticisms without ever being invited to put

their suggestions into effect. Diarchy was invented for the especial behoof of India as a transitional measure; that having proved a failure in this country, the Donoughmore Commission has invented another for Ceylon, the essence of which is to place the business of government in commission, a committee system suggested, we are told, by the League of Nations practice. This experiment does not promise better success than the earlier one in this country; in fact there are even more inherent difficulties in the committee system than in dyarchy. And it is almost sure to end in failure.

* * *

But we cannot for this reason wholly disapprove of the action of the Legislative Council in accepting the scheme. For one thing, no transitional measure intended to lead from representative to responsible government has as yet been successful anywhere. The progress in these stages is invariably marked by friction and it is in the nature of things impossible to invent a form of government in the interim period which will make this progress smooth and easy. It is perhaps as well therefore for Ceylon to struggle with this committee system for a short time as we ourselves struggled with dyarchy and then be endowed with full self-government. For another thing, the scheme has for its essential features a universal franchise and the abolition of communal electorates. To some rejectionists, among whom we are sorry to include Sir P. Ramanathan, the scheme becomes unacceptable just because of these features; but many a politician will, we fancy, undergo a lot in order to save these features from the fate from which the whole reforms scheme will suffer by its being rejected. The Donoughmore Commission had recommended manhood suffrage and a franchise for all women above 30 years of age, but Lord Passfield has decided to remove the discrimination and to extend the franchise to both men and women of 21 years and over. In the opinion of some critics this is nothing but a cunning device on the part of the British Government for making the ultimate failure of the scheme doubly sure. It is however possible to regard it as a genuine venture of faith, and we consider it as such. The abolition of communal electorates is a reform the importance of which cannot be easily overestimated. When we realize the tremendous difficulty that has to be encountered in obtaining a general approval of the Hilton Young Commission's recommendation for a common roll to be given effect to by the whites' consent, we shall fully appreciate the great service done by this Commission in uprooting the communal electorates and substituting common ones in their place. We for our part find it difficult to sacrifice these two big reforms by turning down the Donoughmore scheme in its entirety, fully sensible as we are of the inherent defects the governmental organisation recommended in it contains.

* * *

Nor can it be gainsaid that there is some justification for the claim made by Lord Passfield that it seeks to give "very considerable control over the internal affairs of the Island," that it represents "a long step in the direction of popular control over the administration." It is no doubt true that the Governor is given extensive powers of interference with the Council; in fact, powers which it would not be wise to vest in any person. Of course the powers are intended to be only in reserve, to be invoked in cases of emergency. It is difficult to foresee how the powers will in fact be used, but a Governor who brings them into exercise light-heartedly will not have a too pleasant time. Considering the inexorable fact that the passage from a Crown Colony government to a Dominion one lies necessarily through friction, the already existing wide powers of the Governor and the additional powers proposed in the scheme will have to be endured for some time. Our general conclusion therefore is that the actual machinery devised by the Commission and accepted by the Government has very few merits and that it is sure to creak even more loudly than dyarchy as it moves along. Its final breakdown is certain. It would have been better to skip this transition stage altogether and to establish responsible government. But since it seems out of the question even under a Labour Government, the Ceylon people cannot be blamed for deciding to try the scheme that has been offered to them. They will take the best out of it, and if this best is after all very poor, they may have the consolation that its failure will itself be the most potent instrument in their hands for a further advance in the constitution, which can only be one of full self-government.

* * *

The Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill.

THE Punjab Council has passed the Regulation of Accounts Bill which was one of the most hotly contested Bills as it was regarded as a measure brought forward by the Government in order to placate the dominant party in the Council. The Bill is directed against moneylenders who, owing to the defective method of keeping accounts, doctored them so as to extort more money from the illiterate borrower than was owed by him properly. The principal object of the measure is to compel the creditor to keep his accounts in a prescribed way and to use certain prescribed numerals and to send copies of each debtor's account to him every six months; non-acknowledgment of this account by the borrower is not to be regarded as a presumption against him nor be deemed as an admission of the correctness of the account. In order to restrict the operation of the Bill to illiterate borrowers, deposits of money in Post Office or any other bank or a company, a loan to a Registered Society, loans advanced by Government and Local bodies, loans by co-operative societies and companies whose accounts are properly audited and transactions which are in substance of the nature of mortgage or sale of property are excluded from the operation of the Bill. In fact all important transactions of a public nature and loans or deposits made by classes who can look after themselves and do not require six monthly returns are excluded from the definition of the word 'loan' for the purposes of this measure. One of the clauses gives the judge power to disallow interest found due when the creditor has failed to comply with the provisions of the Bill. It is to be noted that the voting on the main clauses as well as on the various amendments moved was distinctly on communal lines, the Hindu members voting against the clauses and in favour of amendments some of which were even intended to be obstructive. It was said by the opponents of the Bill that the Bill along with protecting the honest borrower would assist the

unscrupulous debtor on whom no liability of any sort was imposed by the Bill; in the case of such legislation however the risk that a small minority of the borrowers would misuse it has to be taken for the sake of the greater good to the major part of them. To us it appears that the Bill would not impose any disability on honest lenders whose transactions are above board. The objection that the Government of India had opposed the introduction of similar legislation in the Assembly is hardly to the point since local legislation is not on a par with legislation affecting the whole of India.

* * *

Independence.

THE advocates of immediate and absolute independence for India, who met in conference in Ahmedabad, no doubt to spite Mahatma Gandhi, had at any rate the satisfaction of discomfiting their President. This seems to have been from newspaper reports their most solid achievement. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, M.L.A., the most prominent publicist associated with the movement, was to take the chair. But he evidently felt some doubt as to whether he would after all be elected to the post, and therefore remained behind, watching the trend of events. His name was proposed for the Presidentship, and although it was vigorously opposed by some of the leading organizers, it was carried eventually. Thereupon Mr. Jamnadas went to Ahmedabad, ready with a speech. The speech itself was such as might have satisfied even the most exacting standard set for advocates of independence. But the latter were not to be hoodwinked by empty speeches. The terms of unmeasured denunciation which Mr. Jamnadas employed in regard to Dominion Status and the Viceroy's statement, the Round Table Conference and the Delhi manifesto apparently only increased their suspicions of his genuine beliefs, for they remembered that he had himself signed the Delhi manifesto. Some of them therefore proposed an adjournment of the Conference to consider Mr. Jamnadas's conduct, and Mr. Jamnadas found himself in hot water. What reply he made to his critics is not quite clear from the press reports, but possibly he consoled himself with the reflection that consistency in politics is the virtue of an ass and he did not quite like to rank himself with asses. A suggestion was made later that members of the legislatures who supported independence should be required to give up their seats in the legislative bodies and a pointed query was made whether Mr. Jamnadas would resign his membership of the Assembly. Mr. Jamnadas was of course quite willing in so far as he was free, but unfortunately his discretion in this matter was fettered by his membership of the Swaraj party. However ardently he desired to be out of the Assembly, he could not get out so long as the Swaraj party decided otherwise. Fortunately for Mr. Jamnadas no one suggested at the meeting that he might as well resign from the party itself, if it insisted on its members doing so flagrantly unpatriotic a deed as to remain in the Legislatures. It is after all a small matter what resolutions were ultimately passed at Ahmedabad; what is of more immediate concern to us is whether Mr. Jamnadas was enabled to return hale and hearty to Bombay after the Conference was over. We hope he was.

* * *

The Policy of the European Association.

THE Viceroy's announcement has produced a decidedly chastening effect on the European Association and the Chairman's speech at the seventh annual conference of the Association is more appreciative of the Indian standpoint than former such utterances. Mr. Travers referred to the movement to the right

among the social reformers who while being ardent nationalists were prepared to co-operate with the Government and attributed a greater part of the result to the concession of a Round Table Conference. He expressed a hope that the opportunity of discussing and advancing their case with British statesmen would not be missed by the Indian leaders. It is reassuring to be told that the main objective of the Association is defence and not defiance and that the Europeans earnestly desire to co-operate with their Indian fellow-subjects in all that represents progress. No one can quarrel with the European Association for defending the rights of its members when they are assailed; but surely it behoves the Association not to create bad blood by fancying imaginary dangers and keeping up a continual tension between the Indian and European commercial interests, which, we have been repeatedly assured, are harmonious and not antagonistic. During the debate doubts were expressed as to the precise meaning of Dominion Status and the sense of the Association appears to be against the inclusion of defence in the list of subjects handed over completely to the Indian Legislature. It is expected that the Round Table Conference will give its earnest attention to this problem which offers room for a variety of opinions and raises some important issues. The Resolution passed by the Association expressing the opinion that all important interests in India should be represented at the Round Table Conference to be held in London is quite unexceptionable. Similarly every one will agree with Mr. Travers when he says that if anything tangible is to be achieved it could only be done by adopting a compromising spirit and not by urging narrow views. If all communities and interests could not argue their case before the London Conference it would cease to command the respect which it ought to, if it is to be made successful. To say however that the British constitute the only element which brought stability and unity to India is to use the language of exaggeration.

* * *

" Building a Better City. "

DR. CLIFFORD MANSARDT must be congratulated on organizing a series of lectures on ' Building a Better City ' an important item in civics; the object of the series being to bring the different interests in the city into closer touch and to promote an appreciation of the higher values of city life. H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes, inaugurating the series, dwelt on the debt we owe to the Improvement Trust for removal of overcrowding and securing better ventilation and made an eloquent appeal for removing poverty, disease, and dirt in order to create conditions favourable for the growth of civic responsibility which is not secured by the mere exercise of the franchise. Mr. Dalal, the Municipal Commissioner, who delivered the first lecture, said that it was vitally necessary to remove ignorance and develop in the people a civic consciousness by spreading a well-founded knowledge of civic affairs; for this he suggested a regular institution which would secure a continuous and systematic training in the study of civic problems from day-to-day instead of spasmodically. Mr. Dalal further recommended a more frequent personal inspection of wards by the representatives of the citizens in order to ascertain their grievances on the spot and establish some contact between the citizens and the municipal executive. His advice to resist the pressure of vested interests is very valuable and ought to be heeded by all citizens. Considering the lack of interest in social and economic conditions of the people to which H. E. Sir F. Sykes referred, various institutions will have to be planned on the model of those in Europe and America in

order to give proper publicity to municipal affairs, to have them discussed at intervals and to create a powerful civic sense which will not tolerate the slightest evil. Unless also the voter is educated and exercises his privileges rationally it is not possible to build a better city. It is no use however throwing the whole blame on the elector for all sins of omission and commission in a city; the Executive and the Councillors of a city are as much responsible for any departure from settled policies and who can say that the corporators do not stand in need of being educated in civics themselves? The Department of Economics and Sociology of the Bombay University should in our opinion be widened in order to make room for activities in connection with the inculcation of the higher values of civic life and developing the civic consciousness of the citizens. India is at present wanting in the corporate sense and it has to be generated and then well kept up.

* * *

The Madras Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.

THE Report of the Madras Presidency Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society read at its annual meeting held during the week shows a large expansion of its beneficent activities; about Rs. 4000 were spent on relief and more than two hundred prisoners were enabled to secure employment and the Society took care to see that ex-prisoners led honest lives. The Lord Bishop of Madras said that Government were still in the backwoods in the matter of prison reform and the after-care of the prisoners and appealed to them to carry the principle of making the prisoner an asset to society to its furthest conclusions by training ex-prisoners and giving them suitable employment. Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudliar and Mr. F. E. James pleaded for a more generous use of the probation system contemplated by the Criminal Procedure Code and even amend the law by passing a well thought-out Probation Bill on the lines of the English Act. Mr. James emphasized the disparity between expenditure on jails and that on after-care work and deprecated sentences for periods less than a month. In bringing the proceedings to a close Sir Mahomed Usman, the Home Member, gave expression to views which must be regarded as having doubtful validity. He repudiated the now accepted doctrine that the prisoners were victims of circumstances and that consequently society is largely responsible for their deeds as having contributed to produce the environment which made the deeds possible. The logical sequel of this denial was that no sympathy was deserved by the prisoners and that a special claim on their behalf for employment in the ordinary channels was one which could not be justified. The whole tenour of thought revealed herein has been discredited by modern investigations in criminology and moral psychology. It has been clearly proved by them that the waifs and strays of modern society are more sinned against than sinning; and that as a consequence society cannot shirk its responsibility for creating such favourable conditions as would lead to a lessening of crime. If in spite of this some are tempted to commit crime society owes it to them that they are made useful members as soon as they are out of jail and if possible weaned forever from crime. It is the duty of Government not only to give financial assistance to such bodies as the Madras Aid Society but to organize measures on their own account for reforming prisoners while in jail and also to look after them when they are out of jail. If it were not so how could the Government justify their Board schools, certified schools and similar institutions?

* * *

Articles.

INDIAN DISCONTENTS. ^{1, a} ^{actual}

DURING the critical times through which India is passing Mr. Edwyn Bevan's book on Indian discontents* deserves to be read and inwardly digested by Indians and Britishers alike; he talks straight to both of them and has no misgivings about exposing their weaknesses and conceits and laying bare the defects in their psychological equipment. At the same time he evinces a marked sympathy with Indian ways of thinking and makes an allowance for the peculiar difficulties with which the Indians are surrounded in realizing their legitimate aspirations. Many and varied are the suggestions which he makes for the carrying out of the essential task of securing true swaraj and building up a nation which is "healthy, happy, strong, intelligent, rich in spiritual activities" and they ought to be pondered over. Mr. Bevan himself admits in the preface that he has not a sufficient knowledge of the details of the present situation, but as he says the general lie of a mountain may be better discerned by one who looks at it from a distance than by someone close enough to see the details of rocks and trees; for this reason his views offer a strange contrast to those of the men on the spot saturated with details and stuck up in the mire of red-tapism.

Discussing the new phase of the Indian unrest, Mr. Bevan remarks on the feebleness of the nationalist agitation against British rule in the old days when the British held all the power in their hands compared to the virulent hostility which has marked nationalist opposition ever since power has been transferred to Indians. Although he believes that the Government is in a position of much greater power to-day owing to the wonderful advance in scientific contrivance to put down opposition by force he thinks that if any Englishman regards the possibility of Indian hostility with equanimity because of this strength of the Government's position his vision is short. He has no sympathy with the Dyers and O'Dwyers who regard the disinclination to use drastic methods of repression as sentimentalism and squeamishness unworthy of an imperial nation. At the same time he warns Indians—and who can say that the warning is not needed?—that "an unsuccessful attempt to paralyse or defeat the existing Government would leave all nationalism in India terribly weakened and throw back the advance of the country for a long time to come". Nor does he believe that a large movement of civil disobedience without actual organized war would compel the Government to capitulate; the only thing to do is to solve the problem peaceably and avoid a conjuncture which would necessitate large-scale repression. Mr. Bevan finds nothing surprising in the fact that Indians desire to be independent when it is remembered that India alone can do nothing without the leave of the English when

China, Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Afghanistan and even Iraq are completely independent and may shape their foreign policies without any restraint. Examining the burden of the past, however, his conclusion is that the Indians' inability to resist foreign rule is due to climatic influences, child marriage, insanitary conditions and that the weakness of the people is the cause of foreign government and not *vice versa*.

Examining the motives of the British statesmanship and of the British people, Mr. Bevan says that they are neither wholly altruistic nor wholly egoistic but an odd mixture of both. Amongst the higher motives he classifies the one which he calls the aesthetic—the desire to see a really Indian India—as a distinctive expression in all departments of life of the Indian mind and temperament as one nation in the movement of mankind with its dramatic variations, its development of different peoples each with a distinct genius of its own. Another higher motive was the British championship of self-determination as the just thing. He does not believe that the love of domination is one of the motives which deter the British people from a complete withdrawal of the British; he thinks it is only a *cliché* of the Nationalist press and platform. To him it seems fairly certain that a withdrawal of the British would be followed by a sanguinary chaos and European interference and if there is to be one he thinks it is far better that it should be by responsible agents of a regular Government than by filibustering soldiers of fortune. It must be said that this is conclusive as against those who preach complete independence but has hardly an application in the case of those who demand Dominion Status as for instance those who stand by the Nehru Report. The most important self-regarding motive of the British is according to him the fear of serious economic disturbance in Great Britain in the event of the loss or uncertainty of the returns from British capital due to chaos following on the withdrawal of the British; the second self-regarding motive being the fear that the country would be taken possession of by another European Power. Immediate withdrawal being out of the question the way out of the deadlock is that Indians should build up a nation while the foreign government should keep the fence secure against disturbance till the internal work of reconstruction is completed. Mr. Bevan however objects to the grant of Dominion Status because if the phrase has any meaning he thinks that India with its three hundred and fifty millions would swamp the rest of the Empire and "reverse the present position with a vengeance—England controlled by India"; this however is a fanciful danger for reasons which have been adduced in these columns, times without number.

In the chapter on 'The Essential Task' Mr. Bevan describes the various ways in which private agencies would build up the renovated India in the spheres of education, sanitation, industrial enterprise and in developing the intellectual and spiritual contents of a life in which physical well-being and peace have been secured. In discussing education he has very

* *Thoughts on Indian Discontents*. By EDWYN BEVAN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 200m. pp. 178. 6/-.

properly emphasized the handicap imposed on the Indian boy in having to learn three languages; English in order to give him an acquaintance with modern culture, the classical language in order to give him knowledge of the great literature of ancient India and to keep in touch with the great heritage of the past, and besides his own vernacular without which he would not appreciate the expression of his own people in living literature, "With so much time spent in acquiring the mere means of communication what time is left over for learning the things to be communicated?" But throughout he seems to belittle the part which the State would be called upon to play in the work of reconstruction in all these spheres, basing his opinion upon what he knows of European conditions which are widely different from those obtaining in India; we have to remember especially that the British Government in India has done very little to foster the work of private agencies in its enthusiasm for over-centralisation. Mr. Bevan believes earnestly that the other parts of nation-building cannot hope to stand unless India has a worthy religion since "moral character must always be bound up with the attitude which each man has to the universe as a whole, that is to say, his religion." Such a religion must in his opinion carry on all that is of value in the old religious tradition and cast out the evil elements in it; this is certainly most true and Indian reformers have done and are doing their utmost to purge the religion in the desired way. The new religion in his conception must have a basis on which Indians can set out afresh to build a religious brotherhood of all mankind. We are not inclined to think, however, that Mr. Bevan's knowledge of Hinduism is very profound; the result is that his critique of this religion is one-sided and desultory.

Mr. Bevan regards the backward-looking Nationalism which glorified everything in the Indian tradition and depreciated everything Western as the great obstacle in the past to India's advance in the various spheres of nation-building. He would like Indians to discard it in favour of the forward-looking Nationalism turning its efforts to make a better India, by throwing off the evil and useless elements of the existing tradition; nevertheless he advises Indians against limiting their horizon to the material side of life and discarding religion.

When a healthy and united India is built up the British will according to Mr. Bevan voluntarily transfer power to Indians and in the meanwhile the British and Indians should co-operate so as to prevent the State from hampering the progress of India. His principal contention is that Indians need not wait till the British are gone and that Indians should do a great deal of the work of nation-building even whilst the Government is controlled by foreigners. He seems to be convinced that the transference of power to Indian Ministers has not resulted in greater efficiency; apparently he does not know all the causes of this notorious failure of Diarchy. His final suggestion is that the British should take a willing part in building up a healthy and prosperous India and prepare the way for the withdrawal of control and their own elimination. Mr. Bevan

should note that this is just what most of the Indians are asking for.

GEN. SMUTS ON SEGREGATION.

GEN. SMUTS is so full of the idea of segregation as the sovereign solution of the African problem that his own ideas on the subject catch the infection and consecutive thoughts on the same subject get severely segregated and mutually incompatible. In his first Rhodes Memorial lecture the gallant General donned the robes of Rhodes and affected a greater Rhodes when he pictured his dream of a great white dominion in East and Central Africa held together and sustained by a large increase in white settlement bringing with them British institutions and outlook. In his third lecture he was so full of admiration for Native character and institutions that he wished them preserved intact, and went so far as to say that nothing could be worse for the African than the supercession of his institutions. How are both these objects to be achieved? Why, Segregation!

Before we examine his prescription, let us see what he had to say of native institutions and character which he says should be developed on its own lines. The Bantu forms a distinct human type which has remained a child type, with no urge to improvement and progress, but wholly absorbed with present joys and sorrows with no thought of the morrow. The Bantu is to be helped not to rise above this type of child mind; for were we not, he asks in moral elevation, in high spiritual matters bidden to be like unto the little children?

Gen. Smuts laments the disintegration brought about by, among other agencies, the missionaries of the Christian religion and the European administrators. The former broke down not only belief in primitive spirits, in magic and witchcraft and polygamy but also the entire outlook on life and the world of the African. The European administrators broke down the old Native system which from time immemorial was based upon stern, even ruthless, discipline, and the despotic authority of the chiefs exercised sometimes barbarously and even cruelly. These results of contact with Europeans are, in the opinion of Gen. Smuts, undesirable, and he asks that while there is yet time, as in East Africa, the British Government and the missionaries should retrace their steps and restore the authority of tribal chiefs. He did not, however, specifically advise the missionaries to withhold the Christian religion and restore witchcraft and magic! It will not be surprising if the General supported the caste system in India and the feudal system of Europe. Gen. Smuts admits that there are certain undesirable features, like barbarism and cruelty, about the indigenous system of administration, and he would eliminate them by superimposing European supervision. That would not be asking the African to develop along his own lines; and the presence of the European magistrate at the elbow of the African chief restraining and superceding him will not restore the authority of the chief. The African will not take long to realise that his

chief is a puppet in the hands of the whiteman. Further, a hybrid system of the kind tends to stand in the way of progress of the African. The African will be helpless against his chief who is supported by the British officer. The only effective system for enabling the African to develop along his own lines is to abandon Africa to the Africans and withdraw the European occupation. But that is impossible. Nor is it desirable. The idea that different races tend to develop along different lines is but a half-truth. Civilisations may be at different stages but they are stages along the same high path, and in course of time, sooner than later, the African will catch up the European and walk abreast.

While thus Gen. Smuts has had to dilute segregation in the political sphere, he frankly abandons it in the industrial sphere. Industrial, as opposed to territorial, segregation, he says, would be both impracticable and an offence against modern conscience. And he laments the Colour Bar Act in South Africa. If industrial segregation means that Africans will not be available to serve under European planters, farmers and manufacturers, then Gen. Smuts is against segregation; but if it means that all types of work, both skilled and unskilled, should be open to both Europeans and Africans alike, then he is for segregation. He himself passed legislation in 1911 to secure this type of segregation in industry. The European wants the African to work under him and save him all the unskilled work. Gen. Smuts puts it differently. It is good for the African to be segregated politically but not industrially. For, "decent white employment" is "his best school." He would have been on surer ground if he had said it was good for the white employer and profiteer. No wonder it is an "offence against modern conscience" to prevent the European from exploiting the African; but it is no offence to thrust back and hold down the African under the tribal system.

Gen. Smuts has no use for the missionary and the administrator who are to "blame" for interfering with the religion and the tribal system of the African. It is only the white settler that can, in his opinion, supply the steel framework and the stimulus for an enduring civilisation. And he advocates this policy for East Africa. He is not unaware that East Africa is thinly populated, that there is more land than African labour, that every white settler means the drawing off from native agriculture hundreds of Africans, who once they come in contact with their European employers, will not be the same as before, and will find it increasingly difficult to get back into tribal life.

The increase of white settlement in East Africa is a danger to the African. It is often said that it is a mandate of civilisation that the vast agricultural resources should be developed for the benefit of mankind; and since the African cannot take up the whole available land, white settlement is justified. But there are millions of acres of land in Australia and Canada which are not used by the white men in possession of their land but which nobody else is allowed to develop for the benefit of

humankind. The white colonists will be serving the cause of civilisation better if they would migrate to those "white" countries and serve the obligations of civilisation there. Both the Africans and Africa will benefit by the labours of the missionary and the administrator, and serve the needs of mankind equally well. Gen. Smuts said that the British Empire did not stand for standardisation of civilisation but for the fullest, and freest development of its peoples along their specific lines. This is better realised if the African was given the education to enable him to think out for himself and choose his own forms of administration and industry rather than if profiteer-philanthropists determined what was good for the African. Until the African is able to choose for himself, it is essential that any further growth in the vested interests of white capitalists should be checked.

Even if complete segregation, both political and industrial, were good, the existence of vast numbers of de-tribalised Africans makes its enforcement impossible. Gen. Smuts confesses to being baffled by the problem. Reluctantly and hesitatingly he would allow them to exercise rights along with the whites.

If the experience of India counts for anything, segregation is a wicked denial of human personality and its right to progress in contact with the highest manifestations of civilisation. And he is a false prophet who at this time of the day advocates it. Those who speak of the African developing along his own lines mean, as some one put it, "hard lines."

Our London Letter.

INDIAN SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

IN Indian circles here, and in English circles concerned about India, the main topic of discussion still is: Will the representative Indian parties accept the invitation to the Round Table Conference? It is realised that the forthcoming Congress meeting is the deciding factor. The co-operation of the parties outside the Congress is now assumed, and it is hoped that the majority within the Congress favourable to co-operation will be substantial. But will there be a minority sufficiently formidable to wreck the hopes of framing the new constitution in an atmosphere of good-will?

Those of us who are seeking to obtain conditions which will justify wholehearted Indian co-operation are concentrating upon three things: first, a procedure for the Conference which will enable a Dominion Status Bill to be discussed; second, a really representative basis for the Conference; and, third, an amnesty for political offenders and the ending of political prosecutions. It will be of interest, perhaps, if I indicate what I believe to be the present position in respect of these things.

I gather that the present intention is that the Conference should be absolutely open. It will have before it the reports of the Simon Commission, the

Nair Commission and the Nehru Conference, but it will also be possible to consider other proposals. If the Indian representatives unitedly demand Dominion Status and can agree to the broad principles of the proposed constitution, they will be in a very powerful position. I would strongly suggest that if the Indian parties decide to enter the Conference they should make an effort to agree upon the main lines of the new constitution before the Conference meets. A very valuable beginning was made in the Nehru Report. If with that as a basis a supreme effort could be made to reach agreement with the dissentient sections of Indian opinion, a great service would be rendered to India's future freedom.

I believe it is the desire of Mr. Wedgwood Benn and the Viceroy that the Round Table Conference should be really representative. It will be difficult to balance the claims of the various parties and organisations in British India, but a sincere attempt will undoubtedly be made. The co-operation of so many parties in the All Parties' Conference which prepared the Nehru Report will make the task easier. Here again I think it would be helpful if the Indian parties could take the initiative and themselves agree upon a basis of representation. I believe it is appreciated that, whilst there are important bodies unattached to it, the Indian National Congress remains the most representative reflection of popular opinion in India.

But the problem of the representation of the Indian States is more difficult. I understand that the India Office takes the view that it is impossible to have representation of organisations within the States. The official relation of the British Government is with the rulers of the States, and, whilst the treaties lay upon Britain the responsibility of requiring good government in the interests of the people, that qualification does not, in the opinion of the authorities here, permit the summoning of unofficial representatives to a conference to discuss constitutional relations. I regret this view, and am seeking to suggest a method of securing that the attitude of the peoples should find reflection in the Conference. If no better method can be found, I hope that among the representatives from British India some will be chosen with a special knowledge of, and concern for, the conditions of the peoples in the Indian States.

The issue of the political prosecutions has become of immediate importance because a debate will take place on the subject in the House of Commons on December 18. I have been fortunate in winning a place in the ballot for motions on that day and have given notice that I will raise the question of the prosecution of political opinion in India. The debate will come immediately before the sitting of the Indian National Congress, and the statement of Mr. Wedgwood Benn will inevitably affect the decision of the Congress. I have submitted a detailed memorandum to Mr. Benn and I am hopeful that the new spirit

which animates the India Office here will be extended to the administration of the law in India. India must expect some reactionary, die-hard speeches during the debate from Conservative spokesmen, but I hope too much attention will not be paid to them. The fact that the Winston Churchills and Birkenheads are so bitterly angry with the Labour Government is the best evidence that their departure in policy does in fact represent a sincere attempt to meet India's demands.

A. FENNER BROCKWAY.

London,
November 27.

Reviews.

ECONOMIC THEORY REVIEWED.

A REVIEW OF ECONOMIC THEORY. By EDWIN CANNAN. (King.) 1929. 22cm. 448p. 16/-

PROFESSOR CANNAN has chosen an apt heading for his book. His own reason for choosing it was to disarm the criticism of those who would complain of omission, but others would justify it on the ground that Dr. Cannan's object is mainly to review economic theory and not to give a new version of his own as Marshall, Pigou and others have done before him.

Professor Cannan's first work was the *History of his Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy from 1776 to 1848*, a treatise which is much valued as a reference book by teachers of economics. Since then, he has been building upon it and has tried to interpret it with reference to modern economic theory; and what he has been giving to generations of students in the London School of Economics is now given out to the public in the days of his retirement.

Working on the assumption that a proper study of such an 'infant science' as economics is only possible by clearly understanding the many theories expounded in the past, he has tried to correlate the subject matter of ordinary economic text-books with the history of economic theory explaining why at different times certain theories were accepted and how they came to be later discredited. Thus when dealing with the subject of capital, what concerns Cannan most is the origin of the term capital and the history of the development of the present use of the term through its different stages; and he takes immense pains to explain the use of this and similar terms by successive economists from the days of the early Mercantilists.

Indeed the chief purpose of the book is to review past economic theory; yet it must be admitted in fairness to the revered Professor that in the course of such review he has succeeded in adding to it. For instance, Cannan was the first to restate the Malthusian theory of population to suit modern conditions, and this original contribution of the Professor is brought out fully in the present work.

It must also be said to the credit of Prof. Cannan that he not only looks back (as historians of theory

commonly do) but also looks *forward* and anticipates developments. His interpretation of contemporary aspirations and tendencies, contained in the last chapter is a real contribution to the subject and will be read with interest by all students of economics.

Such, then, was the *piece de resistance* of the much-valued economics course at the London School, and judging from the flourishing condition of those who have lived on that fare, it must be said that the nourishment that Cannan gave not only wanted them to 'go on' but to 'get on' in practical life and to 'get at' the practical significance of theoretical teaching. Cannan's real claim seems to be that he has demolished some of the shibboleths that have been passing current among economists and has appealed to commonsense in the exposition of economic theory.

It might puzzle readers why we in India should encumber ourselves with the discarded doctrines of dead men, when we have before us live issues to grapple with. The answer is that a developing and still supple science like economics cannot be properly studied except by placing it in its proper perspective, in the middle of the old theories from which it has developed. Since economic theory is the same all the world over, this is as much true of India as of other countries and hence the need for a new orientation in those parts of India where all the economic knowledge that a graduate needs may be conveniently 'got up' from thin hand-books, often going by the name of Indian economics. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing in any subject. Sure enough, it is not the least so in economics.

P. J. THOMAS.

INDO-CHINA AND JAVA.

FOREIGN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE FAR EAST. By HESKETH BELL. 1928.

23cm. 307p. 16/—.

THIS book appears to be a study of the present day Colonial administration of France and Holland in Indo-China and Java. The writer has collected, in most cases, detailed information with regard to the systems followed in both the colonies. He is more in accord with the French and Dutch systems of education prevalent in the two colonies. According to the writer higher education on Western lines to orientals will do more harm than good and hence it ought to be dispensed in very small doses like arsenic or strychnine. To quote his own words "The situation in Java is fast approximating to that

which has prevailed in British India during the past five and twenty years. Higher education, on western lines, has been placed within the reach of native youths with generous precipitancy that the army of B.A.'s and failed B.A.'s, which constitutes so troublesome a factor in Hindustan, is rapidly becoming duplicated in the Dutch Islands". Wherever the writer sees an institution as a fit method for exploitation he unhesitatingly recommends the same to his British compatriots to be adopted in oriental and African colonies.

He advocates the distribution of plum pudding in the form of decorations to create a party favourable to the British in their African colonies. Again to quote his own words, "There can be no doubt that this almost extravagant distribution of decorations on the natives of Indo-China has an excellent effect and links them fairly to the fount of such honours. The crowd of decorees now forms almost a caste, proud of its distinctions and generally loyal to the Government. This kernel of native respectability can be relied on to check disaffection or subversive influences, and constitutes a body on which the Government can generally count for assistance in times of trouble. In our British Protectorates this useful element of influence is inadequately utilized or entirely neglected" etc. His one aim in publishing the work seems to be to educate his countrymen in the most effective methods of exploitation by neglecting the interests of the indigeneous inhabitants of the land, keeping them in the eternal bliss of ignorance with loyalty to the Britisher forced on them.

The book as such issuing from the pen of a British Colonial administrator cannot be anything other than what it is. The best advocate of British imperialism could not have achieved more. Sir Hesketh Bell is a pro-imperialist through and through but his measure of loyalty and patriotism does not tally with that of the people of the colonies. He is a Britisher with too much of the sense of the self-imposed "white man's burden". He little realises that the kind of imperialism and exploitation he advocates will have to disappear before long and that every subject nation will demand its freedom from the conquerors, whether education is given in small doses or not. He is slow to take lessons from China, Egypt, Asiatic Turkey, India and other oriental countries. However much he may try to keep down oriental countries, he has no remedy against "Time," the great revolutionist.

C. L. MARION.

THE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THE INTIMATE PAPERS OF COLONEL HOUSE. Vols. 3 & 4. Arranged by CHARLES SEYMOUR. (Benn.) 1928. 24cm. 464 + 538p.

THESE two volumes of Col. House's papers, ably edited by Dr. Ch. Seymour, form a most important contribution to contemporary history. They cover the period from the entry of the United States into the war until the refusal of the Senate to ratify the Peace

Treaty, and throughout they are the papers of a principal actor in the drama. All through this period Col. House was the confidential adviser of President Wilson, and both before and during the Peace Conference he acted as the President's substitute on occasion.

Now that the mystery of Col. House's activity is cleared up, he appears as almost the perfect diplomat

—indefatigable, suave, optimistic, ready to compromise, yet able to be firm when necessary and to speak plainly without giving offence. Yet he had clearly not the driving force and dynamic personality of the President; when the President disagreed with him he was usually wrong, but one doubts if so much would have been accomplished if House had been President. So long as the two agreed they made an admirable combination and it was one of the cruellest strokes of fate which separated and laid low both by illness just when each had reached the crisis of his particular part.

Volume III is chiefly concerned with the waging of the war, and we can notice President Wilson's anxiety to explore any legitimate avenue of peace, and his consciousness of a divergence of his own and the Allied War Aims. In 1917 there was the Austrian offer through Prince Cixte of Bourbon, wrecked by the intransigence of Baron Sonnino, and the Pope's Peace offer, which President Wilson refused to treat as merely an enemy manoeuvre to cover increasing weakness, and made the basis of a "peace with the people, war on the government" speech. We have also the history of the successful Balfour mission, and of the formulation of the Fourteen Points, in January 1918, which formed the moral basis of the Peace Settlement. In the military crisis House was asked by Lloyd George to sit on the Supreme War Council, and the volume ends with the slogan "War without stint or limit."

Volume IV is concerned with the Armistice negotiations, the Peace Conference, and the struggle of Wilson with the Senate. The President appears at first as a moral dictator, whose very distance increased his dominance. Yet probably no better result would have been achieved had he stayed in America during the Conference, for compromise was inevitable and he must either have agreed to the compromises House would have agreed to, or else disavowed his own delegate.

House acted as the President's envoy from November 1918 to January 1919 and again acted for him during the President's absence from Paris in February. House wished for a just settlement and realised that every day's delay strengthened the forces of revenge and imperialism. So he tried to hasten the peace conference, and then to draw up a preliminary treaty, but neither plan succeeded. Wilson secured his great success by securing the acceptance of the League Covenant on February 14, and thereafter the time spent in discussing reparations and various allied claims made the situation so urgent that compromise became essential. House was possessed throughout with the necessity of a quick peace to save Europe from anarchy or Bolshevism, as well as of a righteous peace. Better any peace than chaos, was his policy, and this accounts for most of its more unsatisfactory features. Thus postponement of a total of reparations payments, the

exclusion of Germany from the League, the occupation of the Saar basin, the Italian frontier (which included 200,000 German Austrians) and the Shantung settlement were all the results of this imperious necessity. House hoped for something like continuous revision by the League; the revision has begun, but it has been immensely retarded by America's absence. We must also remember in justice the things which House and Wilson prevented—the inclusion of war costs in reparations, a Rhineland buffer state, the complete Treaty of London, and their crowning work, the League of Nations. House thus himself sums up the Treaty (p. 505):—

"To those who say that the Treaty is bad and should never have been made, and that it will involve Europe in infinite difficulties in its enforcement, I feel like admitting it. But I would also say in reply that empires cannot be shattered and new states raised upon their ruins without disturbance. To create new boundaries is always to create new troubles. The one follows the other. While I should have preferred a different peace, I doubt whether it could have been made, for the ingredients of such a peace as I would have had were lacking in Paris. And even if those of us like Smuts, Botha and Cecil could have had our will, as much trouble might have followed a peace of our making as seems certain to follow this.

"The same forces that have been at work in the making of this would be at work to hinder the enforcement of a different kind of peace and no one can say with certitude that anything better than has been done could be done at this time. We have had to deal with a situation pregnant with difficulties and one which could be met only by an unselfish and idealistic spirit, which was almost wholly absent and which was too much to expect of men come together at such a time and for such a purpose.

"And yet I wish we had taken the other road, even if it were less smooth, both now and afterward, than the one we took. We would at least have gone in the right direction, and if those who follow us had made it impossible to go to the full length of the journey planned, the responsibility would have rested with them and not with us."

Of the "cloud" which finally arose between the two men, Dr. Seymour tells us as much as can be told. They never saw each other after parting in Paris in June 1919, and at a critical moment in September both lay seriously ill. Cordial notes passed between them later, but the President's "yours affectionately" had changed to "faithfully" or "sincerely yours." The friendship lapsed but was never broken. Of the various theories which explain it the most plausible seems to be House's letters of November 24 and November 27 advising compromise with the Senate. This could not have been acceptable to the President who went to the length of securing the rejection of the Treaty (with reservations) in the Senate by Democratic votes. By that time the stricken President had only the will to fight on left; he was beyond compromise and House was no longer in step. But this is all conjecture. In House's words, "My separation from Woodrow Wilson was and is to me a tragic mystery, a mystery that now can never be dispelled, for its explanation lies buried with him".

T. G. P. SPEAR.

THE NEW ROMANTICISM.

THE PROVING OF PSYCHE. By HUGH FAUSSET. (Cape.) 1929. 12/6.

GOD. By MIDDLETON MURRY. (Cape.) 1929. 10/6.
DO WHAT YOU WILL. By ALDOUS HUXLEY.
(Chatto & Windus.) 1929. 7/6.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 7/6.

AFTER analysing an enormous mass of history in his *magnum opus*, Oswald Spengler detected in the present position of Western Europe all the familiar features of classicism and consequently the concluding phase of what has been regarded as the modern age. Mr. Fausset implies much the same when he makes a plea for what in essence is a new Romanticism. Civilisation is according to him a sort of adolescence whereby the primitive man set out to deliver himself from his instinctive uniformity with nature and this has been achieved by means of isolation from nature's life. But now this isolation is a trap, however much it may have served at one time, in so far as it has led Religion, which should be a sense of communion with all, to be paralysed by scepticism, made morality a mutilation and dried up the fountains of inspiration. The rationalism which forms the basis of civilisation has distorted the teaching of Jesus whose real significance consists in having discovered a way to harmony with the universe, a deeper perception that removed from nature its character of non-moral material necessity.

"The forces of nature were no longer terrible. They were, to use Jesus' symbol, the expression of God the Father, but the Father was perfected in the Son, as Nature might be perfected in man. . . . The conscious fulfilled the purpose of the unconscious and the unconscious completed itself in the conscious."

To Mr. Fausset the humanism of all classicism is just a convenient compromise which in effect cuts humanity off from the wider sources of inspiration. He illustrates his thesis by a study of the Romantic poets, Keats and Wordsworth specially.

"Great poets, in short, express values while prose submits to standards, the reason of the one is of a different and profounder nature than the reason of the other", he demonstrates to the apologists of humanism who demand that "the great poet should satisfy the standards of poetry without offending the standards of prose."

I do not suppose I will be guilty of doing any injury to the thought expressed here if the term eternal verities were substituted for values and applied truths for standards, or for the matter of that, religion and morality, or again—dare I?—realisation and civilisation? But, mark, Mr. Fausset who started by finding fault with duality has ended by complaining against the lack of it among the defenders of humanism.

Mr. Middleton Murry's insistence on "values" is no less emphatic, but he too has to make his meaning of the term clear.

"Conscious response, conscious refusal to respond, deliberate perpetuation, deliberate refusal to perpetuate—these are the facts concerning values. We do not degrade values; we make them real,"

says he, in dispraise of Rationalism! Was it not Keats who said "the heart is the mind's Bible"? and evidently that is what the biographer of Keats means. The editor of the *New Adelphi* has also been led to Religion by literature. An analysis of the mind of Keats—and how eagerly we read it as it appeared month by month—has revealed to him its essential kinship with the mind of Jesus and so he proceeds to annihilate the distance between the biological man and the founder of Christianity by inventing the

science of metabiology. For he will have none of these dualities. With brilliant reasoning enlivened by passionate sincerity born of direct experience he argues to establish the oneness of consciousness. There is no difference whatever between mystic consciousness and consciousness under anaesthetic except that the former is relevant to our motives and remoulds our life instead of being accidental in nature (as if this difference were nothing at all!). Biological and metabiological are advances in the same path of evolution, "the metabiological is just as biological as the biological itself".

He attributes to the metabiological state the same characteristics as those of mystical consciousness, chief among which is the awareness of an all-pervading unity. The attainment of this state is the next and necessary step in the advance of civilisation, man must become Christ-like or perish. The necessity is imperative for civilisation has become suicidal. In our time this is possible only through science, for scientific knowledge now takes the place of religious knowledge in the time of the Galilean. The science most concerned with this development is psychology, and incidentally Mr. Murry makes short work of the pretensions and passing modes of some well-known schools in this subject. He says with good reason:

"To-day no mind that is careful of its own integrity can repose for long in the barren illusion of a mechanical man in a mechanic universe without a deep dissatisfaction. From this deep dissatisfaction there are, we believe, only two ways of emerging; one leads to the paradoxes of complete Supernaturalism; the other to the paradoxes of complete Naturalism. . . . The advance to a complete Naturalism will mean the end of Supernaturalism; but nothing less than this will serve to overthrow Supernaturalism. It is the recognition of this 'nothing less' which is important and salutary. To be conscious of the radical adjustments which are involved in a complete Naturalism is to be conscious of the crudeness and poverty of Rationalism in all its innumerable forms."

But "the metabiological is as biological as the biological itself". Is this not also a form—even an extreme form—of Rationalism? And supposing to this premise were appended another—the biological is as mechanical as the mechanical itself—where would the syllogism lead us and what would become of the metabiological? If there is no difficulty in reducing the metabiological to the biological why should there be such "deep dissatisfaction" in reducing the biological to the mechanical? Mr. Murry might retort that it is not a system that he is driving at but individual appreciation of values, but are not all the sciences, including the metabiological, and all civilisations, which are no more than the automatic application of standards in the sociological sphere, systems in the ultimate analysis? What hope has Mr. Murry's philosophy for civilisation unless indeed it can produce a sufficient number of metabiological men? And if they are as rare as Jesus is this a hope at all? Besides are not metabiological men unique by their very substance, unique and enemical to the world and all its values?

Hence Mr. Aldous Huxley's conclusion:

"The Hindus had the wit to see and the courage to proclaim the fact; Nirvana the goal of their striving is nothingness. Wherever life exists, there also is inconsistency, division, strife."

He might have added, dualities. He goes on:

"Very few people have gone so far as to annihilate themselves completely in the attempt to realise this ideal. Almost all the superbhumanists pursue their ideal by fits and starts, and only spasmodically obey the precepts of their ethics. In the intervals they live humanly, or more often, subhumanly; for the higher they go in their effort

to be overmen, the lower they sink, when the efforts are relaxed, towards a repulsive subhumanity."

Consequently Mr. Huxley favours pluralism and remonstrates against monism in all its forms, theological, scientific, or psychological.

"The Greeks were men—men how incomparably completer and more adult than the decayed or fossil children who, at our universities, profess themselves the guardians of Greek tradition!... What Pericles took for granted was briefly this: that men should accept their natures as they found them. Man has a mind; very well, let him think. Senses that enjoy; let him be sensual. Instincts; they are to be satisfied. Passions; it does a man good to succumb to them from time to time. Imagination, a feeling for beauty, a sense of awe; let him create, let him surround himself with lovely forms, let him worship. Man is multifarious, inconsistent, self-contradictory; the Greeks accepted the fact and lived multifariously, inconsistently, and contradictorily. Their polytheism gave divine sanction to this realistic acceptance. 'All the Gods ought to have praise given to them.' There was therefore no need for remorse or consciousness of sin. The preservation of the unstable equilibrium between so many mutually hostile elements was a matter of fact and common sense and aesthetic judgment."

His admirable essay on Pascal in this delightful collection of essays is significant:

"A fugue has need of all, its voices. Even in the rich counterpoint of life each separate small melody plays its indispensable part: the diapason closes full in man. In man Pascal aspired to be more than man. Among the interlaced melodies of the human counterpoint are love songs and anacreontics, marches and savage dance-rhythms, hymns of hate and loud hilarious chanties. Odious voices in the ears of one who wanted his music to be wholly celestial."

And Mr. Huxley who calls himself a realist blames Christianity for the existing lop-sidedness. For him, like for all professional Realists, the problem of evil does not exist as a problem. It never occurs to him that the sense of sin and the existence of evil might after all be a mutation of the terrible load of Tragedy that the Greeks bore, always afraid but never sorrowful. He as well as Mr. Russell, who also ascribes the lamentable excesses of sex and the no less lamentable lack of full-bloodedness in America and Europe to Christianity speak as if Christianity were some hostile force beyond the ken of man which sucked his vitality out of him like the occultist's vampire. Christianity, especially with the self-willed Nordic communities, is what they have made of it. The truth may well be, and probably it is, that the Northerners lack that fine perception of harmony, native to the Mediterranean stock, and need all the exaggerated and unreal asceticism of their ethic to keep them within those decent bounds which are necessary as basis of civilisation. Besides theologians and legislators are not a species apart who could be done away with by some Jack the giant killer. The Realists have also, in effect, set up a giant in their own fashion. It has got to be realised that Christian qualities—there are analogous virtues in non-Christian systems with all twice-born peoples—have emerged as a force in history. Indeed Realists should no more consent to make a golden age of paganism than acquiesce in depicting the period before the Fall as bright and blissful in theological fashion.

Mr. Russell finds that the present ethic of marriage has two causes, the sense of sin that attaches itself to sex most of all and the desire to assure the paternity of children. The former he hopes to spirit away and with regard to the latter anthropological considerations are brought to bear so as to undermine it. Judging, however, from recent changes in society,

sociological influences are far more potent and will have the same effect. But even should the material basis of marriage family and property vary, and its spiritual basis—religious sanction—disappear, and even if children were to be taught physiology by the direct method, is sex so small a thing that it could be divested of all its magic and magnetism? In which community, however primitive and pleasure-loving, has sex been so bereft of its mysterious fascination, that it has been rendered purely biological, and in which society, however advanced, is its appeal purely psychological devoid of moral or aesthetic accompaniments? Mr. Russell writes with his usual consummate skill and concludes:

"The doctrine I wish to preach is not one of licence it involves nearly as much self-control as is involved in the conventional doctrine. But self-control will be applied more to abstaining from interference with the freedom of others than to restraining one's own freedom... The essence of a good marriage is respect for each other's personality combined with that deep intimacy, physical, mental, and spiritual, which makes a serious love between man and woman the most fructifying of all human experiences. Such love, like everything that is great and precious, demands its own morality."

Such Realism is indistinguishable from Romanticism, and Romanticism naturally, if not inevitably, tends to some sort of Supernaturalism. Supernaturalism in an age of Science usually assumes a morbid character if religious, and decadent, if literary. Supernaturalism and Science can co-exist only when the latter attains to high metaphysic and the former to austere morality. We have had a glimpse of something of the like of it, and no more, in Buddhism. But to the high-spirited peoples of the West, liberty comes more easily than liberation. Liberty, which is external, needs external restraints. The homogeneity of the State needs all the vigour of nationalism, orderliness, all the discipline of militarism, morality, all the watchfulness of conventionalism, and art all, the canons of criticism.

RAHGUNATH ROW.

ON GOLD CURRENCY.

GOLD AND THE FUTURE. By W. L. P. KNIGHT
(Headley, London.) 1928. 22cm. 112p. 7/6.

THE main problem which the author attempts to expound is the relationship between gold and the currency in the gold standard countries where gold does not circulate. With the help of the diagrammatic representation of a scale the author proves that "the stream of money and credit must be made coequal with the stream of goods and services on the other". Constant changes and unexpected developments would indeed be taking place in every dynamic society so that the banker who is the guardian of the credit structure should consider it as his duty to bring the scale to equipoise. He emphatically rebuts the popular superstition that gold backing gives value to currency. If this were so America, Great Britain and all other gold standard countries should have one uniform amount of gold reserve against their respective credit structures. During times of peace or war the gold reserves are simply redundant and if public confidence were to be secured the problem of the banker would be simplified. Inflation is a "double-distilled lie" which tends to work havoc on the credit scale and a welter of trouble ensues as the speculator sees his chance and establishes all the varying anomalies to be met with in an era of violent fluctuations.

So the main duty before any society is to create credit so as to satisfy the needs of labour and the

banker's duty is to establish an equipoise between credit and labour.

The second fundamental economic tendency which he attempts to expound is the doctrine of free exchange. Highly developed countries possess credit which seeks employment in the less developed countries. Free exchange is essential between the countries and mankind has only to recognise the true principles of sound money and free exchange. "Government should issue public currency only against equal value of actual commodities." The development of the Orient cannot indeed be checked and the proper industrial balance between countries would ultimately be established thereby leading to greater economic equality between the different men and the peoples of this world. The future national policies have to be guided by appropriate action recognising the truth of the above cardinal principles. Five appendices illustrate certain statements of the author.

Unfortunately the thesis of the book is stated in a most unconventional language and form and the opposing forces in a society which tend to retard the action of the economic tendencies are altogether forgotten. The author's conception of sound money is unimpeachable but the reason why conversion is tacked on so that the currency authority might have an infallible guide in the gold reserve to guide his actions is not explained. The gold reserve indication is indeed a defective one and would not subserve the wider economic interests of the country. Every economist knows that it is not conversion that gives value to currency but it is limitation that confers value on currency. Similarly in the broad statement of the principle of free exchange he does not reckon the free play of nationalism which attempts to hinder international exchange based on true economic principles. The economic Imperialism of the creditor countries is also forgotten. It is not mere exchange of labour that is sought after but moral, cultural and sometimes religious domination is exercised by the financially strong countries. It is against these forces that the backward countries or the "underdogs" protest vainly, blindly and ineffectively. Except for these shortcomings the book expounds to the layman how these two fundamental principles of economic society, viz. sound money and free exchange, have to be realised.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

STABILIZATION.

POLAND. PLAN OF FINANCIAL STABILIZATION, 1927. By JOHN FOSTER DULLES. (Sullivan & Cromwell, New York.) 1928. 23cm. 241p. \$3.00.

In this volume Mr. J. F. Dulles has collected together all the documents relating to the Polish plan of stabilization including the various laws enacted to give effect to the plan. In the introductory statement Mr. Dulles explains how the Polish scheme of stabilization was made peculiarly difficult on account of the *damnsa hereditas* of three depreciated currencies which had to be unified. Poland along with other European countries had succumbed to the inflation mania prompted by war finance and depleted treasury. On the advice of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and other bankers the Polish Government arranged at a Paris Conference of Polish bank-

ers and nominees of the Polish treasury a plan for stabilization blessed by the Central Banks of the principal European countries, which co-operated with the New York Federal Bank in giving the necessary credit. In October 1927 the Stabilization Bonds were issued and the gold Zloty equal to 11¼ cents was finally adopted as a standard of value. The Bank of Poland was constituted the sole note-issuing agency and a limitation was placed upon its loans to the State; the notes of the Bank were to be redeemed either in gold or gold exchange. As in Germany excessive foreign borrowing by private corporations and other banks was prevented; and reserve requirements were made more stringent. As a necessary corollary of stabilization budgetary equilibrium was assured by various measures and a treasury reserve was established for meeting temporary needs due to seasonal causes. A cardinal feature of the plan was the appointment of an American Financial Adviser to Government and to the Bank of Poland without whose advice no foreign borrowing was to be made even for productive purposes and no proceeds of the Stabilization Bonds are to be released; he had unlimited access to all the facts relative to the fiscal position and was enjoined to report to the outside world as to the progress of the plan by means of a quarterly report. The plan also provided for arbitration in case of differences between the Financial Adviser and the Polish Government. The Customs revenues were assigned as security for the stabilization loan and were paid into a special account with the Bank of Poland and were fully controlled by the Adviser. Mr. Dulles emphasizes the fact that the best guarantee of the success of the plan is the international support on which it rests since the stabilization loan was subscribed to by the leading Central Banks as well as private persons in European countries. The documents include the statutes of the Bank of Poland, after the decree of November 1927 ratifying amendments to the existing statutes of the Bank and the first report of the Financial Adviser which is a very important publication reviewing the whole financial position resulting from the introduction of the plan. The book ought to be warmly welcomed by all students of currency and finance interested in keeping themselves abreast of the times.

V. N. G.

CURE FOR DEAFNESS.

FINE OLD REMEDY.

THE wonderful curative power possessed by many old herbs has never been surpassed by modern treatment, and one of the most important of these old-fashioned remedies is the "AURAL HERB COMPOUND," which has been found remarkably successful in cases of nasal catarrh, noises in the head and deafness. Severe and long-standing cases, which had resisted all modern remedies, have been quickly and permanently cured by this old herbal preparation. Recommended with the utmost confidence. Price Rs. 4 per tin, post free, direct from

AURAL MEDICATION Co.,
160 Birkbeck Road, Beckenham, England.