

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VII, No. 37. }

POONA—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1925.

INDIAN SUBSN Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 10 s.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

FOR obvious reasons we would re-
frain from commenting upon Mr.
Chitale's defection; we are quite con-
tent to leave the matter to be commented upon by
Independent organs of public opinion (vide p. 441).
This much, however, we must add that Mr. Chitale's
contention has some force, viz. that there is a sub-
stantial agreement between the Liberal and Swara-
jist policies as they are practised, though there is a
world of difference between the professed policies of
the two parties. The *Servant of Calcutta* rightly
observes: "The Swarajists feel that the 'talk' of
direct action must be kept up in the country with
a view to impress upon the unsophisticated electorate
that the Swarajists are there in the Councils not for
talk and debate, but for some form of action outside
the Councils. The truth, however, is that direct
action is not intended as a part of their active pro-
gramme, while Council activity is all that is in-
tended. . . . While they will talk of direct action
in the country and of preparing the electorate for
civil disobedience, they are temperamentally and as
a class unfitted to work towards direct action. They
may exploit the feelings of the people at large in
their favour by talking of non-payment of taxes and
so get returned to the Councils as against the Libe-
rals and Independents. But the reality of direct
action is furthest from their hearts. The Swarajist
politicians will in the last resort stick like leeches
to the Government tail-coat, although one moment
they would threaten civil disobedience and the next
offer the hand of co-operation."

The Government too realises that the threat of
civil disobedience is empty but the offer of co-op-
eration substantial. The Viceroy, Earl Reading,
showed in his speech at the Cecil Hotel last week
that he was fully conscious of the inwardness of
the acceptance by Pandit Nehru of membership of the
Skeen Committee and other events. "I am tempt-
ed to recall," he said, "another feature of recent de-
bates but I shall refrain, for if I were to estimate the
action of members of the Legislative Assembly as
showing the intention to co-operate, I might perhaps
cause trouble in some particular political camp. I
shall therefore merely note that in my judgment at
the present day as I understand the situation, there
is a more favourable atmosphere than has existed
during my viceroyalty. I regret that it is not more
pronounced and more definite, but I recognise from
long experience the exigencies and difficulties of
political leaders." The exigency of the Swarajist
party requires that while they mean co-operation,
they must still go on mouthing for some time non-
co-operation, obstruction and civil disobedience. Mr.
Tambe of Amraoti has but done indiscreetly what
Pandit Motilal Nehru has been doing discreetly. Mr.
Jinnah may well exclaim: "Will you bring Pandit
Motilal Nehru to bow down to the throne at Viceroy-
al Lodge and say 'Sir, I am humble, I crawl before
you, and will you now be graciously pleased to give
me (one thing and another) ?'"

* * *

Et tu, Brute ? IT will be remembered that in the
winter session of the Assembly
Mr. Jinnah quoted an extract from the Congress
Presidential Speech of Pandit Motilal Nehru which
went to show that the Pandit was then of the Liberal
opinion that the reforms, though inadequate, should
be worked for what they were worth. Mr. Jinnah
used this quotation on that occasion with tremendous
effect, for it showed conclusively that Pandit Nehru
had since undergone a complete change of views. It
now seems to be the turn of the Pandit and his
followers to hoist Mr. Jinnah and his associate
with the same petard, for the *Swadesamitran* has
shown in its issue of the 11th instant that Messrs.
Jinnah, K. Natarajan and Jehangir Petit advocat-
ed a policy of obstruction in 1923. It would appear
that these Independents were in negotiation with
the Swarajist party at the time and called for cer-
tain changes in its policy before they could formally
join the party. The draft they submitted at the
time has now been published, which shows that
these Independents too were then as much in favour

of obstruction as the Swarajists. The *Swadesamitran* adds that the negotiations broke down, not on the point of obstruction, but on that of separating from the Congress, the Independents insisting that the Swarajists should come out of the Congress and the Swarajists refusing to do so. The Independents' draft and the Swarajist party's final memorandum adopting a policy of obstruction are printed below in juxtaposition to bring out the fact that the policy of the Swarajists and Independents was identically the same so far as obstruction was concerned:—

AS DRAFTED BY MESSRS. JINNAH AND NATARAJAN.

The immediate work before the Party will be as follows:—

(a) To formulate a definite programme of organising and instructing the Electorates.

(b) To set up Nationalist candidates throughout the country to contest and secure the seats in the Legislative Councils and the Assembly, at the forthcoming General Election, on the following basis:—

(i) The representatives will, when returned, present on behalf of the country its legitimate demands as formulated by the Party (as soon as the elections are over) and ask for their acceptance and fulfilment within a reasonable time by the Government.

(ii) If the Government are arbitrary, unreasonable and unjust towards the demands so formulated, then, in the opinion of the Party, the time will have arrived to make the Legislatures impossible by adopting a policy of obstruction and creating deadlocks; but before adopting such a policy, the representatives of the Party in the Councils will strengthen themselves by obtaining an express mandate of the electorates in this behalf.

(iii) Detailed instructions will be given by the Party to their representatives after the elections are over, but in no case will any member of the Party accept office.

AS FINALLY ADOPTED BY THE SWARAJIST PARTY.

This Party will organise and set up Nationalist candidates throughout the country, to contest and secure the seats in the Legislative Councils and Assembly at the forthcoming General Election on the following basis:—

(a) They will, when they are elected, and have obtained the necessary mandate from their electors, present on behalf of the country, its legitimate demands as formulated by the Party, as soon as the elections are over, and ask for their acceptance and fulfilment within a reasonable time by the Government.

(b) If the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the Party, occasion will then arise, for the elected members belonging to the Party, to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils, with a view to make government through the Councils impossible.

(c) Detailed instructions in this behalf will be given by the Party after the elections are over, but in no case will any member of the Party accept office.

(d) This party will also frame a plan for the boycott of selected British Goods on the advice of a Sub Committee hereby appointed, and will put it into operation as a political weapon in the pursuit of its aims.

The gentlemen whose names are mentioned by the *Swadesamitran* in its leader certainly owe an explanation to the public on this point, and more especially Mr. Natarajan, not only because he is expected, even more than others, to be a sworn foe of unprincipled opportunism, but because he had even joined the Swarajist party (as the *Swadesamitran* reminds us) for a short time.

A Nationalist Coalition.

"AFTER the Patna decisions," says the *Guardian*, "the Congress ceases to be the common national political organization of the country. It will doubtless continue as the foremost national body, but Indians of a different political persuasion than Swarajists cannot join it, if they desire to make their respective creeds effective." Holding that there is no hope now of having a united Congress, the paper pleads for a union of all constitutionalists. "It

would appear now," the journal remarks, "that the moment is opportune for all other parties who are pledged to what is called 'Constitutional' progress to organise themselves into a separate body which will be more effective than the Liberals, Nationalists, Independents, etc., have separately been themselves. Patna has made it clear that the union of these bodies with the Congress is very remote. Instead of bewailing the change or deriding the winning party, the best action would be to utilise the opportunity to mobilise all the scattered elements and make of them an entity which will become as great a force in the country as the Swarajist Congress."

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal also endorses this plea for unity. "Patna ought to bring home," he says, "to the non-Swarajist Nationalists, pledged to work for the early attainment of Swaraj, in the sense of responsible or democratic self-government in India, by absolutely legitimate and peaceful or constitutional means, the pressing need of uniting upon a common platform, if not immediately inside one political organization, to fight for their principles and for educating the constituencies in real democratic politics and constitutional progress. It is worse than useless to woo the Swarajists into a reasonable mood or real constructive political work. The Ethiopian cannot change his skin or the leopard its spots. Neither can the Indian Swarajists be changed into reasonable, practical politicians. Besides it is no easy thing for them to undo their past karma. It requires much greater moral courage to confess their mistake and completely and frankly revert to the older methods of honest constitutional fight than what the Swarajists seem to command. If ever they change, it will come only through the utter helplessness of their position. And the only way to render them helpless is to leave them severely alone for a while and expose their unreason and diplomacy to the country generally and the constituencies particularly. Those who desire real peaceful and ordered progress to national freedom must definitely make up their mind now to take this straight course regardless of whatever consequences it may immediately lead to."

But it is just "this straight course" which many prominent Independents seem to be almost constitutionally incapable of adopting. They are always wobbling, not because their real views are not settled, but because they are ever in doubt as to the opportuneness of the time for giving expression to them. If only they believed that it is never inopportune to express right and sound views! This much is certain that there is a fundamental identity between the politics of the Liberal and other non-Swarajist Nationalists. Indeed, not only the politics but the mentality—habits of political thinking of the Liberals (except perhaps the Liberals to the extreme right) and the Independents are identically the same, and yet the Independents are averse to coalescing with the Liberals. Will the events at Patna, which have demonstrated the need for creat

ing a strong force to counteract the mischiefs of Swarajist politics, at last determine them to take the only straight course?

* * *

THE wide range of the philanthropic work being done by the Seva Sadan of Poona was brought prominently

The Seva Sadan.

to the notice of the large gathering who witnessed the prize distribution ceremony at the hands of H. E. Lady Wilson on the 8th inst. The report of the General Secretary, Mr. Devadhar, showed that more than 1000 girls and grown women receive education of some kind or other at the Sadan: primary and Anglo-Marathi, normal and vocational, first aid and nursing, midwifery and medical, &c. Nearly half of them are widows, and some 25% married women, which shows how the Seva Sadan ministers to the needs of a class of persons for whom there is no other institution. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Poona Seva Sadan is that 25% of those who profit by its varied activities are non-Brahman—the full significance of which can be grasped only by those who know how extremely difficult it is to induce any non-Brahman women to take to education in the stronghold of Brahman orthodoxy where the Seva Sadan is working. Though the headquarters of the institution is in Poona its work is not confined to Poona—or to Bombay either, but extends to Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Baramati and Alibag. The women who take advantage of the instruction imparted at the Seva Sadan are drawn from several parts of the country—Indian States and the Central Provinces contributing not a small proportion. 12% of the women are maintained by the Seva Sadan at its own cost, the total annual expense incurred on their account being no less than Rs. 26,000, which fact alone shows how strong a claim the Seva Sadan has on the charity of people of all classes and castes in the country. The promoters of the institution wish to consolidate the work on a firm basis and if possible to extend it, and the only limit on such extension is the limit set by public funds. It is to be hoped that all the necessary financial help will be readily forthcoming.

* * *

MR. RAZA ALI'S defence of our Elder

Our Elder Statesmen
—and Ireland's.

Statesmen has not put them in better odour with the people than before, and unless the composition of the Council of State undergoes a radical change after the next election, it will hardly survive a second lustrum. But, however, displeased, and rightly displeased, we may be with our present senate, we shall do well to remember that we cannot dispense with a second chamber altogether. The most recent example of a popularly governed country adopting a bicameral system is the Irish Free State. It arrived at this conclusion because, as Mr. Swift MacNeil in his momentous work tells us, the experience of modern constitutions unanimously teaches that a second chamber is necessary to correct the vagaries of the first. The Senate ought not of course to have coequal powers with the Commons; it should be, as it is in Northern Ireland, a merely revising and delaying body. And it should really be composed of elder statesmen; in Ireland it is only "citizens who have

done honour to the nation by reason of useful public service, or who, because of special qualifications or attainments, represent important aspects of the nation's life" who are qualified for a place on the Seanad. (By the way, the provision regarding the method of election to the second chamber adopted in the Commonwealth of India Bill is borrowed textually from the constitution of the Irish Free State.) It so happens that in Ireland too, as in India, the first term of the Senate is nearly over and the elections for the second have just taken place. It would therefore be well to see what estimate is formed by competent judges of its work in the first term. The *Irish Statesman*, of which A. E. is the editor, says in its latest issue, "The changes in Bills brought about by Seanad criticism were all to the good, and there are few people who would like to have all the legislation in force as it first left the Dail." What a fine tribute to the utility of the Senate from a Radical politician!

* * *

MR. S. G. WARTY, M. A., of Bombay

Election
of Ministers?

has repeated in the *Indian Daily Mail* the proposal he put forward in the subjects committee of the Provincial Liberal Conference at Poona in August last, viz. that the Ministers' posts should be made elective with a view to convert the Swarajist wreckers into workers of the constitution. The object Mr. Warty has in view is entirely commendable, as indeed it did commend itself to the subjects committee at Poona. If we could smooth away difficulties from the path of our Swarajist friends, we should certainly do so, even by going a little out of the way. But we are afraid Mr. Warty does not quite realise that by making the posts elective in theory (for even now they are *de facto* elective) we shall not only introduce some improprieties into our constitution, but shall render the principle of collective responsibility impossible of realization. The nearest approach to what Mr. Warty suggests is found in the constitution of the Irish Free State, where the Prime Minister is appointed on the nomination of the House of Commons and the other Ministers on the nomination of the Prime Minister but "with the assent" of the House of Commons. In outward form even the Prime Minister's post is appointive in the Free State, but those of other Ministers are substantially so. They are selected in the first instance by the Prime Minister, Parliament only exercising a subsequent veto. It is obvious that where collective responsibility obtains, the Prime Minister must be given the power to choose his own colleagues. There is however a special reason in India why Ministerial posts cannot be made purely elective without providing a safeguard against the abuse of such a provision. If, in spite of this change, the Swarajists should persist in their wrecking tactics, this provision would prevent the Governor from offering the posts, in Provinces where the Swarajists are in an absolute majority, to any non-Swarajist, which would result in a certain deadlock. Again, Mr. Warty is hardly right in thinking that the Swarajists refuse office because office is not elective. They surely have the sense to understand that it is elective in substance if not in name. Where they deviate from the path of obstruction (and at present obstruction is observed more in the breach than in the observance), they make no discrimination between elective and appointive posts. For instance, the acceptance of a place on the Sken Committee by the party chief. We really need not therefore spoil our constitution for the sake of placating friends who are not given to making such nice discriminations as Mr. Warty has in view.

* * *

THE REPORT OF THE EXTERNAL CAPITAL COMMITTEE.

THE Committee has made no attempt to fix the amount of external capital as complete data are wanting and also because in their opinion any out and dried programme of replacement of external capital by Indian capital is completely impracticable. The question of external capital derives its importance from the fact that unlike the other parts of the Empire India already possesses a large store of potential capital unproductively locked up in jewellery. Between 1913 and 1923 Government rupee loans increased from 145 to 385 crores and the capital of joint-stock companies increased from 80 to 254 crores. The Committee regard a survey of the work of the Imperial Bank and its branches as desirable but regard themselves as unfitted for such a task. They consider however a few suggestions for the development of the internal capital in India.

The first essential is to extend the activities of the existing banks and link the private small banking houses with the modern banking system. A provision should be made for a comprehensive scheme of banking education capable of supplying Indian bankers trained on modern lines. In order to encourage dealings in government securities branches of the Public Debt Office should be opened outside the Presidency towns and more money-markets should be constituted. Increased facilities should be afforded for the creation of negotiable instruments to finance agriculture and industry. In order to examine the whole question of the development of banking and credit a comprehensive survey should be undertaken. As these questions are outside the purview of this Committee, they suggest that one or more committees should be appointed for this purpose.

Coming to the question proper of the external capital, the Committee have adopted the classification of Dr. Gilbert Slater. The first class is made up by investments in which the investor is merely entitled to a rate of interest. The second class comprises investments in which the investor competes on equal terms with Indian enterprise, while the third consists of investments in which the foreign capitalist acquires special privileges and exclusive rights of exploitation. The first class of capital is unobjectionable provided that the money is borrowed at a smaller rate than in India and the return from it substantially exceeds the interest stipulated. Even then, the Committee think that external capital should be used only to supplement internal capital and not be allowed to prejudice the employment of internal capital. It is the second and third classes that rouse the antagonism of Indians because they compete with Indian enterprise and the Committee think that in these two cases Government ought to make certain stipulations in order to "lay special stress on the Indian character of the companies thus formed" when a bounty is offered or where the general tariff affords protection to the foreign company along with the purely Indian concern. But they

think that no restrictions should be placed with regard to the number of Indian investors or the number of Indian directors as this would lead to a discouragement of joint-stock concerns and the institution of private companies which could evade these restrictions. They are also against restrictions to be placed on the transfer of shares from Indians to non-Indians as these would lower the sale value of shares and disturb the "open market" which is an essential condition of a healthy stock-exchange. The restrictions on the choice of directors violates the principle that "capital demands the choice of its own Directorate, failing which its supply will be withheld."

Pandit Malaviya in a dissenting note suggests that subscription lists should be open for a period of 30 days and that preference should be given to Indian subscribers up to 50 per cent. of the amount of shares. He does not think that such restrictions would increase the number of private concerns as these would find it difficult to supply the large amount of capital needed for a firm of average dimensions. His main contention is that protection is for promoting Indian enterprises, with Indian capital and under Indian control. We think he has done well in emphasizing this aspect of the question. Now that the Free-trade régime is past, he need feel no compunction about any violations of *laissez faire* on merely abstract grounds. Without such restrictions foreigners will float companies elsewhere and establish manufacturing companies in India and "carry away the entire profit of industries established behind the tariff-wall." The consumer will pay a higher price while Indian industrial progress will not have advanced by an inch. The great desideratum in the opinion of Pandit Malaviya is increased banking and credit facilities. The position of India is lamentably low and the question of the proper development of banking institutions should in his opinion be immediately investigated.

In spite of our general agreement with the tenor of the dissenting minute we think that restrictions imposed on external capital should not be so drastic as to scare it away altogether. For years to come India will require some amount of external capital in order to develop her resources fully and till such time as our banking system becomes perfectly well-organized we must assure the foreign capitalist of a hospitable welcome and fair treatment.

MERE PREPARATION !

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

SOME time ago, writing on the subject of unity among the parties, I expressed the view that the suspension of non-co-operation was not enough to satisfy the Liberal politicians, but that they would insist on abandonment of it. What has happened since only confirms me in that view. Everywhere now the moment some plan is suggested, people ask 'what is the sanction behind it?' meaning 'what strong and drastic step are you prepared to take in case your plan be not accepted?' As against th^e

British Government, open rebellion being out of the question, the sanctions admissible in the eye of the common man are non-co-operation, boycott of British goods, civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes and other things of the kind. So great is the impotency for sanctions that those that have none in view find it a tactful way of evading the issue to say that they should be fools to announce their sanctions beforehand. To admit that, if balked once, you intend to make a second and yet a third attempt is to court prompt ridicule. That the sanctions enforced up to now have weakened and injured the people while leaving the executive stronger than before is a fact which, though generally admitted, has not killed the common appetite for them. Of a similar nature is the desire manifested in many quarters to undertake some regular campaign for the "preparation" of the masses of the country for civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. Here again it is not disputed that in no part of the country are the people ready to bear the sacrifices and practise the abstentions necessary for a non-violent pursuit of such operations. I declared myself recently against the "preparation" for the campaign as much as against the campaign itself. The critic asks, "Why this extraordinary timidity? If the people are not fit now for a strong remedy, where is the harm in making them fit?" I answer, though the two processes are mentally distinct, in actual practice they would be found inseparable. The education of the masses for this purpose consists in the spread of acute discontent and racial hatred. While the need of non-violence is continually insisted on, there will also have to be a constant iteration of the manifold wrongs of the present régime, of their intolerableness from the standpoint of national self-respect and honour, and of the paramount duty to face the risks of distraint of property, fine and imprisonment. Fiery speeches in nooks and corners, pamphlets and leaflets in the vernaculars will become the order of the day. Every trouble in a school, every movement in a factory or mill, every incident in a railway station or a *mela* will be seized upon to inflame the malcontents and aggravate the general unrest. On all such occasions the *agent provocateur* will be quick to make his appearance, and what between his resourcefulness and the impetuosity of the youthful propagandist passive resistance will soon become active, and non-violence will shade imperceptibly into violence. I wonder too how we believe it possible for an alien Government which has not adopted non-violence as its creed to tolerate for any length of time an open and vigorous propaganda which intends at a given signal to paralyse the administration. Before we are aware of it, in any one of a hundred ways what is called "preparation" will have ended in an outburst followed by repression. Moreover, all talk of a united Congress platform would be rendered fatuous by this ill-advised course. A paper has seriously suggested that I am unreasonable in seeking to restrict the freedom of fellow-Congressmen even to prepare the country

for courses which I may consider improper. So long as these preparers do not use the name and authority of the Congress for their activity, I, am told, I should look on such activity with perfect toleration, if I do not wish actually to join in it. If the Congress, so the argument proceeds, neither approves nor condemns a course of action, it should be considered open and legitimate, and those that pursue it ought to have freedom to do so. It is not so clear to me. By parity of reasoning the right of some to pursue such a course implies the right of others to resist it. And if both parties exercise their respective rights, where is the unity of Congressmen, for which we demand sacrifice and compromise on every side? If I consider a certain thing wrong and disastrous, I cannot fold my hands and sit quiet, while others advocate it and are making preparations for it. Peace and reunion are not promoted by merely transferring our quarrels from the Congress to other platforms, by suspending them for three days and prosecuting them during the rest of the year. We must tackle them directly and come to a definite understanding with regard to them. Verbal compromise which leaves the substance untouched has been tried more than once in the life time of our Congress, but has always been found wanting.

"UNREST, DISCONTENT AND DESPAIR."

IN these words the deputation of the Committee of Assistance to the Textile Workers in Bombay that waited on the Governor of Bombay on Monday last described the present position of the Labour crisis in that city. It is now one full month since the strike involving over 150,000 workmen commenced. Hardly any breach of the public peace, under conditions which are most trying to the workers, has taken place; and yet there seems to be no prospect of an early settlement. There is only one issue involved in the present struggle and that is the 11½ per cent. wage cut. The workers have convincingly proved several times during the last three months that the wage cut will not bring any appreciable relief to the mill industry and that it will not help the millowners in clearing off their stocks. Its only effect will be the unnecessary penalisation of the workman without any corresponding relief either to the industry or the millowners. Realising, however the gravity of the situation, the workers offered by way of compromise to work short time which would help the millowners to solve the problem of the accumulation of stocks and also to bring greater financial relief to the industry than would have accrued from an 11½ per cent. cut—a compromise in offering which the workers volunteered to make greater sacrifices, inasmuch as short hours meant a reduction in wages by 16⅓ per cent. The millowners rejected the offer of compromise and insisted upon the adoption of a futile course, viz., a wage cut. Government, the third party which has a tremendous responsibility on such occasions, was asked to intervene; but it refused to do so. The inevitable consequence of the

action or inaction of the three parties we have been witnessing in Bombay for the last month.

The Workers' Deputation have always taken a long view of the present position of the mill industry and have suggested, both to the millowners and Government, that the real remedy lies in the industry being placed on a sound, efficient and businesslike basis, which can be done only by a thorough and searching investigation of the industry. The millowners have not only refused to do anything in this direction but have rejected the offer of an enquiry made by the Government of India. They are harping on one theme only and that is the abolition or suspension of the cotton excise duty. This demand is made on two grounds—one the rectification of the "historic wrong" and the other, relief to the industry in its present difficulties. The Government of India have pledged themselves to right the wrong as soon as financial conditions allow them to do so; but as regards the other ground they truly say that before they abolish or even suspend the duty as a relief measure they must see whether the industry really wants relief and if so, to what extent. You cannot get relief or assistance in times of difficulty unless the general taxpayer is convinced that you are really in difficulties and that you deserve relief or assistance. The Workers' Deputation have always shown the absurdity of mixing the two grounds for the abolition of the excise duty; and Mr. Chadwick, Secretary of the Government of India in the Commerce Department, has only yesterday, in his letter to the Bombay and Ahmedabad millowners' associations, rightly pointed out this very absurdity by saying that "if, as you say, the repeal of the excise duty is demanded because it is a historic wrong, clearly it is idle to talk of suspending that duty with the professed object of reimposing it again next April." I fear that the millowners have put themselves in the wrong by rejecting an offer of enquiry. It is true that, as was pointed out by the Governor of Bombay in his reply to the Workers' Deputation on October 12, the enquiry by itself may not put an end to the present strike. But it will surely set at rest the fears of the workers that the sword of Damocles in the form of still more cuts in wages or working periods is constantly hanging over their heads. Moreover, if the announcement of the enquiry is accompanied by another announcement, viz., the suspension of the notices of wage cut till the publication of the report of the enquiry committee, I feel confident that the strike is bound to end; and therefore, the Workers' Deputation put these two proposals together in their representation to the Governor.

While I readily concede that nothing can be better than the millowners agreeing to co-operate with the enquiry committee if one was appointed, I regret I cannot share Sir Leslie Wilson's opinion that no "useful purpose could have been served by setting up a committee unless Government was assured of the full co-operation of both sides." We shall have to wait till the Greek Kalends if an en-

quiry can be set on foot only when the millowners agree to co-operate. I do not think that the Bombay millowners are the only custodians of all the knowledge of the mill industry; there are many in and outside Bombay who know intimately the conditions prevailing in the Bombay mills as regards their system of management and who can supply the committee with necessary knowledge and information. Besides there are the published balanced sheets of all the individual mills which are public property as also the various statistics relative to the Bombay mill industry. Then there is the Labour Office of the Bombay Government which must have a lot of information which may prove valuable to the committee. In my opinion, this much data should be fairly sufficient for any committee to come to some definite conclusions.

Another objection raised by His Excellency against the appointment of a committee was that his Government had no power to give relief to an industry or to abolish the excise duty. He further said to the deputation that if his Government had any such power, they would have told the millowners that they would abolish the excise duty if they would agree to the appointment of a committee. I am afraid this objection attempts to anticipate the findings of the committee and upon the assumption of those findings the appointment of a committee is brushed aside. No one can say that the committee will necessarily recommend protection. It may be that it may recommend the complete overhauling of the whole system on which the industry is based and may come to the conclusion that such an overhauling will cure the industry of its present ills. It is, therefore, wrong to assume that the committee's findings will be in favour of granting protection to the mill industry and it is, therefore, unwise to refuse to take the step suggested by the workers. But even supposing that the committee did make recommendations in favour of granting protection, what would be the result? The Bombay Government have no power to grant protection. But they have the power to forward the committee's recommendations to the Government of India with their opinion whether or not these recommendations might be given effect to. The Government of India would then either give effect to the recommendations or would themselves appoint another committee to make still further investigations or they would take no action whatever. But the Government of Bombay would in any case have the satisfaction that they did their duty. They could not then have been accused of callous indifference.

The Workers' Deputation cited in their representation the position in England as regards the appointment of the Courts of Enquiry in industrial disputes and requested the Governor to take action on similar lines. But His Excellency told the deputation that the two cases were not similar and he further went on to say that the Government in England had the power of giving protection to the industry which his Government did not possess. I

have already disposed of this argument. But I must make it plain here that the Workers' Deputation cited the position in England not with regard to the powers that the Government in England or the Bombay Government possessed; but with regard to the point made by his Excellency in his reply of August 12 to our deputation that neither he nor his Government had any statutory power to intervene in the struggle. It was in this connection that the Deputation pointed out that there was no necessity of having such power. Even in England, the Deputation pointed out, where there is a statutory provision for the appointment of a court of enquiry, there is no statutory power under which the Government there can compel either of the parties to the dispute to come before the court. Similarly, the Deputation requested His Excellency to intervene even if the millowners did not agree to any machinery that he might set up to end the dispute. I regret, His Excellency missed the point which we wanted to make by citing the position in England. I therefore feel that that Sir Leslie Wilson's reply on this point was very unconvincing. I fully appreciate the difficulties that stand in his way; but I wish he had shown a little more courage and taken the step that we suggested, for it is really the only step in the right direction.

R. R. BAKHALE.

LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, AND CATHOLICISM.

WHEN, a little over a year ago, the Minister of Labour in the first Socialist Government of England declared that he was unable to produce white rabbits out of a top hat, many English Socialists—and they the most thoughtful—felt that an era had come to a close. For the rank and file Socialism, until Mr. MacDonald's advent in office, had meant just that, if it meant anything: the production, as by magic, of the white rabbit of material well-being all round out of a top-hat of capitalistic misery and chaos. And now they were told, exasperatedly, by one of their leaders, that conjuring tricks and Socialism were two different things altogether! The disillusionment was profound and has not yet worked itself out. Labour M. P.'s may now say what they like about the constitutional inability of a capitalistic system to cope with the appalling problem of an ever increasing unemployment: the retort almost involuntarily comes to one's lips that anyhow Tom Shaw and his fellow-Socialists did not seem to know any remedy either, when they had a chance of putting their nostrums to the test. But that, it may well be urged, was exactly the chance which the MacDonald cabinet never had: they were in office, true enough, but they were not in power. But then the sceptic's mind travels to the most solidly organized, the most scientifically educated Socialist party the world has yet seen—the Social Democratic party of Germany. When their hour of triumph came with the overthrow of the Monarchy, all power and all office fell to them. The old régime had so manifestly made

bankruptcy that the overwhelming majority of the German people were ready to give Socialism every chance of proving its claims as the only saviour of society and of civilization.

And yet—there again, as in England, the golden opportunity seems to have been missed: Socialism in power hesitated, fumbled and ended eventually—in smoke. Of course, it may have been the fault of the persons concerned; though it is really somewhat difficult to believe that, if Socialism was the ready cure Socialists profess it to be, no Socialist leader should have arisen in Germany at that fateful hour out of the millions and crores of enthusiastic Socialists that Germany could number at that time; that all should have been so pusillanimous, so inexperienced, so lacking, as to allow themselves to be led by the nose by their own staffs, taken over from the previous regime and by the backers of that regime who yet had scuttled to cover like children caught in a thunderstorm. If German Socialism was too doctrinaire, too much enmeshed in politics, too little intent upon revolution in the workshops, where alone it mattered: the same can certainly not be said of the great movement in Italy which five years ago seized one factory after another and installed there "Workers' Control"; installed it and kept it and tried its best to work it, undisturbed by the wise old man who was at the head of the Italian Government at the time, Giovanni Giolitti. Italian workers knew by experience and had, often successfully, run cooperative societies for the production of goods: they, if anyone, surely ought to have been able to apply the Socialistic formula and to make it a living thing. But though in actual possession of all the most important and up-to-date plants and industrial establishments of modern Italy, Socialism failed. Unemployment, instead of diminishing, increased phenomenally and an alarmed and utterly disillusioned nation, throwing aside the reed which was piercing its hand the moment it had occasion to lean on it, rushed in sheer panic to the anti-socialist extreme of Fascism.

Of course Italy is and even before the advent of Benito Mussolini was an essentially capitalist country—should it perhaps be so, as the Communists say, that it is impossible to apply Socialism, until bourgeois society has first been razed to the ground? If so, unfortunately for Socialism, the matter has been put to the test. Nobody is likely to forget the completeness of the Bolshevik victory in Russia or of the Bolshevik destruction of every bourgeois institution, law and practice. Yet, strange to say, even a millenarian Socialist State apparently cannot cope with unemployment—for unemployment is just as rife in Russia as in any of its bourgeois neighbours—and if that State has succeeded at all, it seems to have succeeded just where it has abandoned its Socialist principles, and to have failed, where it is stubbornly adhering to them.

Is it a wonder, then, if the average man of our days, who may as heartily abhor economic chaos and waste and misery as any professing Socialist, and who may even have been ready to hail Socia-

lism if only Socialism would deliver the world from its present ills—is it a wonder, I say, that he should turn back from the spectacle of sustained Socialist failures with no faith left in Socialism, though assuredly also with no faith regained in Capitalism. What then? Is it all *maya*, is all history but the sport of a power of evil, which pulls men like *mariottes* on its strings, gloating over their agonies of body and soul? Well may a modern so ask in utter despair; for he only knows two horns of the one dilemma—if not Capitalism, then Socialism; if not Socialism, then Capitalism; and “while it is undoubtedly true that Capitalist civilization has failed, it is equally true that the Socialist remedy has failed.” (III, 13). Fortunately, however, that dilemma is a fallacy: for there is a third economic possibility; and if the “average man” I have put forward is blissfully unaware of it, it is mainly so, because the said “average man” of our hypothesis is an English reading man, who with his English spectacles has also put on that English insularity, which believes that, if a thing does not exist in Anglo-Saxondom, it either does not exist at all or at least does not deserve to exist.

In this way the average English reader may be vaguely aware that there is some such thing as Christian Trade Unionism on the Continent of Europe, but he is of course fully satisfied that since such things do not exist in England, they must patently be absurd. In England the Labour Movement is non-religious; it makes a boast of it that it includes amongst its adherents atheists and agnostics, as well as members of every brand of Christianity to be found in the realm. “Neutrality in Religion” is as much a fundamental principle at Eccleston Square as at Whitehall: for after all is said and done, both places are “English, quite English, you know.” Now without wishing to commit myself to anything as rash as an affirmation would be, that a thing may actually be good, though not English, I yet venture to think that after all, seeing the impasse we find ourselves in, it might at least be worth our while to explore what that mysterious *tertium quid* might be which, on the Continent for a good long while already, and even recently and timidly in England, has been put forward as the middle truth between the two capitalistic and socialistic extremes: I mean the economic teaching of the Catholic Church. The average English reader of course does not as much as know even that there can be anything specifically Christian about so “scientific” a discipline as economics: and little blame to him, seeing that the average English reader has never known any Christianity but that of Protestantism, which almost indignantly refuses to have a common mind [on any subject whatsoever, lest freedom of thought be curtailed, and which therefore can not produce a consistent, rationally worked out and thought out Christian synthesis of all the arts and sciences of man, as is the proud boast, and I would add the even prouder achievement, of the Catholic Church.

Now this may be rather a hard saying as far as

Protestantism is concerned, seeing the many excellent “Christian Socialists” it has produced from the days of F. D. Maurice (1805–1872) and Chas. Kingsley (1819–1875) to those of H. Scott Holland (1847–1908) and our own days. The number of those in England, who believe in Socialism, because they believe that Socialism is part of the Christian Gospel, is neither small nor unimportant, and I for one would be the last to belittle the share of English Christian Socialists in the national task of countering a soulless Manchester School and of educating the comfortable classes of the British Isles to the rights of Labour. But the fact remains that, whether in the Church of England or in the Free Churches, no common mind is produced, and still less demanded, on these economic questions of the day: as in the Commonwealth religion is deemed a private affair, so in the Church Socialism and Anti-Socialism are deemed private affairs—*chacun a son gout* remaining the one principle common to all. It seems to me therefore impossible to speak of any Economics of Non-Catholic Christianity as a whole, whilst the Catholic Church as such does quite definitely stand for clearcut principles, not merely applicable, but actively applied, to the whole realm of Economics.

The fact is, that, if modern capitalism for its principle goes back to the individualism of the classical economics of Adam Smith (1723–1790), David Ricardo (1772–1823) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), it was first criticized and opposed not by Socialists, but by Catholics like Sismonde de Sismondi (1773–1842) and I. P. A. de Villeneuve-Barcement (1784–1850). Both met the rampant Liberalism of their day, the latter of the two being successful in 1841 to put through the Chamber the first legislative measure in France, designed to curtail the freedom of *laissez faire*, viz. a law limiting child labour in factories. Sismondi in 1819 had published his “New Principles of Political Economy,” and Barcement in 1841 came out with a “Christian Political Economy”, in which he denounced the fatalistic acceptance of “economic iron laws” and advocated a living family wage as the first charge on industry.

Subsequent to and against this constructive-Catholic doctrine, the Socialists were inspired by the revolutionary methods and atheistic ideology of the French Revolution and, though at first often toying with Christian principles, as did for instance C. H. de St. Simon (1760–1825) and Robert Owen (1771–1858), were soon superseded by the advocates of materialism, determinism and the “class war,” which principles found in 1847 their classic expression in Karl Marx’s “Communist Manifesto” which together with *Das Capital* by Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), have ever remained the bible of all orthodox Socialists. The years 1847 to 1849 were years of civil commotion and of political and economic revolutions throughout the Continent of Europe. It was at the height of these disturbances that a famous Catholic cleric of Germany, W. E. v. Ketteler (1811–1877) publicly toasted “The Plain People” and—in 1848—preached

epoch-making sermons, in which, developing the sociology of St. Thomas Aquinas, he as much endorsed the Socialist protest against capitalist exploitation, as he controverted the Socialist teaching of godlessness and hatred. Up to the death of Ferd. Lassalle (1825-1846) Ketteler remained, as far as possible, in active touch with this great German Socialist leader; all of which was no bar to his elevation to the bishopric of Mainz. On the contrary, he utilized a general conference of all German bishops at Fulda in 1869 to press for the official intervention of the Church in the economic struggle and it is to this great prelate more than to any other single personality that must be attributed the launching of Christian Trade Unions and all such other practical applications of Catholic Economic doctrine. In Germany he was helped and succeeded by Canon Moufang (1837-1890) and in France by A. A. M. de Mun (1841-1914), who there founded "Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers." Finally Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903) from the moment of his accession in 1878 officially endorsed on behalf of the Catholic Church the practical and theoretical stand thus made, both against Capitalism and Socialism, and in 1891 summed up the Church's teaching in a great encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which has deservedly become the classic expression of the economic principles of Christianity—principles, which Fr. Coulet (II. 110) does well to remind one, thirty years later have become "in identical or equivalent terms the International Labour Charter", forming now article 427 of the Peace Treaties of 1919 and the basis of the International Labour Organization at Geneva.

But, as I have stated already, of all this side of history and of economics, little is known in England—and consequently in India. It has therefore seemed worth while to essay a short survey of the salient points which differentiate Catholicism both from Liberalism and Socialism; and in this planned series of articles I propose to draw, by way of example, on four recently published books, viz.,

- (1) VALERE FALLON: *Principes d'Economie Sociale*. 3rd. Ed. Namur 1924. (Ad. Wesmael Charlier. 10 Frs.) 9 x 6. pp. 445.
- (2) COULET: *L'Eglise et le probleme social*. Paris. 1924. (Ed. Spes. 7½ x 4½ pp. 194).
- (3) A. J. PENTY: *Towards a Christian Sociology*. London. 1923. (Allen and Unwin. 6s.) 7½ x 5. pp. 115.
- (4) R. H. TAWNEY: *A Discourse upon Usury* by Thomas Wilson. London 1925. (G. Bell & Sons, 15s.) 9 x 6. pp. 392.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

REVIEWS.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE DOMS' PRISONERS RELEASED. By THE REV. C. PHILLIPS CAPE. (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.) 1924. 7½ x 4¾. pp. 143, 1s. THE Rev. C. P. Cape gave ten years of his life to the service of the Doms. The service rendered was exacting, but a sense of humour which his abun-

dantly seen in the pages of the book helped the author on in his work for the most oppressed among several depressed Hindu communities in Benares.

The Doms are at the very bottom of the social scale in North India, lower in some respects than the Bhangis of Bombay. They are mostly scavengers. It is their exclusive privilege to supply fire for lighting the funeral pyre of Hindus of all castes brought to the burning ghats and to remove clothes and ornaments from the dead bodies of people left floating in the holy Ganges. They are besides dog-catchers and official hangmen. The Benares Doms have been declared a criminal tribe under the Criminal Tribe Act of 1911, and many of them are expert thieves. They prefer to commit burglaries in Bengal and Jalpaiguri is the favourite temporary resort of defaulting Doms.

The Benares Doms in the service of the City are subjected to the same tyranny by Municipal subordinates as the Bhangis in the service of the Bombay Municipality. Mr. Cape's words are worth repeating in this connection.

Naturally enough, there is a great deal of bribery. Many of the Municipal Conservancy Staff are underpaid, and to compensate themselves, they demand offerings from scavengers. A generous *douceur* must be given to the sanitary supervisors by every Dom seeking employment. A lazy Dom may pay an Inspector to mark him present when absent.

The Bombay Conservancy Inspector has not even the pretext of underpayment for fleecing the poor Bhangis in all imaginable ways. The experience of the reviewer in this respect corresponds exactly with that of Mr. Cape, who has known the regular system prevailing in the Benares Municipal Service, whereby Sanitary Inspectors get fat at the expense of the much-despised, ill-paid Dom.

Nor is the policeman and the police inspector less clever than their sanitary *confreres* in exacting money from the poor Dom. They are in fact more oppressive, their powers being larger. In order to seek relief and shelter from the black-coated and black-souled policeman the poor Dom seeks the Christian Missionary, who has the advantage of coming from the caste of the British ruler. Mr. Cape frankly says:—

We do not attempt to disguise the fact that it was at first a desire to flee, not from the wrath to come, but from present tribulation and especially from the police, that turned the Doms of Benares towards the Missionary. A Dom came from Calcutta, he had to pay a rupee before the police would let him settle in Benares. If he wished to leave he had to square the police. If he wanted to give a dinner to his friends he must first settle with the Inspector. If a Dom wished to be free to roam at night he had to pay the police to mark him present. The village Doms were expected to provide the police with fowls. The Doms did not object to pay the police for the services rendered, but they did object to give something for nothing.

The author's comparison of the Dom Christians with the "rice Christians" of China is very appropriate.

Chapter 13th of the book headed "Human Documents" must be read in order to understand the type of sin and shame to which some Doms are driven by their degraded circumstances, above which it is very difficult, if not impossible, for them to rise. Some strange stories of life tragedies are related therein and will benefit any social worker, whatever his field of work may be.

The foes which a religious or social worker has to fight, while dealing with degraded communities like the Doms are: (1) drink; (2) feuds and breaking of heads, the usual accompaniment of

their feasts: (3) witchcraft; (4) bad marriage customs; and, finally, (5) abject poverty. As the author says, "Drink brutalises the Dom, and makes a man after the Devil's own heart; and only a brute or fool would wish him to drink this liquor which is manufactured in Government distilleries." The poverty which a Dom suffers from is abject, grinding and degrading. Though his manner of life is very simple, his means of subsistence are extremely precarious. He is driven to the moneylender for every little bit of extra money required by sickness, death, marriage or similar incidents, and the Pathan moneylender, or Agha, as he is called in Benares, is always willing to oblige him. The Agha's weapon for the collection of debt, which always increases, are foul language, a few friends of his own tribe, and his heavy iron-shod stick.

The author is rather hard on Hinduism, which no doubt deserves some of the attacks made on it. In his opinion, Hinduism has done nothing for the outcastes but despise, degrade and despoil them. Nor does he spare Islam. "Nor indeed is there in Islam any virtue which could elevate the depressed classes to the height to which Christianity can lift them." Because, in the opinion of Mr. Cape, "the God of holy love is unknown in Islam."

It is very heartening to see that the author has on the whole a good opinion of the Doms. They are wonderfully good, he says, considering their disabilities.

Anyhow this is a book which every social worker among our backward and depressed communities ought to read.

A. V. THAKKAR.

HUMAN RACES.

LES RACES ET L'HISTOIRE. By E. PITTARD. (La Renaissance du Livre, Paris.) 1924. 8 x 5½. pp. 619. 20 Frcs.

THE object of this book, which forms one of a series entitled "The Evolution of the Human Race" (l'Humanité), is to provide an ethnological introduction to History. To this two strands contribute: Prehistory, showing what races and what movements have preceded history, and Physical Anthropology, which attempts to show the relationship of existing human groups. (Incidentally, it may be noted that the French word *Anthropologie* is used in this restricted sense: the English *Anthropology* corresponds to the French *Ethnologie*.)

This M. Pittard claims to be able to do. He asserts that the mists of uncertainty which surrounded the subject have, at least as regards Europe, been satisfactorily dispelled. Yet he has to confess himself puzzled at times—for instance, by a broadheaded pocket in Sweden, or by the "old black breed" of Scotland.

His method is, admittedly, to start with as broad divisions as possible. In regard to India, this method seems to have led him into the danger of giving a false impression. Wisely leaving the Aryan question aside, he divides the Indian population into two divisions—Aryan and Dravidian. The latter he divides it into Kolarians and Dravidians properly so-called and the others. Now, it is perfectly true that all the people of the South speak some kind or other of Dravidian dialect. But, while the speakers of the purest forms of this language family are a dark, long-headed, thin-nosed people, in debased forms these languages are spoken by tribes showing in some cases very broad noses. The natural conclusion is, that a board-nosed race first occupied South India, and spoke a language that

has since died out: but which may have been allied to the "Mundari" dialects spoken by some "Kolarian" tribes. But this distinction, Pre-dravidian and Dravidian, is quite as fundamental a one as that between Aryan and Dravidian; and M. Pittard is misleading in representing the former two as branches of one race.

Another problem that must be raised by such a book is, whether the racial composition of a nation or state has any bearing on its history. Can we attach psychological traits to certain races? Can we consider the Nordics as endowed above other men with the pugnacious instinct? "For instance," writes M. Pittard, "do the mediocre conditions of existence offered to the Nordics, by the very situation of their country and their very high birth-rate truly explain the warlike movements of these people and their repeated invasions, which are undoubtedly more numerous and apparently more overwhelming than those of other people?"

The question is one which many will decide on philosophical grounds, without reference to Anthropology: and one which the pure scientist will never feel confident to assert either way, because of the impossibility of isolating the individuals composing the Race or People from their environment. In such a state of agnosticism, it may be questioned whether Anthropology really provides very much background for History. A country is inhabited by people—so many individuals who do not know what races they belong to, and do not care: but react according to the way their environment has moulded them and their reactions form History.

WALTER O. FITCH.

INDO-CHINA.

CAMBODGE ET CAMBODGIENS. By PAUL COLLARD. (Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, Paris.) 1925. 19 x 10. 308. 46 full-page plates and numerous illustrations. Frcs. 40.

ACCORDING to the author, great progress has been made in Cambodia since the establishment of the French protectorate. It seems that until quite recently even the capital, Phnom-Penh, was inaccessible from other parts of the country owing to the entire lack of roads, and that the peasants, the mass of the population, had no means of protection against their oppressors, the mandarins. The author does not conceal his pride in the achievements of France in Indo-China, but appears to have the interests of the people of Cambodia really at heart. The educated class of Cambodians which has into coming during the present century aspire to Government positions, administrative and clerical, despising the technical professions and trade. Efforts are being made in the direction of technical education, and it will be interesting to watch what fruit these will bear. Many of the problems discussed in the book find exact parallels in this country. The author welcomes the tendency of Cambodian parents to regard the Chinese as good "matches" for their daughters. The children of Chinese fathers and Cambodian mothers are a finer, fairer race, resisting epidemics which till lately decimated the pure Cambodians. M. Collard does not favour the suppression of opium-smoking, as he fears the still more harmful effects of alcoholism which, in his opinion, would be the inevitable sequel of such suppression.

In the customs of the people, which are described at length, we find unmistakable Hindu influences. The descriptions of the coronation and funeral ceremonies for royalty are most interesting.

* With the death of king Norodôm I in April 1904, the old régime of despotism appears to have ended to a great extent. King Sisowath, the younger brother of Norodôm I came to the throne in 1906 and visited France in the same year. His sway both in the kingdom and in his palace is much milder than that of his predecessor. The chief end which all this kind of royalty serves, whether under French or British suzerainty, is of course to keep down democratic aspirations which are as inconvenient for the local puppet as for the puller of its strings in Europe. *Tout comm echez nous!*

H. KOHN.

REFORMATORY REFORM. BY ISAAC BRIGGS.

(Longmans, Green & Co. London.) 1924 7¾ x 5. pp. 227. 7s. 6d.

THIS book deals with a subject that is much to the fore at the present moment, when the whole subject of juvenile delinquency, Children's Acts and Courts is being discussed throughout India.

The author was himself in an English Reformatory as a delinquent. He describes how the authorities set about this task, his opinion of them, and the system they administered. Our whole Code of Penology needs drastic replacement by more humane and enlightened treatment of so-called offenders—often the victims of bad social and legal cast-iron bound customs terrible in their cruelty on young lives. Many of these children are mentally unsound, and I dare say 75% of them would test mentally far below their apparent mental age. Two quotations at the beginning of the book give one furiously to think:—

Your calm belief in the finality of the order of things in which you work I view with as much astonishment as you do my predilection for the untried and the unknown. By maintaining certain institutions we might alter we perpetuate certain evils we might cure.

MARIE HUME STANFORD.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. CHITALE'S DEFECTION.

INDEPENDENT OPINION.

RAO BAHADUR CHITALE'S statement explaining the reasons for his joining the Swaraj Party is, we are afraid, far from convincing. The Rao Bahadur's first reason is that the Government regards prominent Liberal leaders as extremists in disguise, views their action with suspicion amounting to mistrust and that it expects from its supporters co-operation not on equal terms but in terms of subserviency. How is this a reason for forsaking the Liberals? The fault is with the Government and the Rao Bahadur's duty was to remain in the Party and assert the right of the Liberals to co-operate with Government on equal terms. His present action amounts to telling Government that as they regard a Liberal as an Extremist, an Extremist he shall be. Rao Bahadur Chitale's second reason is that the Liberal Party has not sufficient contact with the masses. May not the Liberal Party ask the Rao Bahadur what he, as one of its leading lights, did to correct this defect? His next reason is that the Liberal Party has been waning. He is evidently of opinion that nothing could be done to save the sinking ship. Everybody, therefore, must look to his own safety. Hardly a very inspiring example this of courage amidst difficulties to the rising generation! As regards his reasons for joining the Swaraj Party, the Rao Bahadur—we assume he is still one—forgets that it is the Swarajist contention that every step that they take is calculated to prepare the country for Civil Disobedience which is their ultimate sanction, as it is called. Their going

into the Councils was a preparation for Civil Disobedience, their remaining therein a preparation for Civil Disobedience, Pandit Motilal Nehru's acceptance in the Indian Sandhurst Committee is a preparation for Civil Disobedience, and Mr. Patel's election as the President of the Legislative Assembly is also a preparation for the same! Mr. Tambe, too, we are sure, will claim that he has accepted the membership of the C. F. Executive Council in pursuance of the same policy! How can the Rao Bahadur who does not believe in Civil Disobedience join this party in the belief that it is a distant and almost unthinkable contingency? The only conclusion one can draw from the Rao Bahadur's letter is that he is tired of belonging to a losing side and that he likes to be with a winning or apparently winning one. In politics, however, it is the unsuspected that always happens. The Rao Bahadur may live to regret that he did not stick to his old Liberal Party whose prospects after all are not so faint as he fancies.—*The Indian Daily Mail.*

The contrast attempted to be drawn by R. B. Chitale of Ahmednagar between the work of Liberals and Swarajists, in his announcement to the Press of his intention to join the Swaraj Party, is far from convincing. He seems to be quite unconscious that there is practically no difference now between the Liberal and the Swarajist programmes, except on the crucial question of resort to C. D. and non-payment of taxes, on which, however, he is emphatically with Liberals and not with the Swarajists. His main complaint is that the Government has begun to treat Liberals with lack of trust, and to expect subserviency from them. Does he mean to imply that Liberals cannot perform their function in public life without Government patronage, and that they cannot bear to be "in the wilderness" for some time? Does he expect the Government to be better inclined towards the Swarajists? As regards "work in connection with the needs of the masses," the Liberals have been doing as much as they can, though that is very inadequate. But have the Swarajists shown any better results, except in the shape of vociferous assertions about great projects? As a matter of fact, there is little to choose between the two, as a man of Mr. Chitale's experience and perspicacity must know. The fact is that Mr. Chitale thinks that real work cannot be done without a seat in the legislative bodies, and that to gain this, a little accommodation in convictions is allowable. He is, of course, welcome to his view; we only hope that his search for a party of efficiency, discipline, popular support and good leadership will not land him into situations where he and his abilities may find themselves out of place.—*New India.*

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- THE TENURE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND. By ORWIN & PEEL. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 76. 3s. 6d.
- TENDENCIES TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN CHINA. By CHAI HSUAN CHUNG. (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai.) 8¾ x 5½. pp. 176.
- THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION. By PING WEN KUO. (Columbia University, New York.) 9½ x 6½. pp. 209.
- EDUCATION FOR MODERNIZATION IN CHINA. By PENG CHUN CHANG. (Columbia University, New York.) 9½ x 6½. pp. 92.
- THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR STATISTICIANS. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ x 6¼. pp. 80. 1s. 3d.
- THE HOUSING SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 52. 1s.
- HOURS OF LABOUR IN INDUSTRY. UNITED STATES. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 120. 2s. 6d.
- THE DIRECTORY OF TRADE UNIONS. Edited By R. F. BAKHALE. (Trade Union Congress Office, Bombay.) 1925. 7¾ x 4¾. pp. 63. Re. 1.

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