

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Servants of India Society.

TO-DAY the Servants of India Society completes twenty-five years of existence. The Society is a politico-social organisation of life-workers without a religious bond. The vicissitudes of politics in India during the last quarter of a century have been many and varied: political ideals, methods and outlook have undergone remarkable and radical changes, obliterating some organisations, creating new ones and transforming others. The Servants of India Society has come through these vicissitudes with its faith in its ideals and methods unshaken. "Self-government within the Empire for their country," said the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale in his Preamble to the constitution of the Society in 1905, "and a higher life generally for their countrymen is their goal. This goal, they recognise, cannot be attained without years of earnest and patient effort and sacrifices worthy of the cause. Much of the work must be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present, and the advance can only be slow. * * * One essential condition of success in this work is that a sufficient number of our countrymen must now come forward to devote themselves to the cause in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken."

Friends of the Society have sometimes felt doubts if an organisation of life-workers could long survive which was pledged and pledged only to political and social work without a common religious urge and motive. It was a bold and, in some respects, unique experiment that Mr. Gokhale initiated. Most missionary organisations have a religious basis and a religious objective. Would a non-religious basis supply the necessary cementing power to hold together members drawn from various parts of India, and generate the necessary and an adequate driving power for public service? Well, the Society has

survived twenty-five years and its membership has shown no signs of dropping off. On the other hand, its membership, always small, has, comparatively speaking, increased until today it is larger than ever it was. In spite of the unpopularity of the political views of the Society at the present moment, young men are seeking admission. Two probationers have been admitted to membership and two more are undergoing their probation.

Much of the work of the members of the Society continues to be done in the name of other organisations, and very little in the name of the Society itself. In a great measure the Society finds whole-time and devoted workers to other organisations created for the publicweal in a variety of fields. The latest addition to its activities is the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, inaugurated to-day. A note about this Institute appears elsewhere.

It would be presumptuous to claim that all the members at all times have lived up to the high ideals that inspire the Society. Their claim is more modest: they have not consciously and deliberately turned away from them and worshipped other gods. With all their frailties and failings, it is their ambition to share to the full the privilege of spending themselves in service of India. And in this endeavour they respectfully seek the moral and material assistance of the discerning public.

Simon's Superceded Superfluity.

THERE is no doubt that Sir John Simon and his brave colleagues take themselves insufferably seriously. The explanation they thought fit to offer for the publication of their survey of Indian conditions a fortnight before the publication of their recommendation is not only presumptuous but little short of insulting. This unprecedented departure was not due to exigencies of printing, but to the deliberate wish of the Commissioners. They purposely wished to give time for the people interested to examine and digest the survey before they were told the recommendations. Sir John might as well have issued a chapter of his survey at a time, given a series of lectures and put his students through a searching examination before he released another chapter! This exhibition of superior impertinence is not likely to allay in the least the antipathy with which the report will be received in India.

Sir John and his precious colleagues are guilty of affrontry in pretending that the boycott of the Simon Commission made no difference to the value of their investigations. Because they bought a copy of the Nehru Report, they say, "We do not feel, therefore, that we have been deprived of assistance from such quarters." The refusal of Indian leaders who mould and guide Indian political thought and who shared the responsibilities of government in the Provincial and Central Governments to tender evidence deprives the report of any claims to reliability and

completeness. If a copy of the Nehru report could do service in the place of the oral evidence of these Indian leaders and statesmen, the Simon Commission need not have come to India at all and interviewed witnesses such as appeared before them. Perhaps unwittingly, Sir John gives away the show when he takes credit for having suggested the Round Table Conference. If the Commission was not deprived of assistance from important quarters, there was no justification for the Round Table Conference, and Mr. Ramsay Maedonald would not have taken the unprecedented step of announcing the convocation of such a conference before the Simon Report was published. In India the Simon Report will be bracketted along with the other unwanted report, that of the Sankaran Nair Committee.

The very boast that the recommendations, whatever they may be, are said to be unanimous, is ominous considering that there were three members of the Conservative Party among the Commissioners. The only consolation is that, whatever be its influence on ignorant public opinion in England and other countries, in India the Report is but another superceded superfluity.

* * *

Vindictive Frightfulness.

PUBLIC opinion is being outraged by the way the Government are combating the civil resisters. We grant that the civil resisters in raiding salt depots have not only broken the law of the land, but, in our opinion, have transgressed the boundaries of non-violence. It was open to the Government, in upholding the law, to arrest the breakers of law, put them on their trial, and imprison them, if convicted. For a powerful and mighty Government such a course would have been more chivalrous and natural. We are not oblivious of the consequences of such a civilised course of action: it were possible that the number of satyagrahis would have swelled enormously, and the cost of imprisoning them would have been proportionately high, involving perhaps extra taxation. But in choosing the unchivalrous course of accosting satyagrahis with *lathis* Government have sustained a severe moral defeat; and considerations for their reputation should have deterred them from adopting such methods. Even the use of minimum force in repelling the invaders would have put the Government in no enviable position; but to use excessive force, inflict brutal injuries, and shower despicable indignities on un-resisting satyagrahis is nothing short of vindictive frightfulness. Reports of these atrocities, which we can neither disbelieve nor discount, come pouring in every day. Last week Messrs G. K. Devadhar, C. I. E., M. A., President of the Servants of India Society, and K. Natarajan and Hussein Tyebji visited the salt raid at Dharasana and issued a report on the incident. Their report is the more damaging to the Government because of its calculated restraint. Scores of arrested satyagrahis of high character, antecedents and education but guilty of technical breaches of the law, have been given savage sentences by magistrates all over India. Rigorous imprisonment for long periods are the portion of some of the most respected and honourable citizens, who unhappily allowed themselves to be swept off their feet by the crusade of the Mahatma. It is amazing that some magistrates should have failed to make allowance for the unsettling effect of the political tornado, and should have strained the law to the utmost in heaping maximum punishments on these misguided patriots, and refused to take a lesson from the more balanced judgments of other magistrates, no less zealous in upholding the law, but who have not abandoned their sense of humour and humanity.

It is a piece of refined but diabolical cruelty to have condemned Mahatma Gandhi to complete solitude and isolation, while meeting all his material wants. Government lay themselves open to the accusation that, unable to bend him, they were attempting to break him. Nothing will more outrage the people or damage the Government. The *Hindu* of Madras calls attention to the fact that several convicted satyagrahis, who by all canons of decency and courtesy and the very Jail Rules themselves were entitled to be put in class "A" or "B" were condemned to class "C".

What do the Government hope to achieve by this calculated and vindictive frightfulness? It is doubtful if they will succeed in crushing the revolt of the civil resisters. Even if they do, at what cost? The whole country is turning sour and bitter with these tales of frightfulness. Government do not certainly hope to rule for long in peace over 300 millions of people who nurse such bitter feelings against them. And the reckoning, whenever that may come, is made more and more difficult for this growing inheritance of hatred. Wishing as we ardently do for a peaceful and honourable settlement of the conflict, we appeal to the Government to hold their hand, to desist from this orgy of frightfulness and not multiply their enemies.

* * *

Violence of non-violence.

WHILE we must most emphatically condemn the excesses committed by the Government in repressing the civil resisters, we cannot refrain from deploring the action of the civil resisters themselves. In deciding on salt raids the satyagrahis have considerably diluted their policy of non-violence, and forfeited their right to be treated as satyagrahis. But the greatest disservice they have been guilty of is the spirit of violence and hatred that they have generated in India. Behind a smoke-screen of non-violence they have worked up violence to fever pitch: they have roused passions they cannot control. And lamentably enough, they repudiate responsibility for the havoc their propaganda has wrought. Bitterness, racial hatred, communal discord, disorganisation of business, the sacrifice of the innocents, riots, bloodshed, and disgraceful atrocities by excited but uncontrollable mobs have disfigured a campaign which invoked the highest ethical principles and inculcated the highest code of conduct. In the name of peace the satyagrahis have precipitated war; in the name of swaraj they have established precedents and strengthened habits of thought and action which make it appreciably more difficult to sustain swaraj; with a view to spite a foreign Government they have deliberately and wantonly struck a mortal blow at the law-abiding instincts of the people; professing to win over their opponents they have made bitter enemies of them and turned friends into foes; in the name of freedom they have imposed fresh coercions; professing sympathy for the poor, they have added to their sufferings and burdens. Exalting peace, they have spurned the offer of peace; in the name of unity they have created fresh divisions. Alas! the violence of non-violence!

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Goodwill the Best Safeguard.

AMONG those who advocate the invocation of the aid and guarantee of the League of Nations to solve our communal differences and to afford protection to our minorities is that veteran publicist, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar. But if we are to believe the reports of the Berlin Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, such a faith in the capacity of the League seems to be rather misplaced. In spite of the protection guaranteed by the League, the Polish Ukranian

ans, numbering at least 4,000,000, "have undergone and still undergo every kind of pressure, from petty, hostile discrimination to sanguinary terrorisation at the hands of the Poles." The League seems to be incapable or unwilling to safeguard them against such persecution and discrimination. Thirty-eight Ukrainian complaints have been addressed to the League, but no action has so far been taken on them. In one instance, the Polish authorities even victimised the petitioners who had done no more than exercise a right guaranteed by an international treaty. The Poles have been accused of making persistent attempts to Polish Ukrainian schools, which is an abuse of power and a violation of minority rights. "As things are now," says the correspondent, "the chosen representatives of the Ukrainian people are in practice denied the right to complain about infringement of one of the chief rights guaranteed by the Polish Minority Treaty—namely, the right to maintain their own schools." And he came to the regrettable conclusion that "so far the Minorities Treaty signed by Poland has been quite useless to Ukrainians, although it was precisely for cases such as theirs that it was devised." If the minorities in Czecho-Slovakia are happy and contented, it is not so much due to the protective power of the League as to the wise and conciliatory and humane policy followed by the Government of that State. Goodwill, and not constitutional provisions guaranteed by an outside agency, will really safeguard the interests of the minorities. We agree with Mr. Vijayaraghachariar that, left to themselves, the minorities in India will compose their differences amicably. There is much political wisdom in the remarks of the *Musalman* of Calcutta that "Constitutional safeguards for minorities must be obtained with the willing consent of the majority. Otherwise the majority may change the very constitution and do away with the safeguards, whenever an opportunity arises or whenever they so desire. If, at the instance of a third party, safeguards are now provided in the constitution with the unwilling consent of the majority, how such safeguards may ultimately be treated by the majority one can easily imagine." The *Musalman* goes too far in apprehending an overthrow of the constitution, but it is more likely that the safeguards will be defeated in practice. We agree with Mr. M. Mahmudullah of Allahabad when he writes in the *Leader* that "the security of the minorities lies in the goodwill of the majority, in the organising capacity of minorities themselves, and in their orderly progress in the realms of science, economics, and politics." Would that the minorities in India listened to this sound advice.

Departmental Enquiry.

IF there were any simple-minded people who believed that the enquiry by the A. G. G., Punjab States, into the allegations against the Maharaja of Patiala was meant to be a serious affair, they will have been completely disillusioned by the reply that the A. G. G. is reported to have given to a deputation of Patiala subjects. He candidly confessed that his investigation was "in the nature of a departmental enquiry and not a commission under para 309 of the Montford Report." For all the good this enquiry will do, Government might have saved themselves the trouble of instituting it. Faced with the nationalist movement in British India, the Government cannot afford to alienate their "allies" in the rulers of the Indian States. It is part of the diplomatic game sanctioned by hoary and high usage. The only pity is that Lord Irwin should have lent himself to this ignoble game.

Constitutional Proprieties.

It is sometimes urged that the Government of India have not the right to appoint an independent commission to enquire into the Patiala affair and that constitutional properties require that it is only at the instance and request of the Maharaja that any enquiry into the internal affairs of his State can be instituted. We are frankly not impressed by this argument. Apart from political practice and convention, the very *sanads* issued to successive Maharajas, of Patiala in 1815, 1847 and 1860, contain a stipulation that the ruler should exert himself by every possible means to promote the welfare of his people and ensure justice to them. It is an obligation imposed by the Paramount Power on the ruler of Patiala, for which he is accountable. It was not a mutual obligation: the ruler of the State did not require the British Government to act likewise towards their subjects. Patiala received a *sanad* from the British: they did not exchange treaties. Patiala is a vassal, pure and simple. The relation between the Ruler of a state like Patiala and the Paramount Power was unequivocally defined by Lord Northcote when he said with reference to Baroda: "I cannot consent to employ British troops to protect any one in a course of wrong doing. Misrule on the part of a Government which is upheld by the British Power is misrule for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes, therefore, not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of a State in such a condition is reformed and that gross abuses are removed."

Congress Ordinances.

THE Working Committee of the Congress which met recently in Allahabad has called on people to disobey the latest Ordinances and to carry on with redoubled vigour the programme of boycott and picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops and the social boycott of Government servants "known to have participated in unjustifiable assaults." It had advised people to extend the campaign of non-payment of the land tax to parts of Gujrat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra and Tamil Nadu and to intensify and extend the campaign of non-payment of the Chowkidari tax in Bengal, and to start it in Behar and Orissa. It is significant that this item of non-payment of taxes has not been recommended in United Provinces and the Punjab.

With regards to newspapers, the Committee has lifted its earlier uncompromising ukase that all papers, both Indian and non-Indian, should either close down or be compelled, by picketing, to close down. They are given permission to resume publication on "giving an undertaking to write articles in defiance of the Press Ordinance and to disseminate Congress views." It is not clear what administrative arrangements have been made to enforce this new Congress Ordinance, for picketing of newspaper offices has been abandoned. A sensible climb-down.

Picketing and Women.

The Bombay "War Council" is reported to have decided on picketing of liquor shops in Bombay, and as a preliminary thereto, on undertaking anti-drink propaganda. While we fully support the propaganda, we must deprecate the picketing, for it is bound to lead to violence. We are, however, relieved that they have decided that women shall not be employed for picketing of liquor shops all by themselves in the city area and that they shall not be employed at all for the purpose in the mill areas. We any day prefer picketing of liquor shops, if it is to be adopted, to be confined to men.

Articles.

IT IS DARKEST BEFORE DAWN.

THE political situation in India is as gloomy as it can be. Popular revolt and Government's repression have filled the people and the Government with hatred, bitterness and the spirit of retaliation and reprisals. Both parties are working on the principle "victory first and conciliation afterwards." In his reply to the deputation of the Punjab Muslims the Viceroy demanded that force and coercion should be abandoned by the Congress and reason and argument adopted instead. It was reported that, though the Labour Government in England were anxious to negotiate with Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress, the diehards in the Government of India would have none of it unless and until the Congress was beaten. Mr. Wedgwood Benn assured the House of Commons last week that the resources of the Government were ample and adequate to meet the challenge of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Stung and incensed by the action of the Government, the satyagrahis threaten to embark more violently on their non-violent programme of defiance of the Government. Undeterred by the humiliations and hardships, the physical injuries and mental tortures, volunteers are still coming forward to take the place of their disabled comrades and to carry on the struggle unabated. Men, women and children, young and old, the classes and the masses, have all been infected. For one who has actually joined as a volunteer, there are hundreds who sympathise with his law-breaking activities and defiance of the Government. The moral sympathy of the great bulk of Indians is behind the satyagrahis.

The gulf between the Government and the people cannot be wider: the relations between them cannot be less cordial. We have touched the depths; the night is darkest.

The dawn is bound to follow quickly. It cannot be otherwise. The present state cannot last long. As Mr. H. N. Brailsford said in the *New Republic*, "There must be limits to the readiness of an honest party to assume the odious tasks of the policeman unless it has the assurance that it can, in the end, offer in an acceptable form its own political solution." Believing as we do in the honesty of the Labour Party's intentions towards India, and the honesty of Lord Irwin's purpose, we faintly believe that they would not have allowed the situation to deteriorate thus and thus far, if they were not prepared to make ample reparation in the end; if they cherished no desire to inaugurate a high and generous policy towards India which will soon heal the bitter memories of the past, and restore friendly relations.

Neither the Government nor the satyagrahis can be unaware of the full implications of a fight to the finish. The Government must have realised that no amount of repression and frightfulness will

be able permanently to crush the spirit of the people. One act of repression leads but to another. It will be long before the fight will come to an end. They will have to govern the country in the face of the active opposition of the people. Already, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru pointed out in his recent statement, they are fast losing friends, both in India and abroad. Prolonging the fight will only kill the goose that laid the golden eggs for England. No modern Government dare attempt to govern a country like India permanently under martial law. Government by consent will become increasingly difficult and impossible. There is neither glory nor profit in it. Their only portion will be the execration of the enlightened public opinion of the world. It does not pay the Government to fight to the finish and humiliate India.

The satyagrahis must realise that the most powerful empire of the day will be in no hurry to capitulate when challenged; that despite their policy of non-violence, rivers of blood may have to flow, and untold miseries inflicted on the poor and the innocent, and if, in the end, they secure victory, it will have lost its content. It is bound to be a Pyrrhic victory.

We have reason to believe that, notwithstanding the brave statements to the contrary, both the antagonists have realised the futility of civil way and are waiting for a turn in the circumstances to abandon it and settle down to a peaceful solution of the Indian problem. Therein lies the hope of the future. But it is not without difficulties, particularly, concerning prestige. The Government decline to call off repression until civil disobedience is abandoned, and the satyagrahis decline to call off their campaign unless their conditions of peace are accepted by the Government. Those who love India, who shrank from no sacrifice of political careers and popular favour and who, even at the risk of being called traitors and other opprobrious names, would save India the turmoil and the unhappiness that must inevitably result from the prolongation of the civil war between the satyagrahis and the Government, have a difficult and delicate task in promoting peace honourable to both the antagonists. With infinite patience and perseverance, with consummate skill and diplomacy, with unquenchable hope and faith, they must continue to go about their task as peace-makers, and save from rupture the all too attenuated silken string of co-operation and negotiation and bend everything to their high purpose. They must resist the strong temptation to give way to impatience, and the insistent invitation to snap the silken thread and go into the wilderness. Their main and chief purpose is to end the war and bring about peace and not to strengthen the forces of war and prolong it.

The situation is not without hopeful signs. Mahatma Gandhi's interview given to the correspondent of the *Daily Herald* was the first ray of the dawning day. Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Lord Irwin have recently declared that they realised to the full that repression was no remedy to Indian ills, but conciliation was: they recognised the new surge of

irresistible nationalism in India. The Viceroy referred in his reply to the Head of the Ahmadiya community that a formal conference of the leaders of public opinion in India was not beyond the bounds of probability. Only until the Simon Commission Report was published, his lips were sealed. Rabindra Nath Tagore has added his powerful advocacy to the cause of peace between India and England, and Christian missionaries gathered in Kodiakanal have swelled the chorus. We hope that when the second part of the Simon Report is published or at the latest when the Viceroy opens the Indian Legislature in the first week of July, Government will make a fresh statement which will restore peace in this sorely stricken land and evoke co-operation of all parties.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE AND THE NATIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE position of the native in South Africa is at the moment extremely critical. The future in regard to his political status may be predicted with certainty: for all legislation touching natives during the past few years has definitely tended to deprive the black man of his rights and privileges, and to segregate him more and more from the European, both as regards his habitations and in the economic field. In an attempt to strengthen the barriers between the two sections of the population political segregation is to be tried, since it is obvious that economically the native cannot be altogether barred from the preserves of the European. Geographically, too, it will be difficult to keep him totally segregated, since his labour is essential to the prosperity and progress of the European population. That there may be something to be said for the black man is a point of view which the average European is incapable of realising. In particular cases he may have the highest opinion of a native as a worker, and be regretful that his black skin debar him from becoming the well-to-do citizen which he would undoubtedly be had he been born with a white exterior; yet few Europeans would agree that the entire system was wrong, and that the white man was perpetuating an injustice which might have unpleasant repercussions in the future.

Before the last general election two years ago General Hertzog made a desperate effort to pass a Bill disfranchising the natives in the Cape Province. To effect any alteration in the native franchise it was laid down in the Act of Union that a two-thirds majority of both Houses, (the Senate and the House of Assembly) was to be obtained. He failed signally in his attempt, and after the elections decided that it would not be possible to achieve his aim by that means. It must be explained that the natives in the Cape Province only have the privilege of voting for members of Parliament. There are a few natives in Natal who possess this right, but prior to Union in 1910 the privilege of voting was withdrawn from natives in that Province. In the Orange Free State and Transvaal the native never possessed the franchise. Whereas, however, the European in the

Orange Free State and Transvaal has the franchise without any conditions as to income or education, the voter in the Cape Province has to be in receipt of a certain income and must be able to comply with an educational test which, though elementary, is yet sufficient to debar the majority of natives from exercising the vote.

It is only when these facts are borne in mind that the intention of the Women's Enfranchisement Act can be considered in its true significance to the political position of the native. For, what could not be achieved for want of a two-thirds majority of the two Houses will, by means of this Act, inevitably become law in the near future. It is painful to the advocates of women's rights that they should only achieve their aim through a Act sponsored by the avowed and bitter opponents of these rights, and promoted solely with the object of depriving another section of the community of privileges they have been enjoying for over seventy years.

At first glance the Act appears harmless enough. It provides for universal adult suffrage for women. But in the penultimate clause comes the sting. For the purposes of this Act, says that clause, "woman" shall mean one wholly of European birth, descent or extraction. This at once opens the door to numerous objections. The rank and file of the Nationalist party, who have always opposed any scheme for the enfranchisement of women, complained that the concession of adult suffrage was more than women themselves asked for. On the other hand, the Women's Enfranchisement League, which had been working for women's suffrage for many years, repudiated all responsibility for the form which the Act has taken, and publicly declared their disapproval of the colour bar being once again inserted in the Statute book. While the Act is an astute political manœuvre to obtain by indirect means what could not be carried straightforwardly, it is nevertheless the inevitable outcome of the European fear-complex, a complex which may be based on dangers perhaps not so remote as many people suggest.

It is obvious that the European male, after holding the reins of government undisputed for so many generations, will not sacrifice his claim to dominance with too good a grace. That women in the Cape Province should have rights of franchise wider than those enjoyed by men will be resented proportionately. Yet, while the male native in the Cape Province can claim the franchise it will be impossible to do away with the money and education qualifications for all males. If these qualifications did not debar the vast majority of natives from voting, the native population in the Cape Province would control the entire election. Apart from all racial prejudices, no one would wish this to be the case, for even the natives themselves are well aware of their inability to judge of the issues, and their proneness to bribery and corruption. It follows, therefore, that as long as the native has the franchise in the Cape Province the European male cannot demand adult franchise. A further incentive to the withholding of the franchise from natives is the fact

that it is from among the illiterate and unprogressive elements of the Afrikaans-speaking European population that the Nationalists draw their most ardent and loyal supporters, while, on the other hand, the native usually votes for the South African party. As the Nationalists are in power, it would be expecting too much of human nature to anticipate that they will leave the situation unaltered once the Women's Enfranchisement Act has been passed. As far as the South African Party is concerned, it is a moot point whether it will champion the unpopular cause of the native and thereby withhold the vote from a section of male Europeans. Public opinion would be all in favour of the European male having adult suffrage in the Cape Province, and the native franchise is obviously doomed.

Yet, in justice to the European, let it be added that, while so depriving the native of his privilege of direct franchise, it is not the intention of the Nationalist Government to prevent his representation in Parliament. It is intended that the native shall vote on a separate register and for persons who will definitely represent his interests in the House. This Bill for native representation is one of three Bills affecting natives and coloured persons which are at present being considered by a Select Committee, and it is plain that the passing of the Women's Enfranchisement Act is merely a preliminary to the passing of these measures. One of them deals with the rights of coloured persons. It might rather be called a Bill defining the disabilities of persons of colour who are not quite as white as their relations. These persons approximate to the Anglo-Indian, and must eventually be merged in the European population, many of whom bear distinct traces of an infusion of colour at some period within the last two hundred years. Another measure affecting the native concerns the land to be allotted to natives, and the conditions under which it is to be occupied. The native in South Africa has up to the present not been an intensive cultivator. He has had no opportunity of learning to be one, nor has his inclination been in that direction. The average native works for only as long as he needs to. As soon as he has accumulated enough to pay for food and clothing and for the exorbitant poll-tax levied upon him, he is unable to see any reason for further exerting himself, and settles down to a life of leisure until his money is gone and the pangs of hunger once more drive him into the labour market. While his wage is low, his mode of living is so simple that he can just manage to subsist on about nine months work in the year. These conditions are, however, changing. The native is rapidly developing a taste for faultlessly tailored suits of good cloth, fashionable footwear and expensive felt hats. He also appreciates gramophones, guitars and other luxuries of civilisation, and the purchase of these articles makes it necessary for him to work the round of the year. At present the native has not learned to save. The only use he finds for money is for the purchase of necessities, luxuries and leisure. All these he considers must be obtained immediately in return for hard cash. At present the native land reserves are inadequate to their needs. It may be

that in return for the franchise the Nationalist Government will be generous in their allotment of land. It must be confessed such generosity would be unexpected.

Economically the natives are in a difficult position. The European, after resting securely upon the vaunted superiority in skill and ability of persons with a white skin, is awakening to the unpleasant fact that quite a number of natives, despite all the disabilities that attach to the inescapable brand which nature has stamped upon them, are not only the equals of many Europeans in the field of labour, but are actually ousting the European from some of the trades which he had considered his exclusive preserve. It has been found that the native is well able to hold his own in the semi-skilled trades; and with the low economic wage to which his skin has condemned him, and which his simple mode of living renders almost as adequate for him as the higher wage for a European, he is able to work secure in the thought that for him there is no fear of unemployment. The only method by which the European has so far countered this growing ability of the native is to insert the colour bar into all trade undertakings. But even then it was found that the regulations were being broken on every hand; for when a man's pocket is touched it is not easy for him to remember to observe such arbitrary restrictions as a colour-bar. There is now a gradual move to secure uniformity of pay for work irrespective of the person by whom it is being done. At first it was suggested that if such a scheme of pay were inaugurated the work would all fall to the European in the skilled and semi-skilled trades. A man who has been an employer in the building trade for many years on a very extensive scale, however, has assured the writer that as far as he was concerned, the native would frequently be employed in preference to the European, for in the building trade he had found him a better worker. In the Cape Province the coloured and Malay workmen have long since proved themselves dangerous rivals to the European.

These repressive measures, then, must be regarded as an attempt to safeguard the European from a rivalry which he is finding dangerous to his domination. That his domination has brought peace and prosperity to the African peoples is likely to be forgotten in the struggle that must ensue in the immediate future. The European possesses the key to the situation, but he does not know how to use it. To err on the side of generosity would be to offer the Europeans up on the altar of self-abnegation, and at the same time destroy all the undoubted benefits in which the native has participated since the coming of the white man to South Africa. To err, as the Government now appears to be erring, on the side of repression is to antagonise nearly six millions of people, who, while they are of different tribes, are nevertheless all common sufferers under the disability of the one characteristic they possess in common—a black skin. It is plain that inter-tribal rivalry will be the note struck and encouraged by Europeans in their future efforts to keep the African peoples divided, and prevent them from presenting a united front.

that cannot be broken by those that hold power. The curse of disunion, which has hitherto dogged India's fate and prevented her from becoming a national entity, will, in miniature, be employed in this country to keep the native peoples subject to a domination far more sweeping and destructive, and equally galling, whether or not it is necessary, as the domination of England in India.

For long the women of South Africa have eagerly awaited the day when they should be accepted as the political equals of men. To those who give the matter earnest thought, the gift, if it is a gift to concede to the rightful owner what has been withheld arbitrarily for many years, has turned to ashes in the giving; and they are ashes that sear the conscience.

It is a vital move in an ugly and dangerous game.

HAMSL.

REFER IT TO THE LEAGUE.

THE present political situation in India is causing grave concern to all who have the interests of India at heart. The history of struggles for freedom, is replete with blood-stained deeds and mangled limbs. It has been left to the apostle of non-violence to try to achieve the goal through a non-violent method which implies greater suffering under positively provocative circumstances. As irony would have it history does rarely record two such souls as Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin posted in opposite camps, each striving for the good of India. Between the Mahatma's non-violent struggle for Indian's freedom and the vindictively repressive measures of the bureaucracy, who are falling back upon Press Ordinance and century-old Regulations to arrest and gag the foremost citizens of this land, India is being ground down. Is there a way out?

At such an hour of acute political unrest is it not worth our while to refer this question to that world-centre, Geneva? India is one of the "Original Signatories" to the League Covenant. That veteran publicist, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, has already pointed out this way; Mr. Arthur Davies, the retired Principal of the Madras Law College, wrote approving of it in a leading article in the "*XIX Century and After*" (January); the Editor of the *Modern Review* has again adverted to it.

The Indian question, put unequivocally, is the struggle of more than 300 million people to win freedom from alien rule. There is singular unanimity among all parties that if the London Round Table Conference will concern itself with the immediate grant of Dominion Status, it is quite probable that the Indian National Congress under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi would consider an invitation to that Conference very favourably. The peace of India, an original member of the League of Nations, is as much the concern of Great Britain as it is of the whole civilized world.

The relevant article in this connection is Art. XI—a part of the "heart of the covenant"—which runs as follows:—

"Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency shall arise, the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council."

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance, whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

In a widely circulated commentary on this article one reads:—"The action of the League need not however be deferred till a crisis has become so acute that war is in sight, for it is the friendly right of any member to draw the attention of the Assembly or the Council under circumstances threatening to disturb international peace or good understanding between nations." (vide. *The Covenant Explained*, League of Nations Union, London. p. 14). Fundamentally, "any threat of war, whatever nation was concerned, was declared a concern of the whole League." (Basset: *League of Nations*. p. 16). Surely, under both divisions of Art. XI, it is open to a friendly foreign Power to draw the attention of the Assembly or the Council to the state of the struggle in India. Vigorous and well-informed propaganda in foreign countries can alone bring about such a consummation. Though the fight for freedom is to go on in our country, there is always a distinct moral advantage in keeping disinterested foreign countries, as Japan and France as also the people of Great Britain, accurately informed of the nature and progress of the struggle.

It has, however, to be borne in mind that the "League is in reality governed not from its seat but from and by the ministers and parliaments of the States members of the League." (Rappard. *International Relations viewed from Geneva*. p. 161.) Further, a legitimate charge has been levelled at the League that it "has been partial to the victors of 1918 and this seems to be true to a certain degree." (Potter. *The World of Nations*. p. 315.)

An effective way of testing the efficacy of that widely advertised body at Geneva is to find out if the League will *function* in a threatened state of continued peacelessness among members. A decade's trial of the League should enthuse the foreign friends of India to try this "*League method*" of solving the momentous Indian problem. Granting the determination to find out a peaceful and honourable solution of the grave crisis in Indo-British relations, the *League Solution* will commend itself to many foreign friends of India.

K. R. R. SASTRY.

SATYAGRAHA AND SWARAJ IN HAITI.

IN the May number of the *World Tomorrow* Miss Helena H. Weed describes the work of the Forbes Commission sent out by President Hoover to devise a plan for ending the occupation of Haiti by the United States of America and pleads for the establishment of self-government in that State. Describing the condition of things on the eve of the appointment of the Commission, Miss Helena Weed says: "The long history of political violence, racial abuse, and economic and financial exploitation had produced such a national state of mind that the Haitian people were ready to be shot down by machine guns in an unarmed revolt rather than longer submit to their national degradation." So Haiti has apparently forestalled India in resisting foreign occupation by satyagraha! Realizing the acute tension, the Commission formulated plans for the immediate popular election of the National Chambers in order to elect the new president and President Hoover has approved them. The Commission has thrown overboard the myth that the intervention of U. S. was justified by international law; it has further urged the prompt preparation of a new treaty in place of the Treaty of 1916 which was extorted from Haiti by force. Owing to the unpopularity of General Russel, who is at present High Commissioner, the Haitians resent his retention during the period of readjustment, which is recommended by the Commission. The Commission has admitted and indirectly denounced the military violence and political immorality that characterized his administration as High Commissioner. The charges of the Haitians against U. S. are that the latter has alienated the soil to foreigners; ruled the country by a cruel enforcement of martial law, and filled the services with highly paid American experts, to the exclusion of the sons of the soil from profitable employment, and, in addition, denied them the opportunities to acquire experience in the art of government. These charges are borne out by the Commission in its report.

According to Miss Helena Weed, the historical evidence seems to lay the responsibility for the American occupation at the doors of the National City Bank which, through its interest in the National Railroad of Haiti and the National Bank which was authorised to handle the loan of \$40,000,000 under American control, had outlined a plan for the control of Haiti and invited the American Occupation. The complaint of the Haitians is that the Financial Adviser under the Occupation was using the 5% of the revenues allowed him under the Treaty for paying extravagant salaries to Americans and refused employment to Haitians, except in the lower grades. The Commission proposes that in future the U. S. should pay the salaries of the American employees in Haiti and should regard the 5% grant as a maximum and not as a flat allowance. The Commission admits the steady encroachments made on Haitian sovereignty through the office of the Financial Adviser, which has led to 60% of the revenues being spent under American supervision—a situation never contemplated by the Treaty of 1916, but brought about

by understandings with the puppet Government of Haiti. The Haitians join in the praise accorded by the Commission to the Navy doctors for the magnificent work done by them in stamping out disease and creating new public health standards. The Commission find that no effective measures have been taken to train the Haitians to take over the police service and they recommend the prompt promotion of capable Haitians to positions of command in the service. The Commission does not give very high praise to road-building which has been the great boast of the Occupation.

In the opinion of the Haitians, the economic development of the country through the alienation of the soil to foreign agricultural exploiters and the consequent expulsion of the peasants from their own land, has been the greatest crime of the Occupation. Many of the peasants have become vagrant labourers and many have emigrated. The Commission recommends the incorporation in the new constitution of prohibition against foreign ownership of land, provided the rights already acquired are respected. The Haitians demand that no further leases or concessions should be permitted during the transition period. In view of the present domination of the judiciary by the puppet Government, the Commission recommends the restoration of the independence of the courts by the removal of the interference of the President of Haiti. Illegal encroachments have been made on the Haitian control of the educational system and ideals and they have been accompanied by racial indignities which have intensified the bitterness of the inhabitants. As a matter of fact, prior to the Occupation the Haitians had already developed an educational system which produced a degree of national literacy exceeding that of many Central American and some European countries. Probably 10 per cent of the peasants and 40 per cent of the urban population were literate at the time of the American intervention. In place of the old system, the Occupation set up a system designed to turn the educated classes into labourers for foreign profits. While Haitian school-teachers were paid from \$4 to \$6 per month, American "experts" were paid from \$350 a month to teach students how to manage large plantations. Since the return of the Commission the head of the Technical Service manned by these experts has been recalled and its dissolution is under way.

Miss Helena Weed then describes the racial antagonism which has permeated every phase of the Occupation. Americans have scorned all social contacts with Haitians except necessary official courtesies. All Haitian social clubs were closed because their members talked politics. The Commission definitely says, "the failure of the Occupation to understand the social problem, its brusque attempt to plant democracy there by drill and harrow... explain why our high hopes of good work in this land have not been realized." Haitians believe that such military terrorism, political immorality and civil oppression as that practised by the Americans had never been witnessed in the worst days before American Occupation. The Americans, they complain, had taught Haiti little but the methods of imposing governmental oppression

and economic spoliation. Miss Helena Weed thinks that if the main recommendations of the Commission—end of occupation, re-establishment of a free constitutional government and making new treaty agreements—are faithfully carried out, then a new era will truly begin. Failure would imperil all the Pan-American relations of U. S. for generations to come. Who can deny that the situation in Haiti offers remarkable parallels to that in India today?

V. N. G.

Reviews.

LABOUR IN AMERICA.

AN AUSTRALIAN LOOKS AT AMERICA.
By HUGH GRANT ADAM. (Allen and Unwin.)
1928. 20cm. 118p.

IN this delightfully written book the author, who as a representative of a group of Australian newspapers recently accompanied an official Australian Industrial Mission to America to study industrial conditions there, tells in his own frank, inimitable way of what he saw and what he thought of what he saw. And, of course, any one who knows anything at all about the mentality, methods and condition of the workers in the two countries knows that there could not possibly be a greater contrast. Australia is a highly democratised country where strikes and class warfare are the order of the day, where labour and politics are practically one and the same, and where Labour often rules; while America is a land where capitalism has reached its highest peak of perfection, where cooperation with employers and not class warfare predominates and where politics and trade unionism are kept apart.

When, therefore, a *pukka* Australian Trade Unionist like Mr. Adam appears to be, looks at America you get an interesting picture and striking contrasts. Something of the mentality of the two countries is revealed in the second chapter of this book headed, "Kow-Towing Unionists." It comes out most clearly in a conversation which Mr. Adam had with the president of a labour council in a typical industrial city of the West with regard to the conditions in a sweet-and-biscuit factory where girls work standing for nine hours a day, "feeding machines running at such a speed that a pause of five seconds would throw them out of production." Here is an extract from that conversation:—

"Do you consider these conditions good?"

"No, we do not."

"Has your organisation ever tried to get them improved?"

"Our organisation is always trying to improve conditions."

"How?"

"By getting into conference with the employer and discussing grievances."

"Suppose the employer will not come into conference, or, having heard your grievances, goes his own way?"

"Then we can do no more."

"Don't you ever fight him?"

"We fight with our heads, not with our hands."

"What does that mean?"

"It means we do not foment strikes. We do not believe in them. We get what we can through negotiation."

"And if that amounts to nothing?"

"Who determines the piece rates in the factory?"

"The employer."

"Do you think that altogether fair?"

"Certainly. They are the people who have to pay them."

"What if a girl working under the rates determined cannot make the minimum wage of 55 shillings a week which your State law says she must be paid?"

"Then she gets fired."

"And you think that fair?"

"Certainly."

"And are the employers themselves the sole judges of the standard of efficiency?"

"They are."

"At that I let him go. Afterwards I saw him at the luncheon given to the Industrial Mission by the local Chamber of Commerce and found that he was not there by invitation, but that he was himself a full member of the Chamber by right of his office as President of the Labour Council."

Mr. Adam also has a cut at craft unionism in America which he describes as "undemocratic." "Unionism in America" he says on page 10, "is not a political creed or a social movement; it is the grouping of workers in different trades to obtain practical advantages for their own trade; but no group is anxious that its advantages should be extended to the others. Cheap labour helps to pay the wages of dear labour. If there were too many unionists in America high wages would have to come down as low wages went up."

But on the whole this jibe at American Trade Unionism is unfair. It is true, of course, that trade unionism under the Stars and Stripes began among the aristocracy of labour—"one hundred per cent pure American"—and that for many years, being on a craft basis, it ignored the "bottom dog", but in late years the "America Federation of Labour", the premier labour organisation in the country, has broadened out enormously and only this year has conducted a successful campaign among the poorly-paid mill workers of the South. Its doors are also open to the Negro and the "coloured" worker for whom it has always put up a good fight.

Concerning the American way of dealing with education, especially vocational training, at Milwaukee in the State of Wisconsin, Mr. Adam goes to the other extreme in his admiration and praise. The story he tells is a really remarkable one. Here is the gist of it. Sixteen years ago a law was passed in the above State making it compulsory on all children up to the age of fourteen to attend school, and upon those between the ages of fourteen and eighteen to attend a vocational school one full day a week. This vocational school is at Milwaukee and is directed by Dr. R. L. Cooley, who has been in charge since the school was started by him nearly 16 years ago. He is given a free hand by the State and his first thought when he tackled the job, as he himself says, "was to keep this thing clear of two classes of people who would dearly like to have a finger in the pie—politicians and pedagogues."

And he has done it. The directorate of the School consists of two working journeymen and two businessmen who are large employers of labour, with a superintendent of schools thrown in in case of a casting vote, which, however, has not yet been

necessary. The school is financed by a State law which gives the School a claim upon a fixed proportion of the city revenue. Within that limit whatever the directors ask for they get. Last year they demanded and received £200,000. There are 250 permanent teachers on the staff of this one school. In the city itself there are 98,000 children under fourteen (out of a population of 500,000) attending the primary school and 12,500 under eighteen attending high schools, with a total of about 12,800 attending the vocational school one day a week.

A peculiarity about the School is that there is no fixed curriculum. What the School does is to teach a boy or a girl all it can about the particular job he or she is already in or wished go to. It does not matter what the job is. A new job sometimes means a new teacher for that job. But that is not all. Care is taken to find out what the vocation can lead to at the best and then everything is done to help the aspirant to get there. Everything is free to all. Those between the ages of 14 to 18 have to attend, but after that age anyone can attend if and when he pleases, with the result that night classes are as big as day classes. And as to the general results, Dr. Cooley proudly affirms: "Our boys and girls are far away ahead of their jobs in the factories and the shops long before they are through with their apprenticeship."

There is certainly much in this chapter alone that should be of great interest to social reformers in India, for this vocational school is undoubtedly unique amongst the educational institutions of the world.

One of the rather challenging conclusions arrived at by Mr. Adam is that wages in America, when judged by Australian standards, are not high. Indeed, he affirms that "the average Australian worker is better off than the average American worker." He arrives at this conclusion from the following, amongst other, considerations: (1) In all mass-production plants in America (and in many others) the proportion of unskilled labour is 90 per cent and skilled 10 per cent only; (2) The average wage of the unskilled male worker is about £. 6 per week; (3) These workers get no pay for public holidays or for broken time and long imposed periods of idleness which are common. "While I was in America" says Mr. Adam "the Ford plant was practically on half time"; (4) The cost of living in America is high; "£. 6 a week," he states, "goes about as far as £. 4 would in Australia."

Mr. Adam makes it clear that the real factor of mass-production is machinery. "The inventor, the designer of the machine, is the maker of industrial America. When he has put the machine in place, it becomes the god of the factory, tireless, inexorable, whom all must serve." He makes it clear also that this machinery reduces the initiative and level of the worker, turns him into a mere "unskilled" automaton, and thus automatically increases the supply of labour on the one hand and the power of the capitalist on the other. Huge profits come from the machine but the man is still a necessary instrument in production.

Closely related to mass-production and high cost of living is the question of an effective market for the goods produced. Mass-production can only be a paying proposition when it is balanced by mass-consumption. Unless this is so, the point is soon reached when the cost of a labour-saving machine exceeds the cost of the labour that it serves. And as each country is now trying to manufacture for itself instead of getting its finished products from abroad, it means first and foremost the development of home markets. And this in its turn comes back to the workers, for the workers in America, as in every other country,

constitute the most promising and reliable market. The greater their purchasing power the greater the demand for goods.

And so it is that the worker is persuaded by skilled salesmanship and scientific advertising to live well and to buy on credit. High wages tempt him to do this. According to Mr. Adam, American workers have bought from American manufacturers £1,200,000,000 worth of goods on credit. This indebtedness, which rests on the security of a decent wage only, presents another little problem. Dr. Cooley estimates that 80 per cent of the middle class homes in America would be found to be insolvent, if there were a sudden foreclosing.

And so we have the ever-widening vicious circle of mass-production and mass-consumption, high wages and high cost of living. All this and much more is touched upon in the book.

The author has also a good deal to say about company unions and welfare work carried on by employers, a system which is fairly wide-spread in America and which comes in for a real Australian trouncing. "I think", concludes Mr. Adam, "the most striking thing about labour in America is that it has become the slave of the paymaster."

The book deserves to be widely read.

EARNEST KIRK.

SEX MATTERS.

THE MAN A WOMAN MARRIES. By VICTOR COX PEDERSEN. (Jarrolds, London.) 20cm. 285p. 6/-.

A PRETENTIOUS sort of book, ostensibly written in order to give much-needed information to men who marry, but in reality, an attack upon modern ideas advocated by writers like Judge Lindsey and Bertrand Russell. The same author has apparently written another volume of the same kind, entitled "The Woman A Man Marries".

The author's whole thesis is that monogamous marriage is the highest form of sex relations, all other forms having been previously tried at lower stages of civilisation and rejected as worthless. The same kind of argument may be used by an American in support of Republicanism or by an Englishman for Limited Monarchy. The superiority of monogamous marriage over other forms has been dogmatically asserted *ad nauseam* throughout the book, with such other supplementary dogmas as may be required to bolster it up. Of course, the author is very much against divorce, birth control and other modern inventions to make marriage happier.

The author contends that a monogamous union "gives the freest choice of mate." It does nothing of the kind, and even in countries where love-marriages are supposed to be the rule, it is nothing better than a lottery. As Bertrand Russell says, you do not buy a house without inspecting every nook and corner, and you can get rid of it if you want to, but you choose a life-partner whose suitability you are not allowed to test before you sign an agreement to stick to him or her for life. Even genuine love for each other cannot be guaranteed to last for life, nor does it ensure sexual compatibility, the greatest factor of happiness in married life. The author's recipes for happy marriages are amusing. He tells the man, for instance, that "to his sound reasoning must be added fair judgment and firm decision to avoid discord." What is the use of the sound reasoning in case of a difference of opinion, if the firm decision is to be adhered to?

He apparently believes that God provides for any children that may come, and then lays down

that self-control is the best method of birth-control? Why bother about birth-control at all if God is there to look after everything? The method of self-control is utterly inadequate. It assumes that the power of control in every individual is greater than the sexual urge, as baseless an assumption as ever was made. He quotes religious, and unscientific writers like Sutherland, the notorious opponent of Marie Stopes, and repeats that birth-control appliances are harmful. This either means ignorance of modern methods or a firm determination not to admit the truth as certified to by large majorities of medical authorities in England and elsewhere.

The author prefers big families to small, because "the struggles of the family give courage, fortitude, resourcefulness in contrast with selfishness in a limited family." In the same way, poverty may be preferred to wealth, disease to good health, slavery to independence, and misery to happiness! One can only smile at the air of superiority of a man who is capable of this kind of argument.

In speaking of venereal diseases, he forgets that it is the germs which cause the diseases and that no amount of so-called immorality can produce them if the germs are not there. He calls them immoral diseases and then complains that patients prefer self-treatment to professional care. It is precisely doctors of his type whose contemptuous attitude scares away the patients. What guarantee is there that a doctor with this mentality will bestow the necessary care on "immoral" patients, even if he charged high fees? He does speak of prevention of diseases, but only very grudgingly and without mentioning definitely that chemical means of prevention are effective in the hands of careful people.

"Our own laws are developing around the proposition that sexual intercourse (being legalized and sanctified by wedlock only) is illegal and unsanctified in any other relation." No country has a law of this kind yet, but the author fondly hopes that the United States will be the pioneer in this matter. The country which bans Darwin's theory and calls birth-control literature obscene is obviously capable of any extravagance: but if laws of this kind are passed, there will soon be a revolution on bolshevik lines, and it will be richly deserved.

Writing on continence, he argues that as eunuchs keep fairly good health, continence can do no harm. He conveniently forgets that continence may not be a hardship to a eunuch, but to a normal man it is a great mental strain, which very often leads to bad health, as a doctor ought to know. He cites with approval the opinions of the British Social Hygiene Council (it has no official standing in spite of the name), whose representatives toured India at Government expense some years back and refused to discuss the prevention of venereal diseases even with the medical profession. Any statement on continence or anything else made by people of that kind is far from convincing, especially when world-famous, non-British doctors agree in considering continence harmful beyond a certain age. Science should have nothing to do with religious and moral dogmas. The author contends that, though other organs require normal functioning for maintaining health, sex organs alone are an exception and can do without it. It is contradicted by the best authorities who give instances of impotence through continence.

He is against the medical inspection of prostitutes as all professional moralists are. He says: "Medical inspection is nearly useless even if well done, because a woman immediately after having been pronounced clean may become infected and in-

oculate many men in a few hours." This is perfectly true, but is not a conclusive argument all the same as it neglects the fact that a prostitute found to have disease is removed to a hospital and so prevented from spreading disease as she would otherwise have done. This is all that is claimed for medical inspection and the advantage cannot be denied.

Apologists of orthodoxy pretend that modern writers advocate "promiscuity" and then proceed to demolish them. Anybody who does advocate promiscuity must be insane. The thing is not possible where rights of individuals are recognized. What the most advanced writers advocate is free love, which is far different. It presupposes the consent of both parties, which utterly excludes promiscuity. When two people choose each other, it is called promiscuity. "Promiscuous" means "indiscriminate", while choice is discrimination. Sex reformers claim that intercourse is a private affair and does not concern society where there is no question either of children or of disease. Man, and especially woman, is a fastidious animal and not likely to submit to anything like promiscuity in the sense attributed by morality-mongers. To speak of promiscuity in this matter is to replace argument by abuse.

As far as any useful and practical information is concerned, much better books are available which give precise and minute details instead of the vague remarks contained in the book under review.

R. D. KARVE.

ECONOMICS.

ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS. (3rd Edn.) By S. EVELYN THOMAS. (The Gregg Publishing Co.) 1927. 23cm. 683p. 1q/6.

THERE are numerous text-books dealing with Economic Theory and it is by no means an easy task to pick and choose from them. The book under review is a post-war publication, and the fact that it has already gone through three editions testifies to its growing popularity with the class of students for whom it is meant. As the author remarks in his preface, "the object of the book is to present the elementary principles of Economic Science in as clear and interesting a manner as possible. Every attempt has been made to meet the needs of students working for the various professional examinations for which a knowledge of Economics is required." We have no hesitation in saying that the author has met with a large measure of success in realising his object. He has avoided the purely abstruse intricacies of the subject and its many controversial issues and has placed before his reader a concise and well-drawn picture of the fundamentals of Political Economy. Special effort has been made to indicate the intimate relation between economic theory and practical affairs though at the same time the author candidly admitted the limitations of the former in offering complete guidance in the solution of practical problems and the settlement of policy.

It is hardly necessary specifically to mention the various topics dealt with in the volume before us. It is a full-dress text-book on Economics and, in addition to the usual departments of Political Economy—Consumption, Production, Exchange and Distribution of Wealth; the Mechanism of Exchange and the Economics of Government—includes two interesting and valuable chapters on the Industrial Revolution and the development of Economic Theory. The treatment of the department of Consumption of Wealth is fuller than is usually found in most text-books on Economics. The sections dealing with the control of Industry—the London Money Market, credit cycles and National and Municipal borrowing—are

particularly well-written and reveal some new points of view. Though the author is modest enough to say he "makes no pretence of attempting the difficult task of adding to the sum total of the science of Economics at the present stage of its development," we find that his presentation of the subject matter is in several places on new lines. The book places before the reader the many post-war economic problems, especially relating to industrial organization, international currency and trade, which have loomed large before the public in recent years. A perusal of the book shows that the author has taken great pains to make it as up-to-date as possible.

Another special feature of the book under review is the inclusion of a number of tables and graphs which serve a very useful purpose in elucidating difficult problems of economic theory, such as marginal utility, consumer's surplus, value, laws of diminishing, constant and increasing returns, etc.

We hope that the book will soon win for itself a prominent place in college and university circles in India and will go a long way in solving the difficulty of teachers as well as students in finding a suitable text-book on Economics which is at once simple as well as comprehensive. We also strongly commend the book to the attention of all those who desire to obtain a clear idea of the many pressing problems of economic life which confront the world today and in whose proper solution, India, in common with the rest of the civilized world, is keenly interested.

S. G. BERL.

Miscellaneous.

THE GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

ON the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Servants of India Society, which falls due today, it has been decided to open at the Headquarters of the Society at Poona an Institute of Politics and Economics. One of the main aims of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale in founding the Society was to provide for a thorough study of the political and economic problems of India. Mr. Gokhale was at great pains to get together a well-equipped Library which has been kept abreast of the times by regular additions subsequently. It has all along been felt that the utility of the Library would be greatly enhanced, the general work of the Society largely helped and the aims of the founder of the Society more fully realised, if some whole-time academic workers could be associated with the Society for the detailed and continuous study of India's political and economic problems. The realisation of this wish has been made possible by a munificent donation of over a lakh of rupees to the Society by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C., of Satara, to form the corpus of a fund, the interest of which, amounting to nearly Rs. 6,000, is to be used for the purpose of employing whole-time research workers. This will enable the Society to secure the services of one or two such workers and a nucleus will thus be formed of an institution which, with the

help of other donors, may in the future develop into a full-fledged Institute of Politics and Economics. Principal D. R. Gadgil, M. A., M. Litt. (Cantab), of the Surat College is leaving his post there to take up this work in Poona and he will be the first whole-time worker at the Institute. An application for recognition of the Institute has already been made to the Bombay University and if it is granted, it will be possible to provide in the Institute a centre for post-graduate instruction and training in research also.

As the scheme fulfils an object which the founder of the Society, the late Mr. Gokhale, had so much at heart it has been decided to name the Institute after him.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- RELIGION, COLONISING AND TRADE. THE DRIVING FORCES OF THE OLD EMPIRE. By SIR CHARLES LUCAS. (Society for Promoting Christian knowledge.) 1930. 20cm. 84p. 3/6.
- CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. (4th Edn.) By E. ROY CALVERT. (Putnam, London.) 20cm. 210p. 5/-.
- THE SUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH. By DWIGHT GODDARD. (Luzac.) 1930. 20cm. 210p. 4/-.
- THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES AND TENDENCIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. (N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co., Calcutta) 1926. 19cm. 322p. Rs. 3.

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Some of the Articles that have already appeared.

Concerning the Title "The Aryan Path"—Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

Pseudo Mysticism and Modern Science—John Middleton Murry.

The Constructive Side of Buddhism—M. G. Mori.
Intellectual Integrity—C. E. M. Joad.

Some of the Contents of June & July Numbers

The Indian Conception of God—Prof. Stein Konow.

Will West Meet East?—Dr. Paul E. Johnson.

On Exorcising Evil—J. D. Beresford.

Democracy and Culture—Dr. L. P. Jacks, (Editor: *Hibbert Journal*)

Is A New Religion Emerging?—D. L. Murray.

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