

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

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Topics of the Week.

The Liberal Leaders' Warning.

THE Liberal leaders have once again warned both the irreconcilables of the Congress and the Government with its phalanx of diehards of the dangers of the present conflict. The most serious warning conveyed to the latter was the one given by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a statement to the press he issued a few days ago. He has made it clear that no big country like India with the irrepressible self-consciousness which has arisen can be ruled for long on the basis of the supercession of the civil authority and expressed his conviction that the aftermath of a policy like the one followed by the Government of India at present is bound to be disastrous. Referring to the recent debate in the Lords, in which it was solemnly affirmed by one noble Lord that no pledges have been given by the British Sovereign and Parliament to India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru says it betrays a mentality which augurs ill for the future. Finally he has given it as his deliberate opinion that the time for half-measures or mere gestures has gone by and that nothing short of Dominion Status with temporary safeguards will meet the situation. In another statement issued last Saturday jointly by Sir Chimantlal Setalvad and Sir Cowasji Jehangir an

appeal has been made to the leaders of the civil disobedience movement to call it off on account of the grave economic loss resulting from it if continued for long. The signatories believe that "behind undisciplined lawlessness there is a strong flowing stream of national aspiration which will not be checked by mere repression and force." Referring to the puzzle of the commercial classes joining the civil disobedience movement, the statement says that it is because these classes have begun to despair of getting fair treatment under the present system of administration. The two Liberal leaders believe that the situation will be very much eased if once the people are convinced of the good faith and sincerity of the intentions of the British Government to make India a Dominion at the earliest possible moment. They condemn the first part of the Simon Report and feel sceptical about the final recommendations being of a character to satisfy Indian opinion. Pointing to the paralysis of trade and commerce as a result of a mass movement to destroy the existing Government they think it is time to cry halt and utilize the energy to bring about an agreement among the various political interests so as to present a united demand at the R. T. Conference. At the same time they suggest to the Government the granting of a general amnesty to all political prisoners in case the civil disobedience movement is called off. We earnestly hope that the appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

Incredible if true.

IN the last issue of *Young India* Mirabai alis Miss Slade writes a distressing tale of the excesses alleged against the police. No head so cool, no heart so callous but must be stirred to indignation and pity by the tale, if only a part of it was true. She sums up her charge as follows: *lathi* blows on head, chest, stomach and joints, thrusting *lathis* in private parts, abdominal regions and into the anus; pressing and squeezing testicles till a man becomes unconscious; dragging of wounded men by the legs and arms and throwing them into thorn hedges and into salt water; riding horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground, thrusting pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious, and beating them after they had become unconscious, besides hurting the most sacred feelings of the satyagrahis by the use of foul and vile language. It is rather a formidable and ugly

indictment. Even if allowance were made for the rough methods and crude psychology of the average policemen even when controlled by I. C. S. officers on the spot, whose own tempers were sorely tried, what are we to say of magistrates sitting in their courts coolly and deliberately sentencing young boys to rigorous imprisonments for trivial offences? The *Hindu* of Madras reports that at Bhimavaram a boy aged 12 was arrested and sentenced to two years' stay in the reformatory school for cutting palmyra spathes! Another Congress volunteer was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for a similar offence, the cutting of the spathes of palmyra trees!

While we indignantly resent these disgusting actions of the Government and their agents, we cannot conceal our very strong disapproval of the action of the Congress in exposing innocent and excitable young men to such brutalities and indignities. It is positively criminal to exploit the zeal, enthusiasm and idealism of youth only to subject them to such wanton suffering.

* * *

Mysore.

IN his lucid and interesting speech to the new session of the Mysore Representative Assembly, the Dewan, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, took legitimate credit for balancing the State's budget without extra taxation and without curtailing expenditure on beneficent development schemes, notwithstanding trade depression all round and fresh taxation abroad. He recognised, however, that this good luck might not serve him long and expenditure was bound to grow, and fresh sources of revenue would need to be sought out. Unwilling to cry a halt to beneficent expenditure and to equally unwilling to contemplate fresh taxation, he casts his longing eye on the remission of the subsidy that Mysore pays to the Government of India, part of which has already been remitted a few years ago. In doing so Mysore is adopting the attitude that the British Indian Provinces adopted since the Montford Reforms until the provincial contributions were remitted completely the other day. Delay in such matters is rather demoralising.

With legitimate pride the Dewan referred to the industrial romance of Mysore: the initiation of modern industrial ventures years ago in the face of doubts and discouragements and the subsequent steady development of these concerns, adding to the wealth and prosperity and comfort of the people. Prominent among these are the Gold Fields in Kolar, the Cauvery Power Scheme and the stupendous irrigation works and the Iron Works. The last is still a source of concern, for in spite of writing down of capital, it has not yet paid its way. So keen is the Dewan on the development of swadeshi in the State that from the Presidential Chair of the Assembly he drew attention to and advertised samples of Mysore silk fabrics! Another welcome development which he foreshadowed is the extension and designing of roads fit for motor traffic and the control of motor bus traffic, both with reference to efficiency, safety and regularity of service. Perhaps Mysore will lead the way in organising a State-owned and State-controlled motor bus service, even like the railways.

The Excise policy of the Government of Mysore is very disappointing and disheartening. "While it has been the constant endeavour of the Government," said the Dewan, "to support reasonable proposals for combating the drink evil, we cannot be blind to the fact that total Prohibition is an ideal not yet in sight." In Mysore we have a State ruled by perhaps the most

enlightened and pious Hindu Prince in India, its Muslim Dewan is among the most zealous patriots of India, and the people of the State are by religious tradition and by considerations of public weal, ardent prohibitionists. And yet, the Government talks of Prohibition as a distant ideal.

Mysore is the testing ground for Indian statesmanship. Its people are not behind their compatriots in British India in education and culture; its Government is on a par with British administration in efficiency and in ensuring the reign of law; and there is fortunately absent in that State that racial, cultural and economic conflict which has been made to account for all the ills in British India. The administration is entirely in the hands of Indians and enlightened Indians at that. Nevertheless, Mysore is content to lag behind British India. It is now for the first time that women entered the Representative Assembly, nearly a decade after women's emancipation in India, particularly Madras, its next door neighbour. In constitutional development Mysore is far behind British India. Every circumstance in Mysore is in favour of that enlightened State giving a lead to British India in constitutional development. As it is, Mysore is a handicap to the political advance of British India.

* * *

The United States of Europe.

M. BRIAND'S memorandum on the organization of the Federal Union of Europe which has been published recently is a vigorous and well-sustained plea for the establishment of a sort of federal bond among European states. The memorandum is submitted in response to an invitation from Geneva to specify the exact proposals for the political and economic unity of Europe which M. Briand adumbrated in the League of Nations in September. M. Briand diagnoses the ills of Europe correctly when he says that the present lack of coordination restricts the possibilities of economic expansion and the opportunities for increasing industrial production. He emphasizes, however, that the European co-ordination is not intended to oppose any national group in other continents and gives the needed assurance that his proposals do not compromise the political independence of the constituent states in Europe. His first suggestion is for a formula whereby the signatory governments should undertake to make contact with each other by periodic meetings in order to examine the questions of political interest to the community of the European peoples. A representative body to be known as the 'European Conference' will be the supreme directing body of the European Federation, the Presidency of the Conference going to each State in rotation for one year; a permanent political Committee will be formed to act as an executive body which should meet concurrently with the Council of the League of Nations. With regard to the important item of tariff M. Briand suggests that the constituent states should take the initiative in explaining their tariff policies so that the Conference may unify them in order to evolve a common policy. Now that the acute problems resulting from the War have been nearly settled, M. Briand thinks that Europe is now best prepared for a positive effort tending towards a new order intended to establish lasting peace and goodwill. The scheme in fact is based on moral suasion and appeal instead of compulsion of any sort and is in consonance with the activities of the League of Nations. Whatever carping critics might say, we feel that the scheme is full of immense potentialities for good and Europe cannot do worse than treat it with scant courtesy or reject it without mature consideration.

* * *

Articles.

THE RATIO CONTROVERSY IN INDIA.

IN a booklet just issued with the above title the author, Sir J. C. Koyajee, has given a lucid review of the controversy over the respective merits of the 16d and 18d ratios of exchange and shown conclusively that the criticisms levelled at the present statutory ratio by the bulk of the Indian commercial opinion are ill-directed and in the main baseless. Sir J. C. Koyajee at the outset explains the persistence of the controversy by showing that it derives its whole momentum from the inflationist aspirations behind it. He has quoted freely from the report of the Fowler Committee and that of the Herschell Committee to prove the untenable character of the contention that the 16d ratio is the natural ratio or the permanent ratio. The idea of an irrevocably fixed natural ratio under a Gold Exchange Standard has been proved to be wrong by Prof. Taussig. As for the argument that the exchange could have been fixed at 16d in 1923-24 Sir J. C. Koyajee has shown by referring to the world prices that the time was not ripe for the stabilisation of the rupee till 1926 owing to the currencies of the world having been in a state of flux and the prices and price-policies having been in an unsettled condition.

By a detailed analysis of the deflation of Indian currency during 1920-27 Sir J. C. Koyajee concludes that the total deflation was a mere *bagatelle* and could not have brought about the rise in exchange unaided by other powerful causes. He has justified deflation as being particularly necessary to offset the great inflation of the war-period in India and has shown that the deflation in India was remarkably moderate as compared with the drastic deflation in Great Britain and U. S. A. in the same period. The rise in the exchanges and the fall in prices in the world were due more to the equilibrium of the budgets than to monetary deflation. With regard to the deflation during the last three years, that is, the post-stabilisation period in India he has pointed out that in all the countries of the world a good deal of contraction of currency and credit has been found to be unavoidable in order to secure the adjustment of international prices. The discount rates are the best tests of the effects of deflation and these in India compare very favourably with those of the earlier years. Similarly the fact that Indian prices have not fallen to a greater extent than in other countries tells against the theory of excessive deflation.

One important issue in the ratio controversy is the adjustment of prices to the ratio. The main contention of the exponents of 16d is that the fall in prices in 1924-25 was not due to the rise in exchange but to the fall in world prices. This is contradicted by the record of prices which shows that American prices kept rising till March 1925 and that prices in England did the same. The fall of world prices began during the middle of 1925, that is several months

after the remarkable fall of prices in India, and could not be said to have influenced the latter. The comparative stability of Indian prices as contrasted with the fluctuations of prices in other countries from 1926 to 1929 is due to the moderate and gradual character of the Indian deflation and the policy of a free exchange followed upto the year 1925. The exceptionally smooth movement of prices in India with its slightly downward trend in correspondence with world prices would have been impossible if the 18d ratio had been ill-adjusted to local prices.

So far as the effects of the present ratio on the fortunes of agriculture is concerned, the author has shown that since 1923 prices of products have risen by one third while the commodities which the farmer has to buy have fallen considerably. Besides, the cooperative statistics of the years following 1923-24 belie the tale of the ruin of the agriculturists by the present ratio, showing, as they do, a steady increase of prosperity and resources. He makes an exhaustive analysis of the several factors of the foreign trade of India and conclusively proves that the statutory ratio has not been detrimental to the interests of India. The review of the trade of India for the last few years does not support the plea that the new ratio has kept back our exports. The fact that the general price-level both of imports and of exports has fallen by twenty-five points since 1925-26 is a sure indication, in his opinion, of a return to normalcy of the economic position in India. Again, it must be noted that the phenomenal increase in the volume of imports predicted by the exponents of the 16d ratio has not manifested itself. The phenomenal imports of gold in 1924-25 and the subsequent fall have been regarded as an argument adverse to the present ratio, but Sir J. C. Koyaji pertinently remarks that imports of gold are influenced by quite a number of causes, among which the exchange ratio occupies quite a minor place. As for the contention that a high exchange is favourable to imports, he affirms that it is not borne out by a study of the post-war balances of trade in Europe. All this is sufficient answer to the dicta of "Verity" (in our issue of May 22) that the agriculturist has lost heavily in the price of his products and that the appreciated rupee has given a bounty to imported goods. As a matter of fact, it is not merely the volume of imports that has attained its tallest record by 1928-29 but also that of exports.

Finally, discussing the effects of the ratio on industries Sir J. C. Koyajee shows that most of the industrial depression can be properly assigned to well-defined causes other than the ratio. Referring to the piece goods industry he points out that between 1923-24 and 1928-29 the output of Indian mills, other than Bombay mills, showed an increase of 60 per cent. If the ratio had been the cause of the decline of the cotton industry it would have shown itself all along the line instead of in a few isolated groups of piecegoods. The truth is that the depression in the textile industry is due to a multiplicity of factors which have little to do with exchange. One factor to which Mr. Hardy's report gives a promi-

nent place is Japanese competition. While Japan has shown superior organizing power, the Indian mills have been following antiquated methods. As for protection he thinks that it will raise the price of cloth in India and reduce the sales; the proper remedy is rationalisation all round. A reversion to 16d. ratio now will lead to a fresh epidemic of strikes owing to a general rise in prices. The rise in the bank rate during the last four years had nothing to do with the ratio but was a reflex of the monetary stringency in the world.

It is necessary here to refer to the arguments repeatedly brought forward by the exponents of the 16d. ratio. In our issue of May 15, "Verity" contended that "India had to deflate her currency to a larger extent than is justified by the world level of prices". The best answer to this is the close parallelism between prices in U. S. A. and the rupee prices of Calcutta: between December 1922 and May 1926 the former came down from 156 to 152 and in the same period the latter were brought from 176 to 150. If there had been excessive deflation Indian prices would have fallen to a lower index number than in other countries. In fact, the comparative stability of Indian prices from 1920 to 1928 has been patent to every observer and has been well brought out by Sir J. C. Koyajee in the table on page 47 of the booklet. "Verity" also refers to the favourable balance of Rs. 159 crores in 1925-26 and the decline of it to Rs. 79 crores in 1926-27. The fact is the year 1925-26 was a record one in which the balance of trade was far more than double the pre-war average and it is unfair to take that year as a normal one and a starting point for comparisons. Apart from that the credit for this remarkable balance of trade could not be assigned to the old ratio since during 1925-26 exchange had been stabilised naturally at 18d. just before it was stabilised at the same point by legislation. If the new ratio was so ruinous to the balance of trade it would be difficult to account for the increase of it to Rs. 86 crores in 1928-29 which, as the author admits, compares very favourably with the pre-war average of Rs. 78 crores.

Elsewhere in this issue "Verity" refers to England's egregious currency "folly" of 1925 to explain the loss of her financial supremacy in the world, meaning, of course, the restoration of the Gold Standard. In our opinion, far from being an egregious folly, the restoration was one of the wisest measures adopted by England which not only stopped the vagaries of the dollar-sterling exchange but made the way smooth for the general stabilisation of currencies and exchanges all over the world. Whatever may be the temporary setbacks, the adoption of the Gold Standard will be in the long run the surest guarantee of increased production and circulation of goods. It is again the only sure method of maintaining stable exchanges.

SOUTH AFRICA: LAND OF CONTRASTS.

THE DRAMA OF RACE CONFLICT.

SOUTH Africa is a land of great dramatic contrasts, some obvious, others hidden but not less real. An hour's journey from the languid sub-tropical Natal coast will bring the traveller into sharp mountain air. Rivers, dry to-day as a high road, will tomorrow be wild torrents, carrying rocks, trees, huts, and much good soil away to the sea. While Durban enjoys its winter "season" sea bathing and all outdoor pursuits in full swing, Cape Town is wrapped in the murk and chill of drizzling winter, and Johannesburg is bound with frost. But the most significant contrast of all: the people of South Africa have different skins; some white, some "black" and some the light brown of India.

These sharp contrasts appeal to all the visitors to South Africa whether in its more obvious or its more subtle aspects, but nothing is more interesting than the sharp contrast of time which this country affords: for there are places in South Africa, and none more than in Natal, where two widely divided ages lie together. Here it is possible to pass, almost in a moment, from the twentieth century into the beginning of the time of man.

It is possible, fortunately, to escape from most modern cities. Thus, one may leave London and in a little while be lost in the wooded hills of Buckinghamshire or the quiet fields of Kent. But it is not easy in Europe to pass in an hour from a modern city into a time when cities were not. Yet this can be done in Natal.

Durban is a modern town with all the latest and greatest achievements of civilization. Electric light, newspapers, aeroplanes, motor cars, wireless sets, shops with the latest Parisian frocks and the last banned novel, jazz bands, "talkies", churches and half a dozen new religions. Out of Durban to the North is the hard main road, twisting and turning among the hills, sweeping over the mountain ranges, climbing quickly to 3,000 feet. The tourist visiting South Africa, goes swiftly over that road. He notices the sharp mountain air, he casts an appreciative glance at a wild tangle of mountain and valley and in less than two hours is in Pietermaritzburg, just such another town as Durban. He left Durban after lunch and is in Maritzburg in good time for afternoon tea. He does not know that on that journey he came very near to the edge of his age: that at places this thing he knows as 'civilization' stretched no further than the side of the road he was on. Beyond that, and—nothing, but the early ages of man.

The interested traveller, not the tourist, sometimes stops half way on that journey from modern town to modern town. Here the road follows a long crest of mountain range at a height between two thousand and three thousand feet. From this height one looks down upon a great tangled stretch of country known locally as "The Valley of a Thousand Hills." And all this country, as far as the eye can see, is a native reserve. Land reserved

for the use of the South African native to be enjoyed after his own manner.

Looking down into this country it appears at first uninhabited. In the folds of the valleys are forest; on the exposed hill-tops, coarse grass and bush. There is no house to be seen and no road. No church spire points out of the distance, no telegraph wire cuts the space.

Leave your high road and plunge into this great sweep of country and you efface a thousand years; you swing back the magic lever of Mr. Wells' Time Machine.

For, into a South African Native Reserve civilization hardly penetrates at all. No white man may own land here, nor live, nor trade. There are no roads, no bridges, no houses as we know them, only round huts like the old bee hives made of grass. There are no newspapers, nor gramophones, nor furniture. Nor face powder, nor cigarette cards.

This country is not uninhabited as at first it appears. It is very full of people. On every hillside is a group of round grass huts, the Zulu Kraal; some kraals containing more huts than others according to the size of the family and number of wives of the headman.

The visitor who ventures into this country will soon discover a foot path worn by bare Zulu feet and following it come to a kraal. A miserable dog will yelp at his approach and the people crawl out through the holes that serve the huts for doors. The native people will not molest the white stranger nor greatly resent his intrusion. The children, naked and with tight round bellies, will stare, wide eyed. The head man, tall and proud standing, naked but for a nominal covering at his middle, will gravely question the visitor, in Zulu, as to his purpose. Whence does he come? Where is he going? What does he do? The women, wearing little but a loin cloth and decorative beads, will gather about the stranger, the mothers suckling their babies, and talking shrilly the while. If the traveller be tired he may be offered a drink of the native beer—Tchuala—a thin sour porridge made from the kaffir corn and drunk communally from the common black clay pot.

Near to the kraal the visitor will notice the small cultivated patch of ground growing a few mealies (maize) or kaffir corn (mabela) and a multitude of weeds.

Scratching around are a few poor bedraggled hens. Out on the hills the herd boys keep a watchful eye upon the cattle—poor stunted beasts. The cultivation is poor because the Zulu does not grow for the market—he grows only for his own need of maize and kaffir corn. His cattle is poor because cattle is not for use: it is the Zulu coinage and a poor lean cow is as much value as a good fat one, just as the dirty and crumpled pound note is worth as much as the fresh clean one.

On the path the visitor may encounter the witch-doctor upon his rounds, his person hung about with old skins, the tails, horns and claws of beasts, the emblems of his profession.

Our visitor scrambles back to the high road and

returns to civilization. He is tired for the African sun is hot, and the mountain paths are steep. Perhaps his clothes are torn, for the bushes are lavishly supplied with thorns. He will have a bath and a meal, over which he will relate his experiences naming them "awfully interesting" and the people "quaint" and on the morrow will buy "curios" from a shop.

But it is not only this contrast between the modern world and the primitive that Natal affords. Here (in spite of Mr. Kipling) East meets West, and in the very heart of Durban.

Were our visitor to saunter up our main business street, past shops exactly similar to those in any English or American town, and turn down a wide side street, he would find himself before proceeding many yards, in the Orient. No European faces in sight; all about him Indians, the Mohammedan in red Fez, the Hindu in white turban. A quick and alert people speaking a shrill brittle tongue, Tamil or Telugu. Over the shops he would see strange names: Jamenagar, Valabhdas, Hemraj. In the shop windows, strange food, decorated brassware, bright silks. Here rises the tower of a Mosque and is so near to the Catholic Cathedral in the next street that the strains of sung mass could be heard in the Mosque, the Muezzin called at sunset from the tower of the Mosque could be heard in the Cathedral. Hindu women, grave, statuesque, walk the streets in flowing sari, Mohammedan women keep purdah or go veiled.

Perhaps for a brief moment our visitor may glimpse behind the picturesque contrasts that are presented to his eyes and see something of the great drama of South African life; the unresolved conflict of races, the problems that taunt and defy South African statesmanship.

How shall the modern and the primitive, East and West, civilization and barbarism, live together in one land under one rule? When and how shall these different peoples come together into one citizenship? That is the problem of South Africa.

Statesmanship is baffled and perplexed. The problems are so many and so vast and they change their nature so quickly. Before a Bill is framed for presentation to Parliament the thing already is different. The white artisan cries out against the civilizing of the native and the creation of a competitor; the white missionary works assiduously for his education and advancement; the proud old Zulu declares the ways of his forefathers to be best and will have none of the white man's ways, his son is already knocking upon the doors of civilization asking admittance, claiming books and cultivated society. The white industrialists demand "unspoiled" (meaning cheap and docile) labour and the white storekeeper wants "civilized" natives who will buy his wares.

Although the Indian is here in the heart of Durban he is not of it. He is excluded from the interior of trams, from tea rooms, from concert halls and from nearly all European houses and activities, an exclusion in which he does not acquiesce. He has a quick mind and does not fail to remind the European that he has behind him an older civilization, that he

is a fellow member of the British Commonwealth. The European, while excluding the Indian, is uncomfortably conscious of being in his debt for many things: for the Natal Sugar Industry (Indians first came to South Africa as indentured labourers for the sugar fields), for market garden produce, and abundant fruit. And, thanks to the Indian community, two of the world's great personalities, Mahatma Gandhi and Srinivasa Sastri, have lived in South Africa and those who have known either the one or the other feel always afterwards a sense of indebtedness and gratitude.

When problems become involved and difficult the harassed public and bewildered politician alike seek refuge in the catch word or phrase. In South Africa to-day the catch word is "segregation" or the phrase "let the native (or Indian) work out his own destiny." What the phrase means no one attempts to say. In practice it means: exploit the native and do nothing, and this bears a close resemblance to the time honoured Manchester doctrine of "laissez-faire."

General Smuts taking a holiday from South African political life (and also from the sharp impact of inconvenient fact) delivered a Rhodes lecture at Oxford and expounded the doctrine of segregation (keeping natives to the native reserves; keeping the Indians... where?) In the quiet atmosphere of Oxford delicate fancy enwound him. He said "the reserves are adequate for the natives' present and future needs." A pleasant fantasy. But the facts, alas, are otherwise. The reserved areas are quite inadequate for the natives present, to say nothing of their future, needs, and already the natives, driven from the reserves for want of land, create a black smudge of slumdom about the margins of our proud towns.

Segregation is at best a temporary expedient. It is impossible for long to keep peoples apart. Civilization, be it blessing or curse, spreads swiftly. It penetrates into the remote places and soon they are changed. Already of the children of school age in the native reserve described above, nearly 20 per cent find their way by devious paths and long arduous journeys to this or that mission school and there learn to spell, to wear clothes, to use furniture, to scratch figures upon a slate. Already of the men in the kraals most, at some time or other, don a semblance of European clothing and seek work in the towns: as domestic servants in houses or hotels, as labourers in industry.

The action of the South African drama moves swiftly. To what end? General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, says: "Let us keep the native and the Indian under". General Smuts, leader of the opposition, says, "Let us keep them apart." But theirs are voices crying down the wind. Peoples to-day cannot be kept under or apart-

Here is the task waiting for South African statesmanship: to take all these threads of population, the many white threads from England, from Holland, and other countries of Europe, the black threads of Zulu, Basuto, and other Bantu tribes, the brown threads of the Indian, and the Malay, and weave them all into the fabric of the State.

MAURICE WEBB.

AN OFFER AT THE ROUND TABLE.

THE Secretary of State for India has recently been making a series of statements on Indian affairs, and several times he has repeated that Dominion Status is the goal of India. On analysing Mr. Benn's many speeches, one finds hardly anything new; it is the same old threats and cajolings alternately brought up in new and varied phraseology. The more Mr. Benn speaks on the old lines, the more suspicious the public become. It would be far better if the Secretary of State does not speak about Indian political advancement unless he has something new to say, as otherwise he stands a good chance of nobody caring to read what he says.

Great Britain is in the throes of an unprecedented trade and industrial depression. Her currency was put up to gold parity in 1925, as against the depreciated values of other continental currencies. The appreciation of the sterling has caused an increase in real wages in England, with the result that she is unable to compete with other countries in her export business. This appreciation of the pound was perhaps the greatest mistake committed by England in her recent financial history. The Lancashire textile trade, England's most important export industry is in the throes of a severe depression, which is bound to grow worse with India's firm determination to clothe herself in Indian-Made Goods or go about in tattered garments. The coal industry, which has been England's chief source of wealth, is dwindling, and Britain will not be able to produce her coal at anything like competitive prices, for all the Coal Schemes the Government might legislate about. The Iron and Steel industry which is closely bound up with the Coal, must follow the fate of Coal. England's shipping, which is her greatest line of invisible exports, is suffering from a fall in freight rates. Freights are now about $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of those ruling in 1913, whereas the cost of running ships is considerably higher than before the War. Germany has provided herself with a merchant fleet equal to her pre-war size. France and Italy, aided by their depreciated currencies, are competing for ocean freights more severely than before the War.

With Textiles, Coal, Iron and Shipping rapidly yielding ground, and with the egregious currency folly of 1925, how does England expect to keep her financial supremacy? How will she be able to keep up the dollar exchange? With the decrease in exports her adverse balance is bound to go worse. True, she has large investments abroad. But can she realize them to pay for her imports? And what will be the financial results of such realisation and how long will such methods be effective? Every drain of her foreign investments will make the problem more acute in that it brings the day nearer when she will have no foreign balances to fall back upon. A situation of great interest and one unprecedented in the annals of the financial history of the world has arisen. England's proud financial predominance of centuries is threatened. Her prosperity, unlike that of America and other countries, is based entirely on the capacity and willingness of foreign markets to

buy her goods, and is thus highly artificial. Her home markets are comparatively nothing to speak of.

The sterling-dollar exchange is drooping, and gold is leaving the Bank of England steadily. At one time her gold stock went down to £ 135 millions against the Cunliffe minimum of £ 150 millions. The Bank rate was raised to 6½ % to prevent any further drain. The Stock Exchange crash across the Atlantic enabled England to reduce her Bank rate by stages to 3 %. The drain of gold to France and U. S. A. was explained on the last occasion as being due to the efflux of capital to the New York Stock Exchange. This time there can be no explanation except that the export trade is languishing. The expedient of applying the money screw cannot avail in such a contingency. It will only bring the languishing export industries up to death's door, and they can then be kept alive only under oxygen. If the drain of gold goes beyond a certain point—where that point lies no one can say, and the drop from £ 175 to £ 135 millions in the Bank's stock of gold brought her, we should think, half way towards the danger point—there is sure to be an unprecedented financial crisis, and the Dollar Exchange will have to be dropped to take care of itself by putting an embargo on the export of gold. Things are tending in this direction. But will they go so far and will a situation arise when the English sterling currency will have to be watered down like some of the unhappy currencies after the War?

Indian investors in sterling securities are attracted by the higher yield they get on sterling, the saving of income-tax on such yield and the possibilities of capital profit in the event of a dropping of the exchange to 16d. But few of them seem to have given a thought to the possibilities of a breakdown in the English financial machinery. The point that Indian investors in sterling should bear in mind, is that *they are staking all on the continuance of the prosperity of the British export trade of Coal, Iron, Textiles and Shipping.*

Financial writers on England merely point out difficulties, but have not gone so far as to indicate a possible breakdown of sterling owing to the threatened ruin of her export industries. The poet has said:

"They that stand high have many blasts
to shake them,
And if they fall, they dash themselves
to pieces."

There are many blasts shaking England at the moment, and everyone of them a serious one.

With England's financial position difficult, anxious and unprecedented, what will be her attitude towards Indian aspirations? England has already lost or will soon lose her Indian market. The "Boycott British Goods" movement is gathering momentum, and will not die out. Indians can supply themselves with necessities as well as luxuries by confining themselves to non-British goods. What will be then Britain's advantage in holding India? She will be benefiting to the extent of the huge military expenditure, the bulk of which goes to England. But that is nothing compared to the loss of her trade with us.

Will England listen to a sound business proposition? India does not love France or Germany or America and her preference for the goods of these countries is purely as a means of bringing political pressure on her. If England gives India complete fiscal autonomy, i. e., India by her accredited representatives to have the right of levying her own taxes and expending them in the way approved by her people, India will be prepared to extend the hand of friendship to England and give preference to her goods over those of other countries. For instance, if we put an import duty, say of 50% on all foreign goods, we can agree to double that duty as against non-British goods. The hostility against Imperial preference is based on the fact that the indigenous industries have not been getting any protection against England. The moment India is able to protect her own industries against England, the agitation against Imperial preference will die, as India can have no objection to English goods as such. For a long time to come India will have to depend on a goodly proportion of foreign goods, especially machinery, and there is no reason why England should not *honestly* get the whole of this trade.

Such a provision could be incorporated in the new Act and be made a sort of long term undertaking. India will prosper, and England will share in her prosperity. Will England boldly appreciate the situation and make this offer at the Round Table? Any such offer will have to be made *honestly*, and it will have to be made clear that *complete fiscal autonomy* is what is offered to India against our preference for her goods.

VERITY.

THE WAY TO PEACE.

THE struggle now in progress in India between the forces of the Government and the Congress must cause anxiety to all. The course of movements like the one inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi cannot be predicted with any measure of certainty. And, as Mr. Wedgwood Benn himself has observed, repression is not a remedy for such movements. I am sure that the Government must realise that its resources for fighting a determined mass resistance of this type are necessarily limited. The people, too, cannot fail to realise that a continuance of the struggle for a long time means distress and misery to people on a far larger scale than we can probably foresee. If both parties realise this, it cannot be impossible to find a formula for solving the differences and putting an end to the struggle on terms honourable to both parties. If we can take the utterances of Mr. Wedgwood Benn and those of Mahatma Gandhi at their face value, it seems to me that the solution lies near at hand. And if only both parties honestly desire a satisfactory solution, it can be had.

The Secretary of State and the British Cabinet have accepted Dominion Status as the goal of the Indian constitution. I take it to mean that they accept as the goal a fully free constitution for India on terms of free and honourable association with the

Empire as the objective. It follows that if a practicable scheme for immediate adoption of such a free constitution for India can be evolved they would be willing to accept it. Mahatma Gandhi has declared that he would accept a scheme which gives the substance of independence and he has also said that he is not averse to association with England on a free and honourable basis. The question, therefore, is boiled down to this: Is it possible to evolve a fully free constitution for India on such a basis for immediate acceptance?

The Nehru scheme was India's considered reply to this question. That scheme has been much criticised. But the criticisms cover a small part of the scheme. It is possible to revise that portion and find further solutions for the differences. On the other side the Simon Commission's Report will represent the British point of view, and incidentally disclose what to the British mind are the difficulties and impediments in the way of the immediate grant of a fully free constitution to India. These objections may be considered and, where necessary, solutions for the suggested difficulties found.

Supposing that, upon a consideration of all these, Indians can produce a scheme which would, on the one hand, satisfy all tests of practicability and, on the other, be acceptable to the bulk of Indians, the British Government can have no valid reason for not accepting it, if the statements of Mr. Benn mean what they say. On the other hand Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress will be satisfied with such a scheme if it gives the substance of independence. If only England and India could agree to such a scheme a peaceful solution of the present troubles will have been found.

The way to find such a scheme is not to have further academic discussions but to build up in India a constitutional authority to frame such a scheme and to negotiate with the British Government for its acceptance. If a constituent assembly is formed in India on the basis of the widest franchise, fully representative of all India and charged with the duty of framing an authoritative constitution for India on behalf of all India, a scheme produced by them could be presented to England as the will of all India, and negotiations with England can be carried on by such assembly. When the constituent assembly has framed its scheme it may send a small delegation to meet the Cabinet in England, the assembly being in session all through the negotiations to deal with any questions that may arise in course of them.

If only the British Government would agree to appoint such an Assembly which could speak with authority for all India and carry on negotiations with the British Government on behalf of India, I am sure India as a whole would willingly accept it and explore this avenue for a peaceful settlement of the question with all earnestness.

If this method proves acceptable to both parties, a complete cessation of hostilities may be forthwith achieved by the Government (i) announcing its readiness to accept immediate Dominion status if a practical scheme is presented by all India, (ii) im-

mediately proceeding to form the constituent Assembly, (iii) granting amnesty to all political prisoners, and (iv) repealing all repressive laws; and the Congress calling off the programme of civil disobedience in every shape and form. I feel sure that after the trial of strength that we have already had, this proceeding will lead to permanent peace and establish the Government of India on a permanently satisfactory basis. And it seems to me that this would be a settlement perfectly honourable to both parties and one which everybody must seek if the professions on either side are real and sincere.

Is it too much to hope that the British Cabinet and the Government of India will make an earnest effort to reach a solution on these lines?

NARES C. SEN GUPTA.

Reviews.

PROHIBITION.

THE BUREAU OF PROHIBITION: ITS HISTORY, ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATION.

By LAWRENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. (The Brookings Institution, Washington; To be had in India of the City Book Company, Madras.) 1929. 22cm. 325p. \$, 2.00.

THIS is one of the monographs issued by the Brookings Institution in the United States of America. This body was incorporated in 1927 and is devoted to public service through research and training in humanistic sciences. The Institution has two primary purposes: the first is to aid constructively in the development of sound national policies; the second is to offer training of a super graduate character to the students of the social sciences. It has an endowment for its administration which is vested in a self-perpetuating board of trustees. As has been pointed out in the foreword to this volume, the first essential to efficient administration of any enterprise is full knowledge of its present make up and operation. The Institution has already published several monographs relating to the national Government of the United States and they are all prepared according to a uniform plan. They give, first, the history of the establishment and the development of the service; second, its functions described not in general terms but in details; third, its organization for the handling of its activities; fourth, the character of its plant; fifth, a compilation of or reference to laws and regulations governing its operations; sixth, financial statements showing its appropriations, expenditures and other data for a period of years and finally, a full bibliography of the sources of information, official and private, bearing on the service and the operations. These monographs are, therefore, intended to serve the double purpose of furnishing an essential tool for efficient legislation, administration and popular control and for laying the basis for critical and constructive work on the part of those upon whom responsibility for such work primarily rests. The present volume is the 57th of the series and some of the other publications of the Brookings Institution cover almost the whole field of public administration not only in the United States but of other countries as well. The present volume on Prohibition gives the history of the movement before the world war and during the war period till constitutional prohibition was reached by the enactment of the National Prohibition Act of 1919. It also gives

the history of the various acts of legislation proposed from that date up to the present time. The second chapter contains the history of the activities of the Government regarding the enforcement of the National Prohibition Act and the suppression of illegal traffic in alcoholic liquor and the control over narcotics. A full account of the organisation of the office of the Commissioner of Prohibition and the staff under him is also given. A good deal has been said now and then about the failure of prohibition in the United States. One of the contributory causes has been the way in which the prohibition agents have been chosen till very recently in the United States. The agents were selected more for their political qualifications rather than their fitness for their position. The dominant party leaders from some of the States have insisted upon the appointment of agents without the requisite qualifications and many agents, knowing the effect of political influence, hesitated to enforce the law aggressively without fear or favour. After General Andrews became Assistant Secretary to the Treasury in 1925 it was decided to purge the service of all undesirable elements and to appoint only prohibition agents on the ground of personal fitness and qualifications for the work. From January 1920 upto the beginning of 1926 as many as 752 officers were removed for extortion, bribery, soliciting money, intoxication and misconduct and various other offences of the same kind. Under these circumstances the Commissioner of Prohibition was empowered in 1927 to appoint employees in the field service subject to the Civil service law and a determined attempt is now being made to enforce the law. The book contains a number of useful appendices one of which is the outline of all laws and subsidiary legislation in connection with prohibition. Another appendix contains a financial statement relating to appropriations and expenditures for prohibition enforcement. The estimated expenditure for the fiscal year 1930 is 3,98,39,305 dollars. Altogether the book is a very handy and useful publication for those who are interested in the prohibition movement. It can be had in India from the City Book Company, Madras.

M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

CAN WORLD PEACE BE WON? THE STORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS INTERPRETED FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. By ROBERT CORKEY. (Allen-Son.) 1929. 18cm. 112p. 2/6.

THERE is a lamentable dearth in India of books dealing with the work and activities of the League of Nations. This must account in large measure for the scepticism entertained by certain schools of Indian thought about the adequacy of the League to ensure world-peace, as also for the tendency to under-value the League's great humanitarian activities. Such prejudiced judgments have invariably been the result of ignorance; Mr. Corkey's book "Can World Peace be Won?" is, therefore, a welcome and opportune contribution, since it will go a long way to lift this curtain of ignorance. In this unpretentious little volume, the author sets out in simple language the story of the growth of Geneva's twin institutions, the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, giving in the course of the development of his theme, admirable pen-pictures of their machinery, their *modus operandi*, and their impressive record of achievement.

The League is a creation of the war: it is the answer of the awakened moral consciousness of the world to the militarism that was exposed and defeated in that conflict. "Never Again" solemnly vowed

a world in agony, and the Geneva institutions were created to work out in practice the implications of that determination. Discarding the old, secret diplomacy, and believing that publicity is a great moral disinfectant, the League works on the pivotal principle that its members should not have resort to war before exploring the avenues of public inquiry and arbitration. Its activities, however, are not wholly confined to prevention of war: on the positive side, it stands for the pooling together of international good-will and for harnessing it effectively for the furtherance of a many-sided programme of humanitarian activities.

For the benefit of the school of arm-chair critics which makes a hobby of indulging in captious criticism of Geneva, the book admirably summarises the political, social and humanitarian contributions made by the League and the I. L. O. during the short span of the first ten years of their existence. On the political side, besides constructively developing the system of mandates, and giving a new meaning to the old imperialistic theory of "trusteeship" of minor nationalities, the League has on several notable occasions, by its active and energetic intervention, scotched incipient outbreaks of war. The peaceful adjudication of the Åland Island dispute in 1921, the successful settlement of the Polish-German boundary question in 1924, the prevention of Graeco-Bulgarian hostilities, and Graeco-Italian hostilities in 1925 are only a few of its great achievements in this field. Its contribution to the financial rehabilitation of Austria, its unceasing efforts to control the surreptitious trade in opium, its vigorous and vigilant campaign against the white slave traffic, its sustained and successful pressure against the continuance of the slave trade, its fight on scientific lines against disease germs and microbes, and its benevolent efforts to accord protection to Russian and Greek refugees represent but a few of its eminently fruitful efforts in the economic, social and humanitarian fields of activity.

Disarmament, however, is the weakest spot in Geneva's armour. The cynical critic points to the fact, that despite Locarno and the Kellogg Pact, the competitive race in armaments still continues. The book faces this difficult question with robust courage, and points out that success even in this direction will come through the complementary efforts of the twin institutions of the League, and the I. L. O. The League aims at horizontal peace, viz., as between nations; the I. L. O. aims at vertical peace, viz., as between classes of the population. A prophet of Israel, greatly daring, visualised an age when the nations of the world would beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks. The millenniums that followed, with their wars and rumours of wars, seemed to make a mockery of the seer's vision. Undaunted by these failures, Geneva remains incorrigibly optimistic, and among this body of organised optimists, the arch optimists are to be found in the I. L. O., which makes it its mission to discover and promulgate ideals of industrial policy, by the progressive applications of which alone the peace of the world can be made to remain broad-based on the principles of social justice.

K. E. MATTHEW.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN EDUCATION.

THE INDIVIDUAL PUPIL IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CLASS AND SCHOOL. By PAUL R. MORT. (American Education Series.) (American Book Co., New York.) 1928. 20cm, 383p. \$ 1.50.

JUDGING from current practice in India and other educationally backward countries it would

seem as though it were certain that children were created for the school. Fortunately, however, educational theory has advanced far enough to concede that the school was made for the pupil, and approximation towards a child-centric system has now become the test of progress. In addition to the Montessori and kindergarten systems which definitely aim at giving the individual pupil all the attention he needs, there are several plans and devices employed in America and other progressive countries recognising the place of the individual. There is the Dalton Plan which frees the pupil to progress at his own pace. There is the Winnetka Technique which means a broader curriculum, the introduction of individual instruction and the abolition of departmentalization of instruction. There is the Central City Plan which provides various levels of assignments for the varying abilities of students. There is the Platoon Organization which means the diversification and enrichment of the curriculum rendering it possible to take note of individual differences. In these and in innumerable other ways adjustments in instruction and organization are being made in progressive schools every where.

No two children are alike. They differ vastly in the number and type of talents and also in temperaments, imagination, determination, initiative, in variety of environment, in types of intellect, etc. etc. In order to adjust our schools to the needs of individual boys and girls, our curricula and courses of study must be markedly different for groups of children who vary in ability. It is important that adjustments should be made in terms of the varying abilities, achievements and environmental conditions of children all along the line. It is of surpassing importance to provide facilities which will stimulate the most able children to the attainment of their fullest intellectual development.

In the volume under review Dr. Paul Mort presents, according to the editor, Dr. George Strayer, himself a master-workman in this field, "the best that has been accomplished in our schools, as well as suggestions for the improvement and development of our practices in caring for the needs of individuals." First he deals with the manner in which individual needs may be met by the classroom teacher with a minimum of outside assistance. Then he dwells on services that can be performed, and organization that can be developed, which will not only make possible the lightening of the load of the classroom teacher in meeting the individual needs, but will, in addition, make possible the meeting of individual needs that call for a service more technical in nature than the classroom teacher may be expected to render.

The book is a useful and comprehensive treatment of many vexing every-day problems. Dealing with individual needs under traditional conditions, the author treats at great length the placement of pupils within the school organization—elementary grades, and junior and senior High School. Passing on to such vital and interesting problems as double promotion and retardation, he dwells on the who, when, why, and how of acceleration, and the uses and abuses of repeating or failure. A whole chapter is devoted to instructional adjustments in the different levels. Amongst the administrative aids for the discovery and meeting of needs of individual pupils are mentioned several special services, agencies, records and programmes. Special attention is given to the treatment of small groups—mentally retarded, physically defective, etc. For dealing with all the pupils, the author recommends, amongst other things, a broadened curriculum, departmentalization, ability grouping, and individual instruction. Throughout the book the discussion is in terms of

actual children selected from several States in America. Extensive problems are given at the end of each chapter. They make possible the application of the reader's learning to concrete situations. The graphs, diagrams and illustrations are by no means a negligible feature of the book. In the bibliography specific references are made to books that have a bearing upon the problem, in order that the reader may readily obtain the judgment of other writers who have considered the problem from a general view point, and also to magazine articles many of which are descriptions of practice or results of experimentation in actual situations.

In conclusion it may be added that "The Individual Pupil" carries with it its own recommendation. It is published by the American Book Company. It is written by a Professor of Education in Teachers College, Columbia University. It forms one of the American Education Series edited by Professor Strayer. Nothing but what is really sound and scientific can possess these credentials.

G. S. KRISHNAYYA.

INDIAN STATES.

SCRAPS OF PAPER. INDIA'S BROKEN TREATIES, HER PRINCES AND THE PROBLEM. By A. P. NICHOLSON. (Benn, London.) 1930. 26cm. 355p. 21/-.

THIS book is an admirable summary of the evidence and arguments presented by Sir Leslie Scot, the Counsel for the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, before the Indian States' Inquiry Committee, popularly known as the Butler Committee. It looks like a part of the propaganda carried on by the Indian Princes and others on their behalf in England for the last two years. It takes little notice of the answers to some of the arguments given by the Butler Committee in their report. For example, in para 36 of their report they deal with many of the arguments in Mr. Nicholson's book thus: "In illustration of the proposition that the States have been adversely affected by the arbitrary action of the Paramount Power a considerable number of cases extending over more than a century have been laid before us by Sir Leslie Scot. We have not heard, we have not thought it necessary to hear the Paramount Power in regard to such cases. We are in no sense a judicial tribunal nor can we exercise judicial functions; that the Paramount Power has acted on the whole with consideration and forbearance towards the States, that many States owe their continued existence to its solicitude is undoubted and admitted. Few Governments at any time in history could look back on more than a century of action without some historical regrets that certain things had been done." In another place (para 57) the Committee further point out that "On Paramountcy and Paramountcy alone can the States rely for their preservation through the generations that are to come; through Paramountcy is pushed aside the danger of destruction or annexation."

Mr. Nicholson attaches a formidable list of authorities consulted by him in the compilation of his book, but has evidently missed a very important statement of the Right Honourable Lord Hobhouse, one of the greatest constitutional lawyers of England. In Vol. X *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (1899) p. 331, discussing the position of the Indian States, His Lordship said:—"The plain fact is that our position as Paramount Power was gained by superior force, i. e., by wars—wars waged through many years and with great variety of circumstances. Some of these powers were secured by formal treaty, and some rested on usage while

sometimes questions arose which were not covered by either treaty or usage but lying at the bottom of all things was their origin, viz., conquest and the sanction and limitation of all was military force, very rarely coming to actual blows but taking the political shape of 'Acts of State.'"

If all the dealings of the Paramount Power with Indian States, many of which were evidently dictated by considerations of the benefit of India as a whole, could be questioned on moral grounds, Mr. Nicholson would have done well to question the very conquest of India which is mostly the result of a series of intrigues, crimes and misdemeanours as proved by writers like Col. Seely, Morley and others. Looked at from this point of view, "Scraps of Paper" is but a very small chapter in the history of British occupation of India.

But after reading this terrible indictment of the British Government one is left to wonder whether the passionate professions of loyalty, devotion and attachment to the British connection so often made by the Princes can be honest or sincere and whether in their heart of hearts the Princes are not blessing the Independence-wallas and looking forward to their deliverance from the thralldom of that connection, which, according to Mr. Nicholson, has brought them nothing but continued humiliation, degradation and loss of many valuable rights. Or, may it not be that, with all that, they know that their only hope is the British connection and without it they have no place in the present world.

P. L. C.

THE WAGE EARNER.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE WAGE EARNER IN NEW YORK AND OTHER STATES. (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York.) 1928. 23cm. 125p. \$2.50.

THIS book is one of the series of six studies prepared by the National Industrial Board of New York at the request of the Associated Industries of the New York State.

The most noteworthy feature of this book is the wealth of statistical information brought to light in the course of the studies. In estimating the economic status of the wage earner, not only have the amount of wages received been taken into consideration but also the cost of living. An American wage earner, his wife and two dependent children under 14 years of age have been taken as the standard family in this investigation and the family budget comprises of housing, food, clothing, fuel and light and sundries. An attempt is made to correlate industrial relations activities in the estimates and much interesting information regarding bonus, group life, health and accident insurance schemes, works councils, non-contributory pension benefits, etc., is incidentally published. Another interesting side-light furnished by this publication is the relation between the employers' labour policy and their industrial relations work. Statistics published in the book show that plants with a closed Union policy or compulsory union policy have the fewest industrial relations activities, while the largest proportion of activities is found on plants which operate on open-shop basis. Another conclusion to be drawn from the book is that three industrial groups, namely, the public utilities, chemicals and rubber, show greater participation in industrial relations work than others. A study of the statistics published will show that in the final analysis there is comparatively little difference in the total cost of living throughout the Eastern part of the country among those main-

taining a fair American standard of living, although local conditions exert recognisable influences in particular instances.

On account of the extensive and scientific nature of the enquiries conducted, the data published is beyond reproach. This book should find an important place in the library of every student of comparative economics and of those interested in the economic status of the wage earners in New York and eight other selected adjacent States.

V. V. GIRI.

AFGHANISTAN.

AFGHANISTAN. FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH. By GEORGE MACMUNN. (George Bell, London.) 1929. 23 cm. 359p. 21/-.

THIS book has been written "in the hope of presenting the story (of Afghanistan) in all its absorbing interest to those who would view it from the comfort of an easy chair." It is an eminently readable narrative. The author has steadily kept in view not only the genealogical and diplomatic tangles but the ethnological and geographical background of the panorama of tragedies that comprise the history of that "sad land of ill omen." Of course, materials for the history were sparse and inaccessible until the establishment of the Durani Empire, but after that event when Afghanistan became a political entity, they became plentiful. General MacMunn has utilised 'an embarrassing wealth of material' about incursions, invasions, internecine wars and missions to present a concise and connected narrative. The General is at his best in discussing military campaigns and unravelling threads of personality. His pictures of Ahmed Shah, Shah Shuja, Abdurrahman and Amanullah are boldly and distinctly drawn. He is also able to discuss the frontier policy with reference to needs and situations with a great deal of critical acumen and personal knowledge. He concludes his book, just before the establishment of General Nadir Khan on the throne, with the words:—"It is perfectly possible now for Afghanistan, with its trained officials to restart on its road to progress while maintaining the character of a theocratic state with a Moslem establishment, and be infinitely the better therefor." General MacMunn has succeeded in the task he set before himself to a remarkable degree.

The only unnecessary feature of the book is a consciousness of something distressingly uncanny about the East which the General has found it difficult to suppress. This has resulted in such statements as—"Statecraft in the East means to know when to change sides"; "In Eastern lands when revenue collectors and officials are too oppressive, rebellions take place"; "Oriental methods of the axe, the cannon's mouth and the rope"; "the eternal Eastern desire for a personal superscription as an outward, visible sign"; "to become dunya-dar (world possessing) (being too big for your boots) is a very bad thing for young Eastern heads"; and so on.

It will be seen that there is nothing peculiarly Eastern in any of these axioms of the General and that the hit against the Eastern in every case is entirely gratuitous. Again, the author has an outspoken disregard for the sentimentalist Victorian historians who, "in their smugness" have "failed to do justice to the steady purpose of Britain." He has, therefore, to justify charges of insincerity or inconsistency on the score that "the natural course of the spread of the civilisation, of trade and markets," required them. The Amirs of Sind, for example, had to be extirpated because it was impossible "to fit them into any scheme of semi-civilisation and progress." On the

whole, however, the book is a unique compilation and a valuable account of the dramatic history of a heroic people and their leaders.

N. KASTURI.

WAR UNMASKED.

SO THIS WAS WAR! THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WESTERN AND EASTERN FRONTS REVEALED. By BOMBARDIER "X". (Hutchinson, London.) 1930. 23cm. 224p. 7/6.

SINCE the remarkable success of Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front" we are being flooded with war books. This is as it should be. The history of war is recorded by sedate chroniclers, but it *lives* in experiences set down by those who went 'through hell.' The best propaganda for peace is being unconsciously but effectively done through these books.

Bombardier "X" was quite a young lad when he volunteered. In fact, he had to steal his age to do so. At first the drama, rather than the tragedy, of the war attracts him—the uniform, send-offs, the adoring girls. The tragedy dawns on him later. He is thrilled at the musketry course, and wonders: "What must the thrill be like with a living target? To know that every hit is a blow for the Homeland!" This romantic conception of war is soon shattered when he sees a 'live target' hit. The shadow of the Great Tragedy is already hovering about him and, bewildered, he wails: "What awful thing have I let myself in for? Surely God never meant His creatures to settle quarrels in this way. We must live and act like beasts. It is terrible!" The usual filth in which soldiers live in trenches coarsens Bombardier "X". The 'devil may care' attitude slowly sinks into his young soul. Time was when a good cake, or a warm bath would make him think himself lucky; now luck means a straight hit instead of a lingering death or permanent infirmity. Death is nothing but a casual, insignificant incident in the onward march of the inexorable war machine. "No matter what happens, the world moves on, and to the war machine a hospital death means only another empty bed to be filled." And thus he goes on to the nerve-racking, agonising 'Zero-hour'. The crisp, almost monosyllabic, description of this dread hour, in which every sound makes the heart jump and every shadow hides a lurking terror is extremely moving. The shattered limbs, the flooding blood, the rolling carcasses, the suffocating atmosphere strip war of the wrappings of newspaper glory, and point it in ghastly colours. Indeed, as the author says, those politicians, who staked others' lives 'work it out on paper miles away' but the soldiers 'write the final copy in blood.' And when victory comes, this lad of nineteen says, with the wisdom of ninety, "the war is finished, but Death still lurks over the living carcasses of men who fought. With the passing of an era, that proud ideal (of a Utopia fit for heroes to live in) recedes farther and farther from our mental vision." It is a convincing eye-opener on the futility of force in deciding national issues. Remarque deals with physical things to almost a nauseating point. "So This Was War" is refreshingly free from it. The epistolary style lends a peculiar familiarity and directness to the narrative. Book lovers will do well to go through it. It interests, and what is more, instructs.

M. D. SAHANE.

SHORT NOTICES.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON THE PACT OF PARIS. COMP. By JAMES THAYER GEROULD. (H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1929. 20cm. 287p. \$2.40.

THIS little book, compiled by the Librarian of Princeton University, will be very useful for students of international politics. The main portion consists of the diplomatic correspondence which preceded the Pact of Paris (or the Kellogg Pact) from M. Briand's draft treaty in June 1927, to the actual signing of the treaty in the following year. Here one notes how India is accorded the form, if not the substance, of Dominion status in the diplomatic world, in the letters (p. 65 and 86) in which Sir Austen Chamberlain announces the Indian Government's adhesion to the Pact in the same way as he announces the adhesion of the other Dominions.

This document is followed by three addresses by Mr. Kellogg and finally a series of articles by publicists and public men, mostly Americans. A number of interesting comments will be found in these, by no means always approving the Pact or prophesying smooth things. At the beginning there is a bibliographic note and tabulated arguments for and against the Pact, which appears to be intended for lecturers and public speakers.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

THE RISEN SUN. IMPRESSIONS IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA By C. C. MARTINDALE. (Sheed & Ward, London.) 1929. 20cm. 7/6.

WE are placidly informed, in the midst of a flood of personal references at the beginning of this book, that it is not a treatise recounting the author's impressions of Australia and New Zealand, but that it is merely a long letter describing the writer's impressions in those countries in the course of a brief tour connected with the Eucharistic Congress.

And that is about all there is in it. One meets an avalanche of words on every page. Colourful phantasies, Roman Catholic statistics and personal reminiscences simply flood the whole 228 pages, making quite interesting reading to those who have met this worthy Priest, but giving precious little information about Australia and New Zealand. The book may be all right, as the Author himself admits, to give away as birthday or wedding presents, but to those who are not Roman Catholics it has but little interest, beyond being a clever piece of literature. The Padre certainly juggles with words; he has a little to say about everything; but after reading the book a student would be little wiser about the Antipodes than before, except that he would realise what a strong hold Catholicism has upon those countries. In short, "The Risen Sun" is an intimate letter to all those friends the Author met whilst on his tour, telling them how kind they had been and what a picturesque country they lived in.

H. G. FRANKS.