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NOTICE.

On account of the Ganesh Chaturthi day having fallen on Wednesday this year, we go to press on Tuesday this week instead of on Wednesday as usual.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

CONTRARY to public expectation, the Viceroy's address to the Indian Legislature on Monday contained no direct reference to the question of further constitutional advance. This is sure to cause widespread dissatisfaction. But though the address was devoted exclusively to the consideration of the present communal situation which gives cause for grave anxiety to all lovers of peaceful and orderly progress, it indirectly furnishes an explanation for the absence of any reference to the appointment of the statutory commission. Lord Irwin is not alone in holding that the settlement of the existing differences between Hindus and Mahomedans is a problem by the side of which everything else pales into insignificance. In the absence of self-control on the part of private citizens which, according to him, is a pre-requisite for the success of self-government, there can be no real swaraj in India. No wonder therefore that Lord Irwin chose to be silent on the subject of further reforms. The Viceroy had nothing new to add to his famous Chelmsford Club speech of last year except to signify his readiness to convene a round table conference for the consideration of the question, should he be approached by responsible leaders of both communities. It is true more than one conference designed to bring about unity between Hindus and Mahomedans has met and dispersed in recent years without finding a satisfactory solution of the problem. But that should not be allowed to stand in the way of a fresh effort on the lines mentioned by the Viceroy. It is only to be hoped that his conference, convened as it will be with a will to peace, will fare better than previous

conferences and will achieve peace or at any rate pave the way for peace. And even if it should fail, which God forbid, it is much better to have tried and failed than not to have tried at all. We hope that the idea will materialise at no distant date and that the Hindu and Mahomedan leaders will offer their sincere co-operation in finding a way out of the difficulty.

THE non-Brahmans of the Deccan too, following the lead of their brethren in Madras, Non-Brahmans have lifted the ban on membership in the Deccan. of the Congress. There is, however, a great deal of difference in the attitude of the leaders to the Congress in the two provinces. While in Madras Presidency the Rajah of Panagal and Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar seem to be earnest propagandists on behalf of the Congress, in Bombay Presidency Messrs. Jadhav and Bole and other prominent men in the non-Brahman movement are by instinct opposed to such a change of front and only the smaller fry seem to be in favour of it. It is therefore not very likely that in this Presidency the resolution just passed in the non-Brahman Congress will influence the course of events to any considerable extent. It is noteworthy that the Deccan non-Brahmans have not passed a self-denying ordinance like their confreres in Madras regarding the acceptance of office. Indeed, even in respect of Madras, it cannot be fittingly called a self-denying ordinance, for the Rajah of Panagal and others did not give their consent not to take office before they had despaired of getting it. Mr. Jadhav and others here have not been soured yet by disappointment and are not in a hurry to decline office which may well come their way in the near future. Nor would the young bloods of the party insist on non-acceptance of office, for they too hope for a considerable improvement in the non-Brahman position as a result of the men of their own community being installed in office. This is a perfectly reasonable attitude and we congratulate the non-Brahman Congress for taking it. On the whole, we may rest assured that the resolutions of this Congress are not going to set the Thames on fire.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR'S Bill which seeks the intervention of the High Court when a Unlawful Local Government declares an Associations. association unlawful and proceeds to suppress it passed its third reading in the Legislative Assembly ; but, like its predecessor, it is sure to find its grave in the Council of State. The defence put up by the Home Member, Mr. Crerar, was as slender as it could possibly be, but what beat us was his claim that the law as it stands at present has not yet been found to have worked any mischief in practice. To say this in face of wholesale closures of useful institutions requires a hardihood which we had thought would be lacking in a responsible official

in the position of the Home Member of the Government of India. Mr. Crerar also cited in his support the provisions of the Public Safety Bill in Ireland, which of course is a Draconian piece of legislation. But if Mr. Crerar suggests that there is any analogy between the conditions obtaining in India at present and those which followed upon the assassination of Mr. Kevin O'Higgins in Ireland he must be either hopelessly ignorant of contemporary events or deliberately disingenuous. To compare India with a country where the whole political battle is being fought on the plane of physical revolt and where there is a military organization whose one object is to promote insurrectionary movements cannot be the result of a casual error. Further it is recognised that even in the Free State, harried as it is by terrorism, the remedies taken in the Bill are more drastic than they need be. The general verdict is that the judgment of Irish statesmen was perverted by the murder in cold blood of one of their most valued colleagues. Even such a consistent advocate of the Free State Ministry has to admit that the new Bill has been "designed in the dark night of the political soul when judgment is biased by deep passionate feeling." So says the *Irish Statesman* in a recent issue and for Mr. Crerar to justify the retention of permanent legislation on the Statute Book on the analogy of Ireland is either sheer perversity or sheer dishonesty.

THOSE like us who believe that the present constitution, however imperfect and unsatisfactory, can be worked to public good must have felt considerably relieved at the defeat of the motion expressing want of confidence in the ministry, which was recently moved in the Madras Council. This is natural, for with the two largest groups viz. Swarajists and Justicites pledged to non-acceptance of office, the only alternative to the success of the motion would have been the retransfer of the Transferred departments to the control of the Governor. This would have been regrettable, especially on the eve of the appointment of the statutory Reforms Commission. But though the Swarajist-Justicite combination has for the moment failed to dislodge the ministry, it cannot unfortunately be said that the ministers enjoy the confidence of the House. For out of the 67 members that voted for their retention, 11 were officials and 23 nominated non-officials. Even so, what reconciles many to their continuance in office is the fact, admitted by the Dy. Leader of the Swarajists in the Council, Mr. Satyamurthi, that "in some respects the present ministry had made some improvement on the last ministry." But the irony was that it was the better ministry that the Swarajists were not only not supporting, but were trying to drive out of office; and that too with the help of a party which is distinctly communal in its outlook. It is stated that the Swarajists were never too keen on the success of the motion, their object being merely to safeguard their position in the Congress and to carry out the letter of the Gauhati mandate. If so, they have skilfully played their cards and the Justicites by making common cause with them on this occasion have completely played into their hands. The Raja of Panagal expressed the view that dyarchy can be worked only in ideal conditions. These apparently existed during the first three years, and to some extent in the next three; and though he said he once offered to resign, it is a fact that he did find it possible to work dyarchy in conditions which fell somewhat short of the ideal. But his view now is that it is impossible to work the system under present circumstances. We hope the ministers, with all their difficulties and discouragements, will do their best to see that his view was not justified by facts.

The Bengal Legislative Council on the other hand has carried by small majorities votes of no-confidence in the Ministers, Messrs. Chakravarti and Gaznavi. As a result they have gone out of office and the Governor is in search of others to take their place. Mr. Chakravarti's connection with an indigenous bank which has gone into liquidation to the ruin of many families in Bengal seems to be largely responsible for his added unpopularity; while Mr. Gaznavi's inability to support the Mahomedan demand for an inquiry into the Kulkati firing affair was exploited by Mahomedan speakers to his disadvantage. But with the conditions prevailing in Bengal at the present time, and with personal ambition running high as it is doing, it will be somewhat of a surprise if Bengal can have a stable ministry for some time to come. Nor is there any ground to hope that a dissolution of the Council will improve matters to any appreciable extent.

IN opening the Bengal Legislative Council last week, the Governor had no change of policy to announce regarding the release of detenus. This was stated in the Assembly last March by the then Home Member, Sir Alexander Muddiman. Under it nobody was to be detained longer than was needed by requirements of public safety, of course as the Government understood it, and everybody whom they considered unlikely to abuse his freedom to be restored to liberty. Sir Stanley Jackson admitted however that since his appearance on the scene there had been some acceleration in the rate of release and cited as the justification for his action "the conditions prevailing in Bengal." The unsophisticated public cannot however make out how the conditions in Bengal differ today from those in Oct. 1924 when it was considered necessary to launch upon a policy of wholesale arrests and detentions. But if he and his colleagues in the Bengal Government want to persuade themselves that the situation has changed and use that as an argument for releasing the detenus, we for our part do not want to deprive them of that satisfaction. What is needed is that these men should be set free. Since the Governorship changed hands nearly five months ago, 30 detenus have been released; but as many as 40 are still under restraint and have been so for nearly three years without their being told why it was that they were being thus penalised. This practice of detention for long periods without trial cannot be too strongly condemned. The only ray of hope for these people seems to be that there is a chance of their detention not continuing much longer, perhaps not later than the end of the year. We hope this expectation will come true. This is as necessary in the interests of the individuals concerned as in those of the improvement of the political situation in the country. If the Government must have these people in their grip for some time longer, which of course we cannot and do not concede, the least they can do is to see that they are in no way ill-treated.

IN the V. Krishnaswami Aiyar lectures that he has been delivering to the Madras University, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer's Lectures. Aiyer is making a number of useful suggestions, which deserve to be carefully pondered by all who are capable of constructive thought. In the two lectures so far given Sir Sivaswami declares himself in favour of a strong Central Government, and therefore urges that even when provincial autonomy becomes a reality, the Government of India should be in a position to exercise, and

should exercise, a large measure of authority over provincial Governments. For, in his view which no one will venture seriously to dispute, it is by no means inconsistent with the principle of provincial autonomy for a Central Government to make local Governments conform to certain general lines of policy which it may lay down for their guidance. By a wise use of such a general power in reserve and also by the use of the provision requiring the previous sanction of the Government of India, which Sir Sivaswamy thinks must remain a feature of the constitution even when responsible government is established in the whole provincial sphere, a good many of the difficulties with which the conferment of full provincial autonomy is supposed to be attended can, Sir Sivaswamy maintains, be satisfactorily got over. He then proceeds to consider the subjects of land revenue administration and law and justice in detail and shows that, subject to the safeguards mentioned by him, the establishment of a unitary responsible government in the place of the existing dyarchy is quite practicable.

* * *

In the case of the first subject the danger that is apprehended is that policies may be adopted by popular governments which will seriously deplete the receipts from revenue; e. g., a permanent settlement, or exemption of certain incomes from land from the land revenue demand. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer would enable the Government of India, acting within its normative jurisdiction, to rule out such policies altogether. He has little difficulty in dealing with the demand for permanent settlement, for he can truly show that it is "opposed to the whole trend of modern economic thought," but we are afraid he is on rather slippery ground when he deals with the other demand "put forward by some eminent public men." If he had shared the Government's view that land revenue is in the nature of rent instead of a tax, he could have more easily disposed of the move "to assimilate this impost to the income-tax." But he himself thinks that it is a tax, and holding this opinion, he ought to give far stronger reasons than he has actually given to show why land revenue should be treated differently from the income-tax. "It is forgotten," he says, "that... the result of acceding to this demand will be the disappearance of the greater part of this source of public revenue." It is very unlikely that "the eminent public men" who make the proposal forget or ignore such an elementary consideration. Probably the "modern economic thought," which Sir Sivaswamy invokes in dealing with permanent settlement, compels them to put forward such a radical proposal, and we daresay, they are quite prepared to show how the proposed measure can be brought within the range of practical politics. The rough and ready method of keeping all difficult-looking questions out of the reach of Legislative Councils does not appeal to us as the best means of accelerating the advent of provincial autonomy, nor do we think that provincial autonomy is of much consequence unless under it we can try our hand at things which under the existing constitution we are unable to tackle.

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IT will be recalled that Mr. Amery some time ago spoke of Tanganyika Territory as if it was a permanent and integral part of the British Dominions. When the Colonial Secretary himself, who ought to know better, makes such a ridiculous mistake, it is small wonder if the Governor of the Territory, addressing his newly constituted Legislative Council, referred to Tanganyika as part of the British Empire. But one is glad to see that

the Permanent Mandates Commission in its eleventh session at Geneva called the Governor to account for using such a misleading expression. The Governor's explanation was hardly satisfactory, but at any rate he fully admitted that Tanganyika was not to be considered as a British colony. The Commission also suggested (of course it can only suggest, it can never order) that in important Acts like the one constituting the Legislative Council the fact should be specifically mentioned "that the territory is governed under mandate on behalf of the League of Nations" in order to make perfectly clear "its status and the basis of the jurisdiction of the mandatory Power."

A similar question has arisen with regard to South-West Africa, which has been assigned under the mandate system to the Union of South Africa for the purposes of administration. The Union, however, misconceiving its relationship with the mandated country, says in a preamble to an Agreement that it "possesses sovereignty over the territory of South Africa, lately under the sovereignty of Germany." The Mandates Commission naturally entered an objection, but the Union Government never cared to reply. On the contrary, General Hertzog reasserted the claim in a speech in the Union Parliament on March 11th, 1927, citing in its support a decision of the Supreme Court to the effect that "the majestas or sovereignty over South-West Africa resides neither in the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, nor in the League of Nations, nor in the British Empire, but in the Government of the Union of South Africa." The Commission therefore recommends to the League Council to ascertain from the Union Government "whether, in its view, the term 'possesses sovereignty' expresses only the right to exercise full powers of administration and legislation in the territory of South-West Africa under the terms of the mandate and subject to its provisions and to those of Article 22 of the Covenant, or whether it implies that the Government of the Union regards itself as being sovereign over the territory itself."

An expression used by Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Tanganyika, in explaining his land policy to the Commission, is remarkable. "Although land has been alienated to foreigners," he said, "it is not his policy to create a WHITE STATE since, in his opinion, the interests of the native Africans must always be paramount." In Kenya too similar expressions are frequently used: "the native interests are paramount," and "we are trustees of the natives" but these sentiments, curiously enough, are not there found to conflict with the establishment of a White State. Not only is such a State actually in existence, but the white settlers and the Government themselves make no bones about calling it so. This passage from the Commission's minutes shows, if indeed it needed showing, that the White Highlands policy in Kenya is in direct opposition to the policy enjoined upon the mandatory Powers by the League of Nations—a policy which the British Government profess to enforce in all their Crown Colonies.

The Commission, we see, has drawn the mandatory Powers' attention to what look like black spots in the administration of the mandated countries as if it only sought further information. There are many such points in the Commission's reports. We shall give only one extract as a typical instance. In regard to Tanganyika we read: "The Commission would be glad to know whether the mandatory Power considers that the burden of taxation falls at present in equitable proportions on natives and non-natives, and, if not, what steps it proposes to take in this connection." Supposing we pursued this line of inquiry in Kenya?

* * *

THE RESERVE BANK BILL.

THE Bill as it has emerged from the hands of the Select Committee has been transformed a good deal not only in minor particulars but in matters of vital principle, and if we are to steer it successfully through the Assembly an accommodating spirit will have to be displayed by both sides in dealing with the leading issues. Judging by the amendments proposed by the Finance Member himself it may be said that there is a marked cleavage of opinion even on the main questions of the organization of the Bank and the Gold Currency. If there is no agreement about these the prospects of the Bill obtaining the sanction of the Legislature are far from reassuring.

Let us take these issues in order. Divergent opinions hold the field about the constitution of the Bank with regard to its capital. The Report of the Royal Commission declares in favour of a Shareholders' Bank and against a State Bank. The weight of the opinion of academic thinkers as well as practical financiers and bankers is in the other scale than that of the State Bank and the balance is tilted against the latter. The sum and substance of this mass of opinion is that a State Bank dominated as it is by the State officials cannot resist the encroachments of the State in the matter of regulation of policy and in times of stress is subservient to State finance even against the interests of the whole nation in matters of loans and discount rates and, last but not the least, the issue of paper currency. The financial history of the world is strewn with the wrecks of Government-ridden finance and banking. The only guarantee against State domination lies therefore in having the representatives of the shareholders on the management of the Central Bank so as to insure that its business is conducted on purely economic lines. It has to be remembered besides that there is no model for a purely State Bank except the Bank of Australia and a few banks of unimportant States in Europe. This by itself would not be a good reason against a proposed institution since some of the best institutions have had no precedents.

Curiously enough the Shareholders' Bank has been objected to by some on the ground that the Directors are sure to succumb to vested interests and that politics and racial bias are sure to be imported into the conduct of the management of such a bank. We do not think that if the Managing Board is properly constituted there is any possibility of such happenings. The most important thing in our opinion is the constitution of the Managing Board and if it is perfect the rest can be left to look after itself. The ideal thing in our opinion is to make the member-banks named in the first Schedule the shareholders and do away with individual shareholders. This would give the banks adequate representation on the management and they can have a hand in the moulding of general policies which are likely to affect them in the first instance. This of course would be the Federal Reserve System model and would be a good *via media* if the controversy between the Finance Member and the non-official members of

the Assembly becomes too acute and some compromise has to be made. On striking a balance between opposed interests and conflicting arguments we would declare in favour of a Shareholders' Bank.

The question of the management is closely connected with the constitution of the Bank. In the original Bill a large majority of the Directors were to be elected by the shareholders. The Select Committee assigns two directors to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, two to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, one to the provincial Co-operative Banks, and six Directors are to be elected by the Assembly and the Provincial legislatures. The representation granted to commercial bodies is unexceptionable, but that granted to the legislatures raises points of dispute. In the first place, there is no important precedent for this procedure; secondly, it is believed, and rightly in our opinion, that the Directors on whom the choice will fall will find it difficult to resist pressure of a political nature from their electors and questions fraught with the gravest consequences to the country might be decided not on their merits but on political and racial grounds. For this reason we suggest two alternatives. One is to combine the elected members of the Assembly and elected members of the local Councils into a unitary electoral college for electing three Directors. In this case it will be somewhat difficult for the peculiar politics of the Assembly and the peculiar politics of the local Councils to assert themselves and the member elected will not take colour from the political proclivities of any particular legislature. The three other directors will be elected by the member-banks. The second alternative is to scrap the legislatures' constituency altogether and assign all the six Directors to the member-banks, giving one vote to each bank irrespective of its size and working capital. If the various banks scattered over the country cannot be supposed to represent the business interests of the areas in which they are situated we should like to know the reasons why. We on our part think that, judging from the experience of the Federal Reserve Banks of U. S., this system of representation is the best that can be hit upon at least as a compromise between the conflicting views discernible in the Select Committee which appear well-nigh irreconcilable.

Now we come to the second main issue, viz., that of the introduction of a Gold Currency and especially the coining of a Mohur valued at 20 Rs. The Select Committee believe that it is only by the introduction of a legal tender gold coin that the reality of the Gold Standard can be brought home to the people of India and yet at the same time they are not prepared to recommend an open mint leaving the quantity of the coin to the absolute discretion of the Executive. One may not be in agreement with the view expressed in a memorandum by the Finance Member attached to the Select Committee's Report that a gold currency in circulation is a 'useless extravagance.' Withal the objections on practical grounds brought forward by the Finance Member are perfectly valid. The first objection is that the gold coins will be hoarded or

melted down. The experience of the pre-war use of gold coin in India is a standing object-lesson in using a gold standard with a gold currency and side by side maintaining the legal tender character of the silver coin which, although technically a token coin, is virtually the principal coin. As long as rupees and notes are unlimited legal tender it is impossible for the sovereign or the mohur to make much headway. It is only by reducing the rupee to the position of a real token and by making the use of gold coins and gold notes compulsory in all large payments that the melting of gold coin can be prevented. We do not see any gain therefore in allowing a few gold coins to circulate just to flatter our *amour propre*. Of course we sympathise with the sentimental reasons which dictate the presence of a full value gold coin as a tangible standard of value, but we must see to it that the whole system of currency is a consistent whole and postulates a mechanism the several parts of which are designed to run smoothly. Either go in for a full-blooded gold standard or have a gold bullion standard. It may be that the people at large do not feel much enthusiasm for the abstraction of a gold bullion standard, but if the gold bullion standard is to be adopted at all it should be given a fair trial.

The second objection is that the presence of gold coin would destroy the automatic expansion and contraction, on which the Report of the Royal Commission laid so much stress. If gold coin is issued in place of say Bank notes the notes would be withdrawn, but the currency would remain the same unless the gold coins are used for export; but in this case gold bullion would serve the same purpose. In this connection the Finance Member supplies estimates of the cost of a Gold Currency standard at 4'20 crores, which is 2'60 crores more than the cost of the gold bullion standard. This is not too much for a country like India, but the minimum gold reserve required to inaugurate a gold currency standard is estimated at 125 crores and as this is not with us it is no use throwing wistful glances at it. The objections to the use of the sovereign are nearly the same as those to the use of the mohur; "the presence of large quantities of sovereigns which are legal tender but are not, save in exceptional circumstances, functioning as part of the medium of circulation impair the power of the Currency Authority and the efficiency of its action." This is said in the Finance Member's Memorandum, and we agree with him in his final conclusion, "In fine the monetization of the sovereign, while not giving India a gold currency in effective circulation, is fraught with many dangers for the working of the Gold Bullion Standard."

Coming to minor matters, we approve of the decision of the Select Committee to require that gold coin and gold bullion in the Gold Reserve shall at least be 50 p. c. so that Gold Securities shall not exceed the metallic reserve. A positive enactment limiting the discretion of the Bank is quite legitimate when we reflect on the fact that the whole note-issue will be handed over to the Reserve Bank with the added responsibility to pay the notes in gold bullion

whenever demanded. Similarly the raising from 50 p. c. to 85 p. c. the proportion of gold coin and gold bullion in the Reserve to be held in India is an amendment of the highest importance. Too much of Indian gold has been kept away in the past and it is time that we should insist that the major portion of it shall be in India. In case of an adverse balance of trade it can be shipped back if this is found to be absolutely necessary although such a contingency will be rare. In consequence of this the Select Committee has converted the obligation to sell gold in foreign centres into an obligation to sell gold exchange. The original figure for the minimum purchase or sale of gold was 1065 tolas; this has been reduced to 250 tolas in the Bill as amended. It is doubtful whether this facility of changing notes into gold is a step in the right direction; it would endanger the stability of the Gold Reserve by too frequent and too trivial inroads upon it. As a matter of policy the translation of notes into gold ought to be made scarce and made to partake the nature of an emergency measure in a standard which is not a gold standard with a gold currency. Besides so far as the poor citizen is concerned, even this limit is not calculated to make the standard tangible to him.

It is clear from the Select Committee's report that they are reluctant to extend the special privileges enjoyed by the Imperial Bank of India longer than the period necessary to educate indigenous banks to supply all the banking needs including those of small places and district towns where branches of the Imperial Bank have not yet been opened. They have therefore shortened the period of such concessions to twenty years after which time the Bank will be in the same position as other banks. There are some publicists who would reduce the period still further but we do not think this would be fair to the Imperial Bank of India which has achieved remarkable success in promoting the banking habit in India and is a well-knit organization which it would be short-sighted to dispense with or weaken. Besides we have recently been reminded of the fact that the amalgamation of Presidency Banks was effected in public interests and not at the instance of the banks themselves. After this we are morally obliged to continue the privileges it enjoys for a reasonably long period.

The obligation imposed upon banks to deposit a certain percentage of their liabilities in the Reserve Bank has been misconstrued. This is regarded as a burden which in some cases might curtail the power of loaning and discounting in the hands of the member-banks. But the burden is compensated for by the additional prestige enjoyed by a bank with a strong reserve at the centre, by facilities of rediscounting and facilities which the Central Bank affords of acting as a clearing house. This has been the experience of the Federal Reserve system in the United States. Another result is that the reserves of the several banks are centralized and made more mobile and more efficacious in emergencies. Without such a system of compulsory deposits the Central Bank would cease to be a Banker's Bank. We are certain

that this prejudice would wear out in time when the beneficial effects of these deposits are concretely realized.

That the Reserve Bank is indispensable in the present stage of the development of Indian banking is agreed to by everybody. The only misgiving is about the competency of the proposed Bank to do all that is done by the central Banks of other countries. Most of the details of the organizations of other Central Banks have been copied in the framework of the Reserve Bank Bill and the likelihood is that it will work well provided the Directors uphold the traditions of the other Central Banks and work with the sole intent of securing the common good and uninfluenced by petty and sectional considerations. If the legislators are agreed about the essentials there ought to be a large room for compromises on minor issues.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY REFORM.

AT long last the question of Bombay University Reform has been definitely taken up by the Local Government. It may be said that the era of University Reform in India was ushered in by the Report of the Calcutta University Commission and since then old Universities have had their constitutions changed and new Universities have been started very much on the lines laid down in that report. The Bombay University seemed for a long time, curiously unaffected by this general movement towards Reform, and it was not till 1924 that a Committee was appointed to examine "the whole position of the University of Bombay." The Committee presented its report in May 1925 and after the recommendations of this Committee had been discussed and reported upon by various bodies in the presidency—including the Senate—the Minister for Education has come forward with a bill to amend the "law relating to the University of Bombay"—chiefly the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

Frankly, the result is most disappointing, not so much in what it attempts to do as in what it leaves undone. The recommendations of the Bombay University Reform Committee embraced a variety of topics. The most important of its proposals were: (i) The concentration of the Colleges in Bombay; (ii) The starting of additional Universities in the presidency; (iii) The extension of University activities in the direction of post-graduate studies and research; (iv) A new College of Technology in Bombay; (v) Changes in the constitution of the present University. On some of these, legislative action was possible and immediately necessary; the rest may best be left to the newly constituted University. One is glad to note that the somewhat fantastic scheme for the concentration of Bombay Colleges has been dropped by Government. Again the development of post-graduate teaching may well be left to the University to deal with. But one wonders why there has been no mention in the present bill, nor any definite pronouncement by Government, about the additional Universities in the Presidency. The proposal for the

Maharashtra University was the most important recommendation of the Reform Committee. The Senate had heartily supported this proposal and had further recommended the starting of additional Universities in the other Provincial areas. It is admittedly the only radical cure for many of the evils of the existing University administration. The Constitution may make the University more representative, but it will hardly make it an efficient organization. For, fundamentally, the defects of the present University are the defects of unwieldiness and heterogeneity. These can be remedied only by breaking up the University into smaller homogeneous units. It is unfortunate that the new Minister for Education should have agreed to shelve this question indefinitely.

This new Bill concerns itself only with changing the constitution of the University. The general structure of the new constitution is that laid down in the Calcutta University Commission's Report and now so prevalent in India. There are to be three bodies: the Senate (the Court of the C. U. Commission); the Syndicate (the Executive Council of the C. U. Commission) and the Academic Council. Of course the details vary and would seem chiefly to have been determined by the recommendations of the Bombay University Reform Committee and the report of the Senate on them. Instead of the paid Vice-Chancellor, a new office, that of the Rector, is to be created. It may be doubted whether a whole-time Rector is necessary, but as the new bill leaves the question of the creation of office to the reformed Senate the point need not be disputed at this stage. The Vice-Chancellor is, as at present, to be nominated by the Chancellor. If a Rector is appointed then, the Vice-Chancellor's would be a mere honorific post; if not, he would continue to be, as he is to-day, the most important executive officer of the University. In either of these eventualities the nomination by the Chancellor is to be strongly objected to. It is the invariable practice in Indian Universities to have the Provincial Governor as the Chancellor. Under the present régime, with Universities as semi-Governmental bodies, this perhaps cannot be avoided. But the next office in point of dignity, at least, should not be within the gift of Government. The Vice-Chancellor should certainly be chosen by some University body or other. If the Vice-Chancellor continues to be an important executive officer, then it is best that his choice, as suggested by the C. U. Commission, should be with the Syndicate. But, if his is to be an honorific post, then he should be elected, either by the Senate of the University or better still, following the practice of many British Universities, by the entire body of graduates. We hope that the bill will be amended in this respect before it becomes law.

The Senate shall remain as now the supreme governing body of the University. It is proposed to make it a large body and one which could be much more representative in character than the present Senate. The membership of the new Senate would approximately equal 150. Out of these nearly 40

would be there *ex-officio*. The Principals of all affiliated Colleges and University Professors find a place in the Senate in virtue of their office. This is a welcome improvement on the recommendations of the Reform Committee and the Senate. The number of ordinary fellows would be nearly 110. The representation of graduates is increased from 10 to 25 and various public bodies such as municipalities, district local boards &c. are also to be represented on the new Senate. There is one grave defect, however, in the new constitution of the Senate and that is the measure of representation granted to the most important body in the University, viz. those engaged in the business of teaching in the Colleges and the University. It is surprising that while the Head Masters of High Schools in the presidency are to have five representatives in the Senate, the teaching staffs of Colleges and of the University have also to be content with only five. Nobody has ever questioned the desirability and necessity of having a very large percentage of educationists in the Senate. Indeed even the Universities Act of 1904 puts 2,5ths as the minimum proportion of those "following the profession of education" in the total number of ordinary fellows. The Senate, in its resolution on the recommendations of the Reform Committee, proposed that in a Senate of 150 members 55 should be *elected by Educationists*, i. e. Principals and Professors of Colleges, University teachers and heads of High Schools. Under the provisions of the bill, Principals and University Professors will come in *ex-officio*. Their number altogether would amount to about 30 to-day. There are to be five representatives of Head Masters. That leaves us with 20 to represent the College professors and University readers, lecturers, &c. This much representation of those actually engaged in the work of teaching is absolutely necessary. It may be urged that a sufficient number of educationists may get in through the graduates' constituency or through nomination. Much reliance should not be placed on the first method. For, as the elections in the graduates' constituency become keener and the expenses of canvassing, &c., mount up, it becomes difficult for educationists—a very large proportion of whom are comparatively poor,—to get in through this avenue. The cost of canvassing in the diffused graduates' constituency helps under the present constitution very effectively to keep the less well-paid but many-a-time the keener educationist out of the Senate. We may expect in the future, a steadily larger proportion of professional men—lawyers, doctors &c.—to get in through this constituency. The method of nomination is certainly not to be trusted. But a more fundamental objection to having the representation of educationists to general elections or to nominations is that we want them in the Senate as educationists. It may be true, as one eminent educationist was always fond of remarking, that the personnel of the present Senate would not materially change under any new constitution. But this, if used as an argument against reform, was entirely beside the point. The question is not what men we get into the Senate, but in what capacity we get

them there. The protest against all nominations to public bodies is based on this sound consideration. It is, therefore, necessary not only to have a large number of educationists in the Senate, but to have them in the Senate *as representing educationists*. We would place this point of view strongly before the members of the Legislative Council and urge on them the vital need of increasing the representation of "University teachers" from five to at least twenty.

Here I may digress a little to repeat a suggestion by the Sarvajanic Education Society, Surat, in its memorandum on University Reform, as regards the organization of the constituencies from which the representatives of teachers should be elected. "The University Reform Committee has recognized the necessity of ultimately having four separate Universities in the Presidency according to the four linguistic divisions. The Reform Committee recognizes that the cultural and linguistic differences between these four divisions of the presidency are so great as to make it necessary that each should be given a separate University as soon as the conditions for it are ripe. It would not be stretching the argument too far if we point out that the Reform Committee recognises that the educational need and the problems of these different units also differ widely. We are ourselves disposed to think that one big constituency of all professors in the Presidency is not desirable. It would not result in an adequate representation of the various parts of the Presidency. We would, therefore, advocate the splitting up of the representation in five different constituencies. (i) (SiiGut;ara) Bombay City; (ii) Maharashtra; (iv) Sind and (v) Karnatak. This would give a better chance to professors in the more distant parts of the Presidency of getting into the Senate than in a single constituency. The smaller constituency would also, we venture to think, be in a better position to gauge the respective merits of the different candidates. We also frankly confess to a fear that in a single constituency the bigger centres like Bombay and Poona will entirely swarm the representation to the detriment of the interests of the smaller mofussil Colleges. This would merely result in a state of things which is itself made a grievance of to-day."

These same constituencies may also be adopted in the representation of graduates.

The representation of Professors and University Teachers should be divided as follows:—(i) Gujarat Colleges 5; (ii) Bombay Colleges and University Readers and lecturers 5; (iii) Maharashtra Colleges 5; (iv) Sind Colleges 3 and (v) Karnatak Colleges 2. The proposal to increase the number of representatives of educationists need not necessarily increase the total number of the Senate, for we believe that the number of nominations can advantageously be reduced from 40 to 25.

Much need not be said as to the constitution of the Syndicate, though perhaps, the provision that not more than six members of the Academic Council should be members of the Syndicate may be dropped. This, however, has been recommended by the Senate in its report. The bill wisely leaves the constitution

of the Academic Council to the new Senate, though its general powers have been defined. In much that follows the bill follows the provisions of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 and no changes of a significant character have been made.

With all this the University problem will still remain with us. The new constitution, specially if it is suitably amended, will be a great improvement on the existing state of affairs. It provides for a better management of University affairs. But can the University, composed as it is of so many diverse and scattered elements, be well managed? It has been pointed out that with an enlarged Senate and a new Academic Council, the Fellows' travelling allowance bill, which is an important item of University expenditure, is bound to go up and it has been suggested that the money may have been better utilized as part of the current expenditure of an additional University. We do not mean to imply that the present constitution need not be changed. Indeed, the Bill—as far as it goes—is in its main points welcome. Only it does not go far enough, not by a lot.

D. R. GADGIL.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

NICE, August 10.

COLLAPSE AT GENEVA.

WHILE the breakdown of the Three-Power Conference at Geneva may not have any immediate consequences of a spectacular nature it is an utter moral collapse, and is recognised as such by the English speaking peoples on both sides of the Atlantic. The Anglo-Saxon prestige has never stood so low among the world's powers, and the German newspapers have made a symbol of the coincidence of the final breakdown of the Conference at Geneva with the memorable date of August 4. Neither Mr. Gibson, America's representative at the Conference, nor American opinion at home has taken pains to conceal the point of view of the United States with regard to the British claims. "Let England have her 600,000 tons of cruisers. They will come in handy to convey American troops next time" (*Buffalo News*) is one of the typical comments of the provincial Press, while in Washington the *Post*, one of the most bitter opponents of the British demands, has said in an editorial which has attracted the attention of the British Ambassador in Washington, that Great Britain started, soon after signing the Washington Accord and one year after signing the debt accord with the United States, the construction of eighteen cruisers of 10,000 tons each, to cost a total of \$400,000,000. The feeling on the British side may be summed up in Mr. Garvin's words in the *Observer*: "It is misleading and unhelpful to cover up the Geneva failure with facile generalities. In view of the evident eagerness of all the Governments to keep negotiation in sight, it would be extravagant to consider it a catastrophe. There is a disposition to ask whether the technical agreement matters. War is not thought of—the argument runs—between the United States and Britain; it is hopeless to try to equate the peculiarities of an island-Empire and a continent; give up the attempt; let either nation build cruisers according to its needs, independently and without jealousy or rivalry. That fair-sounding proposal means surrender. At least it is merely making the best of defeat."

Consequences not easy of precision are likely to flow from the collapse at Geneva. It marks more distinctly than ever the actual economic force and potential military power which has emerged beyond the Atlantic. The present year is witnessing a rise to its maximum expression of the nationalism which the United States attained definitely not quite thirty years ago and of which the expanding development has been an arresting phenomenon of modern times. First of all in the Americas, but also beyond both Northern oceans, the United States has come to be the prime factor in public affairs. Even if a war may be avoided,—and that is by no means as easy as some optimists and diplomats represent it to be,—once the spirit of competition is admitted in armaments in economic power America is to Europe as Europe is to Asia. It may become dangerous to a degree for any European Power to incur the enmity of Uncle Sam. Besides, "If disarmament fails by sea it cannot succeed by land. If it fails by land it leaves Germany alone of the chief European Powers disarmed and peace as precarious as it was before the war." Another effect has been to give countenance to a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Old World also wonders whether another result will not be a further step towards the formation of the "United States of Europe." Europe has not overlooked the recent change in the status of Dominions which made the British Empire something different from what it was before. To an extent a larger measure of autonomy for the Dominions should impel the home country towards closer association with the countries to which it is geographically allied. Still another lesson which Geneva brings is an endorsement of the French thesis—that disarmament and security cannot be considered apart. Two Great Powers have been friends for one hundred years. No cause subsists for discord between them. Their cultural affinities are the same; they are resolved to keep the peace. If two nations in such a case cannot reach a basis of agreement on minor points of cruiser tonnage or gun calibre, what chance remains, the sceptic may ask, for success at the general Disarmament Conference still imagined by the League of Nations. For at the Conference there must be assembled nations moved by rivalries of every sort. The effect of all this is to deal out another blow to the sadly shaken *morale* of Europe with the result that one sees everywhere a general air of discontent, uncertainty and alarm.

SACCO AND VANZETTI.

If the decision of Governor Fuller of Massachusetts is to stand by tomorrow morning the last would have been seen of Sacco and Vanzetti. It does not however follow that the last would have been heard also. The feeling that the case has given rise to all over Europe and the two Americas may be gauged from the fact that in the United States the President's personal guards have had to be reinforced and outside the United States every American embassy and consulate has had to be guarded. In North America itself there has been considerable support for the condemned Italians e.g., *The New York World*: "Many are the people in the United States to-day who turn towards Massachusetts and say: 'In this affair you have all latitude of action, all authority, all responsibility. We do not question your sovereign rights. Were you even more in error we would still persist in recognising your sovereign authority. Let us say nevertheless that the opinion of your Governor does not settle our doubts, however sincere may be your desire in reading his report to discover therein the motives of certainty.' Those who followed the Drayton case and its sequel should be convinced that even in America stunts of

reactionaries such as fundamentalism are not so easy to perpetuate. The electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti after seven years' delay in executing the sentence derived out of an irregular procedure has caused several of the greatest lawyers and leaders of consequence both in America and Europe to protest against it. Massachusetts may proceed with its decision but all America will have to bear the brunt of the consequences which are bound to follow. There is no doubt that the world-wide protest against the decision is due to propaganda largely inspired by motives other than those of disinterested sympathy or disinterested justice. There is no doubt that the caustic comment which the European press has expressed is actuated a good deal by a variety of causes which may together be called dislike of America. It has been held that the American decision has been made an occasion by Europeans to demonstrate their feelings towards America and it is also argued that it is a strange proceeding to manifest so much feeling for the death of these two, while the death of thousands in Soviet Russia for political reasons has met with no such vigorous opposition. To analyse these arguments were idle as they are based on the presumption that life moves on logic. It should be sufficient for the student of affairs to note that recent events, one upon the other, have tended towards the diminution of the amicable relations between Europe and America, and more particularly between Great Britain and the United States. Post-war Europe can afford this, and judging from the state of things over here just now, this new turn in international affairs augurs ill for the future of Western Europe.

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

SIMLA, 26th August.

THE autumn session of the Legislative Assembly promises to be very interesting and the agenda seems to be full of heavy and exacting work. The most important items, among others, are the Reserve Bank Bill, the Indian Tariff Act Amendment Bill for giving protection to cotton yarn, and the resolution on the Sandhurst Committee. The Reserve Bank Bill has come out of the committee stage and there seems to be a tough fight ahead, about the fate of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee, as Sir Basil Blackett has tabled amendments to all the important clauses of the Bill. Amendments by other members with far-reaching consequences have also been sent and the number has now run to about a hundred. Government are preparing themselves for the fight, as is evident from the fact that they have allotted the whole of the next week for its consideration. The other two items have reached a stage in their progress in the Assembly which forbodes no good.

On the very first day of the session, the Assembly fully discussed the impending danger ahead in the form of the contemplated East African Federation, an announcement of a Royal Commission for which was only recently made. Mr. K. C. Roy did well in focussing the attention of the Assembly and the public on the urgency of the question and giving an opportunity to the Assembly to voice forth the opinion of the Indian people. Sir Basil Blackett, as the spokesman of the Government, opposed it on the flimsy ground that Indian interests would be safeguarded by the appointment of one Indian, nominated by the Secretary of State for India. Messrs. Roy and Joshi rightly pointed out that the Indian community was several times larger than the British community in East Africa and to give them only one seat on the Commission was a grave and urgent

matter; and it was necessary to let His Majesty's Government know the wishes of the Assembly and the Indian people before the Royal warrant was issued. The President himself clearly showed the urgency when he demanded from the Home Member to know if adequate Indian representation was attempted by the Government of India on the personnel of the Commission. As the terms of reference were already set down the motion was amended accordingly to press only for an adequate Indian representation. Mr. K. C. Roy showed that the real move on the part of the Kenya whites was to dominate the whole territory and introduce racial discrimination even in mandated territories. As the Indians held a unique position in every aspect of life, it was incumbent that the Government of India should uphold Indian interests. Mr. Kunzru showed that the declaration of the White Paper could not be taken at its face value and Indians, far more numerous than whites, ought to get the same opportunity as other races in the administration of the country and pressed for the appointment of Indian public men to represent Indian interests. Sir Muhammad Habibulla's reply was disappointing and he tried to skirt round the point of attack by saying 'if their conduct in regard to South Africa could be any criterion of what they would do then surely no assurance is needed', and told the Assembly that Government would make further representations if needed. The reply showed that the Indian Government was merely a subordinate branch of the British Administration and that the Government's counsel for patience was merely camouflage to hide it. If the East African Federation is accomplished, the League of Nations will have no control over the administration of Tanganyika and the position of Indians therein will be gravely jeopardised.

COTTON INDUSTRY.

The next important item that has reached a certain stage of definiteness is the amendment of the Indian Tariff Act introduced by Government to give protection to cotton yarn manufacturers in India. The Textile Tariff Board's recommendations have been set aside by Government, and they now propose only to protect the yarn industry against foreign competition. Government admitted that Japan had a certain advantage over India and they wanted to neutralise it. They could not accept the recommendations about the discriminating duties against Japanese goods, as they feared it might lead to estrangement of relations, violation of trade agreements and the most favoured nation clause and eventually retaliation and trade war. The mill industry, of course, is furious that such a meagre assistance should be offered to it; but Sir Victor Sassoon, as its spokesman, suggested that they would accept it only as an indication of the approval of the principle of protection. In the absence of protection, he claimed that the industry would go down and the absence of internal competition would be taken advantage of by textile factories abroad and the consumer would have in the end to pay as much as a specific duty would involve. He gave a clear assurance that the industry asked for protection only sufficient to enable it to exist without loss and not to make profits, at the expense of the taxpayer. Mr. N. M. Joshi, as the representative of labour, pleaded for improved conditions being made possible for 367,000 workers in the industry. He showed that the alleged Japanese conditions were not so bad as they were depicted. He was anxious to give protection to the industry on the lines suggested by the Tariff Board, provided a part of the benefit of protection was distributed among the workers in the shape of better conditions. Mr. Kunzru maintained that the findings of the Tariff Board were impartial and wondered why protection could not be

given to cloth as well, by the same process of reasoning. The higher rates of exchange had already done away with the somewhat protective character of the import duty and Government's refusal to consider that problem gave ground for the apprehension that protection had not been given to cloth as it would affect the Lancashire industry. He and Mr. Jayakar hoped that the Select Committee would see its way to recommend an enhanced import duty on piece-goods. But Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member, made it clear that Select Committee was bound down to the preamble of the Bill, and could not go outside its sphere. Thus the question of effective protection has been sidetracked and the textile industry has no hope of getting it this time.

INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE.

This was the most important resolution on the agenda and the elected members had, previous to the introduction of the resolution, made up their differences and put forward a united demand, that the Assembly would accept the recommendations of the Skeen Committee, only as the first instalment in the right direction and on an assurance that the Royal Commission on Reforms would tackle the problem of Indian Defence in all its aspects. This was the substance of the amendment moved to Dr. Moonje's resolution. Messrs. Moonje and Iyengar showed the necessity of acceptance of the Skeen Committee's recommendations by the Government. But Col. Crawford's speech showed the mentality of the Britishers in this country towards equality of claims by Indians. He had the temerity to say that the Indian commissioned officers in the Indian Army were now found to be inefficient. He said it was ridiculous to ask men of one race to work on a footing of equality with another and feared that British recruitment would suffer if the proposal was accepted. He also made an equally ridiculous suggestion that India should prepare a Dominion Army of her own, side by side with the present Army, and when the new army was fully trained, then only should the British officers be asked to go away. He was rightly snubbed by Mr. K. C. Roy who reminded him in the end that speeches like these would strain the loyalty of every Indian. The Commander-in-Chief, in reply to the debate, regretted that he could not declare any policy as they were still in communication with the British Government and paraded the difficulties in the way of accepting the resolution. The speech of the Commander-in-Chief showed that, whatever may be the discussion and the verdict of the Assembly in the end, the fate of the Resolution is sealed. Your correspondent understands from unofficial information, that the Government of India have recommended an increase in the number of Indian cadets at Sandhurst from ten to twenty. Attempts are being made to whittle down any further steps both in the army and non-army circles; an evidence of it is the deputation led by Sir Umar Hayat Khan, requesting the Commander-in-Chief not to force the pace of Indianization in obedience to the clamour of the non-military people.

Thus during the week disappointment has only grown and may reach its climax in the fate of the Reserve Bank Bill, which is now hanging in the balance.

REVIEW.

PAN-AMERICANISM.

PROBLEMS IN PAN-AMERICANISM. By SAMUEL G. INMAN. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.) 1927. pp. 439. 8¼ x 5½. 10s.

WHAT is Pan-Americanism? "By 'Pan-Americanism we understand," so the author writes, "the re-

cognition of a community of interests among all American countries and a determination to work these out co-operatively to the best advantage of all concerned." Students of history know that there are two Americas, not North and South, but Anglo-Saxon and Latin. There have been misunderstandings between the two Americas consequent upon the belief of the Anglo-Saxon American in the inherent superiority of his civilisation, and the book is an attempt to overcome the handicaps of past mistakes and misunderstandings and build up a true American friendship in which Anglo-Saxon and Latin shall be united in the motto suggested by an Argentine President, "America for Humanity."

The author rightly begins by expatiating upon the assets of Latin America. He says that since the opening of the Panama Canal there has been a world movement towards Latin America. The most wonderful developments of the 20th century are destined to take place in Latin America on account of the following reasons. In the first place, there is room there for the over-crowded populations of the world. Secondly, there is power to produce the food and raw products for the world. Thirdly, Latin America is a good market for the manufactured goods of the world. Finally, she can boast of a remarkable circle of intellectual leaders. With the conditions maturing for great movements and consequences, the author is right in prophesying that Latin America is to occupy a most important place in future world life.

After examining the wonderful possibilities of Latin America based on her physical, intellectual and spiritual resources, the author discusses the grave and difficult problems which she is facing, and which she must solve before taking her place of leadership among the nations of the world. The problems of Latin America have attracted the attention of her own sons, but one finds in all their writings that they more often philosophise and generalise rather than suggest definite lines of advance. Besides most of the writers are not sociologists, but poets, artists and journalists. The result is that though writers point out the problems confronting Latin America, they offer no practical solution for the same. Some of the unsolved problems may be enumerated. First and foremost is the Indian problem. The Government's treatment of the Indians in South America is the subject of 'A Sick People'—that well known work of Alcides Arquedas. Another problem is the 'Land-Question'—the system of *Lati-fundios*. Then there is the problem of caste. There are only two classes, the extremely rich folk, and the extremely poor people. The development of a middle class is one of the needs of the moment in Latin America. Fourthly, there is the economic problem. Latin America is financially dependent on foreign countries, and this is incompatible with her independent sovereignty. How to make her financially independent is one of the problems of the hour. The educational system too needs reform. It has hitherto been noted for a lamentable lack of initiative, self-reliance and original thinking. How to make it efficient is also racking the brains of publicists and politicians in Latin America.

Perhaps the greatest of all their problems are the spiritual and moral ones. The author says in p. 92, "It remains, then, for these southern nations to discover a religion that is compatible with true democracy and modern scientific knowledge, which will at the same time build up personal and national character and furnish those spiritual ideals without which no permanent cultural edifice can be built."

After discussing the problems of Latin America, the author leads us on to the question of how all

the Americas may develop among themselves close co-operation and then build up a real continental solidarity. The learned author discusses the historical aspect of the question. "The development of Pan-Americanism", says the author, "was determined by three facts. In the first place, great Americans like Bolivar, Clay and Monroe thought of Pan-Americanism because of the geographical fact that the Americans live on a continent separated from the rest of the world by two oceans. Secondly, there was the historical fact that all had emigrated from and been colonies of European nations. Finally, there was the political circumstance that all, having gained their independence, had established republican forms of government."

We are next introduced to Bolivar, that great man who was perhaps the first to conceive Pan-Americanism, then to a history of the Panama Congress, and finally to the two American Congresses at Lima. The author then takes us through the early efforts of the United States toward American friendship. He draws pointed attention to the fact that since the Mexican War, the Latin Americans have been feeling suspicious about the designs of their great northern neighbour.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the Book is that on the Monroe Doctrine. In giving the genesis of the doctrine, the author exposes the falsity of the 'Canning Myth'—a myth which has been believed even by such a great scholar as Alberdi. The author points out that Latin America won independence by their own efforts, and had been recognised by the United States two years before Great Britain took any action in the matter. Again the facts that the Monroe Doctrine excluded the interference of the European Powers in the politics of the New World, and that it had a strenuous opponent in Canning himself are proofs positive that the success of the colonies' struggle for independence was not due to the friendship of Great Britain. The author proceeds to give the contents of the doctrine, how it was received in Latin America, its different interpretations and how it has been confused with Anglo-Saxon American headship, imperialism, and Pan-Americanism. At p. 193 the author appeals to his countrymen not to be jingoistic or selfish but to use the Monroe Doctrine in such a way that it might be the simple expression of Anglo-Saxon America's commitment to the principles of American democracy developed without outside interference. Then follow chapters on the history of American Conferences and on the influence of the world War in Latin America. In chapter VIII where the author discusses the problems of the Carribean countries, he pays attention to the new Carribean policy. "This policy", says the author, "is marked by a tendency to force peace and order by establishing fiscal and police control, by denying recognition to revolutionary governments, and by blocking the securing of financial aid from abroad. . . It amounted to the establishment of protectorates over these small, disturbed lands although that term has been as far as possible avoided. In subjecting them to guardianship or tutelage the aim was not to deprive them of their sovereignty or independence, but to extend needed help in insuring stability, solvency, sanitation, protection from foreign creditors and general welfare."

This policy has not been appreciated by the Carribean countries which "seem to think they had rather be rowdy children in their own house than orderly children in that of some one else." The author suggests the following methods which would help in solving the important problems of developing and maintaining friendly relations with the Carribean countries: (1) Withdrawal of U. S.

marines from countries where they are now stationed. (2) Elimination of Press censorship. (3) Formation of a strong department of the U. S. to look after the needs of the various countries. (4) Signing of treaties between the U. S. and certain Carribean countries defining the rights and responsibilities of parties concerned. (5) Selection of broad-minded officials. (6) Ameliorating the condition of the people of Carribean countries, and (7) Cultivation on the part of the Anglo-Saxon Americans of an appreciation of the history, literature, social life and problems of their southern neighbours.

The author then devotes a chapter to the two opposing doctrines—Pan-Americanism and Pan-Latinism. Feeling that this is the best time for the carrying out of the Pan-American idea, the author suggests some practical steps to bring it about. They are:—(1) Improvement in Anglo-Saxon America's diplomatic organization and personnel, (2) A more adequate appreciation of the Latin-American people, (3) Creation of an atmosphere in which "we loathe to differ and determine to understand," (4) Educational interchanges, (5) Sending a number of spiritual ambassadors to cultivate friendship between the two Americas. The book ends with a chapter on the recent developments of Pan-Americanism.

After this somewhat long summary, we now proceed to say a few words about the book itself. The author could not have chosen a more auspicious moment to publish his 'Problems in Pan-Americanism.' Since the end of the world War, the Wilsonian idealism—the ideal of the 'Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World'—has come to the fore. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that the author should strive to bridge the gulf separating the Anglo-Saxon America from the Latin. The author comes to bear upon his work a wealth of learning and experience, and we believe that his thoughtful suggestions will not be lost upon the 'dollar diplomats' and 'shirt-sleeve diplomats' of Anglo-Saxon America. The book is written for the Anglo-Saxon American mainly, for it is he who has been assuming an air of superiority in the New World since the dawn of the 19th century. The author is a student of history, a humble devotee before the altar of history and this is amply borne out by some of his frank outpourings on his countrymen.

The author is eminently qualified for the work he has published. He is the Instructor in International Relations in Columbia University and Secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America and has spent a long time with the Latin Americans. But we wish that the author had avoided too many quotations. No doubt the string of quotations shows the wealth of his learning, but it makes the book unpleasant reading. In going through some chapters where there are too many quotations, we thought we were wading through a source book. Barring this defect we are of opinion that the book is a welcome addition to political literature. There is a good bibliography where information of a more special kind can be sought. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RELIEF WORK IN GUJARAT.

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR'S SUGGESTIONS.

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR, President of the Servants of India Society, who has just returned from a tour in the flood affected areas in Gujarat, has presented to the Central Committee of the Central Flood Relief

Fund, Bombay, a report of the conditions in the area and his suggestions as to the way in which all efforts should be co-ordinated in the endeavour to give the necessary relief to the large number of sufferers. The following are among the most salient points of the report

The greatest havoc has been caused to mud houses in the villages along the banks of the rivers within a belt of nearly two or three miles on either bank and to houses in the vicinity of big tanks. These houses were situated on a low level and were therefore peculiarly susceptible to damage if the tanks should burst and overflow suddenly. The existence of such houses close to irrigation and other tanks situated at a level lower than that of the tanks seems to be a peculiar feature of Gujarat.

NATURE OF DESTRUCTION.

The damage involved, besides the loss of many human lives, the washing away of whole villages along the river banks, partial or wholesale destruction of a large number of houses in the interior and of property including grain-stores and food-stuffs, vessels and other property. In many cases fields in which crops had been sown were completely washed away while in some even a second sowing has suffered a similar fate. Hundreds of acres of first class agricultural land have been covered over by sand in parts of Matar, Dholka and in Baroda territory. Several acres of land along river banks have also been completely washed away. The damage to the railway lines and to roads has made communication and quick transport difficult. In the face of all this it is perhaps a relief that the loss of plough-cattle and agricultural implements is comparatively low.

The itinerary included almost all important centres in the districts of Broach, Kaira and Ahmedabad, portions of Baroda territory, Cambay and villages on the way. Relief agencies are at work in most of the areas. Immediate and timely relief was of course needed following close upon the flood and the wholesale destruction of property that it involved, in the shape of gratuitous issue of grain, cloth, utensils and seed. This need is nearly over except in a few places where the people have lost everything and are not in a position to tide over the difficulty for about a month more. The Government and the various relief agencies have been able to meet this demand as far as possible. The problems that remain to be confronted are (1) Need for labour for cultivating the fields or those of them that remain and re-building of houses. (2) Cheap grain for food and seed and (3) Money. The grant of tagavi loans by the Government for the purchase of seed and in some cases cattle and for house-building is under consideration. These will relieve the situation to a very large extent.

REBUILDING OF VILLAGES.

The report mentions the possibility of reconstructing on sanitary lines, villages and towns that have been either swept away or badly damaged if sufficient help from charitable funds, etc., is forthcoming. The problem of removing villages and houses from their old sites is not however easy, for people will naturally be unwilling to leave their own sites unless better and more elevated sites are made available. But the effort is worth making.

THE QUESTION OF FREE GRANTS.

Discussing the question of free grants by way of housing relief to very poor people who have been promised help by the Government and the State authorities in Baroda, the report states that such

grants may not exceed Rs. 50 in most cases and they would mostly be in the shape of supply of free building material and some trees and branches which the villagers can secure from their own villages wherever any are still standing. In the case of loans to non-agricultural classes and the better agriculturists this would be given in British territory through the Revenue Department as Tagavi. The rates of interest and the periods of re-payment have not been yet fixed pending reports of detailed inquiries. In Baroda territory such loans would range between Rs. 75 and Rs. 500 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest granted through Co-operative Societies. The report advocates the wider utilisation of Co-operative Societies in British India for similar purposes, wherever it is possible.

In the matter of the distribution of funds the report makes a sort of appropriation of available funds on the basis of the several forms of relief including gratuitous relief, free seed, cheap grain, building material, free for very poor people and at cheap rates for the lower middle class, etc. All this relief should be provided for all affected areas. Mr. Devadhar is of opinion that no distinction should be made between British territory and Indian States. He also gives a provisional distribution on the basis of the damage sustained by the different parts of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Sind. The list does not include the city and district of Ahmedabad apparently because the District Relief Committee of Ahmedabad has undertaken to supply all the needs of the city as well as of the district composing all the talukas except Danduka. They seem to be anxious to carry out the whole work by themselves. The reason for this is stated to be that the Committee is anxious to make more funds available for poorer districts outside. But where outside funds are earmarked for Ahmedabad the Committee is prepared to receive the same.

The concluding paragraphs of the report deal with the agencies for the distribution of funds and emphasise the need for co-ordination of all such effort to prevent over-lapping. Mr. Devadhar proposes to visit Kathiawar and Sind to study in person the actual situation in those two areas during the next few days.—*The Indian Daily Mail.*

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RUSTICUS OR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE. By MARTIN S. BRIGGS. (Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 6½ x 4½. pp. 94. 2s. 6d.

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the name and the address to order Ayurvedic medicines or to take medical advice.

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Secretary.