

# THE Servant of India

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Office: BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VIII, No. 41. }

POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1925.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 10 s.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A Writing on the Wall.

WE venture to believe that the result of the recently held municipal elections of England and Wales are the first rumblings of a storm which will break over the Baldwin government next May, when the coal subsidy comes to an end. One third of the vacancies in the municipal councils had to be filled up and Labour throughout gained what can only be called a sweeping success. Labour registered a net gain of 135 seats of which 88 are in London; the Conservatives lost heavily everywhere and the Liberals were fairly squeezed out altogether. It is perhaps not needless to repeat that, notwithstanding the huge Conservative majority (67%) in Parliament, the Conservatives at the last parliamentary elections polled only 47% of all the votes. Mr. Baldwin's is a minority government and the recent loss of the Stockport bye-election and now again the result of the municipal elections are proof that his minority is dwindling. In fact the anti-Communist antics of Sir W. Joynson-Hicks are bound to accelerate the process. There is one thing that an Englishman will not stand: if you tell him he is inconsistent, he will smile complacently; if you say he is committing a crime, he will bear with you; but if you charge him with doing something "un-English", you really and truly will rouse him. Now it is just something quite "un-English" that the English Home Secretary is doing, in that he tries to make mere membership in the Communist Party a crime. A man is to be punished, not for committing a breach

of the peace, nor for inciting to violence, but for belonging to a society the aims of which are declared to be "seditious". Of course, outside-England, that sort of political practice is commonplace (*vide* America's treatment of the "Workers of the World")—but if it is not "un-English", we do not know what is, and we consequently do not think that the English people will put up with it for long. Add to it Sir William's encouragement of British Fascism (the B.F.s are now calling themselves O.M.S.—Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies): and it seems really as if the present government in their blindness were doing everything to provoke an actual class-war. "Jix" is an extremely capable man; unfortunately he is as narrow as he is capable and if Mr. Baldwin goes on giving this fanatical extremist all the rope he demands we believe it will not only be himself that he will end by hanging, but the whole of the present English government as well.

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**Indians in Canada.** WHEN the Labour Parties of the British Empire held their first conference last July in London, Mr. Jas. Simpson of Toronto (Canada) said that

he and his colleagues, John MacDonald, Toronto, both of whom represented the Canadian Labour party, would be glad to do their utmost when they returned to Canada to see that full civil and political rights were extended to the Indians now in British Columbia.

The purpose of the labour movement, so far as Canada was concerned, Mr. Simpson said, was not to bother about separate national aspirations, for there were many races represented in their cosmopolitan population, but to build up a new culture in the social order created by themselves, and as they did that they realized that purely national aspirations would fade away into the background. National jealousies and distinctions kept the workers apart instead of bringing them together.

It is interesting to see how these eminently sensible and logical pronouncements of the Canadian Labour spokesman have been received in Canada itself. We have two samples of what we think may be called typical Western Canada opinion before us. The *Guelph Mercury* on July 31st had a leader on "Hindu Labour" in which it said that

the Canadian Labour Party is not representative of all Canadian labour as will be evidenced when the Dominion Trades Union Congress assembles. British Columbian Labour have made persistent and continuous opposition to the introduction of the Hindoo and his customs, and there will be little likelihood of endorsement of the views expressed at the Empire Labour congress by the official Canadian representatives.

The question of living standards is of more consequence in Canada than the civil and political rights of those who do not collectively measure up to the standards of the country. The Hindoos do not assimilate well, and prefer to follow their own Eastern ideals and practices rather than trying to adapt themselves to new conditions in a new land.

Canadians in British Columbia are experiencing hard competition in various fields of labour, and the labour organizations have already petitioned Parliament to pass exclusion laws against the Orientals until such time as their standards of life are advanced to those of Canada. These Orientals can, and do, live at less than half the cost possible for a Canadian, and while this is the case the government has a duty to perform, to afford some measure of protection in keeping with the necessity. Canadians cannot be expected to lower their standards, nor to colonize, as do the newcomers from the Far East.

The *British Columbian* of New Westminster of the same date in a leader "For Asiatic Franchise" observes that

the delegates of course are from Eastern Canada, where the Asiatics are not a problem, and they can afford to be generous with the privileges of the white population of the province. But that does not excuse the government who should be able to bridle the tongues of their representatives.

These delegates have committed their organizations to work for the immediate extension of the vote to the Hindoos in British Columbia. These are excluded now by a provincial enactment; but so far as the federal lists are concerned it is in the power of the Ottawa government to confer the franchise by the passage of an amendment to the elections act, to permit the addition of these names. Unless the government promptly repudiates their spokesmen, it will be a breach of faith not to move in the matter in parliament. Asiatics now have the privilege of voting wherever in Canada the federal policy prevails.

\* \* \*

**The Race Question.** SO that's that. The fact is that England somehow still produces an atmosphere, in which such poisonous weeds as racialism find it difficult to live. Our London Correspondent wrote about the striking utterances on the race question at the Church Congress by Lord Willingdon, Mr. Oldham and other friends of that type. But what seems to us after a perusal of the proceedings as even more significant, is the great and warm applause which greeted all such utterances as that "the white races must treat all coloured races on a principle of absolute equality" (Lord Willingdon) or that "an unjust thing is unjust whether done to a black man or a white man" (Mr. Oldham); whilst the few voices of the I.C.S. type (which were also represented amongst the speakers) apparently were received by the audience with marked frigidity. Mr. Shoran Singha said, in fact, as much, wondering as he did "whether the sentiments about racial equality applauded at Eastbourne would have been equally applauded in our Colonies and Dependencies." The Bishop of Bombay was passionately cheered when he said that "he continually celebrated in cantonments where he gave Communion to Indians and to English together": yet Mr. Shoran Singha related a Christmas experience in France during the War, when English soldiers "told him they did not like taking Communion with black men". When Mr. H. E. Streatfield, C.I.E., declared himself "an Imperialist in Church and State", he drew forth a rebuke from no less a person than the Archbishop of Canterbury who "confessed he did not like the word Imperialist as describing our relation to the Churches oversea."

Mr. Spanton (Secretary of the Universities Mission to Central Africa) said the White settlers in Africa wanted only a "manual, technical, agricultural education, not a literary one to be given to the African, lest we create a Babu class as we had done in India;" whilst he himself would not "assume that Africans were incapable of appreciating or benefiting by a literary education"—but then he

considered "our primary motive in education in Africa to be to develop the African's mind and body and soul." Against such sentiments Mr. B. C. Allen, C.S.I., M.L.A. spoke "as one who knew his India, not from books, but from close contact with the uneducated population who form 99% of the country." The tenor of that speech is easily guessed and we need not reproduce it here: only one gem of it really deserves a setting—viz. when the speaker asserted that the treatment of Indians in the Colonies was as little resented by India at large, as Sussex farmers would resent that a native of Yugoslavia was denied the vote in Siam! It seems to us that what really emerges from all this is, that no person can *quz* member of a superior race, rule over others, without getting himself stunted, both morally and intellectually. "Race" of course does not necessarily imply colour: the Ulster ascendancy proves that. Ascendancy, wherever practised, creates an impossible position, i. e. one in which it is practically impossible to maintain one's balance—the ruler developing a superiority complex, the ruled an inferiority complex. What needs ending however is not persons, but the system. Once this system of alleged white trusteeship goes, the whole false conception of race will go too. In this connection may we draw our readers' attention to an excellent statement (reproduced on p.489) on "the Race Question", put forward at the recently held fourth Annual Conference of the International Student Service held at Gex on August 4-12th 1925?

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It must not be imagined that because no disciplinary action was taken against Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar at Nagpur that a reconciliation has been effected between these responsive co-operationists and Pandit Motilal Nehru. Indeed the latter took an early occasion of a public meeting in Nagpur to challenge these Liberals in the garb of Swarajists to resign their seats in the Legislatures and contest the election against obstructionist Swarajists. He also threatened to amputate from the Swarajist body any part that was found to be diseased. All this of course is mere bluff, but it has served its purpose: those who were busy plotting an incipient rebellion are quiet, content to eat the humble pie. This is very much to be deplored, for it will still further encourage those among the Swarajists who are wont to do lip service to obstruction and civil disobedience. Already it has had this effect, so Pandit Motilal himself is misled by the silence and general acquiescence of the Swarajists at Nagpur into almost giving the signal to his followers for civil disobedience. It would appear from a speech made by Mr. Nariman at a Bombay meeting that all the members of the Bombay Legislative Council except one addressed a petition to the Executive Council of the Swaraj party praying that the ban on Ministerships be now removed and that they be now allowed to offer co-operation to Government on selected occasions. It is difficult to imagine that such an almost unanimous expression of opinion would not be heeded by the chief of the party, if he had not felt sure that those who had made the representation would never give up their policy of mendicancy and resort to direct action. Pandit Nehru ought, however, to know that there is a limit to the placidity of even such men as Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar and that his very taunts might drive them to stern measures, if not now, at least at Cawnpore. [Since writing the above, we receive the news that Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar have resigned their membership of the Executive Council of the Swaraj party. Our congrats.]

## THE WISE WORDS OF A WISE MAN.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

BY his speech to the European Association of Calcutta, Sir Frederick Whyte has established his place among the true friends of India and her best interpreters. It combines the judiciousness of a student with the robust faith of a Liberal. Alike in its estimate of what has happened and in its suggestions as to the future, it gives striking proof of a mind richly furnished and nobly trained. His hearers probably felt somewhat disappointed, and one or two of them tried to get out of his second speech some modification to the detriment of India's progress. Sir Frederick's clarity and steadfastness must have come as a surprise to a community whom Viceroy and Governors and Councillors have uniformly flattered. We trust he left them not only better instructed but more friendly to the political aspirations of India.

There are some observations which are essentially true but which are unwelcome if made by certain people and in a certain spirit. The aggressive patriot thinks of the dangerous use to which they may be put and considers it good tactics to question them. It is a perversity to which the political controversialist is peculiarly liable. Sir Frederick's proposition that self-government, and the modes of thought and action incidental to it, are so much a part of the Englishman's nature that he cannot help imparting them to others, is a familiar instance of this type. The impartial student of British rule in India will have little hesitation in granting the justness of the claim. Not that he cannot find many transactions and episodes, whether in the days of the Company or in the spacious time after 1858, in which the Britisher more or less flagrantly violated his standards of fair play and equal measure and even contended that they were inapplicable to dealings with the people of India. But the main stream of tendency, always slow and often impeded, has been to ease the conditions of life, to broaden the basis of freedom and bridge inequalities. One should be always ready to admit the debt of India in this respect; but Sir Frederick's manner gives the admission a touch of pleasure.

The trial during the last five years of qualified self-government he describes, like other people, as in the nature of an experiment. Here again our pride is not hurt. It is too soon, he thinks, to come to any conclusion; the experiment has not been made in favourable conditions, or on an adequate scale. More responsibility should be given to the people before their fitness can be pronounced upon. His personal observation of the doings of the Assembly has impressed him quite favourably. Our critics tell us loftily that the Britisher in India has to teach us how to work Parliamentary institutions, but Sir Frederick gently reminds them that the teacher is as much a stranger to the art he professes to teach as the pupil. From the President of the Assembly in the first four years and a half of its existence this was refreshingly candid. Sir Frederick

naturally believes that representative institutions are absolutely novel to India. One need not wonder. It is only recently that conclusive evidence has become available for the existence in this country of modes of administration and popular election, not totally unlike those prevalent in the West to-day. If their memory is faint, there is no reason to think that the capacity and public spirit, which sustained them, have altogether vanished from the country. How else can we account for the success of the experiment at the very start, a success so startling that, before a session was over, the European members of the Assembly, official and non-official, joined their Indian colleagues in requesting the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet to anticipate the decennial enquiry of 1929? This fact is not kept to the fore in discussions on the subject and one can guess why certain persons are unwilling to be reminded of it. These persons have not been slow to foster the delusion that the heart of India is against the present reforms; and that, if left to themselves, Indian politicians would evolve a polity utterly unlike the present constitution. Our own friends have much to answer for in this respect. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement, whether of the rigid or the relaxed variety, kept on saying now and then that they could not, and would not, define Swaraj; and the desire of our leaders to formulate their own proposals for a constitution, natural and intelligible as a reaction from the assumptions of the preamble to the Act of 1919, was occasionally expressed in such militant terms as to suggest a revulsion from the democratic model of Britain. Luckily, however, the proceedings of the Assembly in the last session have finally quietened these doubts; and both the Home Member and the Viceroy have, as if with a sigh of relief, declared their conviction that what the educated Indian hankers after is responsible government as understood in Great Britain. Nor does Sir Frederick yield to the temptation of attaching undue importance to the ill effects of Swarajist strategy in Bengal. Not a few incidents in the history of modern Japan, or, for that matter, in the history of the United Kingdom a few decades ago, must have occurred to Sir Frederick as furnishing parallels to the intransigence of a majority in the Legislature balked of their just influence and weight in the government of their own country.

On the subject of Hindu-Moslem differences Sir Frederick had nothing helpful to say. But he was quick to expose Col. Crawford's fallacy, inexplicable in one of his calibre, of identifying it with the co-operation desiderated in the preamble. The spokesman of the European Association would indeed have discovered an indefeasible charter for delay if co-operation between Hindus and Moslems could be made a statutory condition for further reforms. We never suspected such a danger to lurk in the terms of the preamble; but there are no limits to the special pleading to which the champion of a tottering cause may be driven. The view is almost universal that the Britisher in India has no useful

part to play in the settlement of the difference between the two great communities here, and Sir Frederick would leave the problem to us. For my own part, I would qualify it materially by a few remarks. Space forbids elaboration; but I must at least indicate my point in passing. For many reasons the British community, especially the official section, still enjoy so much moral prestige and initiative that a large part of the Moslem population in India lean on them as a protection against the supposed tyranny of the Hindu majority. Politically the bureaucracy could tilt the balance still in their favour and put off the day of unity, if they would. Their example too as a privileged minority community has a legitimate influence on the Moslem attitude. If they stand apart from the rest of the Indian people, refuse to coalesce with them, speak in scornful terms of a political nationality even in the future, and insist on special electorates and a disproportionately large representation, it is idle to pretend that they preserve neutrality and keep the balance true. As teachers of democracy in this country, the British community should voluntarily forego their privileged position in our franchise law.

In no part of his remarkable speech has Sir Frederick Whyte manifested the high quality of his statesmanship so much as in the remarks he made on the Indianisation of the great public services. If only this task had been tackled earnestly a generation before the reforms! By persistently refusing through many decades to carry out the Great Proclamation of Queen Victoria the goodwill and confidence of the Indian people have been forfeited almost beyond recovery. And the worst of the tragedy is that this ghastly lesson does not appear to have been fully learnt in such widely separated departments as the Railways and the Medical Service. The obstinacy of selfishness is still supreme. On behalf of these services the spirit of the constitution has been violated and the Act has been modified to insert reactionary provisions.

I may be pardoned one observation on the advice given by Sir Frederick to his kinsmen that they should "play the game" and send their best men to the legislatures. In one sense the advice was not needed. The representatives of that community have so far been, not only of high calibre, but of agreeable manners and conciliatory temper. True, their outlook is sectional, their policy is narrow; and these facts constrain them to appear hostile to constitutional advance and ready to champion measures of repression. The advice requires to be differently shaped. I should exhort them to realise their duty as the chosen vehicles of the high mission of Britain under the Act of 1919. That mission imposes on them a complete reversal of their traditional attitude. It is no longer to be one of acquisition and consolidation, but of gradual renunciation, and salutary example in the subordination of communal to national interests.

## LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, AND CATHOLICISM.

### V. THE WAGE.

IN our last section we treated of the system of so-called "Wagery" and established the fact that this system of employment, to be morally worthy of approbation, must safeguard the consent of the employed; and we saw that this safeguard more and more tended towards what has well been styled "Democracy in Industry". However, today we admittedly live in a transition stage: such democracy in industry, if at all, has not yet been fully achieved. What about the wage-system, as it obtains today, in the bulk of our modern factories, where autocracy, not democracy, in industry still rules supreme?

Now let us bear in mind that the wage system in itself admits of the self-determination of the worker, in that—theoretically at last—he is free to choose the type of work, the place of work and the time of work. It is he, that barter his labour, and not another; he is a free man and not one doing forced labour. Again, he disposes of his labour under certain conditions of work, within definite limits of time, against the payment of a sum which he accepts as an equivalent of his labour. It is therefore evident that the wage contract does not altogether eliminate the idea of self-determination. The objection of course will be made that this is just the sort of argument which Liberalism always put forward, quite forgetting that the whole of this theoretical liberty of the worker is non-existent in practice, since the only alternative open to the worker who refused an insufficient wage, insanitary conditions and excessive hours of work, was to starve to death. Freedom to starve is admittedly not much of a free choice and Catholic economists have therefore never countenanced it. If, against the Socialists, they have defended the wage system as legitimate, because not contradicting the principle of human self-determination, they yet have, against the Liberals, always maintained that unless that self-determinatory element remains a reality, the concrete application of the wage system is morally wrong.

To safeguard that reality, Catholicism has from the first advocated trade-unionism, in order that "against the weight of capitalist power there may exist the counter-weight of labour power" (I, 252.) This principle of Trade Unions is therefore one common to Socialists and to Catholics, and where Trade Unions keep aloof from Socialism, as has hitherto been the case in Great Britain, the Catholic Church is far from raising any objection to such organizations. Since however it so happens that on the Continent of Europe trade-unionism has to a large extent been captured by the Socialist or Communist Internationales, the Church has taken the only line open to her—that is, fostered the formation of separate trade unions which, while safeguarding the workers' interests against those of the employers, at the same time do not commit their members to untenable Marxist theories whether of an economic

or a theological nature; but which rather teach their members to be good trade-unionists because of their Christian religion. Indian readers will perhaps be surprised to hear that there exists a Christian "Internationale" ("International Federation of Christian Trade-unions") with well over three million\* members in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, Hungary, Italy, Holland, Croatia, Switzerland, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Although membership is not restricted to Catholics, it will be noticed that overwhelmingly Protestant countries, such as Scandinavia etc., do not figure in this list: proving that it is the Catholic Church which has originated this movement.

That this movement is very much alive, was only proved the other day (Sept. 16/18) by the session at Lucerne of the third congress of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, attended as it was by 159 delegates from 10 countries (Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Luxemburg, Netherlands and Switzerland: the Lithuanian Christian Trade Unions also wrote supporting the Confederation). Lest they be put down as mere Capitalist dupes and as a "tame" Labour movement fostered by the employers themselves, I may perhaps quote some of the resolutions passed—viz.

A. The Congress reiterated its conviction that the eight hour day was an educational, moral, social and, above all, a family necessity, and noted with regret that a number of countries had not so far ratified the Washington Hours Convention.

B. The Congress pronounced in favour of an organisation which would (1) guarantee the workers' right to participate in the fixing of wages and the regulation of conditions of labour, (2) recognise the right of the workers' representatives to take part in the management of undertakings and in the control of economic activity in general. The exercise of this right implied an adequate education on the part of the workers and of their representatives; it further required the maintenance of the principles of authority and property which were the foundation of social order, and also the taking into consideration of the special circumstances of each country.

In this connection the Congress considered that particular attention should be paid to any form of organisation which might facilitate the reform in question, such as works councils, co-partnership of labour, district or national economic councils, etc.

The Congress requested its affiliated federations to undertake intensive propaganda in favour of the ideas set forth above, and to prepare their members by means of suitable training to fulfil the duties which would fall to them in this connection.

C. The Congress, taking note of the attitude of Christian trade unionism towards the International Labour Organisation,

Proclaims the right of Christian trade unionism to be adequately represented on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, on the various Commissions of the International Labour Organisation, and in the various departments of the International Labour Office, which claim it supports not only on the ground of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, but also on the ground of

\* By comparison, there belonged at the end of 1921 12½ million workers in the countries named to the "Amsterdam (Socialist) Internationale," not including France for which the "International Labour Directory" of 1923 gives no figures.

the services which Christian trade unionism is rendering to the International Labour Organisation.

D. (1) That the wages of heads of families should be sufficient to provide for household needs, in order that a married woman and a mother need not be forced to work. Nothing in this claim should prejudice the claim that women workers should be entitled to equal pay for equal work.

(2) That the trade unions in the various countries should consider the position of married working women in industry, and should endeavour so to regulate conditions of labour that married women might be spared the necessity of wage earning. Pending this,

(3) That working women's organisations should undertake an intensive propaganda with regard to the economic, moral and social value of the household work of married women.

The resolutions quoted reflect faithfully the mentality of these Trade Unions which are as definite and intransigent as any Socialist bodies in their insistence on workers' rights, yet never lose sight of their own duties nor try to glose over them by conjuring up millenarian wish fancies.

In defence of the true freedom of the wage-contract, the Church therefore advocates trade unionism; in defence of it she acknowledges the perfect legitimacy of the strike. For as S. Thomas so lucidly puts it, "to cause a discord, whereby a good concord resulting from charity is destroyed, is a grave sin: to arouse a discord whereby an evil concord is destroyed, is praiseworthy." (2a 2ae 37 I ad 3.)

Fr. Fallon (I, 248) compares strikes with war—since, "like war, strikes are only justified through the absence of a higher authority capable of settling the issue." This writer indeed seems inclined to believe that the State is that higher authority in the case of strikes: but I am afraid I cannot agree with him there, since it is not the State but the government of the day in each State which would have to pose as "higher authority." Nobody however ignores that governments to-day are biased in favour either of capital or of labour, since it is on these party lines that they mostly are elected. Would Italian workers feel secure in the impartiality of a Mussolini, or Russian bourgeois in that of a Kamenyef? The strike certainly wants to be made obsolete, just like war: but I for one see the only development in that direction to lie in whole-hearted subordination of economic questions to the findings of the International Labour Organisation, consisting as this does of governments, employers and employed, and moreover able, as it is by its very constitution, to transcend local and national animosities. But until the Genevan method is universally accepted, strikes will unfortunately have to continue: and their legitimacy in this time of transition the Church fully acknowledges—witness the quite recent strike of bank clerks in France (July 24th to September 11th), to which the world's attention was drawn by a spirited letter from the Bishop of Marseilles, where the strike first broke out, upholding the cause of the strikers and endorsing all their demands as entirely reasonable.

And it is particularly to the nature of these reasonable demands of workers in general, that the Church has made a very important and very fruit-

ful contribution by putting forward the necessity of a proper family wage. For as we have repeatedly seen, Catholicism puts the human character of labour in the forefront: it therefore refuses to endorse "average wages" for "average workers", but maintains that for each worker the human family relationship ranks before the economic relationship between master and man. 'Equal work, equal pay' is just enough as a principle; but just as it has had to be supplemented by that of 'equal risk, equal insurance' to allow for sickness, old age and unemployment insurance, so also does it require this further one of 'equal family, equal allowance' (I, 239): if the work deserves a wage, the man deserves insurance benefits and the family man a family allowance. This is not the place to go into the methods of making that family allowance—the principle is everywhere in process of being successfully worked out in its practical applications—but what is pertinent, is to point out that neither Liberalism nor Socialism as such find any niche in their systems for the worker's family; that it is Catholicism alone which from the very first has subordinated economic "need" (not to say economic greed) to the altogether fundamental considerations due to Christian family life; and that it is Catholicism which alone and uncompromisingly still refuses to relieve employers of the extra charge on industry, which the family wage entails, by cynically allowing the limitation of workers' families in order to prevent the limitation of capitalists' dividends.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS. —

## LAND SYSTEMS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

### § 3. REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND & MAINTENANCE OF THE NEW STANDARD.

FROM a technical point of view a scheme of expropriation can be easily carried out. The real difficulty lies in devising a method of redistributing the expropriated land to the peasants. It was necessary that the land given to the peasant to make up the minimum to which he is entitled should form a compact area. It was also necessary that the land given to peasants should be of approximately equal value considered from the point of view of fertility, transport and market facilities, etc.

The agrarian reformers of Central and Eastern Europe were fully conscious of the problem of maintaining the improved agrarian standards created by the reforms and of preventing them from degenerating. What threatens the economic independence and stability of peasant proprietors are (a) unskilled cultivation, (b) burden of debt, (c) sale of holdings to improper persons, (d) part-sale, (e) and division among heirs. Careful selection of peasants when at the time of allotment, technical help and cheap credit are some of the means by which the State can help the peasants to preserve their holdings. But these are not enough and the new agrarian legislation went much farther to ensure the maintenance of the new standard.

As already mentioned, the maximum compensation paid to the large estate owners was fixed at forty times the average rental during the period 1917-22. It was found out that the new peasant proprietors were unable to bear this burden. The State therefore agreed to share the burden and fixed the quota of the new proprietor at twenty times the regional rentals for the period 1917-22, the difference being paid by the State. Payments could be spread over twenty years on easy terms.

*Rumania*—A law was passed on March 31, 1920, enacting that each peasant cultivator should have 5 hectares (12 acres) of cultivable land inclusive of any land he already possessed. In allotting land men with war service and their dependents were to be given preference over cultivators with no land or having land less than 5 hectares in area. The Act also provided complementary allotments to be made as far as possible in the immediate vicinity of the villages and never less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  hectare in extent.

To ensure stability of the new peasants' holdings, the law made the following provisions: (1) that while peasants are entitled to sell their holdings after purchasing them, the house and the adjoining land to the extent of 1 hectare is inalienable. Moreover, no sale is valid unless the State refrained from exercising the right of pre-emption accorded to it under the statute and no purchaser could acquire more than 25 hectares in the hill regions, nor more than 100 hectares in the plain. The purchaser is under an obligation to exploit in person the land so acquired while no mortgage may be granted on peasant lands save by co-operative banks or some other organisation approved by the State for the purpose.

(2) A limit to excessive division by succession was provided by stipulating that the division of cultivable land could not proceed beyond 1 hectare in hill region and 2 hectares in the plain. Testators may name only one heir, in spite of the civil code relating to inheritances, other co-heirs must be compensated in money. Such money compensation must be paid in 5 years and an interest on it of 5 per cent. must also be paid. With the consent of the agricultural authorities the principal heir can mortgage his estate to buy out his co-heirs. Any estate not exceeding 50 hectares in area may be declared by the owner to be an indivisible estate.

(3) Closer State supervision through State organisations by imposing obligations to cultivate and market in an efficient manner.

(4) Establishment of communal pastures.

(5) Allotted holdings cannot be sold before the expiry of five years from the date of transfer.

*Czechoslovakia*.—The Czechoslovak law of allotment also gives preference to men with war service and their dependents in the matter of giving land. The law provides that land given to individuals should be enough to support a family and shall not be more than a family can cultivate without steady outside help. Land should be given to supplement insufficient holdings. 6 to 10 hectares should be considered as sufficient for a family. Where the soil is poor as much as 15 hectares



may be given. Land may be given in ownership or lease, the individual cases to be determined by the Land Office (see below). The peasant buying land needs to pay down only one tenth of the price; the Land Office gives him credit for the remainder and also for half of the cost of buildings. The credit is long term and not liable to recall and the rate or interest may not be increased. Every farm established or increased in size under the Allotment Act must be defined as a homestead and its character as such should be expressly incorporated in the title deeds. As a rule homesteads may only be burdened with debt on the basis of their annual renting value; any further mortgage requires the consent of the Land Office and must presuppose that in view of the kind of creditor or of the conditions of loan, there is some obvious advantage to be obtained for the mortgagee superior to that which could be obtained by way of a loan on the security of the annual value. Homesteads are not subject to distraint; they may not be sold either in whole or in part without the consent of the Land Office.

Sale must in any case always be to a single purchaser, who must undertake to cultivate the holding in person; holdings may only be divided when the separate portions are big enough to form independent holdings. When the holdings are inherited or devised by will it must be to a single heir, capable of properly cultivating the land. Repurchases are allowed in the case of inefficient cultivation, failure to make agreed payments as to rent, possession of at least twice the normal cultivation area of the district. The peasant may not sell without the consent of the Land Office his parcel allotted under the Act, before ten years.

Section 21 of the Law of Allotment provides that strips of land belonging to one owner are to be laid together wherever possible. It further provides that the Land Office may make allotment of land conditional on the willingness of the applicants to submit the strips they may already own to the surveying and exchange processes for making them into compact farms.

The Federal Homestead Act (1920) of Germany and the Land Resettlement Act (1919) of Austria also aim at preserving holdings in their original form. The Polish Act (1920) declares that holdings created under it may not be sold before the expiry of 25 years from the date of transfer

§ 4. MACHINERY OF LAND REFORM.

The agrarian legislation involved an immense amount of work. In Rumania, the application of the December Decree (1918) of expropriation was entrusted to the Central Organization of Land Banks and Peasant Co-operation Societies, which was reconstituted under the title of the Central Organization for Co-operation and Land Distribution. Local peasant associations were formed under it in each commune. All expropriated land taken by the Central Organization was handed over for peasant cultivation to these local associations. This machinery had the advantage of satis-

fyng the immediate land hunger of the peasants without seriously dislocating production. It also gave time to the Government to settle various questions before final transfer was effected. In Czechoslovakia a Land Office was created to carry out the agrarian reform legislation. The law of June 11, 1919 concerning the Land Office provides that the President of the Land Office shall be appointed by the President of the Republic. The President may, if necessary, be invited to sit in the Cabinet but has no direct responsibility; parliamentary interpellations relating to the Land Office would be answered by the Prime Minister. The Land Office was to have an Administration Board of twelve members elected by the House of Deputies and acting through a chairman. A Compensation Fund was created with a State grant of 150,000,000 crowns. This fund receives the purchase price of holdings, which is 42% more than the compensation paid for them. Out of the 42% 12% goes to meet the expenses of the Land Office. Co-operative cultivation is expressly mentioned in the agrarian reform legislation. It has been pointed out that from the economic point of view co-operative farming assures all the technical advantages of large scale farming. This aspect of land reform has not been sufficiently emphasised and its possibilities are yet by no means exhausted.

§ 5. RESULTS.

Before the new law became effective in Czechoslovakia there were

667,526	properties of less than 1/2 hectare
201,389	" " 1/2-1 "
180,542	" " 1-2 "

1,049,457 (70%) .. of less than 2 hectares.

Also there were

754	owners having	250—	500	hectares
386	" "	500—	1000	"
436	" "	1000—	5000	"
72	" "	5000—	10,000	"
75	" "	10,000—	50,000	"
5	" "	50,000—	100,000	"
2	" "		over 100,000	"

The following table shows the number and area of holdings allocated up to December 31, 1923 in Czechoslovakia. It will be noticed that the reforms have outstandingly benefitted those who had no land or had an utterly inadequate holding.

Average size of hold-ings.	Holdings Allocated.			
	Number.	Per cent.	Average area.	Total area allocated approximately.
Hectares.			Hecta-res.	Hectares.
up to 1	56,877	48.55	0.3	17,000
over 1 and up to 2	42,623	36.38	1.27	51,030
" 2 " 5	14,294	12.20	3.3	47,000
" 5 " 10	2,308	1.97	6.5	15,000
" 10 " 20	632	0.53	13.0	8003
" 20 " 50	116	0.10	33.0	4,000
" 50 " 100	199	0.17	72.9	15,000
over 100	113	0.10	118.0	13,000
Total & Average	117,152	100	1.5	173,000

Referring to the consequences of the land reform in Czechoslovakia Miss Textor says, "There is no reason why small farms should not be made to yield as much in proportion to their areas as large ones, especially when through associations of one kind or another they succeed in securing for themselves the privileges and benefits of big enterprises. There will, of course, be a change in the relative proportions of commodities produced, but that is not in itself an evil. The great landowners sometimes exhausted the soil. The small farmer is not likely to commit this mistake... The partition of the expropriated land will greatly increase the number of small peasant proprietors, and will thus provide the State with a new source of strength. He who owns property does not lightly risk losing it by promoting an upheaval. Land reform in Czechoslovakia will drive deeper the foundations of a democratic State." Definite measurement of economic consequences of land reforms is not possible owing to the shortness of the period during which agrarian laws have been in operation and the absence of adequate statistics. But there is no reasonable doubt that the mass of people have acquired a new sense of their importance in the national life. It has created enthusiasm among peasants for better economic and cultural life. Above all it has raised the standard of life of many thousands of peasants who were without land or had wholly inadequate holdings.

J. B. SEN.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, October 22.

#### THE NEXT VICEROY.

WHO is to be the next Viceroy? ... Those who have opportunities of knowing the inner facts, are of opinion that the question of Lord Reading's successor is still an open one, and that there is quite a considerable likelihood of the choice falling upon the Rt. Hon. Edward Wood, the Minister for Agriculture, and formerly Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and later President of the Board of Education. If so, the choice could hardly be a better one within the Conservative Party. Mr. Wood is a sympathetic and an able administrator, and he is, without doubt, a fine type of English gentleman.

MAJOR GRAHAM POLE.

I hope that friends in India will give to Major D. Graham Pole, who is leaving in about ten days' time for India, via Ceylon, the warm welcome that he deserves for very devoted work to the Indian cause in this country. He has been fortunately able largely to devote himself to that cause with great ability and a lot of hard work in which he has had the minimum of assistance and encouragement of a practical kind from India. He is more particularly in touch with the Labour Party, and naturally looks to them, rather than to the other parties to render great service to Indian constitutional progress. Being a devoted member of the Party, it is interesting to note that a few days ago he was ad-

opted as the official Labour Party candidate for the constituency of South Derbyshire by an overwhelming majority of the votes cast, and there is quite a good chance—though political prophecy is notoriously perilous—of his return at the next election, though not if his constituents knew what he thought of the average common sense of the average elector, which he let out the other night when presiding at a delegate meeting at Mortimer Hall addressed by that amazingly energetic woman, Dr. Besant, on the Commonwealth of India Bill. Major Graham Pole has the authority of the International Advisory Committee of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress to investigate economic, industrial, and political conditions during his forthcoming tour in India and to report to the Committee on his return.

#### INDIA AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

I trust that the Indian leaders are beginning to realise the amount of mischief that Mr. Chaman Lall is doing to the cause of Indian labour. When he was here, he greatly irritated the Trades Union leaders by his inaccuracy as to important facts and his undependableness, while he has annoyed the Labour Party leaders by his violent and ill-considered attacks upon Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Col. Wedgwood, who were working hard for India's emancipation at a time before Mr. Chaman Lall had honoured an English University by his presence there. His notorious association, whilst here, with Mr. Saklatvala and the Communists, who are anathema to the Labour Party, and his public declaration, upon his return to India, that the Indian Labour Party should ally itself with the Communists, have aroused grave alarm in the minds of the Eccleston Square magnates as to the sanity of Indian Trades Union leadership, and their one consolation is the knowledge that Mr. C. F. Andrews and Mr. N. M. Joshi are not in the least likely to fall into the trap that Mr. Chaman Lall would have the Indian labour leaders enter. It would be an excellent thing, in order to reassure British Labour leaders if Indian Trades Unions would cease to be associated with the Workers' Welfare League, which is far less concerned with the welfare of the workers than it is with the spread of Communist propaganda. There is the Amsterdam International to which the Indian movement can be, if it is not already, affiliated, whilst the Eccleston Square officials are always available, if approached direct for anything useful that the Indian Labour movement may desire to be done.

#### REVIEWS.

##### "MACAULAY'S MAD VENTURE."

THE HEART OF ARYAVARTA: A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDIAN UNREST

By THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY. (Constable & Co., London.) 1925. 9 x 5¾. pp. 262. 14s.

IT may not be unfair to rename Lord Ronaldshay's book as "Macaulay's Mad Venture: its Math and After-math" or "Sowing the Wind and Reaping the Whirlwind." The book is a study of the psychology



of Indian unrest and confines itself practically to Bengal. The other elements that contribute to the complexity of the Indian problem, the Mussulman, the Christian and the Parsi elements are put by on one side with a view to isolating the Hindu element as the most considerable factor that must count.

Let us suppose for a moment that the fateful minute of Macaulay's had not done the trick, and Messrs. Prinsep and Co. had had their way. Where should India be? Sanskrit and Arabic would have been adopted as the media of instruction and education imparted in these languages. Of how many could it have been said honestly 90 years ago that Sanskrit and Arabic were their *vernaculars*, *mother-tongues*? Mr. B. H. Hodgson, the one clear-headed advocate of the vernaculars as the indispensable media of instruction, expected true liberation of the Indian mind from such real education. His fear about "English" education was that it would be a mystery in the hands of the favoured classes and would serve as an engine of oppression in their hands. Other advocates seemed to have practically agreed with Macaulay: "The dialects spoken contain neither literary nor scientific information and are so poor and rude that until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them". Hence the advocacy of Sanskrit and Arabic. Neither had any of the claims that the spoken vernaculars of the country could have urged in their own favour. The objection advanced against English could have been equally advanced against them. In South India the Dravidians, to judge from their present frame of mind, would have objected to Sanskrit. How far education would have spread, and how much more fruitful it would have proved in intellectual results, must be only a matter of conjecture. Would any one say that the gain in the spiritual culture must have been of such transcendent worth as to have left the triumphs of the other culture nowhere? Better still, suppose the policy of Hodgson had been frankly accepted. With the limited financial resources of India the vernacularisation of knowledge could not have gone far. And India for purposes of administration would have remained cut up into the many linguistic areas that our latter-day patriots pant for. We should have had the 56 or the 156 divisions of our earlier days. But there would have been no problem, psychological or other, of unrest for Lord Ronaldshay to investigate. Having nothing of the heady influence of western literature, the educated India, rather the educated provinces, would have been more tractable for administrative purposes and the prestige of the conqueror would have remained unaffected. The many men so voicefully patriotic would not have come within the intellectual ken of Lord Ronaldshay. Pretty much the same advantages would have followed that the daily dose of the pousta administered to inconvenient people gave the Indian Nabob or Raja, according to Bernier.

The problems would have been of a different kind. Turkey and Germany would have had better chances of access to us during the war and instead of a single nationalism of inchoate unorganised kind, there would have been nationalisms of a more organised kind in narrower areas. And what this must have meant in times of trouble we need not go into.

The fact is there is nothing novel in the Indians welcoming the language of the Government of the day as the language of instruction. When the Mussulman was in the ascendant Hindustani and Persian predominated, when the Mahratta ruled, clerical classes learnt Marathi, and if the Cherokees

had conquered and ruled us the Cherokean would have been learnt and spoken. The educational problem is really an economic problem. Would education help people to get their means of livelihood? Macaulay was scandalised that Government was forced to pay Arabic and Sanskrit students whereas those that learnt English were willing to pay school fees. There is nothing in this to surprise us. Arabic and Sanskrit scholarship did not lead to profitable employment, whereas proficiency in English meant work in Government offices.

With the establishment of the British rule, the ascendancy of the Brahman was gone. His position as a favoured parasite in the body politic was taken from him. The old idea—that his worship or his prayer was as good as other people's work and that he must be supported by the people—was no longer accepted. When the chance of the new education came, we can understand the eagerness of the Brahman, declasséd, to avail himself of the opportunity. The Brahman and those that approximated to the type, the Nair of the West Coast, the clerical classes in Bengal, these threw themselves into the new learning and assimilated this enchanting knowledge, and great, according to the monetary standard they had been accustomed to, was their reward. And Government was delighted to find an intelligent class that helped it in its work. The educated classes, as Macaulay expected, served as interpreters between the ruler and the people. The other classes were slow to avail themselves of the new learning. They had not the same economic motive—the gadfly of hunger—to drive them to school. "When land is gone and money spent, Then learning is most excellent." Not till then, said or thought the land-holding classes and the merchants and they went on undisturbed with their vocations.

Anything like a broad conception of national education, the Hindu peoples of the earlier day had not. The mutts and the tols served the higher priestly classes: the several caste guilds did something for professional education. But any idea of Government realising its responsibility to the whole of the people is altogether a latter-day growth. And the Indian Government could not in fairness be expected to be 35 years in advance of England and do for India what the Education Act of 1870 inadequately did for England a generation later.

With the funds at the disposal of the Government more could not have been done. What was done was the only thing that could be done with the best chances of success. Lord Ronaldshay refers to imperfect assimilation, to unintelligent cramming that there is in the present system. We need not take seriously the quotation of the examinee's definition of Psychology as the science of mind or *mental phenomena*, or the Chaucer annotation. Introduction of English at a too early stage is a mistake. In the earlier stages, the vernacular should serve as the medium. The reform has been insisted on and we believe that everywhere instruction in the vernacular is now being given in the primary and secondary stages of study. By the time the student matriculates, we may expect him to have mastered enough of English to follow in the University classes lectures which are delivered in English. Is this too much to expect from the type of student that enters on University studies? Bilingual the University student has to be. One language is necessarily the mother tongue and the other English. And a reasonably high standard of proficiency in both can be expected of all University students.

That the pioneers in the new field of English education should have shown excessive admiration

for the new literature and thought and to that extent should have unduly depreciated the old type of learning is nothing extraordinary. That the young men should have gone off the old moorings need not surprise us. These were not the first to behave thus on the impact of new culture and thought, nor are they likely to be the last. The reaction, the cult of patriotic self-assertion, the cult of nationalism, the worship of an idealised past to resuscitate waning self-respect—all this is quite in the nature of things. To a student of history, of the history of Renaissance Italy, of the resurgent nationalism of post-Napoleon days, there would be no matter of surprise in the recent developments in India.

There is a saying of Bolingbroke's: perfect schemes are not adapted to our imperfect state. Philosophers are fond of systematising knowledge so that with a few postulates they present you an orderly whole of reality. The world of reality is too complete to systematise. The system once perfected, the critic shows what flaws there are in the system and there is opportunity for a new system builder. There would be fewer systems made and unmade if thinkers had noble notions of the world and humbler notions of their own schemata of thought, as Bolingbroke would suggest.

If with postulates of your own positing systems gang apley, how much more when they are given, when you have to start with an implicit belief in *Sruti*. In the due subordination of ratiocination to intuitional knowledge, there must be something that is against the grain of thorough-going rationalists and there are inconsistent positions held on different planes of thought. Lord Ronaldshay says this inconsistency has proved a constant source of bewilderment and embarrassment to those engaged in the task of administration of India. Is such inconsistency the peculiar monopoly of the Hindu? Are believers in grace and predestination behaving as if absolved from moral responsibility? It is not so much the characteristic of the structure of thought of the Indian as it is evidence of the failure of education in the best sense.

A dispassionate examination of the Indian or the Hindu will show that he is not anything *sui generis*, that his aboriginal and acquired characteristics are perfectly explainable on historical grounds, that *the one in the many* of the Hindu is marvellously alike the one in the many of the people elsewhere, that the evils he suffers from are not novel and that they need no novel remedies.

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

### THE SUB-NORMAL SCHOOL-CHILD.

**THE YOUNG DELINQUENT.** By CYRIL BURT, M.A., D.Sc. (Oxon.) (University of London Press, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 643. 17s. 6d.

THIS volume is the first of a trilogy devoted to the study of "naughty" school children. Dr. Cyril Burt recognises these under three classes of types: first those who are sub-normal intellectually; secondly, those who are sub-normal emotionally; and thirdly, those who are sub-normal in morality and character: or, in other words, the backward, the unstable, and the delinquent. The two following volumes propose to deal with the backward and neurotic: this volume deals with the moral aspect of the difficult school-child. In these pages Dr. Burt addresses his principal remarks to the school teacher and social worker, rather than to the lawyer, doctor, and psychologist—hence perhaps the great interest these pages contain through the lack of highly technical

phrases which are apt to confuse the average reader; and yet it is the social worker and teacher on whom devolves in the first place the great task of spotting those abnormal cases which come beneath their notice. This volume was originally the substance of lectures delivered to teachers in London, but in order to help the scientist, should he delve into these pages in which there is much to be learnt, Dr. Burt has appended evidence, references and technical data in footnotes. Dr. Burt considers various problems and methods, hereditary conditions, environment in the home and outside it; then the child's physical development and pathological conditions; the sub-normal and super-normal intellectual conditions and special abilities of childhood; the child's temperamental instincts and emotions together with neuroses, complexes and habits of instability.

Appendix II is the most interesting of all, as it shows constructive suggestions for dealing with the whole subject and follows more or less the system adopted in America, and which I have been strongly urging on the Government here to use—that of establishing a psychological clinic for juvenile delinquents. The Government themselves desire to establish a Children's and Juvenile Court, and what I have laid before the Government during this past year will I hope materialize during the next year and not sink into *pralaya*!

"The psychological clinic," says Dr. Burt, "is new." "In the United States many institutions now have been established. . . . The first psychiatrist to be attached to a Juvenile Court was Dr. William Healy. . . . His work still remains a model for all such enterprises. Throughout the States the movement has rapidly spread. . . . The American Commonwealth Fund has now undertaken a fine programme for the prevention of delinquency. The primary purpose of such clinics is to make a scientific study of difficult or delinquent children, referred from the schools or the Juvenile Court, and to carry out and recommend sound methods of treatment. As a rule, they are financed wholly or in part by private individuals or Corporations. Small beginnings have already been made in this direction at London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Stoke-on-Trent and elsewhere; at Cape Town and Johannesburg in South Africa.

"Organization.—The minimum needs of such a clinic are a staff; an office; and a limited amount of Laboratory equipment. . . . Two psychologists—one a man and the other a woman; . . . one or more trained social workers capable of making systematic case reports, familiar with the industrial life of the district and with the problems of the working classes. Owing to the great importance of full and accurate records, a shorthand typist is almost indispensable; also a filing clerk.

"Such a clinic might be established either as a private institution or else as an adjunct to the Juvenile Court, local education department or the University. That the psychologist and his clinic should be limited solely to the study of delinquency is not essential. . . . Mental deficiency, educational backwardness, choice of employment could be included.

"Wherever it be fixed, it can never work in isolation; it should be in close touch with the hospitals, the schools, the social agencies, as well as educational and medical departments of the district. A one-man study, with a hurried report after a one-hour interview can be of little value. To deal with the child from a single aspect alone may be quite as fruitless as to leave him to the shrewd guesses of the magistrate who has seen him ten minutes in the Court. A round table conference should be held, in which all the various experts

concerned—medical, legal, psychological, educational and social—will take their share and offer their advice. From time to time there must be re-examinations, constant visits to the home, and repeated consultations with parents, teachers, guardians and various social agencies that may undertake the detached treatment of the child."

So I have quoted at some length, but Dr. Burt's words are far more telling than mine could be. It is this aspect of dealing with the potential delinquent child that I want our Juvenile Court to get to work on. "The cost of apprehending and trying each offender, together with the amount of damage he does before he is apprehended, adds an incalculable amount to the £1,000,000, which the prisons in England cost each year."

"Plainly, the expense of psychological clinics, such as I have described, would be covered over and over again by the saving they would eventually achieve; and the gain in human happiness, in social and industrial efficiency, and in the moral welfare of the community, as a whole, would be beyond all computation."

Does not this last justify itself of the work entailed? As I have quoted before, by maintaining certain institutions, we perpetuate certain evils which should be done away with. We are getting our Borstal Boys Bill to become law: when shall we have our Juvenile Court as part of our scheme for dealing with sub-normal and super-normal children?

This book is one of the best, if not the best, that I have recently reviewed, and I strongly urge all social workers, teachers, and those of scientific attainments to have it by their side.

MAUD H. STANFORD.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE RACE QUESTION.

#### FINDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICE.

*The following are the findings on the Race Question of a Commission on "Fundamentals necessary for International Co-operation" appointed by the fourth annual Conference of the International Student Service which met at Gen. in August this year.*

The word "race" in this section is used in the sense of colour. Before we approach the problem, there are certain factors to be recognized which are often forgotten.

(i) Differences do not imply superiority or inferiority. They are more often complementary.

(ii) As within Europe we recognise distinct national contributions to culture, so in the world we expect different contributions from the different races.

(iii) The word "instinctive" is very loosely used: to describe racial feelings. Scientifically there is no proof of instinctive racial antipathy.

(iv) Within one race there are often divergencies between individuals which are deeper than between two people of similar standing or outlook of different races.

(v) There is no universal "white" attitude to the coloured races. Antipathy is much more marked among American, British and Teutonic nations than it is among the Latins and Slavs.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM.

(i) The white races which are a small minority of the races of the world control seven-eighths of the world territory. Hence the expansion of the coloured races is far more restricted than that of the whites. Unless the problem of expansion and immigration be solved, there cannot be full co-operation between the races.

(ii) Many of the contacts between the races have not been of the kind to develop mutual respect or to enable the true facts to be seen, e. g. in the Southern States of U.S.A.

contacts with Negroes are entirely with the servant class, while the educated White and Negro rarely mix.

(iii) The fact of keeping enormous populations under the control of small White forces and the necessity of maintaining this authority has led to a tradition of racial superiority in education.

#### SCIENTIFIC ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM.

We must realise that the scientific study of the questions involved in racial differences is yet in its infancy. Many questions are still unsolved, for example the problem of racial intermarriage. Yet some facts are already known. For example, there is ample evidence of successful racial intermarriages in favourable social and physical conditions, e. g. in the possessions of France, Holland and Denmark, and in South and Central America.

A similar caution should be observed in regard to intelligence tests. For example the Binet tests in U.S.A. are based on European conceptions and standards, and thereby Negroes are placed at a disadvantage. Even so, there are no classes so high that Negro children are not in them, or so low that Whites are not there.

#### ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

Economic interests loom large in most racial discussions. Questions of conflicting standards of life and wages are aggravated rather than created by race. The adjustment of the differences involved calls for a scientific study, in order that just and impartial treatment be assured. The white races are justified in their desire to maintain the high standard of living which they have achieved, but not at the expense of other classes or races. On the other hand it is not yet proved that the competition of coloured labour must inevitably lower that standard.

#### POPULATION.

The present scientific knowledge of the population problem is so limited that it is impossible to form conclusions. But the race problem cannot be fairly stated without allowance being made for the important bearings which the problem of population has on it. Two questions need special study:

(i) The expansion of the coloured races.

(ii) Limitation of population. Since the capacity of the world is not infinite, continual expansion is impossible. In the past, the rapid growth of population has been limited by war, pestilence and famine. As these are increasingly eliminated, the question of the control of population is one which will have to be most carefully studied.

#### POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

This falls into three parts:

(i) Relations between white and coloured independent governments, e. g. China and Japan.

(ii) The white government of coloured nations with a strong and fully developed national culture, e. g. India.

(iii) The white government of those peoples who have not achieved a high standard of cultural or economic development, e. g. in Africa and the Pacific Islands.

In the first relationship it is vital that in international politics the rights and sentiments of the coloured nations receive a consideration equal to that given to other nations. Japan achieved her position by developing a military and naval power equal to that of European nations. Only then were any of her rights recognised. If this is to be the only basis of recognition there is an infinite amount of trouble and conflict in store for the world.

In the second relationship many delicate problems arise. White governments have contributed in many ways to the material progress of coloured nations. That is only a small part of the task. A nation's soul is of more importance than the body and cannot be controlled by a foreign government. Only as there is a progressive recognition of the rights, moral and cultural, as well as material, of the governed nation, can harmony be maintained.

In the third, the principle of mandates as expressed in Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations shows what should be the true relationships in every case between the government and the governed people. Only as this principle is put into practice can the conscience of the white people be free from the blot of past relationships.

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