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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE brazen audacity with which Mr. George met the Trades Union Congress Council was quite his own. For while this Labour deputation which called on the Premier on September 22nd insisted on an immediate reversal of the policy which had brought England and the world once more on the brink of war, Mr. George had the colossal assurance to say that the Government's policy was "substantially that as laid down by the Labour party in 1918" ! From which one would conclude that if the Coalition Premier only carries on the Labour policy, there is little reason on his own showing, why that policy had not better be carried out by a Labour Premier. But the fact of course is, that Mr. George once more has said that which is not. For his own policy is diametrically opposed to the Labour policy as laid down in 1918 and recently referred to by us in a review of Mr. Arthur Henderson's book. Mr. George in fact has been shown up—that process, 'tis true, has gone on for a whole year, if not longer, but evidently this latest blunder of the "wizard" has settled it for everybody. And it is important to remember that the question is no longer "Ll. G. must go" or this or that man must go : it is becoming the conviction of the people at large that the whole crowd must go—not only Cabinet, but Parliament. For if this Parliament ever represented the nation in a fit of madness, it represents the nation no longer. The English Nation is waking up to the fact that the misery of the world is due to the men who made the war as they made the peace ; they are calling for a new set of men who are implicated in neither, Conservative and Liberal are thus involved, and

the only hope is to start afresh, with a new set And this the British Labour Party alone can provide. It is this party to which already all popular initiative has passed ; it is this party, as representing the will of the nation, which is now pressing for a dissolution of Parliament. It is not to the interest of Mr. George, or of the Coalition, or of the Diehards to have a dissolution: but public opinion, led by the British Labour Party, is in a good way of forcing it on them, *malgré eux*. The question in the past has often been "Is Labour fit to govern ?" The answer now emphatically being given is, that anyhow the two historic parties whose leaders, severally and jointly, have brought the world to the present pass,—are *not* fit to govern any longer.

* * *

THE *communiqué*, issued by the Government of India in reply to the Democratic party's statement, takes for granted that if the additional evidence brought to the notice of Government had been placed before the Press Act Committee, it would have recommended the protection now to be given to the Princes. We do not see any ground for this easy assumption. The chances are that except for one or two Government members the Committee would have rejected the proposal. Then it is urged in the *communiqué* that the Chamber of Princes has asked for the protection. No doubt ; but we do not consider it any strong argument. Again, much emphasis is laid on the Government being bound in honour to give this protection. Does it refer to any promise given recently ? If so, why does not the Government mention the time and circumstances in which the promise was made ? The Indian Legislature and the public certainly want to safeguard the honour of their Government, but they can be expected to do so only if they are taken into confidence. We are not told of any new promise, but are, on the other hand, referred to old treaties, in spite of which no protection was considered necessary before 1910. It is said the press has grown in power since then. But so have grown the political aspirations of the entire population. Will the Government therefore make it an offence to ask for constitutional development in Native States ? It was explained in the Council of State that reciprocal obligations between the Government and the States made the protection of Princes necessary. If this means an obligation on the part of the States to

allow to British Indian subjects the same right of speech and action as they enjoy in British India, we are quite prepared to accept this argument. But often British Indian subjects have been made to quit the States for wanting to organise even non-political meetings. As we have already pointed out in these columns, what really brings the autocratic rule of the States into contempt is the constitutional and progressive administration of British India. The best way to protect the Princes is therefore to scrap the Government of India Act.

* * *

A Prince's Ways. SOME years ago the following facts relating to a very well known Indian Prince in Western India were related to us by a person of unimpeachable authority. They are only a few out of many actions of that description. A sirdar of his State happened to marry with the full consent of her parents, a girl who belonged to a slightly higher caste than himself. The Prince who considered himself the special guardian of the girl's caste, arbitrarily declared the marriage void, forced the girl to marry a creature of his own and drove the sirdar out of the State, confiscating all his property. The sirdar had submitted a petition to the Political Agent, but at the time the incident was related to us had not succeeded in obtaining justice. The same Prince coveted a beautiful house built in his capital by a subject who had made money in Bombay. As the owner was not willing to part with it, one fine day he was suddenly arrested on some pretext and imprisoned in a cell without trial for several months; and was released only after pressure was brought to bear on the Prince from high political quarters. The prisoner's health was so shattered that he died shortly afterwards. His widow wanted to give away the coveted property in charity, but the Prince stepped in to prevent it and passed a rule that no properties should be dedicated to charitable purposes in his State without his sanction. Yet another achievement of this enlightened Prince—he has had British university education—was when his State was in the grip of a famine. He called a meeting of the citizens for organising relief and promised to contribute a sum equal to the amount subscribed by them and became their treasurer. About Rs. 25,000 was collected and passed on to the treasurer, but it never again saw the light of day. And the citizens dared not complain, though the famine naturally was most severe in the territory of that Prince. A system of government under which such misrule is possible is certainly rotten to the core. But in saying so and in giving publicity to these incidents, shall we not be bringing the administration of that Prince into contempt and would thus come under the new law?

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Surplus Officers and the I. C. S. AS if in cynical reply to the O'Donnell circular of the Government of India (which the Local Governments appear to be considering at their sweet will and convenience) on the Indianization

of the services, the Secretary of State has decided to offer 16 posts in the I. C. S. cadre to the Surplus Officers of the Indian Army. This is done under the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1915, which was intended to provide during the emergency of the War for the recruitment of officers otherwise than by open competition. To take action under it four years after the war is a scandalous piece of jobbery. We do not believe that this decision is taken with a view to strengthen the "steel frame" by an infusion of military men, as has been suggested by some contemporaries. We think rather that it has proceeded from the double motive of providing some good jobs for ex-service officers and also of making up for the deficiency of British recruits through open competition. Of late either due to the best products of British universities not appearing for the Civil Service examination or owing to a good number of competent Indians presenting themselves at it, the number of successful British candidates has been smaller than that of Indians. As any Britisher is supposed to be good enough to govern India, there is of course no reason why the inconveniences of open competition should not always be avoided by the emergency measure of 1915. Of course, all in the best interests of India!

* * *

Legislator Truants. AN incident occurred on the last day of the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council, which we hope will not be permitted to recur. At the hour appointed for the meeting, the President found the quorum wanting, chiefly due to the absence of the official members. They were present on the premises but refrained from entering the chamber until it became apparent that serious notice of their conduct would be taken for causing an adjournment of the Council which they were paid to attend. The reason for this unbecoming conduct of theirs is believed to have been their anxiety to attend the races. We quite agree that such serious business in the life of high European officials and some fashionable Indians as attending and betting at the famous Poona races, should not be hampered by a meeting of the Legislative Council or other equally unimportant work; and would therefore suggest the suspension, by means of legislation if necessary, of all such work on race days. Our proposal is not extravagant, for on a former occasion the Council was adjourned in order to enable the honourable legislators to accept an invitation of the Western India Turf Club.

* * *

The Conscience Clause. WE congratulate Mr. G. C. Bhat on having had his Resolution on the Conscience Clause passed in the Bombay Legislative Council—even though in a modified form. The amendment, adopted by the mover, restricted the motion to single-school areas and even there excepted schools composed exclusively of adherents of one denomination. As regards the latter, we think the principle ought to be

strictly that the general revenue of the State must on no account be devoted to any denominational purpose. Thus even in a school where every single child belongs to the same denomination, the State as such has no business to subsidize that denomination out of taxes levied on citizens belonging to other denominations. Let the State give by all means a full grant to a school carried on purely denominationally (provided there is a Conscience Clause of course) : but let it give that grant only in respect of non-denominational subjects. Personally we should like to see the State (or Municipality) pay *all* approved expenditure in a non-departmental just as much as in a departmental school : always provided, (1) that there is a Conscience Clause, and (2) that only secular education is paid for by the State so that, for instance, a mission school, where five hours per week out of 25 are devoted to religious teaching, could expect only 80% of its total expenditure to be found by the State. Anyhow, the Resolution even as it stands, is a useful step forward and as the accepted amendment came from the Minister of Education himself, one may expect the Government to act up to it and issue soon new regulations to give effect to it.

* * *

A Minister's Defence. THE Chief Minister of Madras the Hon. the Raja of Panagala, tried the other day to defend his party, the non-Brahmin or *Justice* party, against the recent attacks of Rao Bahadur Kandaswami Chetty and others who accused it of having exploited the depressed classes for gaining power and then betrayed its interests. The language used by the Raja to describe the critics of his party as "pretended friends (of the depressed classes) and pseudo philanthropists and their paid emissaries" was utterly unworthy of a man of his position and a responsible leader of a party. Nor were the arguments advanced by him such as to enhance his reputation. His party had been blamed for refusing funds in passing the budget for the posts of Assistant Commissioners of Labour whose function it was to promote the interests of the depressed classes in various ways. It is generally believed that this was done at the dictation of the landlords who did not want their *panchama* labourers to become independent. The Raja's ridiculous defence was that these officers (who were not more than four) "of course with honourable exceptions were using their opportunities for the advancement of their political and social predilections," that "the protection of the depressed classes could be better effected by the District Collectors who generally as Englishmen have no political predilections" and such other staff. It should suffice to inform our readers that the Labour department is still in existence in Madras though its most useful limbs have been lopped off, and in charge of an Englishman, that it was created because for thirty years the District Collectors were unable to do anything for the depressed classes and that all this

was fully explained in the Council by Government members during the discussion.

* * *

A Common and Simplified Script. MR. KNOWLES, whose letter we publish elsewhere, has given much time and attention for advocating a common and simplified script for the whole of India. Though his personal opinion is that the roman script would be found most suitable, he does not press for its adoption now, but asks for a Commission thoroughly to investigate the question of a common script. When he can quote the late Mr. Gokhale as having supported the idea of a Commission, we may be sure that it will not be brushed aside lightly. In a small pamphlet which he has kindly sent to us, Mr. Knowles believes the chief reason for the lamentable illiteracy of India to be the complexity of the Indian scripts, the fact, according to him, of 500 to 1000 types being required for each language. Though we do not agree with him in that view, any reform that will lessen a child's difficulty in mastering the alphabet is quite welcome. A not unimportant consideration is that the development of artistic printing is hindered by there being at present too many different types in a fount of Indian letters. The subject merits much greater consideration than our educationists have so far given to it.

* * *

How to restore lost faith. HOW this lost faith in Britain's word can be best restored was recently explained by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar in a well reasoned article in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. It is certainly not done by increasing the pay and allowances of the European services who are already the best paid in the world; but by rapidly Indianising the civil services and the Army and by taking another considerable step towards the realisation of dominion rule for India. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar has clearly demonstrated the urgency for Indianising the Army, not only in order that India may be able in a reasonable time to defend herself against foreign aggression but also to make the Indian budget balance on the right side. Retrenchment in military expenditure can be secured firstly by replacing the British units with Indian ones, and secondly by substituting Indian personnel in the officer ranks. "The cost of a British battalion is Rs. 21½ lakhs per annum as compared to Rs. 5 lakhs in the case of an Indian battalion." Apart from the combatant units, there are many posts in the Indian Army, unjustifiably held by British officers, which can be held by Indians without the least loss of efficiency and with considerably less cost to the tax-payer. They are to be found in the supply and transport offices and depots, ordnance and arsenal depots, dairy farms, grass farms and various other departments. With regard to commissioned ranks in the combatant army, it has got to be borne in mind that it takes 20 years for any new entrant to rise to the rank of a Colonel. As Sir Sivaswami Aiyar says, "Surely it cannot be said to be an unreasonable demand that India should be able to look forward to having an Army of her own entirely officered by Indians after 25 or 30 years."

THE BOMBAY COMPULSORY EDUCATION BILL.

THE Hon. Dr. Paranjpye's Compulsory Education Bill, which we published in these columns a few weeks ago, passed through the first reading in the Bombay Legislative Council during the last week. As an official member rightly claimed for it, it is the most important piece of legislation introduced in any Council since the advent of the reforms. That Bombay should give a lead to the other provinces in this respect is in the fitness of things, for she spends more money on primary education than any other province. In 1920-21 she spent no less than Rs. 77 lakhs, while all the other provinces put together—and four of them have each a population more than double that of hers—spent only Rs. 134 lakhs. Fifty-two per cent, of her entire educational expenditure is devoted to primary education, while in Madras and the U. P. which come next in order, the percentage is only 26 and 24 respectively. Again, it was Bombay which four years ago introduced compulsion for the first time in a British province by means of a permissive measure of legislation; it is she who is now taking a further step in advance. We hope her example will be closely followed by the other provinces.

The discussion in the Council, which occupied three days, was unnecessarily overdrawn, especially as there was no serious opposition to the Bill. This is not, however, saying that there was no criticism, though only a small part of the criticism had any force. No one was opposed to compulsion as such, which shows how advanced public opinion really is in this respect. Nor did any one seriously question the need for the present measure. One or two members regretted that the Bill was being introduced when non-co-operation was still in the air, but they did not for that reason oppose the introduction of the Bill. Non-co-operation is likely to affect compulsory education to any extent only in Gujrat, and as it is not intended to introduce compulsion everywhere at once, Gujrat, if she so chooses, may apply for it at its own convenience. As pointed out by the Minister in his speech, the Government propose to cover the whole province in about ten years. Long before that period is over the non-co-operation movement will have disappeared from every part of the country. Some members urged caution in applying compulsion to particularly backward classes and to Mahammadan girls. One member propounded the astonishing doctrine that Mahammadan girls, particularly the Bhoras, were forbidden to attend schools; but another member promptly challenged him to quote any religious authority that could support him and asserted that almost every Bhora girl or boy attended school. It was no doubt true that Bhora girls were withdrawn from school when about twelve years old, but the period of compulsion under the Bill would not extend beyond eleven. So there would be no objection to the application of com-

pulsion to Mahammadan girls. With regard to the backward classes, the members representing those communities were more eager for compulsory education than members of other communities, as was only to be expected; and their complaint was not that the Bill went too far, but that it did not go far enough. It must be admitted that there is some force in the contention that the Bhils of Panchmahal and some others are not yet ripe for compulsion. The framers of the Bill have not lost sight of this fact and have specifically provided for the exclusion of "any particular class or community in any area of compulsion or part thereof from the operation of this Act."

A criticism, made by several members and containing much force, is that the Bill itself does not mention the maximum time limit within which compulsion should be introduced throughout the province. The explanation given by the Minister was that, owing to the uncertainty of its financial position, Government was unable to commit itself to a time limit, but every effort would be made to push on compulsion as rapidly as funds permitted; and that Government hoped that in ten years compulsion would have been introduced throughout the province. This explanation, however, is not likely to satisfy the critics. They have perfect confidence, certainly, in Dr. Paranjpye's earnestness, but there is no knowing what the attitude of the next ministry will be. It is therefore better to take no risks but press for the inclusion of the time limit when the Bill is revised by the Select Committee. There is every reason to believe that this will be done.

The representatives of the backward classes expressed dissatisfaction in two other directions. They did not approve of the power of initiative vested in the local bodies which they feared would not be sufficiently keen on introducing compulsion, as it would entail new taxation and other inconveniences. They wanted the Government to introduce compulsion in rural areas without waiting for the consent of the villagers. In their opinion compulsion was to be adopted earlier in the villages than in towns, because the towns people were already in an advantageous position. One of them indeed went so far as to suggest that it should be begun in villages which had no schools in them, and of which, according to him, there were 16,000 against 10,000 towns and villages which had schools. This recommendation, however, is contrary to all experience. Compulsion cannot succeed in any area without the hearty co-operation of the people, and in backward villages this co-operation cannot be forthcoming. That is the experience of Baroda, where an abnormal amount of money is collected as fines from the villagers. The very object of compulsion would therefore fail if villages were given a preference over towns. In being prepared to introduce compulsion simultaneously in all favourable areas, urban or rural, the Minister has gone as far as it is prudent to go.

The other respect in which the representa-

tives of the backward classes were dissatisfied with the Bill was the provision that throws a portion of the cost of compulsory education on the local boards. In this several other members also joined them. They suggested that the Government should take up the entire financial responsibility; in fact, that Government should open the schools and manage them departmentally, leaving nothing to the people of the villages themselves. As the Finance Member pointed out, it is a matter of mere detail whether the taxes are entirely levied by the Government or are levied partly by the local bodies and partly by the Government; for the money has ultimately to come from the community. But the latter method has the immense advantage of rousing local interest and educating the villagers in self-government. There is a strong feeling among the representatives of the agriculturists that no taxation should fall on them. If local boards are obliged to find a part of the cost of compulsory education, they would have to tax the agriculturists. If, on the other hand, the taxes be imposed by the Government, they believe that they would not fall on the agriculturists. But even though all other venues of taxation are exhausted, it will not be possible to avoid some taxation of the agriculturists; and it is for better that they realise it and agree to tax themselves to a certain extent than leave the taxes to be imposed by the Government. This willingness to tax ourselves is the real test of our earnestness. If we really care for compulsory education, which is a costly thing, we must be prepared to bear the expense. The enlightened representatives of the backward classes would therefore do well to educate their followers, who form by far the bulk of the people, to bear their share of the financial responsibility. The fear is natural that if the initiative be left to local boards they may not show sufficient readiness to introduce compulsion. But to meet that contingency the Government has reserved for itself the power of introducing it in any area, on the local body refusing to do so when called upon by the Government to introduce it. As to the fear that school boards, with a large percentage of rural representatives, would not work efficiently, the provision that has been made for the appointment of an executive officer for each board should remove that fear, while the constitution of the board itself is such as to awaken local interest and train the people in self-government. It will thus be seen that the main provisions of the Bill, being based on the recommendations of a very competent Committee, are on the whole well thought out and deserving of the warmest support.

THE PRINCE AND THE PRINCES.

THE conviction is gaining ground in India, that the genesis of the notorious Protection of Princes Bill must be sought in the recent visit to India of the Prince of Wales. According to rumour the fiasco of that visit, which is now even officially

admitted, was very much resented by the Prince, who, by contrast with his humiliations in British India, all the more appreciated the absence of all "incidents" whenever he crossed into an Indian State. Certain Princes are said not to have been slow to utilize at court and elsewhere the general feelings thus created and to exploit to the full the sentiment, never very far from the official mind, that it is only an autocratic ruler who is capable of keeping order in India. The whole idea itself was worked out—somewhat indiscreetly perhaps—later on in a book by Sir Fred. Lugard, who saw the only panacea against unrest in India in a frank abandonment of the policy of direct rule and who advocated parcelling out the whole of British India amongst princely vassals who would guarantee British interests, but for the rest would be left to settle affairs with their "subjects" in any way they liked. If our Indian Princes themselves would consider such a plan perhaps a little too good to be true, it is nevertheless quite conceivable that after Mr. Montagu's fall at least a re-orientation of policy in this direction actually did take place and that the "honourable obligations and agreements" of which we have suddenly heard so much lately, were contracted during the Prince's visit—a hypothesis which certainly explains very satisfactorily why the Government of India in the middle of 1921 saw no justification for any such "Protection of Princes" and in the middle of 1922 certifies that such protection is necessary for the safety, tranquillity and interests of India.

The same working hypothesis explains also some other phenomena which, put together, cannot but seem significant. Everybody will remember the story which went round that during the Prince's visit to the Nizam, the Berars were going to be handed back to His Exalted Highness. Then there came that ominous decision that the local military forces and Imperial Service troops of the Feudatory States were to be allowed and aided to be brought up to the efficiency level of the British Indian Army; followed by the state visit of Sir George Lloyd to Kathiawad and his paean there in praise of that benevolent autocracy "which in the East can show some excellent government." Followed by Sir Harcourt Butler a month later at a darbar at Meerut with his *obiter dictum* that "reflecting men wonder whether political institutions could work in an Oriental country." Then we have the step taken by the Bombay Government which by notification extended the definition of sedition to practically all the Political Agencies in the Presidency. Finally we arrive at the Premier's much discussed speech, which contains a passage which at the time did not receive the attention which perhaps it deserves:

"It is quite natural that the great constitutional changes which have been introduced in the course of the last few months should provoke some uneasiness in the minds of those who worked the old system. . . . India has never been governed on these principles before. The native states are not governed on these principles now, and it remains to be seen whether a system of this kind, adapted to

Western needs,.....is suitable for India..... We owe an undoubted duty to the great princes of India and to the Indian States which are the feudatories of His Majesty the King Emperor. They have been loyal to the Throne and to the Empire under conditions where loyalty was tried in every fibre....."

And now we have actually here in India the Under-Secretary, Lord Winterton, himself, who so far from being here, as at first described, "on a private visit", is conferring with the Viceroy and the three Presidency Governors and undoubtedly has come to bring home, to the "subordinate government" that the present powers that be at Whitehall are bent on a complete reversal of the Montagu regime. No better method, in Tory eyes, than to insert the lever in Feudatory India—according to the old Tory recipe of setting up puppet rulers, in whose name the autocracy of the ruling race or the ruling class can be safely perpetuated. The "working hypothesis" certainly works!

It has certainly been noticeable that Lord Winterton seems singularly little anxious to gain information and it is an easy inference that he has come to give it, not to receive it. Moreover, there are two important vacancies to fill, caused by the retirement of Sir William Vincent and the Hon'ble Mr. T. B. Sapru—and the sudden emergence of the late Secretary to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government in the Legislature at the discussion of the Prince's Protection must indeed seem a portent.

Full speed astern!

EDUCATION IN JAIPUR STATE.

A PIE IN A RUPEE ON EDUCATION.

THERE is no Indian but feels a glow of pride at the thought that in Jaipur State, thanks to the munificent encouragement given by Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh (1835-1880) of revered memory to art and learning, education of all grades, from the lowest to the highest, has been entirely free. But the visitor who goes to Jaipur with a strong prepossession in favour of the State, expecting to find that it ranks with the "most advanced centres of education, does not take long to have his emotion changed to one of profound disappointment. Jaipur instead of majestically riding on the crest of a wave of educational progress, indeed lies in the very trough. Even among the Rajputana States, which are not particularly noted for their educational adventures, Jaipur occupies the fourteenth out of twenty places in the matter of literacy, and it would appear almost grotesque to compare the diffusion of education in Jaipur with that in British India. In Jaipur State the total number of scholars on the books of all kinds of institutions, primary schools, secondary schools, colleges, arts schools, pathshalas, noblemen's schools, all told, was, in 1920, 32,299, divided as 30,828 boys and 1,471 girls. Comparing the figures with the population of school-going age, we find that 14.83 per cent. of the males and 0.78 per cent. of the females of school-going age were at school. The corres-

ponding percentages in the Bombay Presidency (and in calculating these only scholars in primary schools and recognised schools are taken into account) are 36 for boys and 9 for girls. That is, in Bombay Presidency the pace of education is 2½ times that in Jaipur in the case of boys and 11½ times in the case of girls. But the rate of the advance which Bombay Presidency is making over Jaipur State is progressively increasing every year, as will be seen from the fact that in the former the number of boys in primary schools alone has increased by 38 per cent. and that of girls by 90 per cent. during the last ten years, while in the latter the increase in the total number of boys and girls in all kinds of institutions in the same period has been only 2.3, or 0.67 per cent. But the real extent of the educational destitution of Jaipur will be best realised when it is understood that of the 33,000 scholars in the State as many as 18,000 or 56½ per cent. attend *chatshals* and other indigenous schools which are a by-word for 'inefficiency,* schools under State management contributing only 14 per cent. of the total number, or 4,500 scholars.

The total cost to the State of imparting instruction to its subjects was Rs 91,398 last year, which is roughly 1 per cent. of its revenue. The State does not publish annual administration reports—it is believed that it has never as yet published any such report; at any rate it is certain that for the last forty years a report has not been published—and so it is not possible for an outsider to obtain the exact figure of revenue collected; but the normal revenue may be now put at Rs. 90 lakhs. Thus, while in Bombay Presidency nearly 12 per cent. of the total revenue is expended on public instruction, in Jaipur State it is a bare 1 per cent. But even from this 1 per cent., small as that proportion is in all conscience, a heavy deduction has to be made; for the revenue of Rs. 90 lakhs given above is not really for the whole State, but only for that portion of it which is under the direct management of the Darbar. Such *khalsa* territory forms only two-fifths of the total area, the remaining three-fifths being under the jurisdiction of *Thakurs*, *Jagirdars*, etc. who have independent fisces. They collect their own land revenue and their own customs duties. The income derived from these may, if at all, be known to the State; but an outsider can never hope to have access to these figures. Speaking broadly, however, there is no reason why receipts from the tracts under the control of the *Thakurs* should not be in the proportion of the extent of those areas i.e. Rs. 135 lakhs. While the real income of the State is thus better by 150 per cent., the increase in educational expenditure contributed by the *Thakurs* is very much smaller, only Rs 21,500. That is to say, while the joint

* These schools are thus described in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XXI, p. 154: "Classes were held in the open air on the shady side of the tree, or on the steps of the village temple, or in some veranda; and the entire school equipment often consisted only of a white board, a piece of wood for a pen, and charcoal water for ink."

revenue of the Darbar and the *Thakurs* may well be Rs. 225 lakhs, their educational expenditure is only Rs. 1,13,000; in other words, they spend only half a per cent, or one pie in a rupee, of their revenue on education. Allowing for any possible error resulting from too liberal an estimate of the revenue of the *Thakurs*, the educational expenditure incurred by the Darbar and its subordinate chiefs, etc, cannot exceed a pie and a half for every rupee of their revenue. Compare this to the expenditure of nearly two annas in a rupee in Bombay Presidency.

The state of things disclosed by these figures is simply appalling; but it grows even worse when it is remembered that, all too meagre as is the provision made for education as a whole, it is still more meagre for primary education, the education of the masses. Out of the Rs. 1,12,813 spent on education last year by the Darbar and the *Thakurs* together, primary education received only Rs. 26,520, or less than one-fourth. In the Bombay Presidency the share of primary education is about one-half. To what extent primary education is starved in Jaipur will be apparent if we bear in mind that the Darbar and the Jagirdars between them make only Rs. 26,520 available for the elementary education of 3,95,498 souls, the total number of children of school age. In other words, the State finds one rupee for every fourteen children requiring elementary instruction. In Bombay Presidency four rupees are found for every such child. Another serious defect in the allocation of the paltry amount available for education is that the capital city is unduly favoured, and all mofussil tracts are utterly neglected. While in the city of Jaipur 33½ per cent. of the school-age population were at school last year, in the mofussil the corresponding percentage was only 6½ per cent. Outside the city limits the State does not maintain even a single English school; nor does it maintain a single primary school for girls. All the schools that exist in this vast area (14,520 square miles), containing 5,800 towns and villages, are boys' vernacular schools. Even so, these schools are maintained mostly by private agencies. As said above, the State, including the *Thakurs*, spends some Rs. 26,000 on primary education or less than one-sixth part of one per cent. of the revenue, while private agencies spend over Rs. 78,000, or three times as much as the Darbar spends thereon. While all institutions of superior education and girls' education are centred in the capital city, those living therein are practically immune from all taxation; for there is no income tax; nor is any municipal tax such as a house tax levied. The villagers, however, though they receive little benefit from the educational institutions, are subjected to heavy land taxes and customs duties. The cultivators are mere tenants-at-will, liable to enhancement of rent (within limits) and even ejection at any moment. The partiality shown to the city dwellers goes unnoticed, merely because the State does extremely little for education taken as a whole.

WAYKARRER.

PEACE AND WAR.

THE third annual session of the Assembly of the League of Nations opened at Geneva on September 4th and if such meetings have not yet quite descended in public opinion to the level of mere routine and general futility, thanks are not due to Mr. George or Mr. Poincaré or such like arbiters of the world's destinies. At one time indeed the rumour went that the British Premier would attend Geneva in person—only to be contradicted, soon after it had served its purpose as a *ballon d'essai*, by a contemptuous declaration that the Premier's place is in Westminster and not in Geneva. If that is so, why, one wonders, was his place at times at Boulogne, at Paris, at Cannes, at Genoa? The fact is, that Mr. George refuses to treat the League of Nations in the only way that it ought to be treated on principle, viz. seriously; and yet, wedded as he is to drift and expediency, he dares not throw it aside as useless. Lord Robert Cecil however, who more and more comes to be recognized as the League's true leader, was right in warning the League that its present hybrid existence cannot continue much longer and that the League must be "all or nothing." By its constitution it has the right to take the initiative and deal with any international matter: instead of which it tends to become a routine machinery for disposing of uncontroversial questions or for carrying out jobs of the "Allied Powers" according to the latter's instructions. No wonder that mediocrity and timidity should become the League's keynote, when never once yet has the Premier of any of the leading nations deemed it important enough for him to attend one of its Sessions.

The real point of course is that, although nobody in his five senses today can deny the absolute necessity of international control in international affairs: yet no politician has the courage of paying the only price which will purchase that control—to wit, the transfer of his own country's sovereignty to the League. Everybody of course would like every other country to do that: if only they themselves need not do it! Such are the blessings of "patriotism". And the only ray of hope is that some recognition of this fact is, gradually and however slowly, yet is becoming more and more widespread. The Archbishop of Canterbury—see, in what unlikely quarters these ideas are beginning to show themselves!—preached a sermon at Geneva cathedral at the opening of the Assembly and in it led up to the exhortation, not to let patriotism mean more than the individual feeling of partiality which a person naturally and legitimately would harbour towards his own university or public school. But for every one voice which pleads for reason and charity: how many hundreds are there that shout for popularity and the knock-out blow?

Yet the bulk of the peoples, the common people of all lands, fortunately have the knock-out-blows of the recent "Great War" too freshly in their

memory, to allow themselves to be once more stampeded into a second gigantic international madness like the last. All honour to the English people that they should have taken the lead in demonstrating their will to peace in so downright a manner, as they have done, both two years ago, and just now. In 1920, when Russia seemed to be on the point of smashing up Poland, Mr. Churchill had fully persuaded Mr. George that the whole Western civilization (i. e. the Versailles treaty) was jeopardized, unless the British Empire threw in its full weight and made war upon Russia. Newspaper propaganda was in full cry already, when suddenly the Labour Party pricked the bubble by constituting a "Council of Action" which treated direct with the Premier and told him that the moment a warlike operation was undertaken against Russia, the general strike would be declared. Whereupon Messrs. George, Churchill and Co. called back their dogs of war—because there was nothing else for them to do. Again, only a few days ago the same manoeuvre was attempted. The whole of the last two weeks of September was devoted to a blowing on the embers of hatred and fanaticism: once more Western civilization and the Treaty of Versailles were in immediate peril: once more the only remedy was war—this time against Turkey. And once more it was the British Labour Party which sent their representatives to Mr. George and dared him, to enter upon war: and once more Mr. George had to climb down.

As late as September 27th Mr. H. A. Fisher, the British delegate at Geneva, could say that "the Empire participated in the great war in obedience to a clear moral call due to the violation of the Belgian neutrality. If the situation of 1914 ever arose again, similar action would be repeated." This is this sort of ambiguity which has caused all modern wars, and it is this sort of thing which people must see to it, that it be not repeated. For if it is true that the people of the Empire in 1914 obeyed what they took to be a "clear moral call", it is equally true that that moral call did not exist objectively, but was manufactured by the immense deception played upon the people by their masters who kept them in complete ignorance of the real facts of the case.

There have recently been published (in "Foreign Affairs" for September) the minutes of a meeting of the Chiefs of the French and Russian General Staffs on August 31st 1911, which state that "Russia does not appear to be in a condition to sustain, for two years at least, a war against Germany with a certainty of success"; "that from what is known of the German mobilisation and concentration, one may conclude that the first great encounters will probably take place in Lorraine, Luxembourg and Belgium from the 15th to 18th day" of the Russian general mobilisation; and that therefore the French army will have to concentrate so rapidly, "that as from the 12th day it is in a position

to take the offensive against Germany, with the help of the British army on its left flank."

We have italicized some words and from these it is plain (1) that so far from Germany "suddenly" pouncing upon an unprepared France and Russia, as the myth of 1914 had it, it was France and Russia who prepared so carefully for it, that they agreed not to enter upon it before 1914; (2) that so far from the invasion of Belgium by Germany coming as a shocking surprise to a civilized world, this plan was the accepted theory of all soldiers, and therefore must have been a commonplace to all the "statesmen" who professed to be so horror-struck about it in August 1914. In this connection it is perhaps well to quote from a pamphlet, issued in the spring of 1914 by the French General Buat, some sentences on the exigencies of German strategy in regard to the violation of neutral States:—

It (the German Staff) knows well enough that such considerations would not stop us either..... If victory depends upon the violation of Treaties they will weigh little in the balance, and victory will restore them. Moreover, who, under such circumstances, could ensure the rights of neutral States? All the guaranteeing Powers will be involved in the conflict.

(3) that the British army was told off to take its allotted place "on the left flank" of the French Army two years before Mr. Fisher's "clear moral call" ever came! More than that: these secret arrangements which had been started in 1906 between the British and French General Staffs, had by December 1912 been so perfected, that "military co-operation between France and Britain was as perfect as that between France and Russia"—to quote from René Marchand's important and recently published book "Diplomatie d'Avant Guerre." In fact, the rulers of the world's destinies had everything ready, the stage was set, the only thing needed, to provide the necessary amount of dumb cannon fodder, was a "clear moral call", to be manufactured when occasion arose. No wonder another recent French writer (Geo. Demartial in his "The War of 1914: How Public Conscience was Mobilized") says that "France was flung into this war trussed up like a chicken ready for the spit." And if that is true for France, how much more so for England and the British Empire?

Truth in the end overtakes all lies; and so the truth about the war-guilt of 1914 may also be trusted to overtake all the official lies of the war-propaganda;—in the end. Meanwhile the latter seem still to be alive. Even the "Times of India" only a few days ago (October 5th) sneered about Dean Inge, who has nowadays realized the "Great Deception of 1914", and referred him to "official records" (*alias* War Propaganda!), according to which "two years before the war Lord Haldane went to his spiritual home—that is Germany—to negotiate for an enduring peace; he came back empty handed, because he found that the Germans did not want peace." What are the actual facts, according to a letter of

Mr. Isvolsky of December 5th 1912, since published? The facts are that Germany, uneasy at the "encircling policy" of England and France, was loth to believe Lord Haldane's professions of English friendship and as a pledge of good faith proposed that England should in writing declare her neutrality, in case Germany was involved in war not provoked by Germany. With this proposal Lord Haldane went back to London—whence it follows that he did not return "empty handed", but on the contrary with a most sensible and modest proposal, which, we may add, if accepted, would have made the "Great War" of 1914 impossible and the "clear moral call" unnecessary. But what happened? The London Cabinet "hesitating either to accept or to repel it", submitted this proposal obediently to Mr. Poincaré, who naturally pronounced himself "most categorically against such an engagement"; and as a consequence peace-loving Britain would not even promise its neutrality, if Germany was unprovokedly involved in war!

It is, faced by such facts and faced by the gigantic tissue of falsehood which has brought all the disaster of the war and the "peace" in its train, that one can but echo the noble words of M. Demartial's book, as addressed to "The Unknown Warrior":

I will go and uncover my head before that tomb when there has been inscribed upon it the only word which is sure not to miss the mark, for it applies both to the dead who died enlightened, and to the dead who died deceived—the word "Forgive."

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 13-9-22.

OF all the imperialisms that were brought forth, revived or at least strengthened by "the war to end war", none deserves higher interest than that of Italy. Italy has in the last fifty years made continual progress in political as well as economic respect. The suicidal politics of Vienna in 1914 have led to the demise of her last serious, because more than equal adversary, Austria. Now her aspirations gradually take a higher flight. Is not she the legitimate inheritor of the old Roman traditions? Is not the German Empire that was built up on the traditions of the "Holy Roman Empire" broken down and has given up all dreams of a "Weltreich"? Well then, the occasion favours the ambitious plan to step in its place and get a dominating position in Central Europe. The politicians in whose brains ideas like these live are by no means of the childish simplicity, noisiness and braggadocio of the Pan-German extremists of old; they go their way quietly and carefully, step by step. Occasionally only it transpires what the end of the voyage is to be. It is not to be denied that the situation is uncommonly propitious for Italy. By the peace of Versailles an Austria has been created that is unable either to live or to die. Her pecuniary circumstances have deteriorated to such a degree that the

taxes she gathers do not suffice any longer to support the tax-gatherers. Unavoidable bankruptcy threatens the very existence of the State. The only road to salvation—the only natural way too for a State of German nationality—the union with Germany which the whole population demands almost unanimously—is barred by France. In these circumstances the Italian ambition is natural. Austria, where the smallest object to-day is sold for incredibly high sums, where *e. g.* a drive in a cab costs more than 50,000 kronen, has issued about 1000 milliards of kronen in paper-money up to now. To the uninitiated these sums appear gigantic debts. But in reality she has become so poor that these "astronomical" ciphers don't mean anything. Italy would be able to buy up the whole amount with not more than 300 millions of paper liras to-day. That is why the idea of a *Zollverein* as well as a *currency union* has no terrors for her. This however is the idea that has been, rather suddenly and unexpectedly for the public opinion of Europe, thrown into the debate. Looked at from the Austrian side the whole thing appears as an act of despair. Chancellor Seipel, the present leader of the Austrian government, professes to have tried all other ways first. But after having been told in Berlin that Germany is in much too great a distress herself to afford the Austrian sister-nation any help whatsoever, he seems to have made up his mind that no other way is left than the path that leads into the lion's den. So he went to Verona and conferred with the Italian minister Schanzer who himself is not an Italian by birth but comes from Galicia and went to school at Vienna: a circumstance which makes him appear especially fit for acting a role in proceedings of this sort. Now it is true that the whole scheme has been emphatically and categorically declined by the Italian ministry lately and the public has been instructed that the plan would involve much too great sacrifices on the side of Italy, that Austrian industry was far too much intertwined with German industry to make the scheme appear anything like a bargain for Italy and that numerous political objections referring to Italy's other neighbours might be raised which spoke strongly against it. All these official utterances, however, have only a relative value. It is true that Italy has not accepted the idea of a *Zollverein* with Austria up to now in public. She has, on the contrary, referred Austria to the help of the League of Nations. But it is very doubtful whether this was not done in the firm expectation that the League which has proved its incapacity to help Austria in her unsurmountable difficulties already so often will show once more its incompetency. In this case the idea will be revived, it little matters whether in the form of a regular *Zollverein* or not. People who know have no doubt that in the nearest future the far-reaching step will be taken on the part of Italy to conclude treaties of commerce and traffic between Italy and Austria as well as

between several of the so-called succession-states, which will go far on the way of making out of Italy and a great part of the old Hapsburg monarchy a single economic entity. Looked at from the Italian side this appears as a grand "coup". In the first line in this way Italy would get the fulfilment of an old wish viz. a common border with Germany. At the same time it would keep Jugoslavia and Tohekho-Slovakia out of Central Europe. These States would see no other way left than joining the union. Moreover Italy would gain immense influence in the Balkans. Besides it would in this way perhaps gain the sympathies of the German population in the annexed part of the Tirol, which the Versailles treaty in spite of the "rights of the self-determination of the nations" gave her—a district with strong national feelings. Nobody pretends that Austria is looking forward with special pleasure to the new development. It suffers on the contrary from the paralysing impression to have become a tool in the hand of others and to be the helpless object of the politics of the greater powers, something like a Macedonia of Central Europe. In many Austrian quarters the whole thing is looked upon as a clerical intrigue, set to work most ingeniously from the Holy See with the help of the clerical Chancellor. In Germany on the other hand this solution of the Austrian question has aroused exasperation and a feeling of deep bitterness. Being absolutely powerless, Germany is not able to offer any resistance to the scheme. But it is different with France. The Italian scheme pierces to a certain extent the French political wall through Central Europe. After all the Italian idea is not at all what Paris wants. Paris is the protector of the "Little Entente" (Tchekhoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Roumania) and tries to use it in her great scheme of isolating Germany and splitting the German Reich up into a number of small helpless States part of which she can take under her wings. Therefore the ambition of Prague to get a leading position in the politics of Central Europe has enjoyed her full favour. Now it has already been pointed out that an Italian success in winning the "protectorate" over Austria would be detrimental to Tchekhoslovakia. There can be no doubt indeed that it would put a stop to all ambitious schemes of Prague, by making an end of the whole "Little Entente" whose economic prospects would prove illusory in case of its realisation. But as the interests of Austria and Tchekhoslovakia are still so much linked, the Prague government feels the very commercial existence of the new State threatened. That is why Prague has turned to Paris for help against the Italian schemes. French diplomacy which seems not yet to have given up the idea of making Austria a member of the "Little Entente", will of course do everything in its power to prevent the Italian plans from being realized, and it will be interesting for the outsider, whose sympathies are not concerned in the question to see what will be the end of this fight among the

vultures for the carcase of what was once called "felix Austria".

There can be little doubt that the Paris diplomatists will not handle the Italian statesmen very delicately in case they should try to offer serious resistance. For the French government feels very strong just now. French imperialism has scored a great victory lately in Asia Minor. The Turco-Greek war, the last act of which we have just been witnessing, was in more than one respect extraordinarily similar to those Homeric wars, where the struggles on the earth reflected only the antagonisms among the gods. The gods in this case were to be looked for in London and Paris. But one knows by now that Mr. Lloyd George does not bear a Jupiter's head. His colleagues seem not to have been gifted with Minerva's brains either in their Greek politics. So the end has been a crushing defeat and the Franco-Turkish cause has celebrated so great a triumph that it will be difficult for Downing-street to succeed in its resolution to withhold the full possession of Constantinople from the victor. The indirect defeat of Britain on the soil of Asia Minor—whatever else its results may be—has a very unfavourable effect on her position towards France in European politics.

For a short while the British Government's energetic attitude at the last London conference seemed to have had a disenchanting influence on the Paris Government and to have softened the frantic French raving against the German debtor. Contrary to all expectations, M. Poincaré gave up his claim to make himself paid by taking possession of the German state-forests (on the left and the state-mines on the right side of the Rhine, because the British Government objected. A compromise was agreed upon. Belgium being the creditor entitled to receive the next reparation sums, it was left to her to come to an agreement with Germany, which should give guarantees that she would be paid the sums in question six months hence. This compromise was looked upon by Germany as a kind of moratorium in disguise. But it turns out that it is nothing of the sort. She is on the contrary categorically requested to pawn securities—among them a great part of the last gold reserve that is kept in the country, the loss of which would affect her not less fatally than those "productive pledges" which M. Poincaré requested. So the transactions have come to a standstill—which may have dangerous consequences. For already again the voice of Poincaré is heard who does not leave off preaching his doctrine "Carthaginem esse delendam!" Will the movement, whose leader he is, be again checked by the resistance of the British Government? The Bourses of the world seem to be rather sceptic in this respect, for the German mark falls and falls and falls. The deeper it falls the higher rises the cost of bread. The great statesmen of the world have performed different tasks. Cromwell founded England's sea-trade, Cavour united Italy, every time that M.

Poincare makes one of his threatening speeches the working man in Central Europe gets less bread for his money..... Was ever statesman so powerful?

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

REVIEWS.

IMPERIALISM IN PRACTICE AND IN THEORY
By K. M. PANIKKAR. The Arka Publishing House, Madras. 1922. pp. 84.

Imperialism is a vast and important subject. Mr. Panikkar says in conclusion, "It will be considered by future historians as one of those great movements that have transformed the history of the world, movements like the rise of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam." Though, according to him, it is a modern political force which has been in operation only for about a century, it has affected nearly the whole of the world; and one would therefore have expected the writer, who is an Oxford scholar and Senior Professor of History in the Muslim university, Aligarh, to have given the subject adequate treatment. In 84 small pages of big type, it cannot receive this. Nor has Mr. Panikkar brought an unbiassed mind to bear on the subject: the publication is more in the nature of a party pamphlet than a serious contribution to thought. Speaking of the methods by which Britain is holding India, he says;

"The elaborate system of bribery which goes under the name of 'Honours' is the most effective instrument for demoralising opposition. Lord Minto was the first Viceroy to recognise the possibilities of this in 'rallying the moderates.' Since that time a knighthood or a C.S.I. has been the recognised reward for well known deserters from the Nationalist Camp. Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Surendranath Banarji: could there be more convincing testimony of the efficacy of this system of veiled bribery?"

Where did this Senior Professor of History get his knowledge, we wonder? If he means the "Nationalist Camp" in the narrow party sense, the gentlemen mentioned by him never belonged to it; if in the wider sense, they never deserted it. And to say that Sir Pheroza Mehta, Sir Sankaran Nair and others sacrificed their independence for titles is rank nonsense. Titles are not a peculiar feature of imperialism. More titles are conferred in England on Englishmen than on Indians in India; and several states confer their highest honours on foreign rulers and statesmen. Mr. Panikkar will do well to "think again."

OPEN LETTERS TO SIR SANKARAN NAIR.
By ANAND NARAIN SEWAL, B. A., LL B., pp 80.
Price Re 1: Messrs. Rama Krishna & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. 1922.

The writer of this pamphlet has not remembered the good old adage, "Those who live in glass

houses, should not throw stones at others." In the very first sentence of his first Letter he taunts Sir Sankaran Nair that his pamphlet is ill got up and badly printed; but his own pamphlet is not better got up or better printed. He accuses Sir Sankaran Nair with having gone about his business "in the spirit of a bitter partisan who is blind to the other side of the picture and represents only the dark side because he is anxious to do a little bit of propaganda work in the interests of Co-operation (with a capital C)." These words apply exactly to Mr. Sewal himself, if only 'non' is prefixed to co-operation. These Open Letters are as much of an angry outburst as Sir Sankaran Nair's pamphlet is, and therefore as undignified. Mr. Sewal says in the preface that Mahatma Gandhi's reputation is too firmly established to be shaken by such attempts as those of Sir Sankaran Nair. That being the case, what was the necessity of publishing these Open Letters in pamphlet form?

V. V. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN ALPHABET FOR THE VERNACULARS
TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir, If the children of the 800,000 villages of India are to be taught to read and write their mother tongue, either the present syllabic scripts should be simplified or some simple alphabet should be allowed optional use.

On an average there are only 37 elementary sounds in a vernacular which need have letters, but from 500 to 1,000 extremely complicated types are used to print it, and the child must master all the complicated symbols before any reading is possible. Bengali has only 31 elementary sounds which in the view of eminent Bengali scholars need have separate letters to express them but, a Bengali font of type has over 500 intricate types to print it. So Oriya with another set of still more difficult types. And Nagari with upto 1,000 types. Altogether there are only 53 elementary Indian sounds in any or all the vernaculars but there are from 10,000 to 12,000 of the most difficult and complicated types used to express these less than a hundred sounds.

What is wanted is a simple common phonetic Indian alphabet suitable for reading, writing and printing. An alphabet with just one simple letter for each main elementary sound which will enable one who speaks the language to recognise in print the words which he recognises when spoken. How is such an alphabet to be obtained?

In time past Japan had a graphic reform and adopted 47 simple phonetic symbols in place of the 43,000 Chinese ideograms. Now 95 per cent. of Japanese can read and write. Lately China has had a graphic reform and adopted 40 simple phonetic signs in place of the ideograms and now Chinese women are learning to read in ten days. The Indian systems of phonetics are richer than Japanese or Chinese but 53 letters would suffice for all India. Out of this 53 each vernacular will take the letters for its sounds for primary letters. Could there be a simplification of Indian scripts so that a simple phonetic common alphabet may be obtained, so that everywhere in India the same letter should have the same sound and the same sound the same letters? This is for India to consider. The whole question is such an important one that it should not be left to an individual or any single society. It is suggested that an Indian Commission with Indian representatives should be appointed to consider the whole question to recommend some simple alphabet which should then be allowed optional use in schools and public courts. The late Hon. G. K. Gokhale was in favour of such a Commission. He wrote, "I am entirely in favour of a thorough enquiry into the whole question by a competent body of men on which the principal alphabets at present shall be properly represented".

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