

# Servant of India

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

VOL. XIII No. 39. } POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1930. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 15s.

## CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK. ... ..	461
ARTICLES :—	
Future of Tanganyika. By H. N. Kunzru. ...	463
Indian Situation in England. By D. V. A. ...	465
Financing Rural Uplift Work. By S. R. V. ...	467
OUR EUROPEAN LETTER :— ... ..	468
REVIEWS :—	
Mother England. By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.O.S.I., C.I.E. ... ..	469
Modern Economic Organisation. By N. C. S. ...	470
SHORT NOTICES. ... ..	471
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	472

## Topics of the Week.

### The S. I. S.

Last week-end a special session of the Servants of India Society was held to discuss the present political situation and to elect a President in the place of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who was elected to that office in June last but who wished to be excused the honour for reasons of health which prevented him from accepting the office soon after his return from South Africa. After full consideration of the factors affecting the situation, the Society decided that no change was called for in its present policy. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M. A., C. I. E. was elected President and Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru Vice-President.

Messrs K. G. Sharangpani, B. A., LL. B., and S. R. Venkataraman, B. A., B. L., who were under probation for some time, have been admitted to membership of the Society. We offer them our warmest felicitations and wish them a long career of service to the Motherland.

### Mr. A. V. Thakkar's Conviction.

It is with deep regret that we learn that on the 23rd inst. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, was convicted of the charge of "picketing and the abetment of picketing" of liquor shops in Mehmabad on the 2nd August last, and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and put in the B class of prisoners. It will be remembered that on the 2nd August last Mr. Thakkar was arrested by the Police while he was, according to him, engaged in watching the action of the Police in dealing with picketers of liquor shops in Mehmabad. In watching and reporting on police excesses Mr. Thakkar had done a valuable public service, for which he deserves thanks. But it is quite understandable that his fearless and unsparing exposure of police excesses in the public press was

unwelcome to the local officials. He was a thorn in their side, to be removed. Mr. Thakkar is a fearless patriot, he never was afraid of going to jail for his opinions and actions. Notwithstanding all the police evidence led against him in the Court and the finding of the Court, we have not the slightest hesitation in believing his word that the charge against him was absolutely unfounded. If Mr. Thakkar had committed these "offences" he would have been the first man to admit it. We cannot help feeling that he has been victimised. He lost faith in the Court and after a time declined to proceed with his defence and invited the Magistrate to award him whatever punishment he chose. The Magistrate, it need not be said, believed the prosecution evidence, and convicted him. Even if Mr. Thakkar were guilty, the punishment is too severe. Considering his age, which is over sixty, his status in life and his record of public service as a member of the Servants of India Society and the President of the Bhil Seva Mandal, it is a positive insult to put him in the B class.

### Dissatisfaction with Indian Personnel.

PUBLIC opinion in Burma does not seem to be satisfied with the Burmese representation at the Round Table Conference. According to the *Rangoon Daily News*, "the Government seem to have been too much obsessed with separation, and in their choice of representatives, they have thrown all standards of justice to the winds." The Government appears to have made their selection from the People's Party; but that party does not, says our contemporary, represent all Burma. The paper blames the Government for not having consulted the associations of Burmese Buddhists as to whether their leaders were willing to participate in the Conference. Burma's representation without these leaders becomes, according to this paper, "a huge farce." It is true the Burmese Buddhists took a leading part in boycotting the Simon Commission, but that is no reason why they should be ignored now. If in India the Government strain every nerve to get the Congressmen and other boycotters to join the Conference, it is difficult to see why they should fight shy of Burmese boycotters. The paper is voicing public feeling when it says that "to shut out an influential section of public opinion in such a drastic fashion is to invite trouble in future." It draws attention to the omission of an Indian representative from the Burman delegation which it calls both "grave" and "impolitic", and asks: "If the European community with such paltry numbers are considered fit to be represented why not the Indians with vaster numbers and with such great interest?" The Government need not have expected any opposition from the Indian representative to their pet idea of separation of Burma from India; for Indians have already declared that if the majority of Burmans desire it, they have no right to stand in the way. The paper, therefore, appeals to the Govern-

ment to make good the omission before it is too late. The *Dnyanodaya* voices the feeling of dissatisfaction among Indian Christians at the absence of any representation to them and suggests the inclusion either of Mr. K. T. Paul or Dr. S. K. Datta. It transpires now that the former is being invited to join the Conference so that the Indian Christian community will be left with no ground of complaint on this account. It is interesting to note the die-hard Muslim view as regards the personnel of the Indian Delegation, specially its Muslim part. The *Muslim Outlook* complains that instead of 33 per cent., Muslim representation on the Indian Delegation is only 28 per cent. and "of the fourteen Mussalmans who have been nominated not half can claim to be genuine representatives of the community." It takes particular objection to the inclusion of Chaudhri Zafarullah, Capt. Raja Sher Muhammad Khan and Mrs. Shah Nawaz, the first because he was a member of the Punjab Simon Committee and, like Sir John Simon, should have nothing to do with the Conference; the second because he has never figured in political life; and the third because she cannot be regarded as a genuine representative of the community. Attention may in this connection be drawn to the Bombay women's meeting which has also asked for the selection of representative Indian ladies as part of the Indian Delegation. So far as the Muslim delegation is concerned, the verdict of the paper is that "the Government has packed the Conference with those who would say ditto to everything that is placed before them", and that "after all the Round Table Conference is only what the Congressites described it to be, a deceit, a mockery and a snare," which, of course, is far from being true.

\* \* \*

#### "Baptista Kaka".

IN the demise of Mr. Joseph Baptista, the country has lost a true patriot, the labour world a sincere friend, the Indian Christian community its trusted leader, and Bombay city an able Corporator. As the able coadjutor of Tilak, he started the Home Rule League in 1916. In 1917 he went to England and pleaded India's cause before the Labour Party and was successful in persuading them to make Home Rule for India a plank in their political platform. When the Reforms of 1919 were announced, Mr. Baptista readily consented to work them, even though he believed they did not concede even one anna in the rupee. He strongly opposed Mr. Gandhi's boycott of the legislatures, and entered the Bombay Council in 1924, and the Assembly in 1926. His services to the Indian Labour movement cannot be too highly spoken of. He was one of those that founded the All-India Trade Union Congress, and was President of several trade unions. He presided over the 1923 session of the Trade Union Congress held at Jharia, and attended the Geneva Labour Conference in 1924 as a representative of Labour. Among the Labour ranks he was familiarly called by the affectionate term "Kaka" which means uncle. Early in his career he interested himself in civic matters, and was long connected with the Bombay Corporation. He was also its President in 1925-26. The passing away of so eminent a publicist has created a void in the ranks of Indian public life in general and of Bombay in particular which it will be hard to fill.

\* \* \*

#### Revenue Excesses.

A CASE where Revenue Officers exceeded their authority has recently been brought to our notice by Mr. A. V. Thakkar. It took place in the village of Limbasi in Matar taluka in Gujerat on the 8th inst.

It may be stated that this taluka is generally known to be poverty-stricken and overburdened with land revenue. Even Government think that the productivity of this taluka has considerably suffered and have appointed a special officer to revise and probably to reduce the incidence of land revenue. Last year on account of the bad season the whole of the land revenue was suspended. Not so, however, the Local Fund Cess which goes to the District Local Board. Notwithstanding the Board requesting the Collector to postpone collection of the Cess, he proceeded to collect the Cess for 1929-30, not technically in the same year, but in the Revenue year 1930-31, i. e., after 1st August 1930. In doing so, the Collector violated the well-known Revenue convention that the revenue as well as the cess are to be collected only after the crops are gathered and not before. But he did not stop merely with the issue of orders for its collection; even the machinery of the usual coercive measures like distraint of property he ordered to be set in motion against the defaulters. It was in pursuance of these orders that a party of Revenue Officers, accompanied by about forty armed policemen, twenty *lathiwala* peons and some Police and Excise Officers, raided the village already referred to. Mr. Thakkar alleges that they broke open the doors of houses, entered some houses from the roofs, removed cooking utensils, quilts, corrugated iron sheets from the roofs and in some cases agricultural implements. In two cases they removed ornaments. No inventories were handed over to the owners of the houses, as required by the Land Revenue Code. No *panchanamas* were made. The value of articles removed exceeded the value of the Cess due by several times. It also appears from Mr. Thakkar's statement that the raiding party did not take particular care to respect the religious susceptibilities of the inmates of the houses they visited. Now it seems to us that the failure on the part of the police to make an inventory of the articles attached by them is a serious irregularity of which proper notice must be taken by the authorities concerned. Even the new Rules, which it is intended to bring into force shortly, do not give power to the police to distraint any property without making a proper list of it, and handing a copy of the same to the defaulter or to any adult male member of his family that may be present. And under the Rules they can attach property only just sufficient to cover Revenue dues. In this case, as pointed out by Mr. Thakkar, the value of the property attached exceeds the amount due to the Revenue Department by several times. This is clearly against the spirit and letter of the Rules and cannot, and we trust will not, be tolerated. As we have often said, it is such excesses that add to the present discontent and aggravate the situation, already grave enough in all conscience, still further. Will not Government pull up its Officers and make an example of some of them?

\* \* \*

#### Protest Against Imperial Preference.

THE fear that at the forthcoming Imperial Conference India may be committed to the principle of Imperial Preference has led the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to send a spirited protest to the Government. Without going into the merits of Imperial Preference, the President of the Federation makes it clear that until India secures full fiscal control she will not reconcile herself to the application of Imperial Preference to herself. Some sort of differentiation in favour of the United Kingdom was no doubt made in connection with protection to the steel and the textile industries; but the Federation points out that it was "not on the

ground of the country of origin but on that of quality of goods." And even so, it encountered stout opposition from popular representatives in the Assembly. It has been India's sad experience so far that in the determination of her fiscal policy Indian interests have not been given prime consideration and the Federation is quite naturally afraid that at the Imperial Conference the Government of India may be induced to commit this country to Imperial Preference. If this happened it would, as put by the Federation, exasperate Indian public opinion and would confirm the general belief that "India is to be used as a pawn in the interests of Great Britain." The Federation also gives the warning that "any commitment not only in respect of Imperial Preference but with regard to all economic questions made at any Conference before India gets full freedom over her own affairs will not only not be binding upon her," but will be repudiated by Indian commerce at the first opportunity. We hope the Federation's warning will have the desired effect in proper quarters.

#### Bombay Factories.

THERE are a few points in the administration report of the Indian Factories Act in this Presidency which deserve note. The number of factories subject to the control of the Act increased from 1661 to 1751, an increase of 5.4 per cent. The number of operatives has also gone up by 10,000 for the whole presidency; though that employed in the cotton industry alone showed an improvement of 13,000. Bombay city does not share in this increase; on the contrary we learn that there has been a considerable falling off from the figure of two years ago. The causes are not far to seek. There have been frequent strikes accompanied by trade depression and there has been a tendency to introduce efficient methods of production. Ahmedabad and Sholapur are apparently doing well, for we find that between them they absorbed 10,600 of the increased number of operatives. The evil of juvenile employment, which was not long ago rampant in Bombay, seems to have been effectively brought under control. For the Report tells us that there were only 56 children employed there so that the evil may now be said to be on its way to its disappearance. This is an achievement upon which the Department deserves congratulations. There was a considerable increase in the number of accidents, the Railway workshops being responsible for a large number of them. It is comforting to learn that the textile machinery accident rate in Bombay is half of that in Britain. The Report pleads for Safety First propaganda as a means of reducing accidents and records its satisfaction that the G. I. P. Railway has decided to introduce the principles of this movement. To this end Safety Committee will, we are told, be set up with local area committee on which representatives of each of the various departments will sit. The Committee will encourage and receive suggestions for the prevention of accidents, will also warn workers against unsafe practices, eliminate dangerous conditions, arrange for periodical inspections, consider breaches of safety rules and suggestions made by workers. Among factories having welfare work for their operatives to their credit, the Gokak Mills need special mention. These mills have houses practically for all their workers who are required to pay only a nominal rent. This village is electrically lighted and supplied with filtered water. There are adequate facilities for medical relief. Free education is provided for boys and girls, a park has been opened for the use of operatives and there are proper facilities for games. In brief, it seems to us that the praise bestowed in the Report on this firm for its welfare work is fully justified.

## Articles.

### FUTURE OF TANGANYIKA.

WILL very recently the discussion of East African problems centred round unhappy Kenya but since the publication of the Hilton Young Commission's report in January 1929, it has been Tanganyika's misfortune also to become a subject of acute controversy in East Africa and elsewhere. Its relation to the other East African territories has received considerable attention both in East African and international circles. Indians are alarmed by the prospect of its inclusion in an East African federation. Tanganyika is governed under a mandate of the League of Nations, which confers equality of opportunity for economic advancement on all nationals of States that are members of the League. Its administration is the subject of an annual examination by the Permanent Mandates Commission. The provisions of the mandate and the scrutiny of the Mandates Commission, which may be regarded as providing an international forum for discussion and publicity, make for racial equality in political matters also. Kenya, which it is believed will be a dominant partner in any federation owing to the size of its white population, is governed on different principles and in a different spirit from Tanganyika. Its administration of native affairs is based on class selfishness. Its ideal is the domination of all other races by Europeans. It stands for the establishment of a dominion of East Africa, drawing its inspiration from South Africa. Besides, complaints have been made that such co-ordination as has been already brought about by means of Governors' conferences between Tanganyika and Kenya and Uganda in regard to tariffs and the development of railways and ports, has not been to the advantage of Tanganyika. Indians therefore see a menace to their interests and those of Tanganyika in any scheme for its closer union with Kenya, and anxiously demand that Tanganyika should be protected from the contaminating influences of Kenya.

In the recent declaration of East African policy a genuine effort has been made by His Majesty's Government to take account of Indian views and feelings and of the effect of an alteration in the constitutional status of Tanganyika on international relations. They have tried to provide both constitutional and administrative safeguards in order to maintain unimpaired their responsibility under the mandate and remove the fear that federation will lead to an extension of the Kenya and not the Tanganyika spirit to the whole of East Africa.

We shall deal with the relevant constitutional provisions first. In order to secure the interests of Tanganyika it will be laid down that the High Commissioner is not to assent to bills which involve any point affecting the Mandate for Tanganyika without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is also desired to place unofficials in a position to require that the High Commissioner shall

refer such bills to the higher authorities when the initiative is not taken by him. It is proposed to establish a federal legislative council on which Tanganyika shall have four official and three unofficial members, and to lay down that the High Commissioner shall, on the request of any three members of the Council, refer any measure passed by the Council to the Secretary of State. Lastly, His Majesty's Government give an assurance that the constitutional association of the East African territories will not place Tanganyika at a disadvantage but will prove beneficial to the other dependencies. After referring to the equal rights conferred by the mandate in certain matters, they say, "It therefore follows that any union or federation unifying these rights over a number of dependencies which include Tanganyika must extend over all of them many of the privileges secured by the Mandate."

The administrative provisions refer partly to economic matters, such as the maintenance of the Tanganyika railway system as a separate entity, and partly to native policy. If the best index of the character of a government in East Africa is its native policy, His Majesty's Government have laid down in no uncertain terms what the basis of administration in the East African dependencies should be. The four main points affecting natives are those relating to land, labour, taxation and production, and all of them have been dealt with admirably by His Majesty's Government. It is clearly laid down that the possession or use of land by natives should not be regulated in such a way as to compel them directly or indirectly to work for wages on private estates. Compulsory service, which is legally permissible in certain cases for public and tribal purposes, should disappear gradually. Taxation, whether central or local, must not "in its result, actually oblige the native to labour for wages as the only practicable means of obtaining the money wherewith to pay his tax." It is not suggested that His Majesty's Government have formulated their policy solely to please Tanganyika. It is no doubt the outcome largely of their own recognition of their duty to the exploited and unprotected natives and their realisation of the high function of trusteeship. But it clearly implies a condemnation of the Kenya policy and is perhaps an improvement on the Tanganyika system itself. Moreover, the new policy is apparently not subject to review by the Joint Parliamentary Committee which will examine Government's scheme for closer union. The Governors of all the territories have been instructed to enforce it strictly at once.

In spite, however, of the steps taken by the British Government to allay apprehensions, the idea of associating Tanganyika more closely with other dependencies is not likely to find favour with its critics. The discussion of this subject by the Permanent Mandates Commission last year revealed differences of opinion among its members, but there was an influential section of opinion which saw grave political and moral objections to the inclusion of Tanganyika in a federation. Relying on the observations of the Hilton Young Commission, it re-

garded federation as a scheme for promoting Imperial interests and not those of Tanganyika. The chairman, agreeing with the German member, thought that such a step, although it might not contravene any of the provisions of the mandate, would be a violation of Article 22 of the Covenant, which lays down the obligations incurred by mandatory powers and is the foundation stone of the mandates system. Whether such a contention may be regarded as juridically sound or not, any proposal which has the appearance of incorporating Tanganyika in the British Empire will encounter serious opposition in the Mandates Commission, which is jealous of the rights of the League of Nations. Its point of view is pithily brought out by its comments on a telegram sent by Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Tanganyika, to the Prince of Wales in December, 1928, expressing "his devotion to the 'Sovereign' of the Territory." The chairman, addressing the British Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, pointed out that "this was the second time that a grave error of principle had been introduced in an official document". He observed that "sovereignty was not vested in His Majesty the King of Great Britain and he regretted that such an incorrect expression should have been used by Sir Donald Cameron."

*The Journal de Geneve* which is the most influential paper in Geneva, and which perhaps reflected the opinion held in important circles connected with the League of Nations, writing in June last, expressed its distrust of the Kenya Europeans and forcibly asked, "If the mandatory powers were permitted to amalgamate territories under the mandate with their colonial empire, one would like to know what was the difference between the mandatory system and annexation pure and simple?" This, it is true, was written two days before the publication of the East African White Papers, but it seems to be fairly clear that Geneva, while it may not be able to prevent the establishment of a federation, will not regard it with enthusiasm.

The Indian community in Tanganyika have pronounced definitely against federation even on the terms embodied in the White Papers. They share the objections to which reference has been made above, but they have other reasons also for desiring to retain the present system. The Europeans of Kenya have indulged in wild outbursts of racialism since the British Government announced their policy. They look upon themselves as the only people fit to undertake the responsibilities of government in East Africa and they have carried on a successful propaganda among the Tanganyika whites. They have derived considerable support from the attitude of Sir Edward Grigg whose recent address to the Kenya Legislative Council was tantamount to a public condemnation of the policy of His Majesty's Government. Indians have noted with astonishment that the Governor of a small colony should be allowed to criticise his superiors, apparently with impunity, when a former Viceroy of India was censured for expressing his strong sympathy with the Indians who were fighting for the honour of their race in South Africa.

A member of the Union Government is reported to have criticised the Imperial Government's policy recently and to have said that South Africa "refused to acquiesce in any declaration that the interests of Natives should have preference over those of the European in any British territory in Africa." Is it to be wondered at if Indians feel that notwithstanding the White Papers the Kenya Europeans may continue in practice to be the final repository of power?

The establishment of a common electoral roll in Kenya and the consequent development of a sense of equal citizenship offer the only guarantees for a permanent and equitable solution of the East African question. His Majesty's Government have declared unequivocally in favour of a common roll, but the language used by them creates the impression that the action that may be taken in this connection "in the immediate future" on the report of the High Commissioner may fall short of the full application of the principle accepted by them. We hope that subsequent events will prove this suspicion to have been unfounded, but we should be able to understand the reluctance of Tanganyika Indians to enter an organisation the future of which is still uncertain.

Now as before, in East Africa everything depends on Kenya.

H. N. KUNZRU.

#### INDIAN SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

THE suggestion for the postponement of the Round Table Conference which was mooted in India a few weeks ago and which has within the last few days been endorsed by Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, the ex-President of the Assembly, amongst others, found support in England in unexpected quarters. For we find Viscount Sumner, Lord Sydenham, Lord Greenway, Sir Claud Jacob, Sir Reginald Craddock and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in their letter published in the *Daily Telegraph* of August 26 pleading for an immediate announcement postponing the Conference "until order has been restored in India." That is how extremes sometimes meet. We do not wish to tire our readers' patience with the reasons with which these gentlemen support their plea, for they can be easily imagined. Curiously enough, the suggestion failed to commend itself even to the *Daily Telegraph*. With the arrangements for the Conference so far advanced as they are the paper thinks that if action on the lines suggested by these worthies were taken, it

might well add to the confusion and embitterment of the situation; the Indian Princes, as well as the moderate parties, would be given grounds for complaint. What the Government reasonably could and should do is to declare itself in the same sense as last week's notable meeting of the Calcutta branch of the European Association, which, while approving the Simon Report subject to important modifications, resolved that measures with regard to political advancement should be postponed "until such time as seditious propaganda and unconstitutional agitation had been brought to an end. Any other course would be in flat opposition to the policy accepted by all parties here when the Act of 1919 was passed by Parliament.

In complete contrast to the above is the opinion of the *Daily Herald* which disposes of these "Six Men" in the following terms:—

In this grave matter of India there is no place for people who stand obstinately on some point of pride or punctilio.

To suggest that there should be no Conference until there is complete law and order in India is to understand nothing.

The very business of the Conference is to reach out to decisions that will themselves establish law and order by establishing popular contentment.

Violence is no remedy, non-co-operation is no remedy, coercion is no remedy. And responsible opinion here and in India is hardening rapidly into the conviction that no remedy for India's unrest can be found except at the Round Table Conference.

Let there be no talk of postponement.

On September 13 the *Spectator* wrote on the failure of the peace negotiations. It deplored the failure but did not feel that it was the fault of Lord Irwin. The demands of Congress leaders were, in its opinion, not only impossible, but "inconsistent with each other and with the whole of the Congress policy." If as the Congress leaders urged, the Round Table Conference is "to be truly a constituent assembly," the paper points out, "it is obviously impossible to forestall it by deciding beforehand points which will have to come before it for discussion, such as the public debt, and the control of the army." Now that the Conference is to meet in the absence of the Congress leaders, the paper urges that "it is all the more necessary that it should not ignore that which they represent." While the absence of the Congress representatives will greatly handicap the progressive elements attending the Conference, the Labour Government must not, says the paper, succumb to the attempt being made in England to exalt the Simon Report and to get the Government to declare in favour of it. "The avowed object of the Labour Party, the establishment of the constitution of India on a permanent basis, becomes even more important than before, for if it is not attained the Congress will immediately regain the position of moral prestige which it has now, for the moment, thrown away; and it will be strong enough to render any other constitution unworkable." What is however more important is the view of this paper that India can be given Dominion Status *minus* some reservations for the transition period.

Were this status secured to India by the new constitution, a number of questions would automatically be settled which have caused much heart-burning both in India and outside. The status of a Dominion, for instance, as we have repeatedly pointed out, involves automatically, if not the right, the ability to secede from the Empire. It also involves complete fiscal autonomy. It cannot include the right to repudiate debts, but as many people have been made aware by recent agitation in Australia, it includes the ability to do so.

Writing on the eve of the breakdown of the peace negotiations, the *Sunday Times* referred to "India Conference Anxieties." With regard to the Congressmen's demand for an assurance of support to the Indian National demand of Dominion Status on the part of the British Socialist Government, the paper thunders:—

Doubtless Gandhi knows as well as anyone here that no Government worthy of the name could agree to such an arrogant demand which would imply its virtual abdication of its powers in favour of the Congress extremists. It may therefore be inferred that their leader is still impenitent, that the attempt to make British rule impossible will continue, and that the Congress party will not be represented directly at the Conference.

It then complains that the "more moderate Nationalist parties" merely indulge in "general repudiations of the Simon Commission Report and vain repeti-

tions of the demand for Dominion Status." It warns Indian opinion against it in the following words :

That unhappy catchword, if subjected to analysis, is clearly inapplicable to India in her present condition, or to any India that we can foresee for generations to come. India is as unlike Canada or Australia or South Africa as chalk is unlike cheese, and it is surely significant that the Simon Commission composed of responsible men of all parties, agreed in avoiding the use of the term "Dominion status" in its long, detailed, and very liberal Report. Any thoughtful person who reads Volume I of the Report, which describes the Indian situation plainly and dispassionately, must indeed see that that vast country, sharply divided into many sections by race, religion, language and geographical conditions, cannot be treated as a country inhabited by a white population with uniform traditions and ideals. The facts are too clear and too fundamental to be overridden and ignored by clamour for "Dominion Status," any more than St. Paul's teaching at Ephesus was controverted by the cry of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

We hope the *Sunday Times* realises fully the implications of its writing. Since it is physically impossible for this country even in the most distant future to be "inhabited by a white population with uniform traditions and ideals," it can, according to it, never have Dominion Status. But with the British Government pledged to its grant and that too at no very distant date—a fact which it apparently fails to take note of—we can only infer that the *Sunday Times* is speaking only for a small minority of the British people.

This is followed by the usual wail at the exclusion of Sir John Simon from the Conference for which the British Government comes in for strong condemnation at the hands of the paper. While on this subject, attention may be drawn to the commonsense view of this matter expressed in his letter published in the *Times* of August 2<sup>d</sup> by Lord Southborough, who is familiar to the Indian public as the Chairman of the Franchise and Functions Committee in connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. If it were left to him to decide whether to include or exclude Sir John Simon, he tells us he "should have opposed the inclusion of Sir John Simon and of any of his colleagues as members of the Conference". But he does not altogether shut out his association with the Conference.

"If the Conference finds itself in difficulties of interpretation in regard to the Report," he points out "or desires information as to fact, or opinion on specific matters, then I feel that the proper course is for the Conference to invite Sir John to attend a meeting, or meetings, and put his knowledge and experience at the disposal of the Conference. Through this conduit pipe that body can drain all that the Commission knew."

Unless we are mistaken, this is exactly what His Majesty's Government have always contemplated, viz., to allow Sir John Simon to come in as an expert if the Conference should feel the need for his expert advice. But that does not satisfy those with whom any stick is good enough to beat the Labour Government with. And the latest one hears on the point is that Mr Spender has lent the weight of his influence to the demand that Sir John Simon should figure in the Conference as a British Delegate. It is true, as pointed out by the Prime Minister, that the Government would regard his inclusion as a "profound mistake"; but we should not wonder if circumstanced as the Socialist Government is, it feels compelled to purchase peace at the cost of his inclusion. What should the Indian Delegates do then? Should they refuse to associate with him? Sir John Simon's presence at the Conference need not affect their course of action, just as the inclusion of representa-

tives of the Opposition parties, though contrary to the Government's original intentions, was not allowed to.

For the rest, the recent bomb outrages at Calcutta and Dacca result in the death of a police officer provided a welcome opportunity to the die-hard organs of British opinion to fulminate against the Indian National Congress. The *Times*, however, is fair-minded enough to look at the outrages from the proper perspective. "It is quite clear" says it "that while the All-India National Congress has neither ordered nor instigated these outrages, its methods of agitation and propaganda have encouraged small but dangerous terrorist groups which first appeared in Bengal during Lord Minto's Viceroyalty and have never been completely crushed." According to it, the revolutionaries lie low and wait for some "political excitement" to emerge from their hiding. It recalls similar outrages which followed the non-co-operation movement and remarks :

The present political agitation in India has naturally been followed by the same results in Bengal, where Mr. Gandhi and other apostles of non-violence have never had the same influence among the politically-minded classes that they enjoy in Western India. Even there "passive resistance" to authority has been marked by so much violence, blackmail, and racial animosity that the Government of India has declared the Working Committee of the Congress Party an unlawful association. In Bengal, where political conspiracy has survived for the best part of a generation, Congress propaganda and defiance of the law have produced an unrest which has emboldened the conspirators to come into the open, first in the Chittagong raid, and now in the misdeeds which have marked nearly every day of the current week.

The *Manchester Guardian* is inclined to think that "such episodes as this are unhappily only too common in connection with nationalist movements and they do irreparable harm to the very cause in whose name they are done. Zaghul, when he heard of the murder of Sir Lee Stack, is said to have murmured, 'Some enemy has done this.'" It thus analyses the political murderer's mentality :

Young men, especially, whose patriotism is so stirred as to become morbid are attracted by the idea of assassination. They do not count the cost, nor do they at all think out its consequences. It is enough for them that they are making a gesture, suffering martyrdom, expressing their fanaticism in immediate action. And probably to such people the notoriety that comes to the private murderer is also attractive. India has been particularly liable to outbursts of assassination, directed not only against Englishmen but against Indians as well.

Another subject to which the British Press devoted some attention in mail week was the resolution passed by the European Associations at different places. The *Manchester Guardian* deals with the subject in a one-column editorial and says that the Europeans' lack of interest so far in politics was that "there was a strong Government and they were making money" They are not now doing so well and the current political agitation is not without its effect upon them and their business. They would, according to the *Guardian*, even tolerate the non-co-operation movement if it did not involve hartals and strikes "which make business impossible." The result is, as the *Manchester Guardian* tells us,

The business community has considerably modified its old attitude. It is inclined, in fact, to be a good deal more liberal in its attitude towards the new movement than the officials. Seeing, as it does, that whatever may be the outcome of the present crisis the future must increasingly be in the hands of Indians, and that, therefore, it is to them it must look if it is to prosper.

It then cites the resolution passed by the Calcutta Europeans supporting "a conciliatory attitude" and by the Bombay one to the effect that the Simon Report "does not go nearly far enough" as evidence of their willingness to adapt themselves to "circumstances which they have come to see are inevitable". The paper then administers a neat snub to the redoubtable Mr. Churchill and we make no apology for quoting this part of its article at some length :-

No evidence could be more conclusive than this as to the strength of the Nationalist movement in India. For if there were any reasonable chance that the old system could be maintained the commercial community would undoubtedly support it. But there is no such chance. Lord Irwin's policy may not please Mr. Churchill, but then Mr. Churchill is safe in England with only an abstract interest in India's future. The fact that the Viceroy's policy has been endorsed by the majority of businessmen whose whole prosperity is bound up in the country itself shows conclusively that it is the only practicable policy. If they have come to the conclusion that the British Raj, as we have hitherto known it, is at an end, we may take it that it is indeed at an end.

It then emphasises the fact that the majority of Europeans have always supported the Viceroy and

his policy of reasonableness even in face of unreasonableness, of a stern opposition to lawlessness, with, at the same time, a readiness to explore all possible means of bringing all shades of Indian opinion to the Round-Table Conference for a discussion of the most satisfactory manner in which India can be given the self-government that she demands and deserves and that all reasonable Englishmen agree she ought to have.

The paper then defends such Englishmen against the charge of "giving in to the Congress agitation, of betraying the Empire for the sake of their own private interests," and says that "All that they have done is to face the realities of the situation." Its *rationale* of a policy of conciliation towards India is sound and deserves to find an echo in every Englishman's heart :

We may have our own opinions about what is good for India and we may be perfectly right, but unless we can persuade Indians to agree with us our opinions will serve no purpose. We cannot take a system of government to India and ram it down India's throat. And we cannot carry on a government there, let it be backed with the whole authority of the British Empire, against the will of the people. That is why we must negotiate with them and not dictate. And you cannot negotiate except on equal terms. The English businessmen in India advocate concessions because that alone is practical politics. Concessions involve risk, it may be grave risk, but not nearly so grave a risk as an attempt to hold India by force and to shape her future with bayonets and rifle bullets. The one will probably lead to disorders and inefficiency, but the other would lead ultimately to an upheaval far worse than that we have lately seen in China.

A few days later it had occasion to comment upon the European demand for drastic steps against the Congress, when it offered the following justification for their attitude :

It looked at one time as though the European Association was going to resist a very understandable impulse to favour the easiest way, the force way, of dealing with the Non-Co-operation movement. But Nationalists themselves, either as a definite policy or just unconsciously, have all the time played into the hands of the more reactionary Europeans and have made yesterday's resolution inevitable.

The present state of things may be pleasing, it grants, to "the more extreme Congress leaders" as proving their power to create chaos" and to "the

advocates of the big-stick policy as seeming to bear out all their case." But, it proceeds,

To the rest of us, whose only wish is to see India well on the way to getting Dominion status, on the right way, the way that does truly lead to Dominion status, it seems most melancholy—a tangle of misunderstanding, unreasonableness, short-sightedness, which cannot but reduce considerably the chances of success of the Conference itself. Violence has begotten violence, and then the new violence has begotten more. And violence will do no good.

We hope the Government of India will inscribe this advice indelibly on their hearts.

D. V. A.

### FINANCING RURAL UPLIFT WORK.

IN recent years, rural uplift work has assumed an importance and character co-equal with the other departments of nation-building activities. Organizations and individuals actuated by high patriotic motives are engaged at it in various parts of the country. Their efforts are mainly directed towards building up of a rural community progressive, and enlightened, and making the life of the villager happier and fuller than it is at present. Their idea seems to be to set right the existing social and economic evils in the village, and enable the villagers to play their legitimate part in the government of the country.

Organisations and institutions composed of, and controlled by public-spirited urban-folk, no doubt, finance the rural work. But in some cases, it seems to us, the enthusiasm of such institutions in rural welfare work does not continue undiminished for a sufficiently long time to enable the rural worker to see the results of his labours. Depending as he does entirely on the financial help of outside agencies, it is but natural that the worker should feel hampered in his work the moment financial support is withdrawn. All his labours in the village become fruitless. Further, the fact that outside agencies support the rural worker is, in no small measure responsible for creating an attitude of mind among the villagers which looks at such organizations as merely charitable institutions from which they are entitled to get what relief they could get unsought. Unfortunately the villagers have not yet realised the value of such institutions, nor their own responsibilities and obligations in the matter. Ideas of self-help, co-operation and civic responsibility are still lacking among them. In some cases, the villager may co-operate so long as the worker is being financed by outside agencies. But the moment help is withdrawn the worker goes away, and the whole village lapses again into a state of indifference to all civic responsibilities. The villagers have not yet got the desire and public spirit to help the rural worker, and enable him to carry on the work. Furthermore the organizations that finance the worker, could do so only to a certain extent, and will not be in a position to expand the scope and area of the work as it would mean more workers and more money which the organizations could ill afford. Therefore a time is sure to come when each village would be faced with the responsibility of finding the necessary men and money from the village itself, to carry on the work. It is therefore upto those interested in rural work to devise a scheme with the twofold object firstly, of disabusing the mind of the villager of the notion that rural uplift work is a kind of charitable work done for their benefit by the richer, and leisurely class of people of the towns, and secondly of enabling the rural worker to find the necessary money for his needs in the village itself, without in any way pressing on the resources of the village.

But the worker cannot get on without outside help in the initial stages and it has to be provided for. We believe that an unmarried worker of the right type and character who is actuated by high ideals of service and sacrifice will not require more than Rs. 20, in a village, and a married man would find Rs. 50 a month quite adequate for his maintenance. Another Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 would be required for uplift work every month and this amount should be found in the village without making the villagers in the least feel the burden of it.

In this connection we would venture to outline a scheme which, we think, would work well, given a tactful, intelligent, and sincere worker and fair trial. The scheme should be tried at least for a period of 5 years continuously in a village even to pronounce a verdict on its success or failure.

The scheme is as follows:—

The worker should choose a fairly big village, or group of villages near to each other, and live there with his family if he has one, getting to know people moving with them freely and studying the conditions and needs of the village, its agricultural products, and seasons, market, etc. After studying the conditions, and gaining the full confidence of the villagers, he should act as the purchasing and selling agent of the villager, purchasing the villagers' produce at the prevailing market rate, and selling it at the most advantageous price either in the nearest town or weekly markets. Out of the profits accruing from this transaction he may take what is absolutely necessary for his expenses, say Rs. 20, Rs. 30, or 50, as the case may be, and utilize the balance for common purposes, beneficial to the whole community. The villagers should also be made to understand that under this scheme not only do they get their legitimate price for their commodities, but also have the advantage of a good portion of the profit being spent in the village itself for the benefit of the whole community. It should also be the duty of the rural worker to train up one or two promising educated young men of the village in the art of marketing the goods, and in village uplift work. The training over, the rural worker, may entrust the whole work to those young men. This will not only give the educated young men in the village an opportunity to earn their living, but also the satisfaction of serving their own village. They will also take Rs. 20, or 50 a month out of the profits as the case may be, and utilize the balance in rural uplift work. After some time when the villagers themselves have understood the beneficial aspects of the scheme, it would not be very difficult for them to form themselves into a society or organization for the purpose of selling their produce and also purchasing jointly their requirements. The virtues of a scheme like this are many, and they need not be repeated here as all cooperators know them well. When the rural worker has prepared a village in the manner described above, he would hand over the entire management of its affairs to the trained workers and the villagers. Then he would direct his attention to other villages to carry on his operations till each village is trained to take part to the fullest measure in its social, economic and civic life, and manage its own affairs.

In a work of this type it is likely that the worker may have to fight against a lot of opposition, both from the villagers, and the professional dealer at the outset. But by gradually winning the confidence of the villagers the worker could easily overcome the opposition. For the success of this scheme, one other condition is necessary. The worker in the village should be able to command

credit to the extent of Rs. 1,000 in the nearest co-operative Bank.

We do not know if any work of the type outlined above is being carried on anywhere in India. We shall be much obliged if friends who have tried it or are working at it will give the benefit of their experiences in the matter.

S. R. V.

## Our European Letter.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. THE ELEVENTH ASSEMBLY.

( From Our Own Correspondent. )

GENEVA, September 10.

THE circumstances of the meeting of the eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations are noteworthy. They are not sensational. There has been none of that premeditated crisis which has tended to be the usual prelude to such an occasion; there is no revolt of the smaller nations. Notwithstanding the fact that the deliberations of the London Naval Conference will have to be taken up by the Third Commission, disarmament is not a pressing issue. Even the unification of the Kellogg Pact and the Covenant would not this year seem to appear as much a matter of high politics as it did only last year.

The fact is that little by little Europe has come to realise the necessity of putting her own house in order. Political problems do not take the aspect of world problems, regarded in this spirit, but rather appear as distinctly European problems. Herein lies the importance of this Assembly and hence the directness with which the principal nations of Europe would seem to face the task before them.

Nothing is more illustrative of this spirit than the change in their attitude towards the Briand Scheme for the Federation of Europe. Regarded at first with a little ridicule as the fantasy of an aged idealist but a dangerous politician, then with suspicion as a sly means of enforcing France's position and as undermining the strength of the United States of America, of the British Empire, and of the League of Nations itself, it is swiftly passing into the region of practical politics. Conceived outside of, and as a system parallel to, the League, it has been pushed into the arena of the Assembly by Mr. Henderson's tact. It is not without significance that in the last few weeks the suspicions which existed in this regard on both sides of the Channel have completely disappeared, and a new outlook has arisen. On the French side, in place of the resentment, following the publication of the British criticism of the Briand scheme, which regarded England as the enemy of European unity and as a dispensable outsider, there is a feeling that a return to the *Entente* is the only practical method of ensuring a peaceful transition in European politics from the order founded on the ruins of the war to the order which the post-war changes clamour for. On the English side there is equally the recognition that to abandon France at this opportunity would be like abandoning Europe to the forces of restlessness.



which are at work only too visibly in Germany and Italy, not to speak of Soviet Russia, which, lying outside Europe, so to speak, can still exercise a massive force over the Continent.

Moreover, the transformation which the entire economic system of England stands in need of cannot be overlooked. All the political discussions in the country recently point to the inevitability of this change. This cannot be done abruptly, nor would it be the traditional English way of doing it. The insistence on the economic aspects of M. Briand's scheme and the development of some of its possibilities should undoubtedly afford opportunities of bringing about a gradual transformation. At the same time, by such means, there would be some chance of putting into effect at last the recommendations of the World Economic Conference. And, soon, very soon, Soviet Russia will dominate the economic situation in Europe as much as she dominates the political situation now. It is a contingency which can no longer be ignored.

Finally, England cannot be unaware of the implications of the forthcoming Imperial Conference. The right of secession from the Empire, whether put forward by South Africa or India, has to be considered. The Empire, clearly, can be held only by a loose tie. The strength of the Empire must lie far more in the world situation which makes the institution a necessity than in the strength of England itself. This again is a question of policy, and British statesmanship well recognise that to regard a European and Imperial policy as mutually exclusive and contradictory programmes is fundamentally unwise. Hence it is not surprising that having settled with America by means of the Naval Conference, England should now take a similar interest in its implications in Europe.

The primary interest in this year's Assembly, then, lies in the fact that the two principal Powers on whom the existing European order ultimately rests, France and England, stand hand in hand in Geneva, not mutually suspicious of each other and anxious to get the better of each other as so often before, but, almost for the first time since the Armistice, willing to share the burdens of Europe together. It is a happy sign, and it is a happy circumstance that the place for such a meeting should, after all, be the Assembly of the League of Nations.

---

## Reviews.

---

### MOTHER ENGLAND.

**MOTHER ENGLAND. A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.** By MARIE C. STOPES. (John Bale.) 1929. 22cm. 206p. 10/6.

TO readers in India the title of the book by itself may suggest that the ill-conditioned author of "Mother India" had perhaps turned her attention to the country, from which Puritan America derives her descent. But such an impression would be dispelled by the name of the author who does not

flinch from holding the mirror up to her own country. Dr. Marie Stopes is one of the most distinguished social workers in England at the present time and is one of the pioneers of the Birth Control movement in Britain. She has laboured in this field for many years now and the popularity of the movement throughout the English-speaking world is very largely due to the influence of her writings. It was an excellent idea of hers to appeal to the hearts and conscience of England not in her own language which might perhaps be suspected by the uncharitable of the exaggeration of partisanship or rhetoric, but in the language of her numerous correspondents who appealed to her for help and advice in their difficulties. The letters have not been selected with any purpose to prove her case; they have been selected from her file of letters in 1926 and they are from the women whose surnames begin with any of the letters A to H. They are only a fraction of the letters she has received and are a fair sample of those received from all over the United Kingdom. The eloquence of these plain, unvarnished and frank communications is far greater than the literary eloquence of Dr. Stopes herself, great as we all know it to be. What a revelation of misery, hardship, suffering and despair, of the wrecking of human life and happiness, of the crimes to which helpless women are driven by frenzy and of the mortality of mothers and children! And all this happening in the most civilised country in the world, claiming to be highly religious, respectable and decent! It must be a heart of stone which is not wrung by this revelation and does not resolve to seek a real remedy for the untold ills of uncontrolled births. England, which is ahead of many countries in the world in the administration of public health, is prevented by so-called considerations of religion and decency from grappling with this evil. No amount of symptomatic treatment can ever hope to cure them. So long as doctors are not allowed to give advice freely to those in real need of it, so long as no provision is made for the training of doctors in methods of birth-control and so long as it is considered unnecessary or undesirable to encourage medical investigation of this subject, these evils are bound to flourish, to the infinite detriment of society. If this is the state of things in England, we can easily imagine how much worse it must be in priest-ridden countries like Ireland, or in countries which have adopted retrograde legislation like the Comstock law in America. It would be a revelation to our readers to be told that the Ministry of Public Health in England, in appointing committees to inquire into the subject of maternal mortality, refused to put on their committees any representative of the Society for Constructive Birth-Control. The *London Times*, an influential organ of the smug decency of England, refused to publish a letter of Dr. Stopes drawing attention to some ugly facts in connection with the falling birth-rate. It would be interesting, if not surprising, for people in India to learn that in the course of three months, Dr. Marie Stopes received 20,000 letters from mothers desiring abortion. Very few of the pregnant mothers who desire abortion are

deterred from practising it by any advice they may receive as to the dangers, or the criminal character of the practice. "They are determined to accomplish it by hook or by crook, by fair means or foul, by drugs, poisons, crochet hooks or instruments, physical violence or the frenzied manipulation of a frantic husband". The number of women who applied to Dr. Stopes for advice could only be a small fraction of the large numbers who are driven to resort to criminal methods for lack of contraceptive knowledge and from sheer despair. Dr. Stopes does well to drive home to the conscience of England that the colossal extent of the abortions now going on is itself the main cause of sepsis in subsequent child-bed which may take place years after the abortion was practised and that the attempt by the Ministry of Health to throw the blame on the midwives is disingenuous and unfair. Our readers may probably be aware that the annual number of criminal abortions practised in the United States has been estimated at two millions and that the figures in the continental countries of Europe are equally appalling.

There is no reason to suppose that this country is free from the evil of foeticide, though the probabilities are that it does not reach such a high proportion as in European countries. In the face of the evils depicted in these pages it is difficult to understand the attitude of so-called religious people who condemn contraception as sinful. There are others who believe that the wide knowledge of contraceptives would lead to its abuse and encourage a laxity of morals. Granting the fullest weight to these considerations, is it just or humane to withhold necessary knowledge from the millions of married people who have a lawful need for it, because of the danger of its abuse by the unmarried, or by persons whose relations with the members of the other sex may be outside the law? There can be no doubt that, on balance, the need for the legitimate resort to contraception is far greater than the need in other cases. As to the people who believe that under no circumstances is contraception permissible, we would only ask what their remedy is for the piteous agony of millions of mothers suffered in silence, but nonetheless, heart-rending. We would ask men of this type to read "Mother England", and ponder over the narratives of woe. We may probably be told by some readers of the ascetic type that the true remedy for these ills is abstinence. The number of people who are themselves capable of leading an ascetic life is but a very small percentage of the canting hypocrites of asceticism; and most of those who talk about asceticism talk of it rather as an ideal for the weaker sex than for the stronger. How impracticable, futile and utopian this prescription is will appear from the pages of this book, if indeed it requires any proof. If India is ever to arise out of the depth of its poverty and degradation, she can only do so by learning to control births and raising the mothers of India to a higher standard of life, health and happiness.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

## MODERN ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

**THIS AGE OF PLENTY. ITS PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTIONS.** BY C. MARSHALL HATTERSLEY. (Pitman.) 1929. 19cm. 300p. 3/6.

THIS is a short but bright and long-sighted critique of the economic organisation of modern society. Till comparatively recent times the economic system arising out of great industries was generally taken for granted as necessarily leading to prosperity and happiness of people and socialists and others who railed against it were treated with amusement or contempt. But the patent evils of the industrial system with its growing problem of unemployment or consequent suffering has now directed the attention of other people than socialists to some vital defects in the whole economic organisation of modern society. The present work is one of a series of writings which have appeared since the war exposing the utterly unsound foundations on which the present day economic organisation is based. The author turns the searchlight to the bases of the economic system, and brings under review the whole theory of money and prices and the organisation of modern industry and comes to several very startling conclusions foreshadowed by other thinkers and writers referred to and quoted by him. His conclusion is that unemployment must necessarily result from the present system, that the purchasing power of the consumer must always be less than the industrial output and that, to maintain the existing level of consumption an altogether unnecessary quantity of non-consumable goods must also be produced. The result, the author points out, is that the whole economic system would long ago have proved to be unworkable but for the fact that certain facts act as palliatives, such as insolvencies, capital reductions, Bank Credit issues, dumping of goods in foreign countries and what the author calls the inversion of science.

"Recurring wars, then," says the author, "are not merely the inevitable consequence of the present economic system—they alone make the present system in any way possible or endurable. For war is the great consumer, and during times of international strife, the problem of consumption is solved."

And, with regard to the inversion of science, the author after giving illustrations as to how the products of science for the benefit of agriculture, and industries like dyeing, drugs, and fine chemicals were perverted to the production of high explosives and poison gas, he observes, "So are the gifts of science turned by man to his own destruction, simply because under the prevailing economic system a modern industrial community is unable, by ordinary peace methods, to absorb its whole output."

It is not possible in the course of this brief review even to mention all the points made by the author in the course of the very closely thought-out volume. But a few illustrations may be given. He makes a trenchant and entirely justified criticism of modern democracies and summarises his conclusions in the chapter thus:

"The prosperity of a modern industrial community is dependent on a wise and disinterested financial policy."

"Control of financial policy becomes year by year more concentrated in the hands of men who are non-elected and not subject to dismissal—a plutocratic hierarchy whose Deity is a system."

"Political democracy has failed because it is not economic."

Equally sound and unimpeachable are his conclusions with regard to monetary systems. Here he concludes that "the gold-basis for a money system

is an anachronistic survival serving at the present day merely to limit the amount of money that may be put into circulation," and that "the alternative to a metallic basis is a real wealth basis, whereby the issue and recall of money is regulated solely by the real need of the community in relation to its physical capacity to supply that need."

Opinions like these prepare one for some form of socialistic reconstruction of society, and the constructive proposals put forward by the author are in some measure affected by the recognition of the fundamental truth that wealth production and distribution is a national concern. But the author stops short of a really radical reconstruction of the economic structure of society with reference to this fundamental fact. His essay is really one of the numerous efforts one finds all round one nowadays to stop at a half-way house on the road to nationalisation. This seems to be characteristic of most new economic theories. They are mostly based on a recognition of the fundamental truths of socialism but they would not give these recognised verities their full logical effect.

Our author does not go the whole hog and say that the production and distribution of wealth are national concerns which must be nationally regulated. He makes suggestions which in his judgment would meet the full needs of the situation without upsetting the individualist character of national industries.

He would nationalise money in a real sense by abolishing the private money in the shape of bank credits which greatly upset prices and values. His next suggestion which follows that of Major Douglas is that, "In order that the purchasing power of the public should correspond to Industry's productive capacity, 'ultimate goods' should be sold to consumers at their Just Price which bears to the financial cost of their production the same ratio as national consumption bears to national production"—which is less than cost price.

This is to be supplemented by the distribution of a National Dividend to all members of the community irrespective of age or condition and as a supplement to wages. It is interesting to note in this connection that the author seeks to establish the ethical justification of a national dividend by showing that one of the great factors in wealth production is the common cultural inheritance by reason of which each member of the community is entitled to a share of the wealth and he also emphasises the fact that industry is directly dependent on the co-operation of the consumer. While thus completing the argument for national control of production and distribution, the author nevertheless clings desperately to the framework of the present-day individualistic system. Ruthlessly radical in his criticism of the existing system, he makes out the system to be one which must inevitably lead to increasing impoverishment, competitive exploitation and war; and in some measure he recognises the claim of the state and the community to a share in the regulation of the system. Yet he shrinks from the inevitable conclusion that these are the necessary results of a system in which individual ownership is looked upon as the primary factor in wealth production and distribution.

The author shows rare acumen and critical insight in his analysis of the industrial system with reference mainly to the system of prices. But he ignores the more fundamental factors in the problem and fails to take account of the psychological and social basis of the organisation in which perhaps will be found imbedded the roots of the evils he so ably expounds. What he really pleads for is a change in

the scheme of social values, but he restricts his observation only to more superficial factors without bringing into account such ultimate questions as those of individual ownership, of competition in wealth rather than in service and other abnormalities in the basis of the present-day scheme of values.

Nevertheless the little book is a valuable contribution to the study of the present-day economic system. Its exposure of the rottenness of the system is thorough and convincing. Its constructive proposals too are valuable inasmuch as they show a recognition, however halting, of the principle that the individual owner is not entitled to have the last say in industry. And it is still more valuable in that it stimulates thought and leads the reader inevitably beyond the actual proposal made in the book.

N. C. S.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN MARRIAGE. A SOCIOLOGY OF SEXUAL RELATIONS.**  
By F. MULLER-LYER. Tr. by ISABELLA C. WIGGLEWORTH. (Allen and Unwin.) 1930.  
22cm. 248p. 12/6

THE original of this book was published in German in 1913 as the fifth volume in a series which was to constitute 'a unified systematic sociology'. But each volume was planned so as to form an entity in itself. If Miss Wiggleworth has thought it worth her while to translate this book sixteen years after its first appearance it is because it contains so much that is of value for the present day, when ideas regarding sexual relations are undergoing such a radical change all over the world. As she rightly observes, "so many books on marriage leave one with a feeling of chaos that it is important to examine any document undertaking the discovery of order by searching for underlying tendencies." And it is true that one lays down the book with the feeling that in sexual relationships, as in other matters, society is not drifting towards chaos.

The author sees three epochs in the development of society: the Clan Epoch, 'where human society is built upon the principles of common ancestry, of blood relationships, whose prototype is the clan'; the Family Epoch, where the clan is split up into families and the economic functions of the Clan are assumed by the family, where also the State becomes a powerful separate entity; and the Personal Epoch, which should be considered to have but just begun. Man's economic development, owing to the division of labour and the creation of different occupations for him, led to the transition from the Clan to the Family epoch; and woman's economic development, by her becoming teacher, doctor, shop assistant, factory worker etc., is similarly leading society from the Family to the Personal epoch. The author traces in clear outline the changes undergone during these epochs in the forms of love, motives for marriage, phases of marriage, the social position of women and kindred matters. The Indian reader will find the book of particular interest and value, though to appreciate it fully he should be familiar with the social facts that are usually given in works of descriptive sociology.

V. V. S.

**INDIA: A NATION. A PLEA FOR INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.** BY ANNIE BESANT.  
(Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930.  
20 cm. 226 p. Rs. 1/8.

THIS book written by that distinguished lady, Dr. Annie Besant, was first published in 1915 and

has since been reprinted thrice. It is a plea for Indian Self-Government; and it is, as Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer says in the Foreword, an appeal to the British democracy on that behalf. When first published, its main purpose was to present to the British public "the other side of the shield" about India, as a reply to the official publications which paint the country as a huge sub-continent seething with religious conflicts, inhabited by ignorant and illiterate folk, and, therefore, unfit for self-government. The author has shown, by references to past history, how India attains a remarkable degree of political unity and economic prosperity, how British rule has destroyed that ancient fabric, and how, if India is to attain her former glory and take her rightful part in the British Commonwealth as an equal member thereof, she can do so only by the introduction of self-government of the type she had been accustomed to in the past. With Dr. Besant we can say we feel grateful to Britain for the many benefits she has conferred upon India and, more than all, for the peace that she has evolved in the country. But the peace she gave is not such as to enable the country to become self-respecting; and the good government she introduced is not consistent with self-government. To reconcile the ruffled and roused consciousness of the country, self-government is the only remedy. And Dr. Besant has, by the publication of this book, brought this point prominently into relief. As a reasoned and argumentative plea in favour of India's claim to self-rule, the book will occupy a high place.

C. V. HANUMANTA RAO.

**AMERICAN SPEECHES.** By THE RT. HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD. (Janathan Cape.) 1930. 20cm. 157p. 2/6.

MR. MACDONALD went to America with an avowal that he was "out for a positive policy of peace." He went as the representative of a great nation to another, America, to bring about an alliance not for War, but for goodwill. He was lionised. He was honoured by Universities, by legislative assemblies, by cities and by select clubs. The speeches that he belivered on the various occasions are collected together in this slender volume. Naturally, they cover a great range of topics. There are speeches on Naval Armament, on Education, on the historical importance of cities and so on. Mr. MacDonal spoke to an audience composed, not only of those before him, but an immense number 'listening in' to him on radio in different parts and different countries. The consciousness of this vast invisible audience would have disconcerted a lesser man. Apart from the vastness of the listeners, there was the danger of misunderstanding, because the Prime Minister's visit to U. S. A. was looked upon with anxious trepidation by other nations. He had to disarm suspicion and allay fears of a 'secret alliance' between U. S. A. and Great Britain. Moreover the speeches were delivered unprepared in a hurricane programme. In spite of all this they show an astonishing clarity of thought and lucidity of diction. While reading these speeches an Indian reader cannot but be struck with the burning desire for peace and straightforwardness revealed by Mr. MacDonal and he cannot but wonder whether the same principles hold good where a subject nation is concerned. Mr. MacDonal wants America and Great Britain to pledge themselves "to common aspirations pledge ourselves that our two flags, wherever the work of God is to be done in this

world, will be flying side by side in the doing of that work". One cannot but wish to remind the Prime Minister of his splendid words uttered in a free nation whose friendship he cultivated assiduously. "We have all taken risks in the making of War and in going into wars. Is it not time that we should take some risks to secure peace?"

M. D. S.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM, WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT. By W. F. WILLOUGHBY. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1927. 22cm. 343p. \$ 3'00.
- THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES. By ALBERT LANGELOTING. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1927. 22cm. 318p. \$ 3'00.
- THE SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF GREAT BRITAIN—A REPORT. By WILLIAM F. WILLOUGHBY; WESTAL W. WILLOUGHBY AND SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1929. 22cm. 362p. \$ 3.00.
- THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD. By OSCAR NEWFANG. (Putnams.) 1930. 20cm. 284p. \$ 2'00.
- THE CABIN BEYOND. By ALBERT FERNADES. (Meader Publishing Co., Boston.) 1930. 20cm. 167p. \$ 2'00.
- THE FILENE STORE. A Study of Employer's Relation to Management in a Retail Store. By MARY LA DAME. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1930. 23cm. 541p. \$ 2'50.
- MEN WHO ARE MAKING THE WEST. By B. O. FORBES. (B. C. Forbes Publishing Co., New York.) 1923. 20cm. 343p. \$ 2'00.

## THE ARYAN PATH

### AN OUTSTANDING MONTHLY JOURNAL

A symposium of what the leading minds of the Race - who have freed themselves from the shackles of orthodoxy and dogmatism - really think.

#### CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER.

- The Great Heresy  
The Practicality of Buddhism and the Upanishads—By Edmond Holmes.
- Why Do We Hustle?—By Murray T. Quigg.
- The Merchants of Old—By K. Ramachandran.
- A Story of Nansen's—By Patrick Geddes.
- The Hidden Harmony  
The Colour Line—By J. D. Beresford.
- American Indians and Archaeology—By Dr. Ralph v. D. Magoffin.
- The Symbol of the Lotus—By G. T. Shastri.
- The Larger Patriotism—By Hon. Robert Crosser.
- Blake's Affinities with Oriental Thought—By John Gould Fletcher.
- Is Social Work the Solution?—By John Hamilton Wright.
- Tortured by Kurdistan Witches—By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah.
- Where to Begin?—By B. M.
- Mediums, Psychics And Religions  
What Makes a City's Personality—By Helen Bryant.
- Navaratri—By N. Kusturi Iyer.
- The Poetry of China—By Philip Henderson.
- In the World of Books—By Mulk Raj Anand, and others.
- Correspondence.  
Ends and Sayings

Annual Subscription : Rs. 10. Single Copy Re. 1.

THEOSOPHY CO., LTD.,  
51, ESPLANADE ROAD, BOMBAY.