

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

East African Problem.

PANDIT KUNZRU, whom the East African Indians have sent to England as their advocate, saw Lord Passfield last week and represented to him the Indian case, which indeed is identical with the native case to a large extent. Reports indicate however that Lord Passfield is not too eager to discover the merits of the case and judge accordingly but that he will incline heavily on the side of Europeans with a view to save himself the opposition of the strongest party in East Africa. As the Cabinet will soon decide this question, it would be well to remind the Labour Party of its definite pledges in the matter. When the publication of the 1923 White Paper created a grave alarm in India, Colonel Wedgwood was put up by the Party in the absence of its leader, Mr. MacDonald, to promise Indians that it would reverse the unjust decisions embodied in the White Paper as soon as it came again into office. The promise is unqualified and absolute. It runs as follows :—

It is not easy, when a step like this has once been taken, ever to put it right, but I am certain the party I have the honour to speak for tonight, when their turn comes, will do their best. I cannot say more than that, because heaven knows what the repercua-

sion of this will be before that time. But we will do our best to establish justice and fair play throughout the British Empire and put an end to what is ruining our chance of real peace and development.

In an earlier passage of the speech, referring to the denial of the common electoral roll, he said :—

The repercussion of this decision on India will be tragic. I do not believe that any step has ever been taken so disastrous to the British Empire since Lord North drove the American colonists out of the British Commonwealth.

Col. Wedgwood seems now to have fallen from grace, but when in 1923 he uttered these words of burning resentment and gave a binding pledge for putting everything right again on Labour's assumption of office, he was speaking not merely for himself but as a spokesman of the whole Labour Party and at Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's instance. Will Mr. MacDonald now allow Lord Passfield to go back from this pledge ?

* * *

"Muddle-headed Thinking."

OUR worthy contemporary, the *Week*, has deemed fit to characterise the claim such as we have put forward on behalf of the people of the Indian States for a representation at the Round Table Conference separate from that which may be accorded to the Princes as proceeding from "muddle-headed thinking." With all due deference to our contemporary, we take leave to say that the boot is really on the other leg. We do not question but have fully admitted the constitutional propriety of the diplomatic relations of a State being handled by its rulers. If the State is democratic, the people's representatives, being rulers, handle these relations; if autocratic, the people; being excluded from government, are necessarily excluded from negotiations with foreign powers also. Assuming, therefore, that such negotiations are to take place at the proposed Round Table Conference, we shall own at once to the inadmissibility of the people of the Indian States to it; but on this assumption the people of British India too must be acknowledged to be equally inadmissible. For they are not the rulers of British India (in the sphere of foreign affairs which is now in question) any more than the people of Indian States are of Indian India.

We can therefore well understand the Conference being limited to the governments of British India and Indian States. But the exclusion of the British Indian people is now out of the question. For the same reason for which these find a place at the Conference along with their rulers, the people of Indian States too must along with theirs. The people of British India are to be represented at the Conference just because the nature of the Conference does not accord with the assumption made above. It is not a conference of plenipotentiaries taking final

decisions; but a conference of the representatives of various interests holding preliminary conversations with a view to ascertaining whether a settlement with the consent of all parties concerned is possible; the conclusions that may be arrived at in it will have binding effect only when and if the properly constituted authorities in each case accept them. To such a gathering the people of British India can be invited without a breach of proprieties; and so can the people of Indian States. The "can" becomes "must" when the people of British India are in fact included. That is why we said before that the Conference can be either a two-party one or a four-party one, but never a three party one, as the Princes desire.

As our contemporary envisages the proceedings at the Conference, the domestic problems of British India will be discussed between British Indian leaders and the Government, States' representatives being excluded from participation in these discussions. (The domestic problems of Indian States will have no place in the agenda at all.) It is only when the questions of common concern to British and Indian India will come on for discussion that the Indian Princes will have any say at all. So far we can understand. But who will be the other party to the discussion of these questions? "The British Government or Indian leaders," says our contemporary. A great deal of confusion of thought is here concealed behind the little word "or". Surely, our contemporary does not mean that the two are identical. Is it then intended that either the one or the other are to conduct conversations with the Princes alternatively? We suppose what our contemporary means is that both the British Government and Indian leaders are to have parleys with the representatives of Indian States. If so, we contend that the representatives of Indian States must be the rulers and the people just as the representatives of British India are to be the rulers and the people. The parleys will be limited to matters of all-India concern, but the people of Indian States will have as good a claim to participation in them as the people of British India. On these matters the people of Indian States have a point of view which is distinct from and in some respects antithetical to that of the Princes. In our article of the 7th inst. we have adduced other reasons for the inclusion of the people's representatives; here we are only concerned to point out that there is no impropriety such as the Maharaja of Bikaner alleges, and indeed that there is logical necessity, in conceding to the people of Indian States the same rights as will be conceded to the people of British India. Sir Hari Singh Gour has declared in express terms that the people of Indian States will be invited to the Round Table Conference. May it be that he has an inside knowledge of the arrangements that are contemplated? In any case the States' people must be active in view of the misconceptions which prevail widely on the subject even in quarters indisputably friendly and get their due claims authoritatively acknowledged. As we go to press, we find H. E. Lord Irwin declaring to His Highness the Chief of Sangli that at the Round Table Conference His Majesty's Government will confer "with representatives both of Your Highness's order and of British India," which lends support to the *Hindu* correspondent's information that Government have decided to exclude the people of the States. The States' people must therefore lose no time in agitating for all their worth for obtaining a recognition of their claims and British Indians must help them all they can.

Findings without Evidence.

A VERY intriguing situation has arisen on account of the Simon Commission's sphere of investi-

gation being extended to include the Indian States problem. The extension has made it possible for the British Government to convene a Round Table Conference, and for this reason nobody cavils at it. But the implications involved in it are not generally understood. The eleventh hour decision of the Commission to attack the States question has entailed two serious disabilities on two bodies. It has cheated the Nair Committee out of a portion of work which fell legitimately within its jurisdiction and it has shut out any evidence that the people of British India and Indian States may have to offer on this subject. The Nair Committee has a just grievance and we feel sure that it will lodge a protest. The people of British India are not too eager to tender evidence, but we guess the people of Indian States are. They did not boycott the Harcourt Butler Committee; the Committee boycotted them. They are already aggrieved that the Committee arrived at conclusions without understanding their point of view which is material to a just appreciation of the treaty position. It is to be supposed that the Simon Commission will hear no more evidence but will base its conclusions upon the record of the Butler Committee, which perhaps would be passed on to them. This would only confirm the injustice done to the subjects, for they would then be deprived of the only chance of having rectified somewhat the wrong done to them by the Butler Committee by representing their case to the larger body which they had expected would be appointed to consider the question of the constitutional relations between the two parts of India. They would not be admitted to the sittings of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament either, which would mean that from first to last at every stage they would be given the cold shoulder and decisions would be taken which would affect them vitally but in forming which they would have no opportunity whatever of participating. But apart from the serious adverse reactions it would have on the subjects of States, the proceeding by which the Simon Commission would make recommendations on the Indian States question without taking any evidence on it is too patently absurd for the Government to permit it. The evidence taken by the Butler Committee can be no substitute for the evidence that the Statutory Commission could take, for it had quite a different job from the one which the Statutory Commission has taken upon itself by extending its scope of inquiry. It was the Butler Committee's concern merely to determine the correct constitutional relationship subsisting at present between British India and the Indian States, but the Statutory Commission has to make recommendations as to what the relationship should be. Evidence on the former aspect of the States question would be all but worthless in attempting to find a solution to the latter aspect. The India Office and the Government of India do not seem to have realised into what a pretty mess the Simon Commission would be landed by its being asked or permitted to get its scope enlarged—after it had closed the hearing of evidence.

* * *

Colour Bar in England.

IT is a strange irony that while we are talking of peace and disarmament indiscreet persons in England should give vent to colour prejudice and insist on colour bar in public places. A few days ago Mr. Abbott, the Negro newspaper proprietor of U.S., sent a cablegram to Mr. Marley, a Labour M.P., complaining of scandalous treatment on a liner on their return journey from London being debarred from all entertainments in spite of being first-class passengers. On another occasion coloured men were requested to leave a dance-hall in London whose proprietor declared to a reporter that the hall was meant for white

people only. Mr. Marley has also received a letter from a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly who referred to several instances of accommodation being refused to Indians simply because they were Indians and said that the exclusion had created a great deal of bitterness. Another incident has been reported at length by the London staff of the *Manchester Guardian* (October 23); this happened to Mr. Robeson, a coloured singer who was refused admission to the dining room and the grill-room of the Savoy Hotel although he was the invited guest of a white Englishman. This and such other incidents were discussed before a meeting of the Society of Friends and the organization has decided to call a conference to set up a joint council representative of both the white and coloured people to deal with the matter. Mr. Marley believes that this ban is due to the influence of American opinion, especially that of the rich American tourists patronizing the expensive London hotels who bring with them their prejudices against the Negroes. At this meeting Mr. Marley also observed that the ban was extended even to the coloured people of parts of the Empire like the West Indies, who were obliged in many hotels to take their meals by themselves. This increasing colour prejudice, unless nipped in the bud might possibly create tension between Englishmen and nationalities consisting in the main of coloured inhabitants which would have harmful political repercussions. Great credit is due to Mr. Marley who is striving to create a better atmosphere and to prevent the malady from spreading further. Fortunately the Prime Minister has expressed his disapproval of such practices and he is likely to back Mr. Marley when he raises the question of the colour bar in Parliament which he intends to do at the earliest opportunity. The *Manchester Guardian* has rightly said "that an unnecessary insult in the capital is a political injury to the Empire".

The Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce.

IN his address to the Maharashtra Chamber at its annual meeting Mr. Walchand Hirachand has made very useful suggestions to the Banking Inquiry Committee and has drawn attention to several indigenous industries which have been adversely affected by recent commercial developments. He thinks that better results could be achieved if instead of opening new banks we link up the shroffs from various places with the Central Banking organization. He suggested the restriction of the freedom of the foreign insurance companies and foreign banks to utilize the funds accumulated in India for assisting foreign enterprises for this purpose. He proposed to make a rule that these concerns should register themselves as Rupee companies and have three-fourths of their capital and Directors Indian. Lastly he insisted upon the introduction of the Gold Standard which would dispense with the vagaries of the exchange ratio and give us an automatic standard. His views on the Whitley Commission, however, are too reactionary since he practically suggests the withdrawal of the Commission on the ground that Indian capitalists may be trusted to do all that is needed in the matter of providing amenities for labour; this is certainly unbelievable. He has warned the millowners against accepting assistance from Government if it is made conditional on the adoption of Imperial preference. There is much to be said in favour of this way of viewing the problem since Indian industries require as much protection from British industries as from industries outside the Empire. Mr. Walchand deprecated the large imports of vegetable oils so-called because they bid fair to cause the ruin of the indigenous tutter industry which has been an important supplementary occupation of the agriculturist in India. Along with

imposing heavy import duties on these oils the Government should in his opinion stop the extensive slaughter of milch cattle. This latter has been a long-standing grievance and we agree with him that Government should give up their *nonchalant* attitude in this matter and tackle this grave problem in all seriousness. That a great agricultural country like India should experience a scarcity of milk products is hardly creditable to the organizing capacity of the Government as well as the people. Similarly he thought it was imperative that this country should be made self-contained in respect of its sugar requirements, considering that it produces raw sugar worth Rs. 40 crores and contains already more than half of the total acreage of the world under sugarcane. We have already drawn attention to the scandalous condition of sugar factories in India and the industrialists must give their serious attention to remove it and make the factories more efficient.

The Madras Conference of Women.

THE fourth Madras Constituent Conference of Women met during the week under the presidency of Mrs. Cousins and passed a number of resolutions referring to various aspects of educational reform and the betterment of the social status of women. Mrs. Venkatsubba Rao, Chairman of the Reception Committee, referring to the rapid advance of female education in the province, gave it the credit for the fact that women are meeting in conferences to discuss matters affecting their well-being instead of leaving men to decide what is best for them. Mrs. Cousins whom we must thank for having addressed various audiences in Europe and America and Japan on the subject of the great awakening among the women of India, expressed satisfaction that within two years of the time when H.H. the Maharani of Baroda at the Poona Conference sounded the clarion call for a law to prohibit child marriage the Child Marriage Restraint Act had been placed on the statute book. Mrs. Cousins remarked on the remarkable speed with which things in the social sphere were moving at present in India and instanced it by the expansion of the objectives of the Conference by the inclusion of social reform; the full flood of conscious life coursing through the women in all the constituent conferences of last year, she said, had burst through the confining banks of educational reform only. Thus in future resolutions relating generally to women's life will be brought within the scope of the Conference. The most important item to-day is in her opinion the laying of the foundation of the literacy of the masses; in this connection she referred to the poor percentage of the total revenue, a bare 5 per cent. spent on education in India; it is only a new era of disarmament that will set free a large sum of money for the blessings of education. Mrs. Cousins congratulated the Conference on the fact that their Resolutions were fundamentally in line with the latest findings of educationists all over the world. The duty of women is, according to her, to raise the depressed women, to give education to the widows, to rescue those exploited for sex purposes, and to give health to mothers. Ultimately, Mrs. Cousins believes that the artificial divisions between men's and women's conferences will have to be transcended and women will have to mingle and co-operate with men in solving together the problems; there is no real division, as she said, of the problems of the sexes. Lastly she impressed on the Conference the need to impart moral training based on spiritual ideals in all schools and colleges, in accordance with Indian tradition which recognizes the spiritual nature of the individual. The resolution passed by the Conference declaring that compulsory primary education should be extended to all urban and rural areas throughout India is significant of the times.

Articles.

LABOUR'S PUSSYFOOT POLICY.

REPEATED pronouncements by Cabinet Minister after Cabinet Minister, that the Viceregal Declaration embodies no new policy, have created a feeling of utter vexation even in quarters inclined to put the most favourable construction on the Declaration. They have made the task of the Bombay leaders, e.g., of justifying their attitude of wholehearted and unqualified acceptance extremely difficult. This was presumably the reason why Messrs. Jinnah and Jayakar, though specially invited to help in taking the right decision by their counsel, declined to go to Allahabad where the signatories of the Delhi manifesto and members of the Working Committee of the Congress had foregathered to reconsider the whole situation in the light of the Parliamentary debate and subsequent statements by responsible Ministers. These statements can be explained and perhaps even justified to some extent; but in any case they entirely ignore the psychological effect which they must inevitably produce on the public mind in India. In saying that the new Declaration is merely a reaffirmation of the old, and that no change of policy is under contemplation, the Ministers have only the British audience in mind. If British politicians of the Conservative and Liberal schools can be reassured that Dominion Status is held out to India only as the ultimate goal, that progress towards it is still dependent upon the conditions expressly mentioned in the Montagu Act, that no sudden acceleration of the pace of India's march to the final destination is intended (it would indeed be wrong to form any such intentions till the Simon and Nair Reports are received), the Ministers probably expect that they would be able to avert the opposition of the Opposition parties in the immediate present and considerably reduce it in the near future, and they think they can legitimately indulge in such a tactic because after all the negative answers which they return to the Opposition queries are technically correct.

The Ministers' attitude is of course quite understandable. But are they to take no account of the suspicion and even hostility sure to be engendered in India by their blank No's every time a forward move is suggested? Is it fair to expect that, while the literal meaning of the statements they make goes directly contrary to all our aspirations, we in India would imagine all sorts of things favourable to ourselves and thus be persuaded that everything is going to be for the best in the best of all possible worlds? And supposing the leaders persuade themselves in this way, can they similarly persuade their rank and file? Are the latter now so trustful that the assurances of their leaders would make them believe that the development of the Labour Party's Indian policy is going to fall out just as they would desire? Are we to have every consideration for the political exigencies of the Labour Party, while the

Labour Party is to have none for ours? For it cannot be too often repeated that in itself the Declaration means nothing; Dominion Status is but an ideal, to be reached possibly by a series of interminable stages; and the round table conference is but a consultation with Indian opinion in no way different from that which the Simon Commission sought to establish with it. This is not merely a possible meaning; it is a meaning which the Labour Party itself actually puts upon its statements when addressing the British constituency. If, in the face of such interpretations, some Indian leaders thought it necessary to revise the terms of the Delhi manifesto and others found it hard to get it confirmed, we for our part should feel little surprise. Indeed it is a tribute to the robust and hard-headed common sense of our politicians that not merely the Centre Parties (Liberals, Nationalists, Responsivists and Independents) confirmed the Delhi manifesto but the Left wing elements (Congressmen and Swarajists) did so too.

Let us make it clear, however, that deep resentment is felt, and felt in all quarters, in this country that the Labour Party, if it means well by India, as we believe it does, should have put the faith of our people under such a heavy strain. Why should the Labour Party adopt such a pussyfoot policy towards India? If it intends to satisfy Indian aspirations in large measure why must it carefully conceal its intentions from the Opposition parties in England? We of course realise that correct conduct requires of the Ministers a non-committal policy till the Simon Commission's Report is in hand, but surely when they were challenged in Parliament to state whether they intended to reach Dominion Status by quick steps they might well have answered, if only by way of repartee, that they did not think of Indian self-government, as perhaps others did, as a question for ages. Some such gesture they could certainly have made to India without laying themselves open to a charge of constitutional impropriety or without adding very seriously to their political difficulties. They are without a doubt pursuing towards India too timorous a policy, which cannot wholly be justified even by the political situation in England. The signatories of the Delhi manifesto therefore did well in adopting a resolution expressing their "misgiving and dissatisfaction" at the ministerial pronouncements in Parliament on the Viceroy's Declaration. We hope that the Labour Cabinet will not fail to grasp the full meaning of the warning contained in the resolution. If in future they will make it their sole concern to quieten the doubts felt by Tories and unprogressive Liberals and take a favourable response on the part of Indian people to their offer as a matter of course they will be sadly mistaken. Their responsibility for interpreting their pledges liberally and implementing them generously is now greatly increased by reason of all schools of politicians in this country having decided to adhere to their original attitude in spite of provocations that are coming in quick succession, and we trust they will prove equal to this responsibility. We cannot on this occasion withhold

from the Congress Working Committee a high meed of praise for the excellent political sense shown by them in giving their sanction to the Delhi manifesto and thus preserving unity in the country. It is earnestly to be hoped that a supreme effort will now

be made in composing our communal differences and presenting a united demand at the round-table conference, the ultimate success of which depends far more upon our ability to reach an agreement than upon the good intentions of the Labour Party.

PEACE OR WAR ?

~~The Eleventh of November.~~

THE day of Peace. In memory of the day years ago, when men woke up to the fact of the awful crime of war and carnage and cried halt, this day is celebrated.

Who that has lived through the war does not recall the thankfulness and relief with which the day was hailed—all the world over; not only by those, the flower of whose youth was being blasted and uprooted and scattered to the winds by an unimaginably devastating war, but by all. For the war showed that it was not merely those who fought that suffered, not even the nations only who had gone to war, but all! The whole world was on the tiptoe of anxious expectation as when a great earthquake has been heaving the land like a mass of fluid pulp and no one knows what is going to happen next. The war touched everyone. Some gained by it, some lost; but all, all had their feelings kept constantly on the edge.

There was thankfulness all round and men swore there shall be no more war! The horrors of the war had come home to roost, and the years after the war were years of misery and anxiety all the world over. Then men said there shall be no more war—a little above a decade ago.

And to-day we celebrate the day of Peace.

But are men sincere? Do they have a sense of the horror of war that was engendered in them in the days of the great carnage? Are they as sure now as they were on the 11th November, 1918, that there shall be no war?

Already there is a rattling of swords in various parts of the world. Even the parley for peace between MacDonald and Hoover takes place in terms of armament—of Parity—of battleships and cruisers. And MacDonald and Hoover are among the most courageous of statesmen!

All this talk of peace leaves me somewhat cold. It is not peace. It is merely patching up an armed truce ready to be blown up at an adequate provocation, so soon as one feels strong enough to chuck it.

Disarmament is perhaps making the best of a bad job, but it is not Peace. Peace there will never be so long as you are seeking merely to alleviate war. To get peace you have to dive below the surface, leave war behind and strike at the things which lead to war. With the fertile field of the world sown broadcast with the seeds of war it is futile to go a-weeding shoots as they come out.

What if Europe and America agree to compose their differences by negotiation and arbitration, or even if they succeed in finding out some feasible means of outlawing war as the League of Nations Covenant has formally done in so many words? It

will be mere words, mere scraps of paper, so long as the causes of war are there. Even the weakest among us would on adequate provocation aim a futile blow at a giant. And so will nations.

Let us suppose that the Powers of Europe and America have composed all their differences and that the United States of Europe is a settled fact. Even then war will not end. Europe and America are not all the world. It must be a United States of the World before war can end. With open sores in Asia, it is futile to expect the wound to heal even in Europe.

And, nations are not individuals. A nation is divided against itself. If international quarrels are at an end, war will not be over; so long as class is ranged against class in an acrimonious controversy which may at any moment burst out in a clash of arms. There is no doubt that in every state in the west, disputes between capital and labour have unmistakably been growing to a head. And the success of the worker in Russia has been making labouring classes increasingly discontented with the slow moving process of reform which has alleviated, but not wiped off, the injustices of capitalism or the sufferings of labour. With signs of abundant prosperity all round him, the hungry labourer feels like the Ancient Mariner with "water, water everywhere and not a drop to drink." Situations like these make people desperate and with Russia showing an example how daring may succeed, communism is making more headway everywhere than most people acknowledge. This may lead to a conflagration and the bloody days of the early years of Bolshevism may yet be repeated elsewhere, though international conflict has been carefully put to sleep.

India too, and perhaps the Philippines—and who knows it will not be Africa next?—leaves plenty of room for a break in the World Peace even though nations of Europe have ceased fighting. The possibility of an armed conflict in India succeeding against British arms is remote. And yet, the hopelessness of such an endeavour has not deterred desperate men from gathering strength for such a fight. The spirit may grow. And whatever the chances of success, this spirit may surely grow to such proportions that British forces may find it a mighty job to keep it under check. To stop war once and for all time, these openings for a future clash of arms, great and small, must all be closed. No one knows when a tiny little spark of a quarrel may lead to a great conflagration. Who would have thought that the murder of an Austrian prince at Sarajevo should have let loose forces which would involve the whole world in a war? To stop war one must make sure

that not the tiniest little spark gets the chance to burst into flame.

Impossible so long as men are men, some would say. But not so fast; it is by no means impossible. Let us look back at the history of man. The story would hearten the lover of peace. It is not so very long ago that England and Scotland were fighting over matters which no one would now think it worth risking the life of a dog about. To-day the English and the Scot cannot conceive of a dispute which could not be settled in a Court of law or by deliberations in Parliament. Still further back what is now England was itself seven kingdoms often fighting against one another. What are now France, Germany and Italy were at one time torn between different clashing tribes and principalities. Further back small villages formed the largest units of society and between them fights were the normal mode of adjusting differences. They could not conceive of the possibility of settling disputes in any other way. Yet their successors to-day cannot think of any means, other than peaceful ones, to settle differences. It does not follow therefore that because we cannot imagine how disputes like these can be settled without war, our children should not think war to be a ridiculous way of settling them.

From other ways too come rays of hope. Much of the national jealousies of today rage round trade. Each nation wants to have its markets to itself, and quarrels over markets often translate themselves into international bitternesses which rip up peace. Here too one recalls how great once were the rivalries of petty traders and producers and how they have been composed now by gigantic combinations, trusts and cartels. It is but one step forward to make possible international understandings between producers and traders of different nations which will eliminate rivalry and, in fact, form a strong bulwark for peace between nations.

It is perhaps too sanguine to expect humanity altogether to get rid of jealousy, greed, pride or a desire to dominate over the weak. These are human weaknesses to which we are used in private life much the same as our ancestors in the caves found them—but with a difference. In the past men fought for them, now they litigate. These impulses have been socialised to that extent, within each state. That socialisation has to be carried one step further into the domains of international quarrel.

Litigation does not always yield justice; as often as not, it ends in the opposite of justice. Nevertheless men have disciplined themselves by convention to take the decision and abide by it. International arbitration too will not always give full justice. Nor will negotiations between the rulers and malcontents in a country lead to complete justice. But what is the alternative? Is there any guarantee that the fortunes of war will favour the just side? None at all. We are not so unsophisticated now as to believe with our ancestors of a remote past that God always gives victory to the just, a view on which was founded the wager of battle in England and judicial combats in other lands. We know that

victory in war depends on few other factors than the justice of a cause. It is always more or less of a gamble, be the odds great or small. Why then seek it rather than the far less wasteful methods of peaceful adjustment?

Reason therefore lies all on the side of peace and outlawry of war. Passions and prejudices are strong. They need not be, however, if the lessons of the world war are really learnt and taken to heart. A great corrective against international pugnacity would seem to lie in an extensive study of the real history of the war and of stories of the actualities of war like Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front."

It is only one of the numerous instances of the contradictions of human nature that those very persons who are most enthusiastic about World Peace in the international sense look with perfect equanimity on the possibilities of an internal revolution by force. Among the ardent young men who met at the International Youth Congress for peace are many who are impatient of mere reform, even in England and would welcome a revolution which would bring in communism. As regards India the spirit of fight is shown in the sword-rattling speeches of Birkenhead and Joynson-Hicks on the one hand and of the violent speeches of revolutionaries, young or old, doctrinaire or practical on the other. Judged by what they say, they would be glad to see a trial of strength between the people of India and the British forces. Yet some of these very people talk of peace in the world almost in the same breath.

It may be that the struggle may come, and clash of arms, deaths and bloodshed will perhaps one day break the long peace that India has had, though perhaps at an enormous cost. The maladjustments of the relations between man and man in India cry aloud for a remedy and the only adequate remedy would be a rearrangement which will amount to a revolution. It is by no means impossible that, in spite of the length of the present odds against it, a terrible and bloody revolution may shake India sooner or later. And if that unhappy day comes it may be that the world outside will be as little unaffected by it as it was by the little quarrel between Serbia and Austria in 1914.

But should one seek it? Should one labour to bring it about?

Before we answer it let us reckon the cost. The facts and figures of the Great War are before us. They tell us what it would mean. The blood of the youth of a generation will have to be spilt on it, fortunes big enough to make a prosperous nation of India will have to be wasted on it and humanity will have to go back upon its civilisation of many thousand years and brutalise itself. And, all this, to find in its result a country devastated, without the wherewithal to build the nation's life again. Even the victors of the late war have found it hard to pull themselves together after it, while those who have been more or less out of it have stolen a march over them in economic progress. All this will follow if we win. Worse luck if we lose.

To one who can visualise all that such a prospect implies, it must be horrid, gruesome, repellant.

All this may come some day, in spite of us, but it is not what we would wish to bring about. Neither we Indians nor Englishmen. All the strength, all the resources and all the wisdom of those who wish well to humanity must therefore be inevitably directed towards seeing a peaceful adjustment, even though it may be tardy and inadequate, of the outstanding questions between us rather than let the horrid cataclysm of a revolution come over us.

There are those however who would work for a revolution by peaceful means. Mr. Gandhi is the great exponent of the creed with his dogma of non-violent non-co-operation. With the greatest possible respect to the Mahatma we must dismiss the suggestion as unpractical. When great masses are moved the ideal self-restraint which the programme involves is not possible as the prophet of the creed found to his disillusionment when he was working the programme in its full strength in 1921. Now he is more cautious. He now sees that the country is not prepared for such a programme. It will never be in our life-time.

But of one thing I am certain. Reflecting, on the 11th of November on the Great War and its lessons, nobody who has vivid recollections, even from a distant knowledge, of all that the war meant can possibly think of lending his hand to anything calculated to bring about a war, international or otherwise. The task of humanity since the Great War has been the upbuilding of the world on the foundations of Peace and the man who thwarts or subverts the work would be an enemy of the human race, whether it is the scheming bureaucrat, the politician in power or a flaming revolutionary.

The work is by no means impossible if all set about it in the proper spirit. If a few hours of negotiation between MacDonald and Hoover could clear up issues between the two countries so far that they could declare a war between them to be impossible, if in future the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation and arbitration is a practicable proposition, it cannot be that a minor issue like a settlement of disputes between England and India who have been yoked together for over a century and a half and have on the whole managed to pull together pretty satisfactorily is incapable of solution by mutual consent.

A great opportunity for a peaceful adjustment is at hand in the proposed Round Table Conference. It may come to nothing. It may lead to great results. All depends on how the parties to the Conference approach it, or whether there is on either side a desire to adjust, the will to give and take.

Let us hope and trust that all those who meet there will remember the lessons of the Great War—the great thing to remember on the 11th of November.

NARES C. SEN-GUPTA.

Our London Letter.

THE DECLARATION AND THE CONFERENCE.

THIS last twenty-four hours has been the most dramatic in my experience of politics. It will be known to our Indian friends that for some months many of us have been pressing upon the Government a definite development of its Indian policy. This development centred in two things. First that the Government should definitely declare for Dominion Status for India; second that it should indicate its intention to call a round table conference for the preparation of a Bill.

Last night Mr. Wedgwood Benn invited me to see him and it was evident that he hoped to give me concrete information about the application of this development. When I met him, however, he could tell me nothing. I must be very careful not to state publicly anything which I have been told in confidence, but certain facts are now well known and have, indeed, appeared in the press. It has, for example, been reported that when the Government had decided to make a declaration and to announce the calling of a round table conference it consulted the leaders of the Opposition Parties. It has been indicated that Mr. Baldwin endorsed the Government proposal, but that subsequently his colleagues in the Conservative Shadow Cabinet, led by Lord Birkenhead, refused endorsement. Our Liberal press has also published obviously inspired statements of the Liberal Opposition. When I met Mr. Wedgwood Benn last night he was clearly weighted down by this formidable opposition. I think one could say that the opposition was even more formidable than these published statements indicate.

Tonight I have seen Mr. Wedgwood Benn at his request. He was an entirely different man. He was buoyant and confident. I may not indicate what had changed the situation, though by the time this letter appears it is likely that it will be known. But the support which Mr. Wedgwood Benn had received since I last met him was of such a nature that the Conservative and Liberal Opposition dared not resist it. The consequence was that the Government had authorised Lord Irwin to proceed with his announcement, and the exchange of letters between Sir John Simon and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, intimating the round table conference, had been issued for publication.

It is impossible to express the relief which I felt on receiving this news. At the moment of writing Lord Irwin's declaration has not been published, but I am aware of its contents and it will, of course, be common knowledge when this letter appears. I wish that the declaration for Dominion

for the mutual understanding of the aspiration of the people of the world it would have accomplished a great task.

H. C. BALASUNDARUM.

THE "HERO" OF AMRITSAR.

THE LIFE OF GENERAL DYER. By IAN COLVIN.

(Blackwood.) 1929. 23cm. 345p. 20/-

THIS is a labouriously got up volume of pretentious outward form, covering over 300 pages of big type, fine paper and attractive binding. From the political point of view its publication will probably be regretted by a large section of the thinking public, both here and in England, who would like, and rightly like, to have Sir Michel O'Dwyer's regime as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and Jallianwalla Bagh in particular wiped out of memory as early as possible. Issues of far higher moment than personal credits or discredits are to the forefront; and nothing that revives bitter memories of the past can possibly do any good at a time when all parties have to meet together and work out in peace and mutual forbearance a *via media* for the future. The book under review hardly throws any new light on the more important constitutional questions affecting India as a whole, and so far as the various incidents of the martial law régime at Amritsar of General Dyer are concerned, they will not, we believe, affect in any degree the wide condemnation that has been pronounced over most of them even in the British Parliament.

We must however admit that there is much in the book which will interest the personal friends of General Dyer and show that he had several good points about him. He was certainly not the unmitigated monster that a hasty and imperfect contemplation of the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy might lead one to think him to have been. We would also gladly own that apart from Amritsar, he would have an honorable mention in the military history of British India. General Dyer represented a particular type of Anglo-Indians. He was not an Englishman coming from the free atmosphere of England and later on imbibing anti-Indian prejudices of the ultra-imperialistic school with "martial law and no d—d non-sense" slogan. He was born and bred up in those prejudices. General Dyer's grandfather was a member of East India Company's Pilot Service and was married at Calcutta and fought with success against pirates in the Indian seas. The General's father, Edward Dyer, was born at Calcutta and was a very successful brewer, comfortably settled at Simla, where was born in 1864 Reginald or Rex, the hero of the book under review. At eleven Rex was sent to the Middleton College in Ireland, and we are told that there he proved "a very hector", fought successful battles with his fellow-students and others, joined the army, came to India, was concerned in several incidents of a pugilistic kind and became master of many Indian and frontier languages. He even tried his hand at army inventions, seeking particularly to develop a range finder useful for field service. We are told that he had particular aptitude for mathematics and

won considerable credit as an army instructor.

Ab initio he won great popularity with the Sikhs and let us in fairness admit that, even after Amritsar, he did not lose his hold on at least the Sikhs of British military service. General Dyer did good service during the critical period of the Great War, by clearing off Sarhad, a bottle neck on the Beluchistan-Afghan-Persian frontier, through which German missions, arms and money were streaming into Afghanistan and thence into India. Later, he distinguished himself during what is called the Third Afghan War by the relief of Thall and the capture of Khwash, where he outwitted Nadir Khan, the present triumphant king and tranquilliser of Afghanistan. During the merry-makings that followed these operations and the Armistice, General Dyer at Jullunder most successfully impersonated a redoubtable Afghan robber-chief, one Jiand Khan. Such was the training, such the antecedents and such the character evolved of the man who was called upon to deal with the essentially civil crisis at Amritsar developing out of the anti-Rowlatt Act demonstrations in the Punjab. No wonder he employed methods with which he had become familiar in his dealings with the transfrontier tribes, known to have no very high moral code nor any regard for human life.

We have already said that the author throws no new light on the Jallianwallah Bagh and other incidents and may add that even in the case, as he puts it forth, there are admissions which give him up. His case is briefly this, that there was a regularly planned rebellion arranged to break out in India, simultaneously with an invasion from Afghanistan and that the timely actions of Sir M. O'Dwyer and the crowing tragedy of Jallianwalla Bagh saved the situation, saved not indeed the British Indian empire,—that was never in danger, it is admitted—but the peace and well-being of India and the general happiness of the people. Mahatma Gandhi and all Indian leaders, even men like Sir C. H. Setalvad, are spoken of as dangerous agitators and fomentors of rebellion. All the misdoings of the mobs in 1920-21 and even before are mustered up together and bracketed with Hartals, processions, protest meetings, etc. and all this without regard to chronology or to geography either. Rebellion and not civil discontent—that is the word used throughout. The Jallianwalla Bagh shooting was thus a military operation and most is made up of the allegation that the Government of India at first approved of the doings of General Dyer and that he was condemned only on the findings of the Hunter Committee, before which he appeared only as a witness and did so without the help of a lawyer and without papers, which he is represented to have lost. The author's conclusion is that General Dyer was condemned merely in order to placate Indian public opinion, to pave the way for the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms.

Regarding the Jallianwalla Bagh outrage, the plea put forth prominently is that the General had at the Bagh only 90 men with him facing a crowd of 5000 or over and that if he had not fired immediately his tiny force would have been overwhelmed—the General was a mathematician. In spite of this special

pleading, however, the author has to admit that the riots were provoked directly by the mean trick of calling Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Satyapal to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and there seizing them and bundling them off in a motor car disguised as for shikar; that for at least two days prior to the shooting at the Jallianwalla Bagh, there was quiet in the city; and that the crowd at Jallianwalla Bagh was listening to speeches and showing no disposition to advance on the troops the General was commanding. After all the General was condemned for transgressing the well-known canon of British policy in such matters, the canon, viz. that only the minimum force necessary should be used. That General Dyer deliberately transgressed this canon is shown by this sentence occurring in the written statement he presented in his defence:—"I fired and continued to fire

until the crowd dispersed. It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect not only on those who were present but more especially throughout the Punjab". With that admission and with the fact that Messrs. Asquith and Bonar Law joined hands with Mr. Montagu in upholding the decision of the Commander-in-Chief that the General should be deprived of his command, matters might, we think, be left confidently to the posterity to judge. Let it not be forgotten that the General was not expelled from the army, nor deprived of his pension but that his friends gave him a purse! If there is room for regret it lies the other way about than set forth in this untimely production, which is devoid even of any literary merit.

D. G. PADHYE.

THE KARENS OF BURMA.

BURMA AND THE KARENS. By SAN C. PO.

(Elliot Stock Co., London.) 22cm. 94p. 7/6.

SO far as I know this is the first book dealing with the Karen people of Burma written by a Karen. There have been numerous other books written by Europeans and Americans dealing with this interesting people, but this publication has especial interest, for it gives us an insight into the Karen situation as viewed by one of themselves.

No one is better qualified for the task of writing about his own people than Dr. San C. Po. He grew up in one of the Christian Karen villages of the Bassein District, and after an elementary schooling went to America where he finished his education and took a medical degree in order that he might return to his own people and do a real service for them. His wide medical practice among all classes of people in Bassein, his genial manners, his good judgment, and his devotion to every good cause have endeared him to a wide circle of friends and admirers.

His services have often been sought by Government, being the first Karen to be appointed to the old Governor's Council, and later a member of the Whyte Committee investigating the political situation in Burma with reference to the reform scheme and later a member of the Burma Legislative Council. For all these activities which he performed with devotion and intelligence, he has been decorated by Government with the C.B.E. A most fitting bestowal indeed.

The aim of this book is not historical, nor ethnological, but rather political. There are a few historical notes and some other information about the people themselves. For these he quotes Smeaton's "The Loyal Karens of Burma," but does not seem to have used the monograph on the "Karen People of Burma" prepared for the Government by H. I. Marshall nor the interesting book on the progress of the Karens entitled "A Star in the East" by Rev. E. N. Harris.

The relations between the Burmans, the ruling race of the country, who outnumber the Karens by almost ten to one, has always been a delicate ques-

tion. The Karens are evidently the remnants of an earlier migration in the Indo-Chinese peninsula than that which brought the Burmans into the same country. The Karens, lacking in the power of organization, were scattered and held no country of their own, except the deep forests and the high hills far away from the rivers which in early days formed the only highways of travel.

Whenever the Burmans came upon a group of Karens or a single individual of that race, a fight usually followed and the Karens, if outnumbered as they usually were, suffered usually the loss of everything they possessed, including clothing, and life and limb, unless they were captured and might be useful to their captives as slaves. Likewise, if a small group of Burmans found themselves in the jungle and fell into the hands of a company of Karens who could retaliate on them for the wrongs they might have suffered at the hands of other Burmans, they did not hesitate to do so.

The Burmans regarded the Karens as "wild cattle of the jungle without religion and without laws". The Karens feared the Burmans and avoided all contact with them in so far as it was possible.

It is obvious that with such a background the relations between the two races have been anything but happy. Dr. San C. Po relates a number of instances when this same spirit has survived to this day. The politic Burman with his suave and oily ways has ingratiated himself into the good graces of the unsuspecting officers of Government and the less diplomatic Karen often has to bear the brunt of any trouble that may be in the air. Such "frame-ups" are not uncommon to this very day.

With the coming of a greater amount of self-government in Burma, where the responsibilities are put more and more on the people of the country, the Karen has a poor chance of finding much satisfaction for himself or his people. Scattered as they are, and often distrustful of each other, their chances in a general election or for effective representation on District Boards etc. are practically nil. What can one or two members do against a majority of ten or twelve? In

the last few months Karen village schools have had their teachers' salaries cut off and grants reduced and they have been harried in other ways and their single representative on the Educational Board has made protests in vain.

However the Karens are not without their influence in the Province of Burma. Though they are a small people and though they are not aggressive, yet because of the fact that they have to a large extent accepted the teachings of Christianity and have received these as the fulfilment of the longings of their own olden time prophets, for a time when they could have peace, which has in a large measure come to them through the coming of the English Government, they have become educated to a far larger extent than any of the other races of Burma, and have developed moral character and democratic ideals which have been a wonder to their more discerning neighbours.

By peaceful penetration they have found their ways into nearly all the lines of activity that are open to the people of the country, and like the writer of this book, have won personal recognition in all walks of life. In this way they are gradually winning a good name for their people and the Karens are now the best known of all the many non-Burman tribes of Burma.

The author brings this out quite clearly in his book and what he says of some of the members of his race is well deserved.

When he comes to his suggestions for the future progress of the Karen people, there is more room for debate. There can be little doubt but that for the present the Karens would fare badly if there were not some sort of communal recognition. The fact that two Karens won election in general constituencies for the first Legislative Assembly when the Burmans boycotted the election, but have had no show since that time in any general election, shows that they would have no chance in any election held at the present time. Their treatment, of which I have spoken in District Boards and other general committees, shows that they would also fare badly unless some help were given them.

Dr. San C. Po's suggestion that the Tenasserim Division be made a Karen division with Karen officers is interesting, but some of those who know the Karens and their hesitancy to take responsibility wonder if such a scheme would meet with success. Also it would be very difficult to induce the Karens who live in the fertile Irrawaddy Delta to move to the hilly country of Moulmein or Tavoy. It would seem that the sentimental gain which the Karens might make by such a move would be more than offset by the economic and social losses.

Despite Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, which is a unique propaganda by itself, the spirit of modern progress is toward unity rather than diversity. Facing the facts, we find that the Karens in Burma are a small race, divided into smaller subdivisions, with not too much co-operation between the various elements. They are not localized but scattered all over Lower Burma in small

villages where the main occupation is agriculture. They are a simple people not interested in county-wide political movements, but asking nothing so much as to be let alone and allowed to till their fields in peace.

They can never hope to cope with the Burmans politically or in a military way, but in the realm of character they can make a place for themselves in the country in which they find themselves. By showing their worth, by rendering real service, they will sooner or later win for themselves a recognition that will be well worth-while.

The true future for the Karen people seems to the writer of this review to be not to withdraw as did their fathers from the life of the country in which they are living, but making the most of the opportunities given them under the new conditions of peace which they enjoy, (and we trust they will come to have more and more of them,) seek the common good of all and make their contribution to the common life thus raising it to a higher level of social justice and right living, and held to bring about a new Burma in which every man of whatever race may have an equal chance to make the most of his life and to share with the others his responsibilities as well as his rewards.

The book is well gotten up. It comprises 94 pages of subject matter and iv pages of preface. It is divided into twelve chapters and on the whole is well written. There are a number of interesting illustrations, both of individuals and Karen groups and some of the buildings they have built. In short it is a very readable book.

H. I. MARSHALL.

BURST OF AMERICAN PROSPERITY.

THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES. (National Industrial Conference Board, New York.) 1929. 23cm. 276p. \$5.00.

THIS highly informative report deals with the amazingly rapid development of the United States of America, within the incredibly short span of a decade and half, from the international debtor position into an international creditor nation on capital account. From the good old days of the Republic down to 1916 when the recent war assumed tremendous dimensions America borrowed foreign capital and was a net debtor to the extent of \$3 billions. The World War, leading to demoralised capital markets in Europe, gave her a splendid opportunity to transform herself into a creditor nation. The United States of America became a net-creditor to the extent of \$10 billions. During the post-war period vast changes in banking organisation, trade and industrial policies have occurred and greatly facilitated the movement of outward flow of American capital, with the result that America, even though she is a short-term debtor country to the extent of \$7.4 billions, has a net balance of capital outflow amounting to \$15 billions to Europe, Latin America and Asia.

This financial transformation, the realisation of which Indians are so much hankering after, is scientifically presented with a mass of statistical data so as to be easily understood by a layman. Covering as it does multifold ancillary problems such as the movement of capital funds, the balance of international payments, international influences on American finance, Federal Reserve policies, inter-governmental debts, the economic effects of capital movements, this new and altered rôle of America has not been analytically studied by any single author as yet, although annual compilations of investment tendencies are being attempted by individual scholars like Williams, B. M. Anderson, Max Winkler, Emil Davies, R. R. Kuczynski, W. I. King, R. O. Hall, Moulton and Pasvolsky. Foreigners like Bertil Ohlin of Sweden and Dr. Schacht of Germany have also had occasion to traverse the same ground. Commanding the services of economic experts as well as shrewd and broadminded businessmen of mature experience, the National Industrial Conference Board has issued another important book which admirably clarifies the situation as a whole.

A clear and comprehensive and retrospective view is presented before the reader and the future financial position of America as an international creditor country is also envisaged. It is rightly forejudged that until America reaches an advanced economic stage this rôle of international financial position might not be maintained.

It would be almost an impossibility to present a critical summary of the fine threads of the logical and qualitative analysis of this problem. But a proper appraisal of their line of reasoning is essential for us. From 1820 down to 1914 the United States of America borrowed capital funds to develop industrial activity and finance governmental expenditure on public works. This tended to develop the national income of the country and release domestic capital for direct use in agriculture, commerce and manufacturing. This nominal net-debtor position of \$2.5 billion was rapidly transformed to that of a net-creditor nation of \$18 billions within five and a half years of the war period. This was achieved mainly on account of increased money savings out of increased production which was aided largely by diffused credit growth all over the country. The inauguration of the Federal Reserve Banking system, the inflow of gold and the emergency financing of the U.S.A. Treasury led to bank credit expansion. From 1920 down to 1928 we find America exporting capital funds for long-term investment while there was an offsetting inflow due to American investments of foreigners. The net immigration of capital payments on short-term account is no less conspicuous. The capital outflow was indeed great but it was compensated greatly by capital funds flowing into the U.S.A. Domestic industry was not deprived of the necessary sinews of war. The huge outflow of capital funds—the net long-term creditor position of the U.S.A. to about \$16 billions—did not prove a drain on America's capital resources. On the other hand, the net short-term debtor position arose during this period.

Chap. VI and Chap. VII are devoted to the international influences on domestic finance and the reaction of the domestic financial developments upon international finance. After outlining the fundamental features of the American Banking system the resultant effects on it by the enormous inflow of gold to the extent of \$1.1 billion are discussed. Commercial banking credit expanded and the flow of credit to the security market greatly increased the new security floatations and enabled America to extend her international creditor position. The part played by the Federal Reserve programme greatly aided the new creditor rôle of the U.S.A. and it was not mere increased industrial production or mere extraordinary favourable opportunities alone that can wholly explain the ability of the country to assume this new rôle.

The inter-governmental debt problems are next alluded to. The "Young" plan to commercialise the German Reparations debt and the effect of the floatation of the same on the American market is discussed.

In Chapter IX are discussed the broad economic consequences of large capital movements on the domestic and international financial situation. Capital movements being merely shifts in purchasing power, their influence on the lending country and the receiving country are discussed. Its possible effects on international merchandise, service payments and international price levels are commented upon.

The main problem of the unforeseeable future, viz. whether America would continue to maintain this new international financial position, is discussed. The maintenance of capital outflow of funds depends, of course, on widened bank credit easing the money market conditions and this would further increase the inflow of capital resulting out of the payment of interest, dividend and capital repayments. International merchandise would greatly be affected by this and service movements might also be shifted. The future geographical distribution of the American investments would certainly be guided by financial advantages and the spirit of enterprise which determines the movement of corporate investment. Whether America would become a mature creditor nation or not depends mainly on steady and consistently growing economic prosperity. The financial international readjustments would indeed be of a grave character and economic friction or adverse effects on finance, industry and trade arising out of such a situation can only be removed by a hearty co-operation of the different Central Banks of the important countries. The economic welfare of the world undoubtedly depends on a wise understanding of this subtle problem with its far-reaching effects on the varied aspects of economic life such as industry, finance and trade.

The book has not only been written entirely from a detached point of view, but every conclusion arrived at is amply borne out by the presentation of statistical data. As many as 46 tables and 19 charts are employed in illustrating the line of their reasoning. In addition to these there are two appendices.

Aspiring, as every patriotic Indian does, to make India a creditor nation, the possible ways by which it can be so made and its would-be effects on industry, trade and finance and the controlling mechanism that would have to tone down the baneful effects of the capital movements can be easily grasped by an intelligent understanding of this eminently readable work.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

JAPANESE NATIONALISM.

NIPPON SHINDO RON: OR THE NATIONAL IDEALS OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

By YUTAKA HIBINO. A. P. MCKENZIE. (Cambridge University Press.) 1928. 22cm. 176p. 7/6.

THIS is a book containing thirty essays on different topics such as benevolence, patriotism, loyalty, public good, occupation and the like. Doubtless the author is a deep thinker. But there is no reason to believe that the opinions propounded in this volume were characteristic of the Japanese people only. We think they were more or less the common property of all the civilized peoples on the globe until the advent of the new civilization marked by the introduction of machinery. Patriotism was not considered as inconsistent with loyalty, nor was family pride looked upon as killing national spirit. But the ideals hitherto cherished had to be jettisoned as unsuited to the conditions of modern life. Japan has now brought itself to the level of European nations and has adopted with remarkable promptitude the new devices which ushered in the new era in the West. The most fatal effect of this civilization however is seen in the complete disintegration of family life. Naturally all the virtues consequent thereon are fast disappearing, if they have not already disappeared. When brothers have ceased to live under the same roof there is no occasion for the growth of fraternal spirit.

Mr. Hibino preaches that the husband should command and the wife submit. This is essential for a harmonious and peaceful family life. But an earning wife with economic independence and with ambitions diverted into wider channels and with a freer outlook on life can hardly be expected to reconcile herself with the limited aspirations held out to her under the old order and hence connubial relations are undergoing a violent transformation in Russia at present. If therefore despite the striking advance made by Japan in material progress she has been yet able to maintain the old order of society, then surely she presents a bewildering psychological phenomenon which calls for a close study of its institutions by those who are interested in the science of sociology. Herein therefore lies the importance of this book. In Japan the kingly institution is adored, all individual and national virtues being traced to it. It is considered healthy and meritorious for an individual to die for the king. The self-immolation of General Nogi is an instance in point. The General died by his own hand in accordance with the old samurai tradition at eight o'clock on the evening of September 1912, this being the hour of the imperial funeral which took place according to custom on the 45th day after the death of the Emperor. This reminds us of the custom of Sati which till recently obtained in India, a custom condemned by our people as reminiscent of barbarism.

It is commonly believed that the ideals hitherto cherished cannot stand under the revolutionary social changes wrought by the invention of machinery. But Japan seems an exception. The aspira-

tions of the Japanese people are, in the words of the author, "to take advantage of the daily and monthly opportunities for progress, to be neither impeded by the mire of old customs nor yet dazzled by new ideas but rather to comprehend the new by a close study of the old and to prepare to receive the new while remembering the value of what is ancient. This is one of the peculiar glories of the Japanese character." Verily this is what one would like to have. But the question is if it is achievable. To answer this question Japan must be studied and the volume before us, though it does not explain how this unique result is achieved in Japan, is expected to stimulate the inquiry. Indians should with advantage go to Japan and study the phenomena on the spot, for the ideals of the Indians, particularly of the Hindus, are not dissimilar to those of their Japanese brethren.

N. G. CHAPEKAR.

SHORT NOTICE

MONOPOLIES, CARTELS AND TRUSTS IN BRITISH INDUSTRY. By HERMANN LEVY. (Macmillan.) 1927. 21cm. xxi+356p. 12/6.

THIS book consists of three parts. Part I deals with monopoly in the days of early industrial capitalism. Part II explains the doctrine of free competition as stated by Adam Smith and others, along with a history of the earliest monopolist combinations, while the modern organisation of English industry on a monopolist basis forms the subject matter of Part III. The last part covers two-thirds of the book, it being mainly the subject matter of Dr. Levy's researches.

The author has tried to give a detailed history of the English monopolies from the end of the sixteenth century which saw the beginning of national industrial organisations of a firmly capitalistic impress in contradistinction to the former trade monopolies of the guilds of local importance, up to 1926, when war and its aftermath have brought in England new social facts and altered the preliminary conditions of organising production. During the course of his researches into its evolution and an analysis of the causes that have led to the present industrial organisation of monopolistic tendencies as against a hitherto prevailing doctrine and régime of free competition, he has found out two very important facts: first, the historical alteration of competition and monopoly is an economic necessity which dogmas and evaluations unavoidably coloured by contemporary prejudice cannot affect. And he says "what in the earliest days of capitalism rested on legal privilege, is now, though trade is free, the natural result of economic and more particularly capitalistic development;" secondly, the world war and its aftermath, the world crisis, have brought about a revolution in the most important areas of industrial organisation and it will be more to the advantage of English industry to attach itself to the monopolistic movement than to a revival of a competition jealousy.

We entirely agree with Dr. Levy on these two points, but we differ in certain details of the fixing of prices and the need of public control over these newly formed combines. We are aware of the difficulties of forming exact opinion on price problems especially after the world-war. Analysis of cost of production is now almost wanting. Still we do not believe that the situation is wholly uncontrollable. Dr. Liefmann rightly hopes that international cartels will be able to prevent and minimise dumping thereby resulting in steadying prices and promoting greater economic stability.

It must be admitted that Dr. Levy has fulfilled almost to the letter what he has promised in the

Preface. His book is an attempt to explain the existing organisation of English industry analytically, in an unpractical way, and the attempt is a successful one.

P. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE, PAST AND PRESENT. By BRIJ NARAIN. (Uttarhand Kapur & Sons, Lahore.) 1929. 24cm. 578p. Rs. 7-8.
- NATIONALITY. ITS NATURE AND PROBLEMS. By BERNARD JOSEPH. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 380p. 10/6.
- THE MAKERS OF CIVILIZATION IN RACE AND HISTORY. By L. A. WADDELL. (Luzac.) 1929. 24cm. 646p. 18/-.
- RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES. Report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes of the President's Conference on Unemployment. (Chairman: Herbert Hoover.) Vols. 2. (McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York.) 1929. 23cm. 950p. \$7.50.
- CHAPTERS ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By JOHN FISCHER WILLIAMS. (Longmans.) 1929. 23cm. 513p. 25/-.
- ANTHROPOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE. By FRANZ BOAS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 246p. 10/6.
- FRONTIERS OF HOPE. By HORACE M. KALLEN. (Horace Liveright, New York.) 1929. 21cm. 452p. \$3.00.
- POPE OR MUSSOLINI. By JOHN HEARLEY. (The Macaulay Co. New York.) 1929. 21cm. 256p. \$2.50.
- A SHORT SKETCH OF ECONOMICAL, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC. (All-Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Charkiv.) 1929. 25cm. 100p.
- COST OF LIVING STUDIES. Quantity and Cost Estimate of the Standard of Living of the Professional Class. (University of California.) 1928. 23cm. 29p.
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Matters of Moment.

Seva Samiti, Allahabad.

THE Report of the Seva Samiti, Allahabad, for the year 1928-29 records a varied and all-sided work of social service, done with a splendid devotion and involving an amount of self-sacrifice on the part of the workers and volunteers. The signatories make an appeal to young men to take to social service as life-workers devoting their whole time to some branch of Samiti's work which ought not to fall on deaf ears. The Samiti have conducted a high school, a reading room in Allahabad and night schools for labouring classes in other places of the province admitting all irrespective of caste or age. A rescue home for women at Cawnpore not only supports poor and deserted women but teaches them useful professions including nursing and midwifery, and serves as a maternity home for poor people. The branches affiliated to the main body are conducting activities like cremation of unclaimed bodies, restoration of lost children and are rendering valuable service in big fairs by providing shelters for pilgrims as well as during floods and epidemics. We are glad to note that dispensaries administering Ayurvedic medicines have been managed by many of these branches. The

good work done during the past fails by the Samiti have created such confidence that during the Solar Eclipse fair at Kurukshetra in November 1928 the Deputy Commissioner placed the railway station and all arrangements within its premises in charge of the Samiti, and the work done by the volunteers of the Samiti was commended in high terms by the Ministers of Local Self-Government, Punjab. During the Magh Mela of this year also the Samiti rendered valuable assistance to the authorities in innumerable ways. The Boy Scouts Association organized by the Samiti has its ramifications all over North India including Rajputana and may be expected soon to cover the whole of India; the present number of scouts, is nearly 22,000, of which nearly 17,000 have been supplied by U. P. The scouts have done valuable social service by conducting free dispensaries and carrying on anti-malaria and anti-cholera campaigns at times working even in infected areas at the risk of their lives. The Samiti which has evoked such heroism certainly deserves well of the Indian public. Through the First Aid and Home-Nursing classes managed by the Samiti, the knowledge of these subjects has been practically applied not only in their homes by the scouts between outside in saving the lives of strangers. In fact the Scout Movement, as the Report says, has brought about a transformation in the lives of those who come into its fold. The Samiti has also conducted several schools in the Naik territory, where the Naiks bring up their girls to public concubinage and the educational effect of these schools will in time be immense; already three girls have been drawn into the fold of regular marriage and propaganda work is continued by the members of the Samiti and in particular by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, M.L.C. Such onerous and many-sided work as the Seva Samiti has been doing requires liberal financing; the accounts show that barring Government and Municipal grants totalling nearly Rs. 26,000 the Samiti has secured by subscription and other ways a poor sum of about Rs. 40,000. This is hardly an adequate sum and we hope the public all over India will respond to the appeal made in the Report to generous-hearted persons to extend their helping hand and enable the Samiti to play its part more efficiently and vigorously.

The Opening of the Sastri College.

FOR a long time the Indians in South Africa have realized the great handicap of the paucity of educational facilities in their uphill political struggle for the full political rights of citizenship, and the opening of the Sastri College in a magnificent building at the hands of the Governor General will remove it for good. The College is planned to be a combined normal college and high school, providing general education up to the matriculation standard and training certified teachers, who will take their proper place in the educational system intended for the education of Indian children. In his address Sir K. V. Reddi said that in opening the College His Excellency would be lighting a torch which will spread light and knowledge in numerous Indian homes which were at present dark owing to ignorance. He said that he was sure that very soon the College would develop into a University College assisting the South African Indians in their search after truth and thus enabling them to become good and useful citizens and to vitalize the atmosphere of Indian public life in the Colony. His Excellency the Governor General in opening the College thus described its aims:—

"The important point to bear in mind is that the prevailing and predominant civilisation in South Africa is that of North-Western Europe. More particularly is this the case in regard to the system of government, and to political and municipal institutions. When the White

rares first arrived in South Africa no civilisation worthy of the name existed, and it was due to their efforts and their enterprise that the existing political system and social standards were built up. It is only reasonable, therefore, that the Europeans should wish to maintain that system of government, and those social standards which they have built up. When, therefore, the Capetown Agreement speaks of the "upliftment" of the Indian community, there is no desire to criticise Indian civilisation as such; but it should be borne in mind that that particular culture in some respects differs from the prevailing variety in South Africa, and it is the duty of every Indian who wishes to play the part of a citizen of this country, not only to submit cheerfully to the established political, social, and educational system, but to prepare himself and his children to take their proper place in the life of the country as a whole. That, I feel sure, was the idea which Mr. Sastri had in mind when he conceived the plan of founding this college, and incidentally laying down the basis of an organised system of education for Indians in South Africa. He realised that the first step in the so-called 'uplift' movement must be education, but he also realised that if that education was to be of genuine benefit to the Indian community it must be carried out in conjunction with, and not independent of, the State educational system. It is proposed, therefore, that when the necessary buildings have been constructed and equipped the Administration should be requested to take them over and run the institution. I regret that the author of this scheme cannot be with us to-day to see the completion of the first step towards the fulfilment of his ideal. This College is a fine example of personal effort by individuals for the good of a community, which is typical of the Servants of India Society of which Mr. Sastri is a distinguished member. In declaring these buildings open, I commit the welfare and future of the Institution to the Indian Community of South Africa in the hope that the generosity of its founders will be emulated by others among you."

Fiji Indians' Demand for Common Roll.

THE Legislative Council in Fiji Islands have recently rejected the motion of the Indian members for establishing a common electoral roll and the special representation of Europeans will continue indefinitely. As in India, the special electorates have produced the natural consequences and have intensified the racial feeling. The Europeans being in a majority in the Council, it is not to be expected that they will ever consent to the removal of the special electorates enabling them to defy Indian popular opinion, which would not be the case with a common electoral roll. It is quite well-known that Indian interests have been invariably relegated to the background in Fiji with the result that education of Indians is in a deplorable condition. Most of the roads in Indian areas are neglected and the greatest grievance of Indians is that their children are not admitted to the public schools in places where the education rate is levied upon them and measures of discrimination have been adopted on racial grounds in the matter of public baths and libraries. All this has been pointed out by no less a body than the Royal Commission recently appointed to inquire into the grievances of Indians. It is to be hoped that the report of this Commission will not be shelved but will be considered properly and that its recommendations are given effect to. The problem is assuming the same complexion as it has done in Kenya and will have to be solved on pretty much the same lines. The woeful neglect of Indian interests revealed by the Royal Commission can only be remedied by the

method of a common electoral roll which would enable Indians to return men who promise to look after their needs. We must appeal therefore to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to rectify matters and see that the injustice arising from special electorates is removed at an early date. In Fiji as in Kenya the main grievance of the Indians is second class citizenship.

An Appeal to join the Territorial Force.

UNDER the auspices of the League of Youth, a meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, at which an appeal was addressed to the young men in the city to take advantage of the opportunities for military training given to them by the Territorial Force, which had organized a branch by the name of the Madras Urban Infantry Unit. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer who presided explained that the Government were prepared to give the same facilities to educated Indians as they had granted to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and further that the recruits would not be compelled as before to leave their homes and go to some distant station to undergo their training. He showed how the response to join the Madras Unit had so far been very disappointing since only 50 young men had joined up to the 4th instant whereas the number of men required was 346. Sir Sivaswamy said that he wanted the Indians to realise that self-government was not possible unless they were willing to defend India. Finally he declared it to be absolutely necessary that they should equip themselves for discharging the primary duty of defending one's own country which devolves upon every citizen. Sir A. P. Patro emphasized the fact that the present opportunity was given after a great deal of agitation and appealed to his hearers to show that the city of Madras could rise equal to the opportunity afforded. He said that they would be demonstrating their fitness for self-government to that extent to which young men would be prepared to join the force. He further reminded the youth that more opportunities and facilities for military training would not be given unless the present one was utilized to the full. He also dwelt upon the other advantages from military training like the development of their physique and character as well as the promotion of a sense of duty and discipline and expressed a hope that the appeals made by the speakers on the occasion would produce the necessary response to the invitation for joining the unit.

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