

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Lord Sankey's Report.

APPRECIATION and criticism of Lord Sankey's Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee is handicapped by the fact that the cabled summary of the Report is much too meagre and interest in the Report itself is overshadowed by the anticipation of the Premier's announcement of the British Government's policy next week. Nevertheless it will be thankfully acknowledged that the Report accepts in principle responsibility in the Centre combined with federation of British India and the Indian States. The full consummation will not be reached at one bound however, a period of transition being inevitable. During the transition period the Governor General will be responsible for defence, external relations and relations with the Indian States outside the sphere of federal subjects. To assist him in the discharge of his responsibilities in the reserved subjects, he will nominate Ministers who will be primarily responsible to him. Besides the reserved subjects, the Governor General will have over-riding powers, and emergency powers in the non-reserved sphere of administration. The powers proposed to be given to the Governor General are unduly large, and betoken a suspicion of India's capacity, which is very unfortunate.

The financial powers proposed to be reserved to the Governor General go a long way to negative responsibility in the Centre. Besides a general and all-pervading power of intervention whenever he thought that India's credit was being adversely affected, the Governor General will have control over currency and exchange, while powers of taxation, fiscal policy and expenditure alone will be transferred to the Indian Minister. Thus, within a larger dyarchy of general administration, there will be special financial dyarchy, which is sure to entail the appointment of a

foreign financial expert to advise the Governor General. Considering that defence charges, interest on loans, pay and pensions of the higher services, which are to form the Consolidated Fund, come up to more than 80 per cent. of the Central budget, and currency and exchange are excluded from the purview of the Indian Finance Minister, he will have precious little to do, and financial salvation of India will be as far away as ever. It is very unfortunate that Lord Sankey's Committee did not propose the transference of finance, as a whole, to popular Ministers.

The federal aspect of the deliberations is less clear in its outline and details. Several questions of vital importance to a correct appreciation of the proposed structure have been left undecided. The attempt to combine or federate autocratic States with democratic provinces has led to many uncertainties and anomalies. Notwithstanding that the Princes are to have representation in the federal executive and legislature, the application of federal legislation to the States is not admitted. It is obvious that the Princes envisage the federation as sort of the League of Nations Assembly, the conventions of which are not *ipso facto* binding on the members, but have to be ratified by them subsequently. With this difference, however, that the conventions, in the making of which the States are to have effective voice, should be binding on British India.

* * *

Sabotage.

THERE is many a slip between the cup and the lip. On the occasion of the conferment of the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh on the Nawab of Bhopal and himself, Mr. Sastri spoke in an optimistic tone of the prospects of the Round Table Conference. He referred with hope and confidence to the announcement of Lord Sankey at the Federal Structure Committee that next week the Premier would make a statement of policy which would go far to satisfy Indian aspirations. Sir C. P. Ramswami Iyer and Mr. K. T. Paul, among others, made equally optimistic references elsewhere. The Muslim delegates have since sprung a surprise by declaring that unless their impossible demands for Muslim states were satisfied, they would oppose all progress and block the way. In the meeting of the Committee of the Conference Mr. Jinnah made pessimistic references to the scheme of all-India federation and preferred a purely British Indian federation. Lord Reading and the Tory representatives were not slow to declare that, in view of these differences among the Indians, they would revise their opinions, withdraw such support as they had given and increase such opposition as they had offered. The position of the Labour Government has thus been rendered most difficult. The obstacles in the path of progress are no longer the Britishers, much less the British Labour Government, but our own countrymen, who put

their own communal privileges above the permanent interests of the motherland. It is rather cheap to contend that the Muslim delegates at the Conference are not really representative of Muslim India or that their unpatriotic action was inspired by British diehards and enemies of Indian progress. Whether the delegates were *persona grata* with the bulk of Indian Muslims or not, the views they present and press with such obstinacy have not been widely or effectively challenged by other Indian Muslims. Those who differ from them and hold nationalist views are either too few or too inarticulate or too timid to pull their full weight. Would that the Indian Muslims gave strong expression to the view that, whatever be the merits of the Muslim demands, they would not tolerate the torpedoing of the Round Table Conference and the perpetuation of the domination of the British bureaucracy in India. It is time Indian public opinion paid some attention to the enemy within the gate and recognised the friend without.

* * *

Indian Sandhurst.

THE resolutions submitted by Mr. J. H. Thomas to the Defence sub-Committee of the R. T. Conference are satisfactory as far as they go. They recognise that Indian defence must to an increasing extent be the concern of Indians and not of the British Government alone. A cynic might say that this has been so always, for the concern of the Indians has been to foot the bill for the "Indian" Army, and it has been ever increasing, and been an ever-increasing concern to them! To give practical effect to the postulate in the first resolution, the second proposes that a Committee should immediately be appointed by the Government of India to accelerate Indianisation of the Indian Army, consistent with efficiency, and to set up an Indian Sandhurst for the training of Indians in all arms of the defence services, though Indians would still be eligible for admission to Sandhurst, Woolwich, and Cranwell. While we must be thankful that it is expressly provided that this Committee should consist of both Indians and Europeans, it is not very clear if another Committee is really needed in view of the fact that recently the Skeen Committee had reported on the identical subject.

Another resolution recognised the insistent demand of Indians for a reduction of the British element in the Indian Army, and proposed that an expert Committee should go into the matter. To this last proposal both Lord Reading and Sir Samuel Hoare demurred, while Sir Akbar Hyderi, on behalf of the Indian States, drew attention to the treaty rights of the States, though it is not clear from the cabled summary what exactly he had in view, and whether he opposed the reduction of the British element on the ground that its retention was necessary to enable the Paramount Power to discharge its treaty obligation to the States.

Satisfactory as are the resolutions drafted by Mr. Thomas, everything will depend on the celerity with which action is taken on them and the personnel of the expert Committees proposed.

* * *

Tribal Control Committee.

The Government of India have done well in appointing a Committee to enquire into the existing system of tribal control and defence against tribal risings on the North-West Frontier. The terms of reference are comprehensive and include the system of tribal allowances and the organisation and co-ordination of the different agencies, civil and military,

that are employed in tribal control. It is, however, most disappointing that the Committee, which is to consist of Mr. E. B. Howell, Foreign Secretary, Air Marshal Sir W. G. H. Salmond, Major General S. F. Muspratt and Mr. A. C. Badenoch, does not contain a single Indian on it. It may be that frontier policy and defence will not immediately be passed on to the control of Indian Ministers responsible to the Indian Legislature. Nevertheless, it would do no harm but immense good if Indians were given opportunities to sit on such committees and get acquainted with the problem at first hand. Popular criticism of Government policies will then be better informed and more responsible. We still hope that Government will see their way to add two or three Indians to the Committee.

* * *

Boycott of the Census.

We trust that better counsels will prevail in Congress circles and the boycott of the Census, which has been decreed, will be dropped. We can realise the attractiveness of the proposal to Congressmen in their desire to annoy the Government with pinpricks and tire them with guerilla warfare of a kind. Nonetheless, we hope it will be realised that census operations are a social study, which is far more in the interest of the people than of the Government, that the Census operations in India are part of an international arrangement for the collection of social statistics synchronously once in ten years and that it is most foolish to come in the way of such collection of research material. Whatever moral justification may be claimed for other forms of non-co-operation, none can be advanced in support of the boycott of the Census. There can be no more thorough-going boycott of commonsense than the argument that the Census operations would reveal the number of "slaves" in India, as if the enumeration will aggravate the fact of the existence of "slaves."

* * *

Prison Reform.

THE Social Service League, Bombay, has set up an influential Committee to investigate the grievances of political prisoners and make recommendations. While it is interesting to know how political prisoners were treated in the past, it is doubtful if such an investigation will be of much use as a guide for the future, unless it is assumed that political prisoners will form a permanent feature of the Indian polity. There is every reason to hope that it was a passing phase, and that it will pass away if not in a few weeks, at any rate, in a few months. The political prisoner of the civil disobedience campaign is an exceptional phenomenon, for which no prison system in any country could have made adequate and suitable provision.

The Social Service League will be rendering a more useful and much-needed service if it takes advantage of the experience gained by the more enlightened class of political prisoners of the life of the ordinary prisoners, and makes recommendations for the amelioration and humanisation of the conditions in which these unfortunate victims of the present social order live in Indian jails. That is a more permanent problem, which does not receive the attention it deserves, and such an enquiry will be more in tune with the ideals and objects of such a pre-eminently social service organisation as the League. It will be a good turn to the credit of the League if the terms of reference of its Committee are enlarged to include a study of the conditions of the ordinary prisoners.

* * *

Articles.

ASSISTED INDIAN EMIGRATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

WE are obliged to the Director of Public Information with the Government of India for a copy of the interesting Report submitted by the Hon. G. A. Natesan and Mr. J. Gray on the working of the special organisation set up in Madras to assist the Indian emigrants who arrived in India from South Africa under the assisted emigration scheme. It will be recalled that under the Cape Town Agreement the Government of India undertook to look after the assisted emigrants from South Africa. They had accordingly set up a special organization in Madras charged with the duties of receiving such immigrants at the ports, arranging for their journey to their destinations in India, taking charge of their monies and protecting them from adventurers, and helping them to settle down in occupations suited to them. Messrs. Natesan and Gray have recorded their opinion that the travelling facilities on board the ships in the matter of accommodation, lavatories, bathing, food and medical aid, were satisfactory, as also the arrangements made by the Special Officer in Madras for the reception of the emigrants, their despatch to their destinations up-country, the protection of their cash and the provision of banking facilities. The decrepits among the emigrants were given asylum in a special Home under the supervision of the Special Officer. The most difficult task was, however, that of assisting the emigrants to settle down to suitable work. Here also Messrs. Natesan and Gray were satisfied that every possible step was being taken by the Special Officer to this end. If the results were not better than they were, it was not the fault of the Special Officer but it was due to factors over which neither he nor the Government had control. It may be freely granted, therefore, that the Government of India have done their part under the Cape Town Agreement.

They make passing reference to the causes which led to the emigration from South Africa. It has often been alleged in South Africa, specially by those who have consistently opposed the system of assisted emigration and the Cape Town Agreement, that improper pressure was being put on Indians to emigrate; that they were being deliberately thrown out of employment and "squeezed" out of South Africa. Messrs. Natesan and Gray give the quietus to this allegation; they found no evidence to support it. On the other hand, it is clear that the bonus and the natural desire of those, who were born in India, to return to their native land in their old age, were the chief inducements to emigration. The rapid fall in the emigration figures during the last two years goes a long way to discount the theory of deliberate squeezing by the South African authorities. As far as assisted emigration at the South African end is concerned, it must be freely and candidly admitted that the South African Government have played the game, and the voluntary character of the scheme has, on the whole, been maintained.

Gratifying as is this conclusion, public interest in India is mostly concerned with the welfare of the immigrants in India, and their reaction to the local economic and social conditions. Messrs. Natesan and Gray interviewed some 46 emigrants employed in and around Madras, but their enquiries seem to have been confined to the assistance they received from the Special Officer. A more thorough-going enquiry into the economic and social conditions of the immigrants would have been more valuable, particularly in view of the allegations made both in India and South Africa that they were most unhappy in India though it must be admitted that such an enquiry is more difficult to make.

It appears from the figures given in the Report that of the 5,326 immigrants who landed in Madras between August, 1927 and April, 1930, males numbered 2,329 or 43 per cent. and females 23 per cent. and children 33 per cent. Of the men 1,898, or 80 per cent. were able-bodied and fit to work, the rest being unfit to work. Of the fit only 203, or 11 per cent. applied to the Special Officer for employment but the Report does not say how many of the applications were successful. Of the able-bodied men 90 had emigrated to the Malay States and 77 found employment in some tea estates in South India, and 73 returned to South Africa.

The Report goes on to say that petty farmers and agricultural labourers, (who formed 45 per cent. of the able-bodied adult males) and non-agricultural labourers and unskilled workers (who formed 23 per cent.) find little difficulty in finding suitable work, if they really wish it, and that the Special Officer makes it a point to help them to get land and jobs. It is not clear from the Report, however, how many of the immigrants really wished it and settled down on land or in other kinds of work, with or without the assistance of the Special Officer. In any event, since only 203 applications were received by him, it follows that, notwithstanding the best efforts of the Government of India, some 90 per cent. of the adult, able-bodied immigrants went without the facilities and assistance offered to them, and shifted for themselves. And therein lay the tragedy.

From all accounts we are led to believe that the lot of the Indian immigrants is not a happy one in India. The social and economic environment in India is far below the standard which they were used to in South Africa. It is significant that 73 of the immigrants returned to South Africa, though the number is insignificant compared to the total number of immigrants. More would return if they could. The position of the skilled emigrants is even more difficult than that of the unskilled, who, according to the Report, form 32 per cent. of the adult males fit to work. But the hardest lot of all is that of the South African-born Indians. It may safely be assumed that the old and unfit, who numbered 531, were mostly Indian-born, who wished to return to India in their old age and to whom the scheme of assisted emigration was a welcome windfall. The children, who numbered 1,781, or 33 per cent. of the immigrants, were almost all of them born in South

Africa, and were brought to India as part of the families of the older immigrants. Of the men and women adults, other than the old unfits, the bulk must have been South African-born to whom India was a strange country and migration to which was a leap in the dark. They were mainly attracted by the bonus of £ 20 per head *plus* free passage, and they did not know or understand the conditions into which they were unwittingly moving. There can be no question that the migration of Indians from South Africa to India is emphatically not to their advantage.

But it was never pretended that the scheme of assisted emigration was invented in the interests of the Indian emigrants. South African authorities believe it is to the advantage of the whites in that country to get rid of the Indians who, as a class, were "undesirables". But is it such an advantage that it will compensate the sufferings of the emigrants and the insult to and humiliation of Indians, as a race?

In the nature of the case, assisted emigration of Indians from South Africa to India must be a temporary and diminishing phenomenon. As years roll on, those Indians who migrated from India will gradually become fewer and the incentive of *returning* to their motherland, which is a potent cause now, will cease to operate. (By the way, it may be remarked that Messrs. Natesan and Gray were not quite accurate in referring generally to the assisted emigrants as "repatriates" who were "returning" to India. A closer analysis would have shown them that repatriates were but a small fraction of the immigrants and the great bulk were real immigrants to India.) Then the only remaining incentive will be the attraction of the bonus. With every increase in it, there will be a jump in the volume of emigration, which will however soon taper off. While it continues it means ever increasing expenditure to the South African Government, and ever increasing suffering to the emigrants, for, with the passing of time, the South African-born Indians will be more and more in tune with the South African standards and less and less with Indian standards, and a change will be more and more trying to them. A clearer realisation of this will tend to discourage emigration, and no doubt, the recent fall in emigration is partly due to the growing knowledge of Indian conditions.

Granting that the bonus will be continuously raised in order to maintain a maximum of emigration, it still seems that it will never be so large as to reduce the Indian population in South Africa to any material extent and effectively reduce the "Indian menace". The total Indian population in the Union was 150,000 in 1911 and rose to 161,000 in 1921 and to 174,000 in 1926. Repatriation, which was in continuous operation since 1911, has not even succeeded in keeping down the Indian population at a stationary level. Repatriation has not off-set the natural growth of population. And in view of the fact that during the last ten years an increasing number of domiciled Indians have been fetching their wives to South Africa, and making their homes there, the total Indian population in the Union is bound to go up. During the period 1914 to 1926, the total number of repatriates amounted to just over 20,000 or 1,700 per

year. From July, 1927, when the new assisted emigration scheme was introduced, upto the end of the year 1928, the number of assisted emigrants was 5,125, but since then the number has again dwindled almost to the vanishing point. Even if an average of 2,000 emigrants per year were maintained, it amounts to about 1 per cent. of the population per year, which will be more than off-set by the natural increase. Assisted emigration can check the increase of the Indian population in some slight measure, but it cannot keep it stationary, much less reduce it.

Considering that the Bantu population amounts to some 5 millions, which it is not proposed to reduce by promoting emigration, it cannot be a grave menace to European civilisation if some 180,000 Indians remained in South Africa.

During the four years, 1922-23 to 1925-26, the Union Government spent on repatriation a sum of £ 39,000, or £ 10,000 per year. Since then the bonus has been raised to £ 20 per adult and £ 10 per child, and the recent cost must have been greater.

It requires no great argument to show that assisted emigration is no solution of the Indian problem in South Africa. It does not materially reduce the Indian population, and the percentage of the drop is insignificant. It is bound to dwindle down and almost cease at no distant date. To the extent it is in operation, it entails increasing hardship on the emigrants whose lot in India is none too enviable, an ever increasing expenditure to the South African Government, and yet not rid South Africa of its Indian population. If the Union Government will consent to divert the money which they are now spending on Indian emigration on their "uplift", the Indian "problem" will be effectively and permanently solved and entail no hardship on Indians, no humiliation to the Indian peoples, no embarrassment to the Government of India and no threat to the integrity of the Commonwealth, and more than all, no harm to the civilisation and interests of South African whites.

India having been a party to the Cape Town Agreement, we have no wish to denounce the assisted emigration scheme which was an integral part of it particularly as it is voluntary. But it is open to the South African Government to reconsider their attitude towards this problem, and cease to lay stress on it, to measure the success of the Cape Town Agreement on its volume, and look to it for a solution of their "Indian problem."

A MELANCHOLY YEAR.

I

A MELANCHOLY year has come to its end. In Geneva the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has at long last terminated its labours, but what sort of a world is it in which these hopes have been revived? One is reminded of Mr. Wells's remark that when democracy at last came to its own it was only to find itself in a world from which power had departed.

In Central Europe—Germany, Austria and Hungary—elements making for civil war and for bringing

about a revision of the order based on the Versailles Treaty are active and admittedly in waiting for a favourable opportunity to kindle the fires of war or revolution. The leading German financiers would seem to think that in the immediate future Germany may ask for a moratorium. She will not suspend the interest on political debts and indirect payments laid down and guaranteed at home, but the direct payments made into the international bank at Basle may very well cease for a time. Then it will no doubt come the question of the revision of the Peace Treaty and the Young Plan and a general shaking up of European conditions in a far more pressing form than now. Closely connected with these issues, as the recent French crisis has proved, are subjects agitating the public mind in France. Finance and foreign affairs are admittedly at the root of the unsettled political situation in that country. The Balkans, thanks to repeated efforts in the past year, show signs of improvement, but the political condition of Italy is incalculable and it is a disturbing factor to the little Entente, France, and even to England on account of the controversy in Malta. Albania is also in the grip of a political and financial crisis.

Poland is a storm-centre and the British press has been loud in its condemnation of the treatment of minorities in that country—a matter which at Geneva may lead to awkward relations between France and Germany and also England. Unquestionably a critical situation has arisen in Russia and the adjustments that are being made to meet it have far-reaching repercussions on the foreign affairs of all European countries and even on the internal affairs of some, and not the least on Russia's neighbour, China! There Soviet activities have apparently recommended. The Scandinavian countries, unaffected by post-war conditions and immune from the effects of the general depression so far, have, however, lately begun to feel the force of the latter, and along with their Baltic neighbours are anxiously watching the course of events in Russia. Spain is manifestly unhinged and in Italy and Turkey ways to provide a transition from the present condition of dictatorship have proved unavailing; the experience of Spain is a forbidding example.

Of the disturbances in Asia and Africa it is unnecessary to say anything here. In the New World, the United States is faced with an unemployment and a financial crisis bewildering to a people, so young, energetic, prosperous, and optimistic. Professor Angell of the University of Columbia would seem to have gone so far as to predict an entire national collapse if vigorous steps are not taken to meet the present contingencies, and this would probably include a reconsideration of the United States' relations with the rest of the world which cannot but have world-wide effects. Martial law in Cuba, trouble in Peru, conditions of revolution or near revolution in the Argentine, Brazil, and Bolivia, and Nicaragua, once more up in arms against American marines—such is the heritage the old year passes on to the new.

II

But the most difficult problem of all that the

New Year will have to tackle is the one concerning the state of affairs in Western Europe, more explicitly, the two European nations on which, politically speaking, after the War the whole world order may in a sense be said to depend. To put the same thought differently, leaving the United States on one side, France and England are the two countries to-day, any profound change in which must inevitably bring about corresponding immense changes all over the world.

Economically and politically, the situation in Great Britain was never perhaps so bad as now within recent times. The dramatic uncertainties of war were not more demoralising than the present encircling gloom due to declining commerce, frozen finance, unproductive industrial displacement, the burden of a heterogeneous empire, and last but by no means the least, political chaos due to the collapse of the two-party system. These conditions are all the more remarkable because they are symptoms of the state of the body politic which by common consent needs attention. Of this Sir Arthur Salter has given a striking picture in a recent issue of the *Times*. After a masterly analysis of the facts, he asks "What is the general picture presented by the recital of these familiar facts?" And answers, "It is that of an elaborate and complex organization industrial, commercial, administrative and social, suitable for a period of expansion, when the thrust of individual energy and interest is sufficient to give the motive force for progress, and world conditions give it scope but in time of depression too heavy a weight upon the active forces of the country. For it is in its general character defensive, regulative, rigid, not creative, directive, not elastic. It neither guides, reforms, nor adopts."

The situation in France is not dissimilar. By a curious coincidence the *Times* published an article on Monsieur Siegfried's recent study of the national character of his people from the political and economic point of view, from its Paris correspondent shortly after Sir Arthur Salter's review of the state of things in his own country. "Resistance", is said to be, in words strikingly resembling Sir Arthur's characterisation, "the dominant purpose of French democracy. The best energies of the French people are spent in asserting this aggressive and doctrinal individualism".

Obviously the drift backwards from these fossilising tendencies must take a long time, but it is permissible to enquire what are the means and methods at the disposal of these powerful nations to discard the evils of isolation which, in the opinion of competent observers, are at present paralyzing their efficiency and usefulness. The League organisation was expressly devised for this purpose and it must be put to use in bringing about this reorientation.

The conclusion, however unsatisfactory and unconvincing, of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission to convene a Conference is, as has already been observed, the relieving feature of a melancholy year. The remaking of history, however, is not a matter of single dramatic event; it depends on the

cumulative trend of affairs. As against the slender hope engendered by the proposed Conference, there are two substantial factors for discouragement—the very pronounced drift towards protection in Great Britain and the attitude of the American Senate, given expression to recently, towards the World Court.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that a reconsideration of international affairs and organisation in the more sober if less exalting situation of to-day—compared to that at the time of the Peace Treaty—will lead to clearer conclusions. The League, it would seem, must take full account of three important factors: 1. the isolation of the United States. 2. the exclusiveness of Soviet Russia and 3. The uniqueness of the British Empire. The reorganisation of the British Empire may yet be the most vital factor in the maintenance of world peace and the League may yet push forward with more speed, although with less haste, for a careful but not logical definition of its present possibilities.

R. R.

Reviews.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

THE GROWTH AND DECADENCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. By J. ALLEN SMITH. (Henry Holt & Co., New York.) 1930. 22cm. 300p. \$3.00.

THE title of the book might suggest the decadence of constitutional government in the world at large; but the conclusions of the author are not of such a wide sweep. They are evidently confined to the United States and are based upon a study of the condition now obtaining there. The author was one of the leaders of the Progressive movement in American politics. The chief contribution of this movement to American political thought is stated to be its discovery of the essentially undemocratic nature of the federal constitution of the Republic. The author's faith in democracy admits of no doubts, no questions and no qualifications. He would not seek to impose any checks or hindrances on the exercise of majority rule. He is convinced not merely of the necessity of democracy, but also of its wisdom, justice and perfection. He is in favour of placing the courts under popular control and of making juries not merely judges of fact, but also of the law. The Supreme Court of the United States which has been eulogised for its learning, fairness and impartiality is, according to the author, a governmental agency which has served to augment the authority of the government and impose checks upon the free play of democracy. What outsiders would be disposed to regard as the great merit of the federal system, Prof. Smith considers as a backsliding and a demerit. The power of the federal courts to pronounce upon the constitutionality of laws has been regarded as one of the bulwarks of the rights and liberties of individuals. But Prof. Smith thinks that it has been wrongly employed for the purpose of resisting the will of the people. One would be disposed to think that the federal courts were only doing their duty in seeking to maintain the constitution and that the remedy of those who are dissatisfied with the constitution would be to get it amended by appealing to the State or the nation at large. The distinction between the State and the Government is well

established in modern political thought and one is surprised to find Prof. Smith vehemently repudiating this view and contending that the State and the Government are really one. There may possibly be something in the conditions of America to support this view. If there is one thing which clearly emerges from a perusal of the book, it is the dissatisfaction which is felt by the author with the working of political institutions and courts in America. But whether the fault lies in the constitution or in its working is the question at issue. That the constitution was designed to place checks upon irresponsible power and safeguard the rights and liberties of individuals against the government is of course true. That the system of checks and balances provided by the constitution should be dispensed with on the ground that it prevents the free functioning of democracy is a conclusion which cannot commend itself to thoughtful judgment. We may readily admit that the intention of the framers of the constitution may not in some instances have been properly carried out, or that some of the underlying principles which guided them require re-examination. If the constituent powers are not vested in the nation at large, if the franchise has been restricted in practice by legislative artifices and administrative evasions, if the apportionment of seats in the legislature has not been made with any regard to fairness or justice, or if the courts have been guilty of perversity in the interpretation of the constitution, as in holding provisions for a referendum to be illegal, the remedy would seem to lie in a suitable amendment of the constitution. While there may be much in the practical working of American institutions to justify his complaint, it is not easy to agree with the rather crude conclusions of the author. His objection to the power of the Supreme Court to interpret the constitution and his evident desire to place the judges under direct popular control will be shared by few. The author's views upon the comparative prevalence of corruption in the State legislatures and in the local self-governing bodies may possibly hold good of America, but are opposed to our experience in India.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the one dealing with imperialism, and his observations on this topic will be read with general interest and approval. He points out that imperialism is designed to increase the capitalist's income partly at the expense of other classes in his own country and partly at the expense of weaker foreign countries. "However materialistic and mercenary the motives that have been chiefly responsible for the adoption of an imperialistic policy, it invariably assumes the guise of a great disinterested national effort to extend the blessings of free government and Christian civilization to the less fortunate regions of the world. Backward nations in possession of valuable natural resources which the people of the entire world need and which are withheld from use or very inadequately utilised, may, according to this view, be justly brought under sufficient foreign control to guarantee that they will make an adequate contribution to the material well-being of mankind. Imperialism is thus justified as the manifestation of a larger patriotism which recognises the cost of ruling the inferior races as "the white man's burden" People in the East will recognise the truth of the author's remark that "the Christian religion from its very nature is imperialistic. Since it is, according to its adherents, the only true religion, it is the only means of saving a benighted world. The fervent orthodox Christian is possessed by a missionary zeal to carry the gospel to all lands that are shrouded in spiritual darkness." The part played by the missionary as the advance agent of imperialism is also truly described. He may be thinking only of the improvement and well-

being of the people among whom he works. But inevitably he regards himself as the representative of a higher and better civilization and of the only true religion and his government as the one best fitted to promote the material and spiritual interests of mankind. "Even the crimes of violence against missionaries which are provoked by their aggressive propagandism serve a useful purpose for their countries as in the case of Germany's acquisition of Kiaochau and the mining and railway privilege in Shantung, or France's claim to enormously valuable concessions in Southern China."

Readers who expect to find any conclusions of general validity or any useful lessons for their countries will feel disappointed.

SIVASWAMY AIYER.

LEGAL REFORM IN TURKEY.

THE ANGORA REFORM. By COUNT LEON OSTROROGE. (University of London Press). 1927. 22cm. 99 p. 4/6.

THE introduction of radically new laws in any country is an event in its history, and the present evolution of Turkish Law in particular presents a problem of great philosophical and historical importance. We are indebted to Count Leon Ostroroge, late Judicial Adviser to the Ottoman Government, for the reprint of the three lectures that he had delivered at the century celebration of the University College of London in June 1927, in which he has described the persons that compelled the Turks to adopt a code of laws that is a literal translation of the Swiss Code.

In the first lecture Count Ostroroge deals with the "Roots of the Muslim Law"—*Usulul Fiqh*. "A systematic set of legal provision is nowhere to be found in the Quran; no more is it to be found in the records of Tradition" (p. 19). "Mohamedan Scripture and Tradition provided only the raw material with which to build the legal fabric, but the fabric remained entirely to be built."

Prophet Mohammed when deputing Muazz, one of the Companions, as governor of a province,—and that office implied distribution of justice also,—asked him according to what standards would he judge. He replied, "according to the Scripture of God." "And if thou findest nought therein?" "According to the Tradition of the Messenger of God," "And if thou findest nought therein?" "Then shall I interpret with my reason." Thereupon the Prophet said "Praised be God who has favoured the Messenger with what His Messenger is willing to approve."

Here is in a nutshell the entire principle of the Muslim Law as well as Muslim Theology. Every Musalman is bound by what he finds in Scripture and the true records of Tradition, but at the same time he has the right of direct examination and free interpretation of these two main sources of Muslim Law, and in case there is nothing in Scripture and Tradition that can serve as a guide, one is free to resort to one's reason—*Ijtihad*—and decide upon a course of action for himself.

Two hundred years after the Prophet's death this fundamental liberal position underwent a great change, when there appeared the great Mohamedan lawyers who founded the Four Orthodox Doctrines of Islam: Abu Hanifa, Malik, Shafi and Jbu Hanbal. In course of time, in spite of the disclaimers of these Doctors of Law, the dogma of infallibility, that hitherto attached primarily to the Quran and in lesser degree to Tradition was also extended to the law laid down by these Doctors, and the Gate of Interpretation—*Babul-Ijtihad*—was closed. "Not only was the Door of the Interpretation closed, but any attempt

to reopen it became a dangerous venture. As Mohamedan Jurisprudence became more rigid, it became, at any rate as it appeared in Turkey, more narrow and exacting and the liberal generous conceptions of old vanished. A practice developed in which the slightest discrepancies from Mohamedan Customs were threatened with the qualification of apostasy, a qualification involving as possibilities the penalty of death. . . For a layman to presume to assert that a Doctor of Law was mistaken, was described as heresy or apostasy" (p. 31).

Innovations were no doubt made in Turkish Law by the Sultans of the last century, and though they were far-reaching in the matter of commercial and criminal law they had not touched the main bulk of Mohamedan law—the law, it may be said, of every day life; Family Law, Law of Inheritance and Wills, and Law of Contracts (p. 77). An elaborate work of codification was accomplished under Sultan Abdul Hamid, but the substance of that code was purely and exclusively Mohamedan Law as elaborated on the basis of Scripture and Tradition by the great founders of the Four Doctrines and their followers. This law was administered with the advice of the Sheikdul Islam, Head of the Doctors of Law, who sat side by side with the Grand Vizier, Head of the Ministers at the Sublime Porte.

It was no doubt possible for the Turkish Republic to introduce reforms of any kind—political, legal administrative, economic, social or religious—as long as the *Mejelle*—Code of Law—remained what it was. It was, however, as competent for the modern learned men in Turkey, as it was for the founders of the Four Orthodox Doctrines, to construct a new code of law, based on the same fundamental principles as those that guided the said jurists, viz. Quran, Tradition and Qias (legal reasoning), but instead of undertaking the task of reconstruction, attempts were made only to reform the existing code. Several commissions were appointed to go into the question of Legal Reform and they functioned for sometime but their work was too slow and the Minister of Justice, Mohamad Esad Beg, told the author: "if it was to be continued on those lines years would elapse before we came to a result." He declared that he had made up his mind to adopt a different course and said: "We are badly in want of a good scientific Code. Why waste our time to produce something new when quite good Codes are to be found ready-made? Moreover what is the use of a Code without good commentaries to guide in the application of it? Are we in a position to write such commentaries for a new Code? We dispose neither of the necessary time nor of the necessary precedents in practice" (p. 87). Eventually the Swiss Code was translated wholesale and the National Assembly was asked to adopt it by a vote *en bloc* just as Napoleon had had his code voted.

"Consequently from the months of September and October 1926, orthodox Mohammedan Private Law, after a sway of more than thirteen hundred years over the realms of orthodox Islam, ceased to be Law in that Turkish realm which for very nearly as many centuries had been its greatest and most powerful supporter (p. 90)." I consider this to be the greatest tragedy that has ever occurred in the history of a Muslim nation. A code of laws that would suit modern society and is not at the same time inconsistent with the few fundamentals laid down in the Quran, is by no means impossible of accomplishment, and if the Turks had tackled the question in the proper spirit and in right earnest they would not only have succeeded in producing a code that would have reflected credit on their own legal and literary acumen, but they would have at the same time done a great service to other Muslim nations who look to

Turkey for inspiration in the task of modernising Islamic institutions. In the realm of laws relating to women, Islam has laid down the principles that Christian Europe has only recently begun to appreciate and adopt. It is therefore nothing but an irony of fate that a Muslim nation should borrow from a Christian nation the law of divorce, for example, which the latter owes in the first instance to Islam! The law of polygamy is as much misunderstood in Europe today as the law of divorce was a few decades ago, and the legal status of women in many a European country is still much lower than what it has all along been in Islam.

The small treatise before us gives much material for furious thinking and the subject it deals with has great importance for the Muslim countries that are now trying hard to set their houses in order.

YAKUB HASAN.

MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

THE MODERN FAMILY. By RUTH REED
(Knopf, London.) 1929. 22 cm. 182 p. 12/6.

THE introduction points out that formerly all individual interests had to be submerged in those of the family, however inconvenient it may be, but that in modern times more importance is attached to individual development, so that the family has either to adjust itself to individual needs or to disappear, since individuals refuse to be coerced into subservience to the family ideal.

In Part I the author considers the place of the family in the social scheme. The family is found in all primitive societies and must have originated with our ape ancestors. Mother love, which is at the root of the family, originates in the physical pleasure of suckling and other contacts with the child. It is also largely influenced by convention, since the mother of an illegitimate child will go so far as to kill it. Parent love is not in general an unmixed good as is often thought, since it often leads to sexual fixation on parents, making natural adjustment difficult or impossible, and oftener still to stunted growth. Conjugal fidelity, another element of the family, is only due to habit and social pressure, and is not found in animals, except temporarily in some anthropoid apes.

In Roman times, both married and unmarried women had very great liberty. Then Christianity came and condemned the sexual impulse, marriage being considered as only better than burning. Prostitution was condemned, but was admittedly an essential outlet for men and a safeguard to honest women.

Monogamy has never been proved to be the only successful institution for proper child nurture, since polygamy also has been found to work. The great restrictions imposed under monogamy make even friendship impossible between opposite sexes and thus hamper individual development. For some, marriage has to be postponed till the vigour of youth is past and some do not marry at all. For these, marriage must be reckoned a failure. Besides under the present system, physical suitability cannot be tested before marriage, and this leads to untold misery. Custom alone is no criterion. Eugenics has to condemn the present system in which the poorest classes contribute most to the future generation.

It must also be remembered that artists and poets have always belonged to unconventional groups. Free unions are not always successful, but this is often due to social persecution. A recognition of these would benefit both the individuals and society. Some women are anxious to have children and able to maintain them without giving up their liberty

and individuality by marriage. For these "Mother's License" may be issued. Society should in general approve responsible parents and condemn irresponsible ones, whether married or unmarried. It is silly to confine public sanction exclusively to a form of living "based upon the segregation in a common residence of individuals of varying ages united by ties of kinship, who take their food together at stated hours of the day, and who in all of the relationships of life, behave towards each other in a manner strictly regulated by custom and convention. To complete the picture, the duties of food preparation must be performed or at least directed by the female partner in the relationship and the purchase of raw materials or accessories must be financed by the earnings of the male. A knowledge of contraception and old age pensions from the State may improve matters, but the family will still be unsatisfactory to some.

In Part II the author traces the growth of American family. It is amusing to note that the 1930 ideal of an English wife is not different from the Indian ideal still advocated even by so called reformers. She quotes from Mary Astell's book. "A woman that is not mistress of her passions, that cannot patiently submit even when reason suffers with her, who does not practise passive obedience to the utmost, will never be acceptable to such an absolute sovereign as a husband; a woman who marries ought to lay it down for an indisputable maxim that her husband must govern absolutely and entirely, and that she has nothing else to do but please and obey." Though the American family too started with this ideal, rights have been gradually conceded to women.

Owing to the convention of male dominance, marriage does not suit the educated woman, who can keep her freedom and satisfy all her needs (except sex) better out of marriage. This is well shown by a comparison between educated men and women, the latter showing a far higher percentage of celibates. Marriage certainly hampers individual development. She quotes G. B. Shaw: "In middle class, where the segregation of the artificially limited family in its little brick box is horribly complete, bad manners, ugly dress, awkwardness, cowardice, peevishness, and all the petty vices of personality, flourish like mushrooms in a cellar. Homelife as we understand it is no more natural to us than a cage is to a cockatoo. Its grave danger to the nation lies in its narrow views, its petty tyrannies, ... with the old scolding or beating the young for behaving like young people and the young hating or thwarting the old for behaving like old people and all the other ills unmentionable that arise from excessive segregation."

In Part III she discusses the disorganisation of family life. One cause is too large families, which is a frequent cause of desertion by parents, especially by the father. Prostitution is another, and though it is defined by Flexner as characterised by barter, promiscuity and emotional indifference, only the second is really characteristic, since the other two often exist in marriage. The difference then is only between wholesale and retail. Moralists think they can remove the demand for prostitutes by lecturing people, but they forget that it is a biological need for men who are unable to marry young. The evil is aggravated by suppressing the knowledge of prophylaxis, and moralists are thus responsible for a considerable spread of Venereal Diseases.

The unmarried mother is still considered as "fallen" and "Rescue Homes" are started to help them, but only if she professes repentance, and then she is subjected to humiliating sermons. It is not at all rare for a woman to "go astray" several times and repent as often.

Divorce is considered harmful to any children involved, but this is so in general only because people cannot get divorce by mutual consent, so that a quarrel has to be staged in court, and this is what is harmful to children. In any case, witnessing frequent quarrels between parents is certainly worse than seeing them separated. There is no reason why divorce should not be considered in the same light as a legal dissolution of a business partnership.

Part IV considers means for improving the present system. Some experiments have already been tried. In the Oneida community, for instance, they had "complex marriage" meaning that "within the limits of community membership any man or woman may and freely do cohabit, having first obtained each other's consent through the intervention of some third person or persons. The leader, John Humphrey Noyes thought that "in a holy community there is no more reason why sexual intercourse should be restrained by law than why eating and drinking should be; and there is as little occasion for shame in the one case as in the other." They used a crude method of contraception, so that there was no danger of unwanted children. The Mormon community was another experiment based on polygamy, for which the biblical patriarchs were cited as examples. When one wife grew old, the man could take a younger one, which was good for his health, but the older wife retained her position of influence in family affairs, and the whole thing was accepted as natural. Both these experiments, though satisfactory to those concerned, had to be given up on account of external persecution, which discouraged all further experiments.

The author favours Companionate Marriage, which is a legal companionship between a man and a woman, qualified by a private agreement that there are to be no children, the wife to be economically independent of the husband, and the marriage to be terminated at the wish of either party. All uniformity kills genius, and to people whom normality does not suit, some latitude has to be allowed. She does not however favour the Companionate for college students as Judge Lindsey advocates, because the life of a student is in her opinion sufficiently varied as it is and does not require a sex interest. However, students may not agree with her.

Mothers have to be helped by the State to bring up dependent children. Some States are doing this, but they do not help deserted wives or unmarried mothers, fearing to encourage immorality or desertion. This is absurd. In no case ought a child to be punished for what is not its fault. At present, only one of the United States is helping unmarried mothers.

R. D. KARVE.

PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE.

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE: A HANDBOOK FOR PEACE WORKERS. By FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL. (To be had of the Authoress, National Council for Prevention of War, Washington.) (MacMillan & Co., New York.) 1928-20cm. 591p. \$ 2.50.

THIS is a very valuable book which should be prominently displayed on the shelves of all public libraries and studied by students of international affairs—specially 100% cave-men and Nietzschean whole-hoggers. It is intended to be a handbook for peace workers, and to that end, provides them with a storehouse of facts about the movement for peace from the maxim of the great religion to the 36 organisations in America devoted to promoting it. After a short introduction Part II provides material for special groups such as Educationists the Church, Labour, Commerce and Farmers, Part III studies the

influence at work to-day far and against world peace and Part IV discusses methods of promoting the cause of Peace. Though this section opens with the somewhat familiar suggestion of "forming a committee," it will nevertheless be found to contain useful suggestions of ways of promoting ideas of peace. Part III is specially commendable, not only for its wealth of material on such subjects as the League of Nations, the World Court and Disarmament, the Monroe doctrine and War Debts, but also for the realistic spirit in which the forces at work against peace as well as those in its favour are appraised. We do not find here the shallow optimism of the popular orator and divine who says that "unless we cultivate a new spirit (which he knows is not appearing) a catastrophe may occur," and thereby he lulls the public mind into the tragic belief that the daily growing dragon of war can be controlled by a few platitudes and smug phrases. The only effective course to take to-day, the only hope of arousing the necessary attention and sense of impending doom is to say plainly "the world is rushing headlong down a steep place into the deep sea of destruction, and only by the most strenuous efforts can we hope even to slacken its speed."

We must also commend the frank way in which specifically American problems are treated in this section. The tendency of the Monroe doctrine in its modern development to arouse the wish of South Americans to be saved from their friends, the discrepancies between the American theory and practice of anti imperialism in Cuba, Haiti, Hawaii and other places, the effects of the restriction of immigration particularly on Japan, are all courageously faced. The section ends with two sombre chapters on "what war is" and "what war costs." Aeroplanes, high explosives and poison gases have now committed the whole population of any combatant country to the probability of destruction in any future war. According to Big. Gen. Groves (p. 394) 30,000 men 180 guns, and nearly 300 aeroplanes could not save London in the last war from bombardment by no more than 36 raiding planes, while the late Lord Thompson considered that the best forms of our defence was reprisals. London will be destroyed, but the Londoners, may comfort themselves as they suffocate, and choke in their cellars that the Berliners, are suffocating too. At a Red Cross meeting in Brussels in 1928 (p. 396) it was said "as conceived by three experts, the next war will be one in which the gas besieged Civilian will be in much the same predicament as a passenger in one of the lower cabins of a sinking ship. He may have some chance to survive, but not much. For the clouds of chemicals that will envelop his city will settle upon reservoirs, poisoning the water-supply, will penetrate warehouses and shops, making food inedible; will hunt him out in his house or cellar, as well as in subterranean shelters, penetrating every crevice and cutting off sources of fresh air except that which may be artificially produced within hermetically sealed enclosures". Mr. Churchill, no pace-at-any-price man, wrote in 1924 "A study of disease-of pestilences methodically prepared and deliberately launched upon man and beast—is certainly being pursued in the laboratories of more than one great country. Blight to destroy crops; another to slay horses and cattle, plague to poison not armies but whole districts,—such are the lines along which military science is remorselessly advancing." Let all men who "love a fight" ponder those things.

The one hopeful feature of the situation, to which this book bears witness, is that the movement for peace seems to have passed the stage of sentimentalism and the anxious entreaties not to run risks of nervous cautionaries on the principles of:—

"Always then keep hold of nurse

For fear of finding some thing worse,"
and to be becoming an expression of the race instinct for self-preservation if man becomes convinced that in no other way can the human species be preserved, he may at last consent to forego the greatest and most inconsequential of all his games. Peace is no longer an idealist's dream but a necessity of continued existence.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

A DIEHARD ON INDIA.

SWARAJ: THE PROBLEM OF INDIA. By J. E. ELLAM. (Hutchinson.) 1930. 22 cm. 288 p. 12/6.

IT is a weakness of the human mind that once it has allowed itself to be saturated with an idea or theory, it fails to see or appreciate the significance of facts which have a contrary implication. In this book on "Swaraj" "among the plain unadorned facts concerning India" the author writes the following:—

"Unfortunately there is a tendency nowadays to consider it 'badform' to cultivate friendship with Indians. I know, because I have myself had a hint to this effect more than once; not only in respect of Indian friends, but Siamese, Chinese, Sinhalese and others. Thus I have met people who have spent half their lives in the East who knew no more about the people they lived amongst than if they had never left England. Unfortunately, too, there has been a decline in the 'Quality' of many British who go out to India. As an Indian gentleman of the old school who could recall the bygone years expressed it: 'There was a time when you sent us *sahibs*, now you send us *coolies*'. In this connection, I was told the story of an English woman, incapable of speaking her own language correctly, who refused to enter the lift of one of the Calcutta hotels in company with 'a lousy nigger.' She expressed this objection, in these words, openly for all to hear. Incidentally, the 'nigger' was an honours graduate of Oxford University and a scion of a very noble Indian house. I once witnessed a somewhat similar incident myself. Thus, such ill-feeling as exists between ourselves and our Aryan relatives in India is not caused wholly by the insolent tone and bearing of the Swarajists". Had the author pondered over the facts which he has been honest enough not to conceal he might have been able to interpret Indian nationalism more correctly for the benefit of his own countrymen. But he started out with the deliberate intention "of influencing public opinion in favour of British rule in India and showing that Swaraj is a hallow sham, a baloon of mere verbiage that needs only to be pricked." Naturally the bearing of the facts such as these given above by the author himself is not seen or understood. He goes much further occasionally and justifies some of them as for example the high handedness of the East India Company denounced in England when it became known there. Says the author "Doubtless, they were, but who was not high handed in those days when he had power? The English were the stronger and might was right even as it is to-day in the last resort."

The book is very far from helpful in the present crisis. It does not conduce to a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled. In the course of its rapid survey of Indian history down to the present day it mentions a few important facts which if pursued to their logical conclusion would have enlightened the author on the present situation. He testifies to the extreme poverty of the country. But the reader is not put in possession of all the important facts relating to it. The ryot is said to have to pay 3/5 of

his income to the money lender and 1/5 on Land Revenue. That the law is responsible for having permitted levy of usurious rates of interest is not stated. The taxation per head of the population is stated to be 7 sh. 6 d. as against £ 15 in England. The average income per head in each country is not given without which it is impossible to know what is left for livelihood in each case. Partition of property is given as the reason of the fragmentation of holdings. The law of partition has existed for many centuries. Yet property was not fragmented as late as the middle of 18th Century. Why it has produced the effect now is not stated. It has apparently not occurred to the author that it is a result of the extreme pressure on land brought about by the decay of industries and the absence of alternative employment. With such insufficient analysis to guide him, it is not to be wondered if the author has reached the conclusion that the Swarajists have no cause and are in fact a handful of "malcontents and liars." The political movement is engineered, according to the author, by the Brahmins dispossessed of their place in society. The remedy is the mailed fist. Declare that the British are a caste superior to the Brahmins. Repeal the Government of India Act, give dictatorial power to the Viceroy, elect into councils, legislative and municipal, only those approved by the Government, increase the number of Europeans in the Civil Service. Deport all the Swarajists." This is how the author desires to make India 'free, great, powerful, rich and her people as they were at their best.' No further comment is needed on the book.

K. KUNHI KANNAN.

A NEGRO'S DISILLUSIONMENT.

AN AFRICAN SAVAGE'S OWN STORY. By LOBAGOLA. (A. Knopf, London.) 1930. 21cm. 402p. 10/6.

THIS is the autobiography of Bata Kindai Amgoza Iba Lobagola, an African Jew descended from lost Tribes of Israel. The writer was born among the Bushmen in the remotest recesses of darkest Africa. His account of his childhood and the savage practices of his people, their wild religion based on primitive type of Judaism, customs and manners prevalent among his own tribe and the experiences he has had with cannibals and wild beasts and boa-constrictors—all these form highly interesting reading, though at times rather fantastic, and almost incredible. His desire to see a white man broke him away from home. He was successful in the attainment of his desire, though in the attempt he lost his companion, who at the sounding of the ship's siren, through fright, jumped into the shark-infested Gulf of Guinea. He was taken to Glasgow in nude state and through the kindness of a good Scotsman was sent to school, where he remained for four years. After this he went back to Africa and after a brief sojourn there returned to Scotland and to his adopted parents. Then there is an account of his ramblings between Africa, America and Europe. He served the American and British Armies during the War. At his own request, he was repatriated to Jerusalem, where he was anxious to live among his own people—the Children of Israel. But the "White" Jews of Jerusalem treated him so disgracefully that he was obliged to seek the protection of the Cross and turned a Christian.

As a child, he was told that "every white man had only one of everything: one eye in the middle of the forehead, one leg with a great wide foot, fan-shaped, so that when he lay down, the foot acted as a sun shade. A white man had no visible nose and his mouth was large and could be made larger at will. He lived on raw human flesh" A description.....

of a veritable white devil! This picture of white men generally believed by his tribe was responsible for his desire to see one. But when he and his companion actually saw white men, one of them exclaimed "There is nothing wrong with them, they are as good-looking as I am". He regretfully recalls the first result of his becoming civilised. "Before I knew fifty words in the English language", he says, "I was given a good beating for telling the truth, and by the sons of whitemen". At another place, he says "I was not yet quite civilised enough to tell lies".

One of the most heart-rending experiences that he relates is that of an African labourer who was seriously hurt on a voyage. He was not dead but was buried alive in the sea because, as the chief steward replied to the writer, "That's all right; he's only a nigger". Since then he changed his views of the white man and his civilisation. "I was better off" he says, "at the mercy of the beasts and the Ondo bushmen than in the company of that pitiless crew of potential murderers."

If the account of his life, as depicted by himself in this book, is true, his autobiography is one of the most remarkable that has ever been written. He himself says that in America people thought that he was deceiving them in the story of his life. "They have told me to my face that I never saw Africa; that I was somewhere in Western Pennsylvania or in some place in the South". However that may be, the fact remains that the book is of intense human interest. "Oh, the white man", he says in one of his meditative moods, "who has meant so much to me in my life and has cost me so much! He has given me clothes and money, things that I never knew before; but he has taken from me much that is worthwhile. I love my native country, I love my savage people; but at the same time I am forced to hate my own customs, the customs of my father. I am neither white nor black, I am misfit in a white man's country and a stranger in my own land."

If Lobagola is not a myth and is still alive, I would love to meet him and hear from his own lips the wonderful story of his most adventurous life.

S. A. WAIZ.

SHORT NOTICES.

TREATISE ON THE GODS. By H. L. MENCKEN.
(Knopf, London.) 1930. 21cm. 364 p. 10/6.

It is a not unknown *motif* in Hindu mythology that even the enemies of God reach Him in the end through thinking so much about Him. It was thus that Shishupala came in the end to the feet of Krishna. Even in present day America it is interesting to note that no sooner does a man cease to believe in religion than he begins to devote his whole time to discussing it. It is always more interesting to attack than to defend, and Mr. Mencken's book is certainly very good fun. It contains a number of quite childish theological mistakes (I speak without bias) but it also has a great deal of exceedingly bracing comment on the cant and humbug that often passes for religion. Mr. Mencken does not like religion at all, but even he has to admit its poetry and romance. He speaks of "the great strophes of flaming poetry which enter into every Christian gesture of ceremonial." A great deal of it, he thinks, is untrue, but yet the story of Jesus is "the most lovely story that the human fancy has ever devised." And since "it is of the very essence of poetry that it is not true," the historical accuracy of the story (to Mr. Mencken's mind) does not matter very much. And since it is of the very essence of wit that it should not be taken seriously, the philosophical and histo-

rical absurdities of Mr Mencken's book (to my mind) do not matter very much either.

H. V. E.

**RUSSIAN CO-OPERATION ABROAD
FOREIGN TRADE, 1912-1918.** By N. BARAN. (King.) 1930. 21 cm. 95 p. 2/6.

THIS is a small but very interesting book on the progress of the co-operative movement in Russia. Mr. N. Baran, Director of the Moscow Narodny Bank, which was established in 1919 to finance the export and import operations of the central co-operative organisations of the U. S. S. R., is well fitted for the task of an analysis of the co-operative movement. With a wealth of statistical material Mr. Baran proceeds to show that the co-operative companies which have been founded abroad by the Soviet Co-operative movement are doing business all over the world, not only in Europe, but also in America, Canada, Asia, and other places. Mr. Baran is of opinion that the experience of the trade between the Russian Co-operatives and the co-operative organisations in Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and a number of other countries shows great possibilities of the development of inter-co-operative foreign trade.

The book is full of very valuable statistical material and Indian workers in the field of co-operation—either of production and sale, or banking—would find a wealth of material for inspiration and action. The reviewer agrees with Sir Thomas Allen, the writer of the foreword, that "Mr. N. Baran has rendered the world a service" by adding to our knowledge of the economic organisation of Russia.

S. V. A.

**WITHOUT THE PALE: THE LIFE STORY
OF AN OUTCASTE.** By MRS. SINCLAIR
STEVENSON. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1930.
18 cm. 87 p. Rs. 1/4.

THE writer of this monograph on the 'Dheds' of Gujerat must be congratulated upon the fairness of her views and the thoroughness of her study of the problem of the outcaste. The book describes in full details the customs of the Dheds, their methods of living and dying, their joys and sorrows. The only objection which the reviewer has to make is to some parts of chapter IX, where a sort of veiled suggestion is made about the Religion of Christ going a long way to give peace to the troubled minds of the Dheds. But it is hardly a reproach in a book ostensibly published under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. The Y. M. C. A. has stood for social service in many ways and this attempt at an analysis of a community's life should go a long way to make non-Christian communities realise their responsibilities to their less favoured fellowmen.

A

IMPERIALISM AND THE OPEN CONSPIRACY
By H. G. WELLS. (Faber and Faber.) 1930.
19 cm. 24 p. 1/-

THIS is a very interesting pamphlet from the pen of that virile writer Mr. Wells attacking the ideas of Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Melchett who want a 'Self-sufficing Empire.' In Mr. Wells' view the British Empire is like an open hand spread throughout the world. It had and could have no natural economic unity at all. Its different parts have each their distinctive systems of natural relationship. "It would be artificial," says Mr. Wells, "it would be a struggle against natural law to try to draw such an empire

together with any but intellectual and moral bonds." We commend this pamphlet to the students of politics and economics as an interesting contribution to a line of approach in world problems.

S. V. AYYAR.

INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS. By WILLIAM I. HALL. (Johns Hopkin's Press, Baltimore.) 1930. 21 cm. 190 p. \$/2.00.

This is an account of the political crisis in India as it developed during the years 1928 to 30 from the pen of a professor of International relations. The respective policies of the various political organisations are made known to the reader from ample and appropriate quotations from the speeches of the leaders. The conflict of views on the lines and speed of political advance is presented similarly. A preliminary summary and 'balancing' of the various plans and their party opinion is given in a brief preface followed by a very brief historical introduction in which the main factors in the growth of political consciousness in India are stressed.

The author has successfully striven to bring within the small book of 190 pages all the important facts and opinions necessary in an account of a crisis so serious as the one with which India is now faced and in doing so has maintained an admirable detachment. The story is allowed to speak for itself and the reader is allowed to form his own judgment.

K.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK (Contd.)

"Fairplay."

WE welcome the appearance of the new English weekly journal, *Fairplay*, published by an Indian Directorate in Nairobi, Kenya. Though the Indian community in Kenya numbers no more than 26,000, it has had two important Anglo-Gujarati papers to serve its needs: the *Kenya Daily Mail*, a daily, and the *Democrat*, a weekly. But recently the latter had to close down, and in a sense its place is being taken up by the new paper, which is however solely conducted in English. In naming it as they have done, the promoters have placed before themselves a high and worthy ideal which is of special significance to Kenya. We wish the new venture every success.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

FACTORS IN INDIAN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
By N. S. NILKANTA AYYAR. (Author, Idigarai Coimbatore.) 1930. 18cm. 94p.

SUBHADRA OR LIFE AFTER DEATH. (1st Edn.) By V. D. RISHI. (Author, 51, Gordhandas Building, Bombay 4.) 1929. 18cm. 128p. Rs. 3 & 2.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

Interim Report of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee. (C. 375. M. 161. 1930. II. 26.) 26cm. 120p. 3/-

Records of the International Conference for the Unification of Laws on Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes and Cheques (C. 360. M. 151. 1930. II. 27.) 32cm. 470p. 16/-

Legislation on Gold. (C. 373. M. 159. 1930. II. 29.) 26cm. 375p.

Selected Documents Submitted to the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee. (C. 374. M. 160. 1930. II. 34.) 26cm. 87p.

Review of the Economic Aspects of Several International Industrial Agreements. By M. Antonio St. Benni & Others. (E. 614. 1930. II. 41.) 26cm. 76p. 2/6.

Analytical Review of Reports from Pasteur Institutes on the Results of Anti-Rabies Treatment. By A. G. McKendrick. (C. H. 844. 1930. III. 2.) 24cm. 158p.

Report of the Malaria Commission on its Study Tour in India. (C. H. Malaria 147. 1930. III. 9.) 24cm. 77p.

Investigations of Human Trypanosomiasis in Mozambique. By Ayres Kopke. (C. H. 890. 1930. III. 12.) 24cm. 31p.

Acts of the Conference for the Codification of International Law. Vols. 1 & III. (C. 351. M. 145. 1930. V. 14 & C. 351. (b). M. 145 (b). 1930. V. 16.) 32cm. p. 177 & 221.

Enquiries into the Economic, Administrative and Legal Situation of International Air Navigation. (C. 339. M. 139-1930. VIII. 6.) 27cm. 207p.

European Conference on Road Traffic. Preparatory Documents. (Conf. /G. R. /1. 1930. VIII. 12.) 33cm. 13p. 1/6.

Conference for the Unification of Buoyage and the Lighting of Coasts. (C. 634. M. 253. 1930. VIII. 13.) 32cm. 23p. 1/-

Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference entrusted with the Preparation of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Series IX. (C. 357. M. 149. 1930. IX. 3.) 32cm. 222p.

Statistical Methods for Measuring Occupational Morbidity and Mortality. (International Labour Office. Studies & Reports-N 16.) 1930. 24cm: 208p. 5/-

The Age of Admission of Children to Employment in Non Industrial Occupations. (International Labour Office. Geneva.) 1930. 23cm, 130p.

THE ARYAN PATH

An International Monthly Journal, Non-Political, devoted to the dissemination of spiritual, idealistic and humanitarian principles.

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1931.

The Gift of Detachment.

The Path According to Gandhi:

I. Gandhi, the Man—By G. D. H. Cole (Well-known Socialist).

II. Gandhi, the prophet—By N. B. Parulekar.

The Power of the Press—By Frank Whitaker.

Sufism in Modern Life—By Ikkal Ali Shah.

India and Britain—By Evelyn Wrench (Editor: The Spectator)

Spiritual Union—By M. Dugard.

Honolulu, The Outpost of Buddhist Missions

—By L. J. de Bekker.

Eastern and Western Cultures, An interview with

—By Sir Jivanji J. Modi.

What is Philosophy?—By J. S. Collis.

A Note on the Above.

In the World of Books—By J. D. Beresford, J. M. Murray.

Edith Ward, Christmas Humphreys and others.

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