

The Servant of India

EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIII NO. 11. }

POONA—THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1930.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	121
ARTICLES :—	
On Violence and Non-violence.	124
Mr. Sastri on Kenya.	127
The Near East: Egypt. By Mrs Juliette Row. ...	128
The Opium Problem in India and the East. By V. N. G.	129
REVIEWS :—	
England—as others see it. By R. Raghunatha Row.	130
Religious Persecution in Russia. By Rev. Fr. H. V. Elwin, C. S. S.	130
American Politics. By Dr. Naresh C. Sen-Gupta...	131
Arbitration in Australia. By Prof. K. B. Madhava...	132

Topics of the Week.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.

IN our leading article we have expressed the view that there is no moral or political justification for Mahatma Gandhi to embark on a campaign of civil disobedience which it is our genuine fear will do serious harm to the country in the present circumstances. To say this, however, is not to agree that the Government is justified in putting down the movement as soon as it raises its head as, from the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, it seems to have resolved to do. One would have thought that, with Lord Irwin at the head of the Government of India and with the Labour Ministry in England to guide its policy, it would be unnecessary to point to the moral that, in face of such a movement, the best policy for any Government is to hold its hands till it becomes absolutely impossible any longer to defer action. We are sure that Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Patel would be the last persons to question the Government's legal right to repress a movement whose avowed object is defiance of law. All that is legal, however, is not expedient. Premature drastic action becomes highly inexpedient in this case because, after all, a campaign of civil disobedience can only be dealt with by ranging public opinion against it, and a wise Government will do everything in its power to divert the sympathies of the public from satyagraha to itself and will do nothing which will have an opposite tendency. If at the moment public feeling is on the side of the movement it will only be consolidated and streng-

thened by Government inflicting punishment on stayagrahis. If, however, Government shows forbearance as long as it is possible to do so it will attract to itself popular sympathies and give a chance to the good sense of the people to assert itself. The limit of patience will obviously be reached when there is either an actual breach of the peace or when there is a serious danger of such a breach. The Government is yet miles away from that limit. As long as satyagrahis can really keep their movement free from violence they may well be left alone. No serious injury will come to the Government or to the public by their committing the minor breaches of the law upon which they seem to be intent. And in the meanwhile the Government must proceed apace with its policy of conciliation. As the latter comes more and more into the public view, and as the popular mind becomes disabused of its obstinate conviction, to which Mahatma Gandhi has given voice in his letter to the Viceroy, that Government does not really intend to concede self-government subject to reasonable reservations, the ranks of civil resisters will become thinner and public sympathy will move away from them. The Government had, therefore, rather push on with its conciliatory policy than come down heavily upon the satyagrahis, which in the existing state of things will only defeat its purpose.

* * *

Retrenchment.

THE defeat of the Government over the retrenchment cut in the Assembly is of more than ordinary significance. In this instance the cut motion was moved by Sir Hugh Cocke on behalf of the non-official European group, who generally stand by Government and vote with them. Sir Hugh was not satisfied with the sweet words and elusive promises made by the Government and pressed his motion to a division, with the result that the Government lost by 34 to 45 votes. The non-officials solidly voted against the Government. Sir Hugh asked for the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee of businessmen to deal, among others, with the military expenditure and recommend economies. Reduction of salaries found favour with him as with Mr. K. C. Neogy. Sir Darcy Lindsay and Col. Gidney suggested that if only the officials at the Army Headquarters worked for eight hours a day, the staff could be reduced by a third. The latter bitterly complained that the Lee concessions were a drain on India and advocated the

Indianisation of the I.M.S. and the R.A.M.C. This vigorous support from the European group of the Indian demand for retrenchment will be heartily welcomed, and we trust the significance of the united protest against extravagance will not be lost on the Government. But as several other members of the Assembly pointed out, unless there is a change of policy no striking retrenchments are possible. And it is the military policy of the Government that wants radical change.

* * *

The Debate on the Army Demand.

THE defeat of the Government in the Assembly over the demand of the Army Department is symptomatic of the extreme dissatisfaction with their policy in regard to military matters roused by their sins of omission, especially about the carrying out of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee. Dr. Moonje doubted the truth of the statement that cadets of the necessary quality were not available in sufficient numbers to justify the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst; he further criticized the rigidity of tests with regard to admission to Woolwich. The surprise of the debate was the vapid inanities which Sir Abdul Qayum uttered about the inferiority of the type of Indians coming for selection and the vital necessity of a costly British army. Several speakers expressed surprise at the reluctance of the Government to create an Indian Sandhurst on the ground of its being a costly enterprise, as declared by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State. The only member who justified the high pitch of military expenditure was Col. Crawford who put forward the well-worn plea that the army must be kept in a high state of efficiency; to this the proper reply was given by Mr. Mody who said that the Government should even take risks rather than cause economic distress on account of the huge cost of the army. Col. Crawford even went so far as to say that a Dominion army could not be built up in the way recommended by the Skeen Committee. The Army Secretary declared that there was no intention of abandoning the eight units scheme and it seems that there is not much hope for the present of getting rid of this unpopular arrangement. Mr. Jinnah pointed out that the abolition of the eight units scheme and the creation of a Sandhurst in India being the principal recommendations of the Skeen Committee it was absurd to say that the Committee's report had been given effect to until these recommendations were adopted. It is to be noted that whereas the Committee had recommended an increase of the cadets to 27 for this year, the Government had fixed vacancies at the figure 20 and were waiting to see if the results were satisfactory. Mr. Jinnah assured the exponents of the Government policy that even after the refusal of the army demand the entire army department would not be disbanded and appealed to them to vote for the resolution for a cut on account of the importance of the constitutional issue behind it. The debate will have served its purpose if it leads to some searching of conscience among official circles.

* * *

The Madras Budget.

THE retention of the balances intact instead of allowing them to be frittered away is one of the signs of good financing; judged by this test the Madras budget presented last month must be regarded as satisfactory. The year 1929-1930 opened with a balance of Rs. 5 crores 39 lakhs and, even after paying Rs. 212 lakhs towards reduction of debt and after utilizing Rs. 55 lakhs for meeting important capital requirements for the next year so as to avoid fresh borrowing, the next year will close with a balance of

nearly Rs. 3 crores. This has enabled the Finance Member to say that the financial position in respect of balances was sufficiently strong to enable the province to face without anxiety temporary losses of revenue to which famine invariably gives rise. The total debt of the province is Rs. 15 crores 49 lakhs at the end of the current year, which is a trifle less than one year's revenue, a position at which Bombay would look with wistful glances. Although the next year's budget shows a deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs, the general financial position appears to be perfectly sound, even after spending nearly Rs. 1 crore on non-recurring grants for necessary improvements, including provision for agricultural and industrial research. The expenditure on education compares favourably with Bombay, being Rs. 1 crore in excess, although the total revenues exceed those of Bombay only by Rs. 3 crores. There is a remarkable reduction in police expenditure to the extent of Rs. 27 lakhs in the next year's budget which ought to be welcomed as setting free a large sum for beneficent activities. The Finance Member made a grievance of the impossibility of increasing land revenue in view of the report of the Committee appointed to enquire into resettlement of the East and West Godavari districts and said that the prospect of a stagnant land revenue deserved the most serious consideration of the Legislative Council. He also gave a solemn warning about the gradually disappearing Excise revenue and reminded the Council of their responsibility for finding substitutes for making good the gap left by the prohibition policy. It is no use, however, making a grouse over decreasing land revenue and decreasing excise revenue since both have been pronounced to be inevitable; as for filling up the gap we are sure that the Council will tackle the question in good time when complete disappearance of excise revenue is imminent. In the meanwhile the Finance Member has not given a very hopeful account of the anti-drink propaganda; very probably he does not seem to feel much enthusiasm for it. The Council, however, ought not to be deterred by the scepticism of service men and ought to persist in the path leading towards prohibition. With regard to the review of the last five years it is undeniable that the expenditure on public health, medical relief and education is on a very much larger scale to-day than it was in 1924-25.

* * *

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

IT is gratifying to note that the deliberations of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at its annual meeting have been carried on in a spirit of friendliness to Indian interests. Mr. Winterbotham, the President, declared that no real progress would be made until the barriers of mistrust between Indian and non-Indian interests were broken down and advised both to find a common non-contentious ground on which to advance towards the common goal of a prosperous India. With regard to Mr. Haji's Bill he regards it as economically unsound and impracticable to work; on this the only comment which can be made for the present is that it can be made practicable if there is a will to do so on both sides. Welcoming the White Paper issued by the Bombay Government on the mill industry, he expressed the opinion that the new increase in import duties would be sufficient to give the industry the requisite protection against foreign competition to enable it to reorganize itself in such a way as to withstand it in future without any extraneous support. With regard to the additional protective duty of 5 per cent, he noted with satisfaction that they were directed only against goods which competed with the local product and left free those which did not so compete in accordance with the suggestions contained in Mr. Hardy's report. H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes gave

some excellent advice with regard to the sugar industry and recommended intensive scientific research on the lines followed in Java with the object of making India self-sufficient and save a sum of Rs. 15 crores or so every year. On the question of the new tariff on cotton goods Sir Frederick reminded the millowners that it was only intended as giving a breathing space in which to rally and reorganize the forces of the industry and advised them to treat the labour force in such a way that it would readily identify itself with the interests of the capitalists. With regard to future development of commerce and industries he rightly emphasized the adoption of 'rationalisation' so as to secure improved technique and organisation designed to secure maximum results with a minimum of waste of labour and material; if this is done and a demand is created for orderly and scientifically directed activity in industry and agriculture he thought the right solution would be found for the problem of unemployment among the educated population.

* * *

Food Exhibition.

IN the present stirring political times few people would be supposed to have any taste for such humdrum things as an Exhibition arranged for the purpose of reforming the habits of the people in the matter of food. And yet when one was arranged in Bombay two weeks ago under the auspices of the Baby and Health Week Association crowds gathered to listen to Dr. H. V. Tilak, M. B., F. R. C. S., as he took them over to the six beautifully arranged stalls and explained to them in what respects our methods of preparing and taking food required to be improved. The crowds that attended these lectures were appreciably larger than those that attend an average political meeting to be addressed by any but a first-rate popular speaker, and, what is more, the crowds that came stayed long and imbibed every word that fell from Dr. Tilak or his assistants. This we consider to be a very encouraging sign of the times, showing that the people's hearts are really set on substantial reform rather than on vapid talk. Dr. Tilak, too, has the rare gift of presenting the up-to-date results of scientific research in simple language level with the intelligence of the people and of showing sufficient respect for their present-day habits so as not to cause a revulsion of feeling for the reformed habits he was advocating. Rightly, he kept the necessities of the poor constantly in mind, and his main theme was that costly foods were not necessarily nourishing. He has worked out a schedule of well-balanced diet costing only four annas a day which would supply all the sustenance that is necessary. Particular emphasis was laid on supplying information regarding vitamins which has become available recently. During the last five years the Baby and Health Week Association has organised some 500 Health Exhibitions. This Food and Vitamins Exhibition was a new departure and was a great success, for which Bombay City owes so much to the disinterested efforts of Dr. Tilak.

* * *

Nasik Satyagraha.

THE untouchables in and around Nasik are engaged, under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar, in satyagraha almost on an epic scale. About 150,000 of them have assembled together in Nasik, one of the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy, and claim admission to the Hindu temple for worship, which, of course, is refused by the temple trustees. The despised untouchables have displayed unsuspected powers of organisation and discipline, have raised a fund of some thousands of rupees, and set about with grim determination to throw off the incubus of untouchability that have crushed them under it for centuries.

Batches of satyagrahis sit before the closed temple gates from 7 a. m. to 9 p. m. "The whole scene", says the correspondent of the "Indian Daily Mail", "was very touching and many of the spectators who had thronged in huge crowds, could not restrain their feelings and shed tears when they witnessed the satyagrahis, especially women, sitting in the burning sun chanting continuously the holy name of God Ram." An aged Brahmin was so moved by the scene that he emptied the contents of his purse in the hands of a Mahar volunteer, exclaiming that such devotion would melt the stone walls of the temple but not the hearts of the Sanatanists! All communities among the depressed classes have joined this satyagraha, and they are assisted and helped by a body of sympathisers among the higher castes; and this body, we are glad to be told, includes not only most of the members of the local legal profession but also His Holiness the Sankaracharya, Dr. Kurtkoti. The temple trustees have taken shelter under the law, for they claim that the temple is private property and that the conditions of the trust stand in the way of their throwing the temple open to the untouchables. Whether under these circumstances the untouchables gain admission to this particular temple or not, the campaign is bound to have a permanent good effect on all concerned. Every successive blow struck against untouchability and orthodoxy and priest tyranny will gain cumulative strength, and the sooner the country is rid of these curses the better.

* * *

Municipal Finance in Bombay Presidency.

THE Report on municipal taxation and expenditure in this province for the year 1927-28 is rather sad reading. During the year under report the aggregate gross income of municipalities increased from 339 lakhs to 378 lakhs. It is a sign of grave inefficiency that the arrears of dues are nearly at the same figure as they were in the previous year; one of the reasons being the non-payment of the dues by the councillors themselves, against which no action was taken. The report draws special attention to the fact that several municipalities still persist in disregarding the rule that the whole of the net receipts from wheel-tax and road tolls should be expended on road construction and repairs; on the whole the progress about road expenditure has been very unsatisfactory. The total expenditure on public instruction was Rs. 50.44 lakhs, showing an increase of only four lakhs over that of the preceding year. It is a pity that most of the defects noted in the previous audit reports continue to be persistent and the report says that compliance with suggestions made in the audit notes of the Local Audit Department is always slow; the Government have now instituted a new system and they hope that it will be effective in stimulating the local bodies to be more prompt in the disposal of audit notes and objections. Heavy arrears seem to be the great bane of the municipalities which is bound to have a disturbing effect on the general finances. The total grants made during the year by the Government for the more important requirements of the municipalities amount to nearly Rs. 4.1 lakhs. The Government remark with regard to municipal needs that the public have not yet fully appreciated the fact that they cannot expect to realize their aspirations about increased amenities without an increase in local taxation; this is true enough. The complaint is again repeated that the administration of municipalities has been marred by communal factions and that councillors do not exercise their functions with a sole eye to the public interest. We share the hope expressed in the report that self-seeking councillors will find it more difficult to secure election as time goes on.

Articles.

ON VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE.

IN his article in the SERVANT OF INDIA of 30th January, Mr. V.N. Naik set up a contrast between the attitude of Gokhale and that of Mr. Gandhi towards non-violence, which, in view of the campaign of civil resistance inaugurated yesterday, merits to be deeply pondered over by everyone who would know the rights and wrongs of the movement that is burst upon us. Gandhiji has recorded his sense of disappointment at the fact that Gokhale did not look upon violence as a sin in itself to be resisted in all circumstances. While Gokhale was prepared in the abstract to recognise the use of violence as legitimate under certain conditions he was, in fact, extremely fearful of its consequences and sternly discouraged every activity calculated to provoke violence on the part of either of the contending parties. Mr. Gandhi however presents a contrast in both these respects. In theory violence to him is essentially wrong to be justified in no conceivable circumstances; nevertheless he is often found ready in practice to promote policies which by all human calculations will end in violence and even bloodshed.

The employment of violence is so obviously and so utterly inexpedient in the existing circumstances of our country that the doctrine that it is essentially unjust in all imaginable circumstances is often allowed to go unchallenged. But really it is a false doctrine. Violent or armed conflicts can be justified under certain conditions. What are these conditions? Roughly they may be said to be three: 1) when there is a clear infringement of a right or when a right is clearly in danger of being infringed; 2) when the right violated or about to be violated is of such primary importance that the injustice resulting from the violation outweighs in its consequences the evils certain to flow from the use of violence; and 3) when all means of peaceful settlement have been tried and found to be utterly hopeless. Resort to violence under such circumstances is ethically permissible. The defence of violence under these rigid conditions is thus formulated in a recent pacifist publication: "The underlying principle in all this is that, within the brotherhood of man, individuals and nations have certain inalienable rights which they may protect even by bloodshed when, first, there is a proportion between the gravity of the right and the gravity of the means used to protect it, and, second, when bloodshed is actually the only possible means to protect the right." This is without a doubt the correct view of the matter.

Mr. Gandhi, however, excludes violence wholly from his scheme of things. In his eyes it is an unmitigated evil to be cast out by every possible means; no injustice, however grave and however irremediable otherwise, can be sought to be remedied by its use. One would have thought that he who

takes such an extreme view of non-violence would be more than ordinarily careful not to countenance a movement which is charged with such immense potentialities of an extensive use of violence. But in fact it is just this apostle of what we cannot help thinking is a quixotic form of renunciation of violence who is almost incredibly reckless in letting loose forces of disorder upon the country. In a recent number of *Young India* Mr. Gandhi says he is at present contemplating "taking the boldest risks imaginable." The risks here involved are not merely those of personal suffering in his own case and in the case of his followers, but those of a serious outbreak of violence. He is surely conscious of this, and yet he does not shrink from risks of this character. This does seem to us incongruous in one who rejects violence as inherently sinful.

It is true that Mr. Gandhi does not contemplate the use of violence on the part of the satyagrahis; but he has every reason to fear it on the part of the masses and on the part of the guardians of the peace. Is an initiator of large-scale movements to have no concern for the undesirable results which flow directly from these movements? Is he entitled to absolve himself from them merely on the ground of his peaceful conduct? Is he to take no account of the inevitable repercussions which the movements cause? In the present instance Mr. Gandhi has pledged himself and the Congress to carry on civil resistance to the bitter end, whatever amount of violence follows in its wake. For he says in *Young India*, "Whilst, therefore, every effort, imaginable and possible, should be made to restrain the forces of violence, civil disobedience, once begun this time, cannot be stopped and must not be stopped so long as there is a single civil resister left free or alive." On a former occasion he deemed it necessary to give up such a movement even before it had been started because an orgie of violence, wholly extraneous to the movement, happened at a far-away place in Northern India. On the present occasion, however, the movement is to be continued even if violence dogs its feet throughout its course, provided, perhaps, that the violence is not of the satyagrahis' seeking. Apparently Mahatma Gandhi's devotion to non-violence is still in the process of evolution which somehow makes him increasingly indifferent to violence.

The civil disobedience campaign itself is to be conducted, we are told, by those who believe in non-violence as an immutable creed, and not as a matter of temporary expediency. Those who will participate in the movement in the beginning are to be drawn exclusively from the inmates of the Satyagrah Ashram in Sabarmati and who have undergone a "long course of discipline" under Mr. Gandhi's personal supervision. We quite agree that here would be found, if anywhere, persons who believe in non-violence as an article of faith, but we still doubt whether even in the case of all the inmates of the Ashram the claim can be sustained that they agree to abjure all forms of violence as essentially and in all

circumstances wrong. Probably they are prepared to take, and have taken, such a vow, but if the vow is taken in ignorance of the arguments that can be advanced on the other side it would be too fragile to be of much value. And we have reason to suspect that some at any rate of these belong to this category. Why, Mahatma Gandhi himself is sometimes found to dilute his non-violence doctrine to such an extent as to leave one wondering what exactly he stands for. Even in the issue of *Young India* where he declares that the ranks of civil resisters will be confined to believers in non-violence as a religious truth, he writes, while warning his followers against encouraging false hopes about the system of government that will be established on the achievement of independence, that "everyone will not have arms for self-defence, but there will be much freer issue than hitherto. Issues of arms will still be regulated but from wholly different motives from now." We for our part are entirely unable to see how a votary of non-violence to be followed in all possible circumstances can still contemplate the continued existence of arms in a scheme of self-government.

Whatever this may be, one thing is certain: it is that the bulk of Congressmen upon whose support the movement will mainly rest consists of people who will give non-violence a chance as a matter of expediency and strategy, and will feel no conscientious objection to the taking of other measures if, in their altered judgment of the requirements of expediency and strategy, such measures are justified. The President of the Congress himself declared in his Lahore speech: "The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on political grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery, then I have no doubt that it will adopt them." This represents correctly the mentality of the average Congressman. Mr. Gandhi now and then flatters himself with the comfortable belief that "those who flock to the Congress session year by year have a living faith in non-violence as the only possible means for India at least to regain her lost freedom," but if he means that they consider that other means are not open to them on ethical grounds he is labouring under a dangerous delusion. Indeed, he will find soon after the movement is started that he will have for his strongest allies those who not only do not object to violence but who would exploit nationalistic agitations to press forward their own Marxian theories and deflect the present movement from its non-violent aims to violent purposes as soon as Mr. Gandhi's hand is removed from the helm. This is not a remote danger to be brought up for dialectical advantages, but it is an impending danger which we sense in the immediate future. In his letter to the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi speaks as if the movement is intended, among other things, to keep the communists and anarchists in check by diverting their enthusiasm for violence, which springs from desperation, into non-violent

channels through the agency of a hope-inspiring movement. But it is in the nature of things impossible that the movement, however non-violent in its inception and in its aims, will, when conducted on the scale on which it is being planned and for achieving no less a purpose than the attainment of sovereign national independence, remain non-violent through any but a small fraction of its full course. The shrewd observation of Gokhale that, even if the satyagrahis themselves remained scrupulously within the limits of non-violence, there was almost a certain probability of the officials themselves giving it a violent turn, only embodies a too common experience of war strategy, which no one who would lead mass movements can leave out of account. And it is an essential condition of the success of such a campaign that it should be conducted in a thoroughly non-violent atmosphere.

Mahatma Gandhi formerly had his own way of measuring the country's preparedness for remaining non-violent in conditions of stress and strain and thus for conducting a campaign of mass civil resistance. Not only was it necessary in his opinion then that the would-be satyagrahis should in their own persons spin, make and use khaddar, disregard untouchability, be friendly to other communities, etc., but that there should be a general enthusiasm among the masses for hand-spinning, for removing the grievances of untouchable, for promoting inter-communal amity, etc. if the campaign was to be started with any chance of success. The tests he laid down were not all to be explained by any process of logical reasoning. The supposed connexion between the harka and civil disobedience or non-violence very few even among his followers have been able to understand, much less to justify. But there were at any rate some tests which made a rash resort to such a campaign unlikely. But these tests have now been thrown overboard as inconvenient cargo. It can be proved to demonstration that there are fewer khaddar-mad people in the country now than before, that untouchability is still far from being removed, inter-communal unity is almost reduced to vanishing point, (of which last, by the way, a striking demonstration was afforded by the "big brother" denouncing Gandhi and all his works the moment his plans were made known). But these things have apparently now become of no consequence. It was also thought in the past that if the country had a good showing in the simpler forms of non-co-operation—renunciation of titles, boycott of schools, boycott of law courts, boycott of Government employment &c.—then it would be judged to be properly equipped for civil resistance. But, on Mahatma Gandhi's own confession, non-co-operation has proved a dismal failure. However acute may be the discontent against Government, the people cannot be persuaded to be more kindly to non-co-operation. Nothing will jockey the lawyers into giving up their practice, lucrative or otherwise; so this item is to be given up. The lawyers are only to be advised, in a certain contingency, after the movement is already started, to give up their profession. We all know how the advice will be received. But this of

course is to make no difference to the course of the movement. Non-co-operation is no longer a necessary preparation for a civil resister. The whole idea of preparation and discipline is now being abandoned by Mahatma Gandhi because he is in a hurry to inaugurate this campaign and achieve independence.

* * * * *

Now, where is the justification for inaugurating a campaign of civil disobedience in the existing circumstances? To put it at the least, there is a serious risk of violence breaking out. To one who regards violence as a deadly sin, as Mahatma Gandhi does, the justification must obviously be stronger than to one who regards violence as a regrettable, but nevertheless a minor, incident in the conduct of mass struggles. When the Mahatma himself embarked on the Champaran campaign, e.g., he was at great pains to convince the world that, serious as were the risks that he ran, the issues involved weighed more in the scales than these risks. The justification he now offers is of the flimsiest. In fact he attempts no justification except that, the Congress in its session of 1928 having passed a resolution pledging all Congressmen to independence and civil disobedience in the event of dominion status not being attained by the 31st Dec. 1929, he as the leader of the Congress had to carry out the "solemn resolution." This is only to throw the questioner a step backwards and not really to justify a movement which contains in it potentialities of grave peril to the country's future. As a matter of fact, in spite of this "solemn resolution" Mahatma Gandhi was prepared just a few days before the 31st Dec. to entertain other proposals, which fact in itself constitutes, strictly interpreted, an infringement of the resolution. These proposals are not yet withdrawn; the road still lies open to a negotiation between the rulers and the ruled for the conferment of dominion status upon India. Just when this offer is made, a campaign of civil disobedience is to be started bringing in its wake disorder and turmoil which can only be justified when the possibilities of a pacific settlement have been exhausted. No mass movement be more wanton than this.

* * * * *

In his effort to justify his action Mahatma Gandhi is perforce required to paint British rule in darker colours than is warranted by the facts of the case. He rests his justification mainly on economic grounds, which it would be charitable to suppose he only half understands. He makes great play with the declaration of the Finance Member that the exchange ratio of the rupee cannot be put back to 1s. 4d. Mahatma Gandhi has apparently taken at its face value all the clamour made by the merchant class against the existing ratio. If so, he has only recently made the cause his own. When the country was ringing with protests he kept quiet as if nothing had happened. And he takes up the cry now when all others have given it up. He says that his civil disobedience campaign is intended to restore the rupee to 1s. 4d. His mentors from whom he has imbibed this knowledge on currency questions must be laughing in their sleeves at this declaration, for the last thing they desire now is to disturb the existing state of things. He again

makes the point that the British Government taxes the poor heavily, letting off the rich with comparative ease. This is of course only too true, but the indictment would have had a clearer ring of truthfulness if Congressmen had devoted themselves within the Councils and without to a stout-hearted championship of the poor who are being so badly used. The fact however is that in nine cases out of ten the sympathies of influential Congressmen were on the side of the rich. The Mahatma speaks of the lot of the tenant at will with sincere commiseration. But what support did those who have been trying to emancipate the peasant from the oppression of the landlord—or the worker from that of the employer or the States people from that of the Princes—receive from him? Has he not thrown the great weight of his influence on the maintenance of the *status quo* in these matters, on the theory no doubt that such movements would have the effect of diverting public attention from the only activity that now matters—a deadset against the Government?

* * * * *

Indeed the justification for starting satyagraha campaigns for the purpose of asserting the right of the depressed classes to temple entry or bettering the condition of the people in Indian States would be very much stronger. The depressed classes are being denied a most elementary right of citizenship and there is a very slender chance, if at all, of the orthodox people conceding it unless they are shamed into doing so by such a forceful campaign. If the condition of British India under British rule is bad, that of Indian India under the Indian Princes' rule is infinitely worse. The *Indian Daily Mail*, surely no unfriend of the Princes or of the Mahatma, had to admit as much when commenting upon Mahatma's description of British rule as a curse. But Mr. Gandhi is firm in counselling the people against satyagraha on these issues. A satyagraha has already been launched in Nasik with a view to demonstrate to the world the moral right of the so-called untouchables to enter public temples and offer worship to the image of God inside. The independence-satyagrahis however look upon it as an unnecessary complication leading to a weakening and dispersion of the national forces and would do everything in their power to stop it. And yet, how much more reason there is for that kind of satyagraha to be set on foot! The recent Patiala Report gives one cause for grave alarm, but the supporters of the independence-satyagraha would prefer to turn their blind eye to it. Mahatma Gandhi is nowhere more unpopular now than amongst his own followers intent upon reforming Indian States' administrations because he is as indulgent to the greater tyrants as he is relentless towards the lesser ones. The satyagrahis of course are champions of truth; but they have a way of selecting only certain truths to champion, neglecting the rest. This reminds us of what a certain wag said to us long ago that even while offering satyagraha in Champaran Mahatma Gandhi preferred to fight only the European indigo planters instead of including Indian as well as European in a comprehensive attack. There is

no doubt that, sometimes unconsciously, but more often as a matter of deliberate policy, evils of our own making are left alone, and the evils of foreign imposition are sought out and attacked. There is nothing unnatural in this in an ordinary politician, but it seems inexplicable in the case of one who is not a mere politician, but who sets truth above everything else. For, it is a fact which no one can deny that some of the evils of our own making are worse than any inflicted by foreign rulers.

* * *

In our humble judgment there is not a shade of a shadow of doubt that the present movement is entirely uncalled for and we fear that, if persisted in, it will work serious mischief. Mahatma Gandhi will no doubt evoke much enthusiasm in the country for his campaign and will be able to organise it on a large scale. But how it can be made to subserve the best interests of the country we for our part fail to see. On the contrary we think what Mr. Lloyd George said in a recent speech in the House of Commons on another subject will come true here. "Streams flow down into the Sahara", he said, "from the surrounding hills, and you expect to see them fructify the land. But as they proceed they are absorbed in the wide arid lands of the great desert, and you can only follow their track by the weeds." The most that we can honestly hope for from the present movement is that, if the streams are lost, there will not be many weeds left behind and that if popular enthusiasm runs to waste it will not do irreparable injury to the political future of the country.

MR. SASTRI ON KENYA.

GEN. SMUTS is reported to have been taken by the utmost surprise that the negro population in the United States of America took serious offence at his statement, that the African native was "the most patient of all creatures next to the ass"! In all innocence and charity and benevolence he had meant, he explained subsequently, to pay a well-deserved tribute and compliment to the African native! It is also told that some years ago at the League of Nations the South African representative was asked what the population of his country was; and he blandly replied that it was a million and a half! Cross-examined by an incredulous and amazed colleague, he admitted that he was thinking only of the white population, and that if the non-whites were also included they were seven millions in the Union. These two incidents illustrate the mentality of the British white population generally in Africa, and their attitude towards the non-European. The non-Europeans do not simply count; they have no personality, no self-respect and no claims to political opportunities that the whites need take into account. In his own restrained, dignified, and withal firm and unequivocal manner the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has, in his Report on his mission to East Africa, brought out this ugly characteristic of the Europeans in East Africa. "It was clear to me," says he, "that the predominant view of that (European) community was that they should be the

arbiters of the destiny of Kenya and that Indians should be allowed only a subordinate voice in the administration of the affairs of the Colony irrespective of their numbers, wealth, capacity, or contribution to the taxation." This tendency receives greater emphasis in Uganda. "In this Province," continues Mr. Sastri, "we dominate the situation by numbers, wealth, capacity and the magnitude of our interests. If race and colour were not sovereign considerations, we should have something more than parity of representation." And yet in that Province Indians have not even parity. Coming as it does from Mr. Sastri, who is no anti-British agitator, who is trusted alike by the people and the Government of India and by the British Government, and whom the British Government themselves invited to assist Sir Samuel Wilson in East Africa, this severe indictment, not only of the political character of the British European settlers in East Africa, but also indirectly of the British Government themselves, who permitted such things to happen, must make them pause and reconsider their policies. If fitness to govern other races includes the winning of the confidence and trust of the governed, the European population in East Africa are very far from being fit to govern the Indians and the natives. And it will be a crime against humanity to entrust the fate of the latter in the hands of the former. Any increase in the power, or even in the influence, of the European settlers will spell disaster to the Indians and to the natives. Mr. Sastri does not hesitate, therefore, to recommend that the Government of India should oppose the grant of responsible government to Kenya or of any institutions leading up to it, e. g., the establishment of a Central Council, as proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson, and the relinquishment of the official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council.

Mr. Sastri is equally strong and unflinching in his support of the common roll on a civilisation franchise, irrespective of race or colour or religion. His recommendation that the Government of India should invoke the good offices of the Colonial Office and of the Government of Kenya in securing the consent of the European community to the establishment of the common roll has been criticised in certain quarters. It is contended that if the common roll is the right thing, its establishment should not be dependent on the consent of the Europeans. Secondly, if the consent theory were accepted as regards the common roll, it is liable to be extended to other matters as well; and this would virtually amount to placing the destinies of non-Europeans in the hands of the Europeans. There seem to be no valid grounds for these criticisms, at any rate from Indians, in India. In India we have not one but several communal rolls, based on every conceivable political irrelevancy—race, religion and caste. Though even the communalists admit that the common roll is the only sensible and permanent political arrangement, nevertheless it has hardly been advocated in India from 1908, when the separate Muslim electorates were created, right up to now that the consent of the Muslims or Europeans was not necessary to enforce the common roll. The

efforts have always been to persuade the communalists to consent to the common roll. Nor has it ever been argued by the advocates of the common roll in India that because the consent of the communalists was necessary to introduce the common roll, therefore the communalists have an absolute veto in every other matter as well. It does not follow, therefore, that in Kenya Indians should not seek the consent of the Europeans for the common roll, or that if they did, they would be vesting in the Europeans a power of veto in every other matter as well.

Nor do we understand that Mr. Sastri intended to make the introduction of the common roll in Kenya contingent on European consent. On the other hand, he has called for a "firm and clear enunciation, from the headquarters of the Commonwealth, of a principle and policy, consonant with its real character", in which case he is confident that "the next few years may witness in Kenya the beginnings of a common citizenship, full of promise for the future." Mr. Sastri rather stresses the importance of the part that the Colonial Office and the British Government have to play in getting the consent of the Europeans in Kenya. It must be remembered the Closer Union Commission said that the consent of the Europeans was necessary to the adoption of the common roll, and desired that efforts should be made to secure that consent. They had hoped that when once their proposals for native policy were adopted by the British Government and explained to the Europeans, their consent to the common roll would have greater chances of forthcoming. Unfortunately the Tory Government did nothing of the kind and simply played into the hands of the European intransigents; and in despatching Sir Samuel Wilson to East Africa, they declared that the communal electorates in Kenya would not be changed except with the consent of the Europeans. The real obstacle to the common roll was the Tory Government in England and not so much the Europeans in Kenya. If that Government had honestly carried out the recommendations of the Closer Union Commission, that is, if they had unequivocally declared themselves in favour of the common roll and sought the basis for that franchise, the consent of the Europeans in Kenya would have been forthcoming without much difficulty. European dissent was more an excuse than a reason for the Tory Government's policy. Now that the Labour Government is in power Mr. Sastri is in hopes that they "will make a clear statement of policy which will assign to the Indian populations in East Africa a status compatible with the description of equal partners." What is really wanted, and what we believe Mr. Sastri himself asks for, is the consent of the British Government to the common roll. If that is forthcoming, it will not be necessary to coerce the Europeans of Kenya: they will themselves come round and give their consent. For Mr. Sastri is able to report that "the extreme anti-Indian view no longer occupies the field so exclusively as before. A more tolerant attitude finds expression here and there. . . . A few ardent spirits regard even a common electoral roll as not hopelessly beyond the range of practical politics."

May it not be that even in India, if only the British Government make a firm and clear declaration that communal electorates and communal privileges are against the genius of the British constitution, against the purpose of British administration in India and injurious to the best interests of India, there will be a much greater disposition on the part of our communalists to consent to the common roll?

THE NEAR EAST.

IV.—EGYPT.

"THEY all praise the Egypt of the Pharaohs and I must confess that the little they have dug out of the old sand-covered tombs is of amazing power and beauty. But I want to show you the Arab Egypt", said our guide, a cultivated European lady who has given her life and heart to Egypt. We went through the Arab Museum and the public library, rich in its collections of manuscripts and miniatures, visiting afterwards the old mosques and the Koranic University. Everywhere here was the old Arab atmosphere, dreamy, yet not languorous, fanciful yet not fantastic, the old Arab spirit untouched as yet by Turkish imperialism. But nowhere was it more evident than at Al Hazar. At the foot of almost every column of this famous building sits a master and around him is seen a group of students settled on a mat. The master explains the Koran as his masters have expounded it to him according to immemorial tradition. In different corners different groups of students learn by heart in monotonous tones, slowly swaying their bodies, the Sacred Book. An Egyptian lady who joined us there remarked: "These young men are the future Sheiks, that is, the future advisers of our people. They will be judges, teachers and priests in villages. They will be the Mullahs who not long ago inspired our king to send a veil to Queen Sureya when she visited Cairo. This building is the stronghold of Islam, which is on us like a deadweight. But it is a wounded body and its grasp is slowly loosening. It must be so if we are to build modern Egypt."

Modern Egypt! I have felt that the heart of Egypt does not beat either in this fine mediaeval building, or in the archaic bazaars with cheap beads and false jewellery where veiled phantoms glide. The Turkish Egypt is as dead and dying as the Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Arab conquerors. The young earnest woman whose words I have quoted, with her alive, alert expression belongs to a new era, to modern Egypt. Already on my arrival I had caught a glimpse of the earnestness with which the young generation is taking its affairs in hand in the newly Egyptianised railways, department of health, and customs.

The most vigorous signs of the modernisation of Egypt are to be found in the women's movement. The tasks before these women leaders are difficult. It is comparatively easy for an élite to organize a movement among those who are more or less ready for it—partially enlightened, and free to exercise their choice. But here the mass is ignorant, submis-

sive to traditional tyranny, and living in dread of customs. Divorce is such that women can at any moment be repudiated. From all that I have heard, divorce has become the very plague to Egyptian women. The removal of that plague would seem to be the first necessity. This requires that their feeling of dependence should be removed, which means that they must acquire education and competence. Hence the campaign for education, not based on a remote cultural aspiration but immediate economic necessities. Teaching and nursing are being taken up by women with a great deal of zest and the campaign is producing excellent results. The leaders among the elder women are also strong in their demand for women suffrage. There are critics who say that the time for this has not yet come, but the elders demand that there should be an adequate and organised force to promote the necessary legislation so that when these younger girls, now being educated, grow up, they shall not be crushed under the traditional social system and all their efforts come to nothing. I cannot enter into all the details of the educational work done in Cairo in this connexion, but I should like to call attention to an interesting feature of this work.

Madame Charraoui Pasha, the well-known woman leader of Cairo and one of the most benevolent women I know, had opened a dispensary for women and children in a crowded quarter. Gradually, she told me, she came to realise that while the women who came to her could appreciate the improved methods of sanitation they could not adopt them and themselves pressed that their daughters should be instructed in them. She also discovered that early marriage in the poorer classes was largely due to economic factors. Consequently she has now established a school in which the rudiments of education and vocational training are imparted. A number of suitable crafts are taught to enable the girls to obtain a competence. At the same time, side by side with the school, there is a dispensary so that these girls may have opportunities of seeing the application of hygienic methods constantly and of taking the knowledge to their homes.

I need hardly add that there is a great nationalistic urge in all these efforts, but I could not help noticing that in Egypt at any rate the women's movement is characterised by high idealism and is free from bitter and narrow nationalistic feelings. There is a sense of solidarity in the women of the West and a responsiveness to an appeal for help and understanding, quite unlike the stiffening of the back which characterizes men. I was also not a little pleased to remark that in the women's circles in Egypt the passing of the Sarda Act in India was regarded as a victory not only of Indian but of Eastern Womanhood in general.

JULIETTE ROW.

THE OPIUM PROBLEM IN INDIA AND THE EAST.

AFTER the Geneva Opium Conference of 1925 the Government of India initiated several reforms with a view to solve the problem of narcotics, but the British Colonial Office has not overcome its

scepticism in the matter of the prohibition of drugs and the traffic in them. In order to find out the truth, independently of official agencies, Mr. H. G. Alexander undertook an investigation into the present condition of the drug problem in India and neighbouring countries and we have now before us his report* which gives the *coup de main* to most of the statements which have so far been offered in justification of the continuance in some form of the drug traffic. Mr. Alexander is convinced that there is a widespread recognition of the evil of opium and other drugs among educated men both in India and China, and he believes that Indians and Chinese would take more drastic action if they had full control of the Government than is taken by the callous Governments of today.

Mr. Alexander emphasizes the fact that many of the drug habits are quite modern, some of them being accompaniments of industrialism and town-life, so that with improved economic conditions they could be overcome. As for the canard that opium, like alcohol, taken moderately for many years is without serious evil effects he points out that medical researches of Dr. Neligan in Persia and Dr. Chopra in India and those of other Dutch, British and American medical men have disproved it. It is a hopeful feature, however, that in parts of the East where there is a heavy consumption of opium there is a strong anti-opium sentiment based on knowledge of the evil effects of the drug as well as upon a profound philosophy of puritanism and that there are very few who regard opium eating or smoking as a harmless habit hardly worse than tea drinking or smoking.

The extent of the drug problem can be to a large extent gauged by the figures of the value of sales of the various kinds of opium in India. In 1925-26 the sales of opium prepared for export to countries where it is used for smoking amounted to Rs. 5,11,78,000; the value of opium sold for use in India was Rs. 19,24,000; that of blended opium used for medical purposes in India was Rs. 1,09,05,000 and the sale of medical opium exported to Britain under certificate to the High Commissioner amounted to Rs. 23,39,000 plus Rs. 3 lakhs worth of alkaloids. Mr. Alexander believes that none of this last is used for non-medical purposes or was getting into contraband trade, and reminds us that the extraction of alkaloids at Ghazipur is only a temporary arrangement. With regard to opium policy he condemns the policy of higher price and lower consumption; for one thing it encourages smuggling and secondly it inevitably increases the reluctance of Government to adopt a policy of honest restriction on account of the large revenue which will have to be foregone; the right policy in his opinion is to control the sale of the drug strictly and to reduce the price to the lowest possible point. Assam, one of the "black spots", is committed to the complete prohibition of the non-medical sale of opium; but it is essential to the success of this policy that smuggling from the Chinese Empire and Rajputana should be dealt with at the source. With regard to Orissa, another "black spot", it is worth noting that the average consumption of opium in the feudatory States is thrice as large as that in British districts of the province; and Mr. Alexander recommends the sub-province to follow the example of Assam in order to stamp out the evil. Coming to cities, the Calcutta Committee of 1927 has recommended the reduction of the limit of private possession to 1 tola, a system of registration cards for the addicts, a uniform retail price throughout the province of Bengal and encouragement of unofficial propaganda and a reduction in the number of shops. The Benares

* Narcotics in India and South Asia by A. G. Alexander. (Williams and Norgate Ltd. London.) 1930.

Committee is aiming at nothing less than complete prohibition. Mr. Alexander finds much with which to quarrel in the statement issued by Government of India in 1926; in the first place the statement proclaims non-interference with the moderate use of opium and the word may be construed to mean practices which are by no means harmless or tolerable; and secondly, it takes for granted "the almost universal desire of human beings for a stimulant or a narcotic", the fatuity of which has been exposed by him already. In view of the several States of Rajputana being the great source of smuggling he welcomes the results of the Indian States Conference held in May 1927 which decided to appoint a Committee to bring States' opium policy into line with that in British India and advises the Government of India to buy up the old stocks in the States at the value which he estimates as nearly Rs. 1 crore and which could be recovered by utilizing them for the manufacture of medical opium.

In Burma the consumption of opium has been steadily decreasing for the past fifteen years; the present policy being to allow the use of opium to only the registered Burmans who are certified to be addicts. In Malaya the Colonial Office have acquiesced in the demands made at Geneva for a final suppression of opium smoking at an early date and have created the Opium Revenue Replacement Fund to meet the ultimate loss of revenue from opium. By the beginning of 1928 all retail sales were controlled by Government, and the number of shops and saloons had been greatly reduced and an Advisory Committee had been established; but the Malaya Government need speeding up with respect to the other reforms suggested by the British Malaya Opium Committee. In Mr. Alexander's opinion more can be achieved by the provision of a moral equivalent for home life for Chinese immigrants and the creation of beneficial forms of companionship, like clubrooms and reading rooms. In Java and the neighbouring islands restrictions on Government sales of opium have led to increase of smuggling: in spite of this the amounts consumed are far less than twenty years ago. Mr. Alexander found that in Java and Malaya the Chinese do not demand opium as a condition of undertaking coolie labour as has often been alleged; the proper thing is to supply them with healthy recreation. The main conclusions arrived at by him with regard to India are:—introduction of a system of registration and rationing in cities as well as "black spots"; restriction of sales to persons over forty years in rural areas; provision of creches in factories to avoid doping of children; the abandonment of selling licenses to the highest bidder in favour of Government monopoly; reduction of exports by 10 p.c. per annum. Admitting that the use of opium cannot summarily be abolished, Mr. Alexander thinks that there are many measures which can be taken to prepare for the goal of prohibition. So far as the West is concerned he frankly admits that the main guilt of the West arises from the export of habit-forming drugs, like morphine and cocaine, and of spirituous liquors "for which sooner or later the East will call us to account"; and he winds up by the Ruskinian plea that the East and West should confine their Commerce to goods that are worthy of the name.

V. N. G.

Reviews.

ENGLAND—AS OTHERS SEE IT.

ENGLAND. By WILHELM DIBELIUS. (Cape.) 15/-
A REPUTED author—I do not want to prejudice the

reader by mentioning his name as his manner has of late been passing into a mannerism—has said that every people has three psychological aspects: as it sees itself, as others see it, and as it really is. The first two are of very great practical importance in international affairs, and notwithstanding the truth much insisted upon at the present moment that economic factors are wholly responsible for war, the incompatibility of national temperaments must be fully comprehended before any intelligent effort can be made for the elimination of war. With some such motive Professor Wilhelm Dibelius of the Berlin University has produced a book on England of which some leading English critics have admitted that "its fairness, moderation, and independence of judgement are amazing".

The workings of the British national and local government, law, churches, Press, and educational systems are explained with an accuracy and real understanding that make the task a monument of patient labour and conscientious arrangement and interpretation of facts. The author's conclusion from the immense mass of material on which he has drawn is that "without the English Free State and the Shakespearean drama, civilisation, as we know it, would be unthinkable". England could make these contributions because of the capacity of Englishmen "to stick together". This again is the result of the historical and sociological circumstance of the comparative uniformity of the British race. Other peoples, differently constituted, cannot achieve the same, or anything like the same, position by mere emulation. It also follows that, richly as the British mind is endowed with common sense, it cannot adequately appreciate the needs of other peoples.

The strength of national unity has given the Englishman "a sense of supremacy" which at once explains his condescension to the foreigner, and his own standards of gentlemanliness. It has bent the social as well as the educational structure to the development of will, the effect of which has also been double: material success, always acquiring a fine mixture of material and spiritual elements of character, has been invariably the aim, and a vast capacity for self-deception has been inevitably developed. The former accounts for what the foreigner has always regarded as the Englishman's ruthlessness and the latter for his reputed hypocrisy.

Such a book must consist of generalizations, and a good many of them are striking and quotable. I should like to see it translated and popularized in India, if only to avoid some of our crude misconceptions of the British character.

R. RAGHUNATH ROW.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN RUSSIA.

RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By WILLIAM CHAUNCEY EMHARDT. (Mowbray.) 1929. 386p. 16/-

ON March 19th, His Holiness the Pope is to say a Mass of expiation at St. Peter's for the crimes against religion committed in the last twelve years in Soviet

Russia. How necessary this is has been made clear in the book before us. Many of us have probably felt, when we have read the reports of executions, repression and wholesale robbery of Churches, that we were hearing travellers' tales akin to those

"Of anthropophagoi and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

But here is a volume, fully documented, stored with the depositions of accredited witnesses, with many quotations from actual proclamations of the Soviet Government, which can leave no reasonable doubt that the reports which have reached the civilised world from Russia are substantially correct. A determined, unintermittent and aggressive warfare is being maintained not only against the Christian Religion but against any Religion whatsoever.

The first blow fell as early as Dec. 1917, when all properties were nationalised: the Church schools were turned over to the secular Department of Education; and all financial aid was withdrawn. On January 23, 1918, "the whole structure of the state as an essentially religiously guided institution, which had existed for one thousand years since the days of St. Vladimir, was overthrown." The momentous document establishing this was known as *The Freedom of Conscience and of Religious Societies*, and definitely effected the divorce of Church and State, the complete freedom of opinion, and state control and supervision of much which had long been regarded as the prerogative of the Church. If matters had stood here, though intolerable, they would have been stuff for the history of politics rather than of persecution, for it was expressly stated that "a free performance of religious rites is guaranteed as long as it does not interfere with public order, and is not accompanied by interference with the rights of the citizens of the Soviet Republic."

But this was not all. Six months later, not only the Christian, but the Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu and Lamaic faiths, as well as all benevolent and charitable groups, were all comprehended and sequestered in one decree, and deprived of all state recognition and aid, and penalised by loss of their juridical rights. Almost immediately there began a series of executions of the leaders of the Church. Twenty-eight bishops were murdered in 1918-19. In 1922, the number is given as 20 bishops and 1414 priests; by 1926 the number had risen to 1962 monks, 3447 priests, and 2691 "white" clergy, a total of 8100. Professors, teachers, physicians and other groups of the intelligentsia suffered in equal proportion. A methodical attack on the Church was instituted by the promotion of a Campaign of Godlessness. The students were organised into a Communist Youth Association (Comsomol) to conduct (in their own words) "an ideological struggle with the religious plague which is consuming the younger generation of workers." By 1923 the total strength of the Comsomol (which is international) was about 750,000. The "Association of the Godless" is smaller but no less energetic: it publishes anti-religious text-books, opens village reading-rooms, carries on anti-Christmas and anti-Easter campaigns, and is even investing in an aeroplane, *The Godless*.

This propaganda is by no means confined to Russia. "We must fight the priest, whether he be called pastor, rabbi, patriarch, mullah, or pope. At some future stage that struggle will inevitably become a struggle 'against God', whether he be called Jehovah, Jesus, Buddha, or Allah." A mock trial of Christ was held and a trial of Mohammed was demanded. Soviet declarations indicate that preparations are being made for spreading this anti-religious propaganda throughout the world.

At present, however, the strength of religion in Russia is considerable. So great has been the reaction against the methods of the Soviet that since 1928 certain compromises have been effected, and the Church enjoys a certain carefully limited freedom. The propaganda, especially in its more subtle forms, against it continues; but, if statistics are to be believed, the vast mass of the Russian people remain loyal to their faith.

Two final points of interest must be considered. The full force of the Soviet action is only realised when we remember that for centuries the Russian nation was in theory and almost in practice a theocracy. The Tsar, following the precedent of the Byzantine Emperors, was the imperial ruler and the temporal head of the Church. This condition naturally freed the Church from political activities. There was no need of agitation in defence of the Church or the creation of a clerical party. This fact at once illustrates the intense attachment of the Russian people to religion, and explains why the Soviet felt bound to assault it.

A second consequence follows. The close association of Church and State meant that there was no internal conflict to create a difficulty in accepting a *coup d'état* and adapting itself to a *de facto* government. This is what the Patriarch Tikhon did. It is ridiculous to justify the Soviet massacres of prelates on the ground that the latter were disloyal. Their whole philosophy led them the other way. Tikhon, while protesting against the confiscation of Church property and denouncing the ignoble Brest-Litovsk Treaty, refused ever to be drawn into any acts of political disloyalty. He felt that he and his Church must submit to the commands of the *de facto* government. It is interesting to speculate what might have happened had the Patriarch acted less on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, and organised the Orthodox Church into a crusade against the godless. There is no doubt who would have won. Yet "what is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

H. V. ELWIN.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP. A STUDY OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By SEBA ELDRIDGE (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York) 1929. 20cm. 357p. \$ 2.50.

THIS book may be divided into two parts: (1) a critical examination of the modern American citizenship with a view to finding out how far it is consistent with the ideal of democracy and (2) a suggestion for reorganisation of society with a view to bringing the will of the people to bear more efficiently on public administration.

The first part of the work is a trenchant and well informed criticism of present day public life in America, adorned with telling accounts of how things are manipulated by election agents. The author has brought out in clear relief facts from various departments of public life showing that in point of fact under the present-day organisation of society in America the form of democracy is very far indeed from being a reality and that public opinion is exploited, manipulated and defrauded in numerous ways. Add to this the outstanding fact of the apathy of the people and their general want of knowledge and training for discussing public questions and the conclusion is irresistible that the democratic government of America is anything but democratic. This truth is brought out by the author with remarkable cogency and by means of irresistible arguments from facts.

The constructive suggestions for getting rid of this state of things are far less convincing. The author relies on social work, adult education and a new organisation of citizenship by the agency, not only of the existing institutions such as the church, the press and broadcasting institutions, but also by establishing group organisations among people for discussion of public questions as well as by recasting time tables of daily life to afford time for public service by every citizen. A more novel proposal is what the author calls the functional limitation of the suffrage, which practically amounts to a limitation of suffrage by an intelligence test. The suggestion is, no doubt, grounded on the bed-rock of truth in that every citizen is not really qualified to have an opinion on most public matters. But while this is admitted, the author fails to appreciate the large possibilities of abuse which such a system would open up. Such a selective organisation of society has been found in history always to tend to more or less aggravated forms of class rule and privilege.

Altogether, we must say that, while the critical estimate of social conditions made by the author is sound and illuminating, the constructive proposals are unconvincing.

NARES C. SEN-GUPTA.

ARBITRATION IN AUSTRALIA.

ECONOMIC STATISTICS FOR AUSTRALIAN ARBITRATION COURTS. By J. L. K. GIFFORD. (Melbourne University Economic Series, No. 3.) (Macmillan, Melbourne.) 1928. 24cm. 110p. 5/-

THE Commonwealth Arbitration Court has been accustomed for a number of years to vary its minimum wage in accordance with the published changes in the "cost of living" for wage-earners' families, which practice has to a large extent influenced the procedure in the Arbitration Courts in Australia. But in 1920 the Economic Commission on the Queensland Basic Wage, while criticising the mechanical use of a "cost-of-living" index number in varying wages, suggested that "capacity of industry to pay" should be considered in wage-fixing, recommending that this "capacity to pay should be determined from figures showing changes in income per head, past production per head, and future production per head". This suggestion has further been emphasised by Mr. Sutcliffe, the Chairman of that Commission, and others, during the last few years in Australia in various places. This has provoked J. L. K. Gifford,

Lecturer on Economics and History, University of Queensland, to prepare the monograph under review. His case is that "an index of production per head, or of income per head, does not, in times when there is no change in the purchasing power of money taking place as a result of a change in the supply of money or of velocity of circulation of money, offer a reliable index of changes in the capacity of industry to pay wages. . . . The two indexes may diverge very considerably. . . . In times of depression and reduced capacity of factories to pay wages, the index of value added in manufacturing per head may even rise". He has argued his case with an emphasis which is dignified, a lucidity which is remarkable, and a richness of illustration which, statistically tested, is very correct, and in short in a manner which will do credit to the most distinguished defence counsel in a sessions case. But all is in vain, as judgment has already been entered against him.

It is therefore regrettable that there should have been such a long delay in the review of a book that is announced as having been published in 1928. This remark is made not so much in a sense of offended dignity on behalf of this journal, but the book seems to have been released for publication only recently, and so for instance, the International Labour Review merely acknowledges the book (without summary) in its issue of September, 1929. In all probability the Mss. had been prepared long before 1928, as otherwise it is inexplicable why there should be no reference whatever to the Amending Act of June 1928 which extends the powers of the Arbitration Courts and makes many changes in its procedure and in the provisions laid down for industrial organisation. It is well known that drastic amendments had long been found necessary for the original Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1904, and this last one—which is the 12th amendment—occasioned even the referendum in that country in 1926. The Bill itself, I might say, was introduced in the House of Representatives in December 1927, and was passed amidst the most vigorous and bitter opposition of the Labour party on the 12th June, 1928, receiving assent of the Senate a couple of days later. It is well known that there is seething discontent in that country on this account and in particular even on the attempt to correlate the awards of the Courts with economic realities, an issue with which the book under review is mostly concerned. But what is the position now? Under this Act, the Courts are now directed to make their awards within the limits of economic realities, to take into account the economic capacity of industry to pay, and the economic condition of the community as a whole. The Act does not help the judges to determine what these capacities are, but when an award is made it will be the duty of Parliament to determine whether it is higher wages or shorter hours that should obtain in an industry. If the legislature is so minded, it can grant a bonus on export or raise the tariff duty, but it shall not do so simply because the prescribed wage or week is beyond the present capacity of industry or community. Thus the book is a cry over spilt milk, and the effective part of Mr. Gifford's appeal is to ask the Courts to lend their support and authority for the collection and publication in Australia of various economic statistics (which he describes) that are calculated in his opinion to throw considerable light on the changes in the general prosperity of industry and trade.

K. B. MADHAVA.