

THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.—Office : Servants of India Society's House, Poona (D. G.).

VOL. XI, No. 3.

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1928.

INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 10s. 6d.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	25
ARTICLES :—	
A New Basis for the Reserve Bank	28
How Not to Answer Miss Mayo. By C. F. Andrews	29
Internments	30
OUR EAST AFRICAN LETTER	32
OUR EUROPEAN LETTER	33
REVIEWS :—	
A Civilian's Suggestions	34
History of Human Labour. By N. M. Joshi, M.L.A.	36
Short Notice	36
BOOKS RECEIVED	36

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE All-Party Conference which met in Benares has decided upon demonstrations of protest against the Statutory Commission by means of public meetings and hartals on February 3rd, when the Commission is due to land in India. That these demonstrations will be impressive, we do not doubt, but some enthusiasts are anxious to carry their boycott further and would impose a vow upon all members of the Legislature to abjure all social intercourse with the members of the Commission, seeing that the latter are going to take rooms just where the legislators would be living. With these fantastic ideas we have no sort of sympathy, for we do not believe that it is necessary to cease to be a gentleman before one becomes an effective politician. We find in mail week Miss McSwiney protesting in Ireland against the Republicans playing football and other matches with members of the Civic Guard or of the Army. She said at a Sinn Fein meeting that they were not fit to be called Irish Republicans if they played football with men who to-morrow might be shooting them down. This attitude is rightly deprecated in Ireland, the *Irish Statesman* saying that "if we had ever, because of some high national duty, to face the thought of killing men we would feel very degraded indeed, if we could not meet them as human beings and take their hands, for if we could it would show that it was not personal vindictiveness which existed between us but merely the opposition between ideals." And here, in India too, we must show by

our conduct that differences in political methods can well co-exist with personal friendly relations. We are most anxious that the boycott movement should be conducted in a dignified manner without being marred by the element of pettiness or malevolence which often predominates in such agitations.

MAJOR GRAHAM POLE makes a plea on behalf of the Labour Party on the eve of his departure for England. He says in *Pole's Apologia* effect that it is the cardinal principle of the Labour Party not to miss a chance of taking part in any inquiry committee, however unsatisfactory its personnel may be. Indeed, the more unsatisfactory the personnel, the more would it insist that Labour members at any rate of such a committee should be strong and able. Thus Major Pole seeks to justify the participation of Messrs. Heartshorn and Attlee in the work of the Commission. If this were throughout the Labour Party's attitude, one could at least understand it. But the Executive of the Party itself put forward the pretention that Labour members were not withdrawn because the Government gave an undertaking to the Party that the Committees of the Indian Legislature would be accorded equal status with the Commission. The whole thing therefore turns upon whether the Committees have this status. We should like to know how Major Pole or any other member of the Labour Party makes out that equal rights are proposed to be granted. For the Party would make us believe that if the India Office had not promised to treat the Committees as perfect equals of the Commission, it would not have allowed its representatives to serve on the Commission. We are quite prepared to believe however that the real position of the Party is as Major Graham Pole now depicts it, viz. that Labour members would serve on the Commission, whether Indians were or were not allowed a hand in its inquiry. Major Pole then appeals to Indians to place their demands before the Commission, not so much because the Commission or the present Government would consider them favourably, as because the Labour Party, when it would come into office, would then be enabled to examine them in the light of the Blackpool resolutions. Well, there is time enough for us to consider that contingency. And if the Labour Party could set aside the Blackpool resolution in regard to the composition of the Commission, could it not disregard it in the framing of the constitution? No, the Labour Party has not acquitted itself well on this question, and no amount of special pleading can get over that fact.

SURELY we have passed the period when in politics any community could think of taking Indian Christians "concerted action" apart from other communities. If the action is to be based on reason, it follows that political divisions must cut athwart communal lines of

cleavage, and every political group must consist of like-minded members belonging to different communities. This naturally makes out of date such organisations as an "All-India Conference of Indian Christians, and we are glad to see the *Calcutta Guardian* practically telling this Conference to disband itself—and then not to hold aloof from politics, but each member to play his individual rôle through one political association or other already formed in the country, with reference solely to its political creed. Fully endorsing this criticism made by the *Guardian*, the *Week* goes on to plead to the Roman Catholics, whom it represents, that the convictions of a large majority of them would lead them to join the Liberal Party. It says that "we believe that in our opinion the majority of Catholics are sure to gravitate mainly towards a Central Party, which keeps equidistant from the extremism of the Right and of the Left, and that most Catholics will be found in such a party, just as soon as they turn their backs upon the chimæra of an All-India Catholic Party and definitely recognize their obligation of taking their share in the political life of the country. For ourselves we have given our frank adherence to the Indian Liberal Party just because it is such a Central Party, which stands for democracy as against dictatorship of the bureaucracy or of any minority group, and which works to bring about such democratic self-determination and responsible government, not by revolution, but by revision; not by non-co-operation, but by co-operation; not by direct, but by Parliamentary action. It would be pretence for us not to recognize that we have much to gain by joining an existing party pledged to such a programme; on the other hand, if only we join in our numbers, the Liberal Party will soon find that they also have got much to gain from our joining—and not only numbers." We need hardly say that we fully agree with our esteemed contemporary in this—that the Liberal Party stands very much to gain by the accession of the Catholics, and other Indian Christians, and we would add that the gain in numbers, though it is by no means negligible, will be nothing by the side of the quality of their contribution to which we are entitled to look forward by the active participation by such a culturally advanced community as the Christians. We would naturally desire them to cast in their lot with the Liberal Party, but if they chose to join other parties, according as their political leanings would prompt them, these parties also would gain much from their coming into active politics. The country suffers a heavy loss at present by reason of the aloofness of Indian Christians, for which there is no justification whatever.

* * *

SIR MOHAMED SHAFI in his presidential address at the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League has made some proposals for the further constitutional advance of India which make some contribution, however small, to the growing literature on the subject. He is, in favour of a large delegation of the Secretary of State's power because the exercise of the vast control vested in him over the Government of India even in affairs relating to the internal administration of the country is entirely repugnant to the principles of sound administration. The Secretary of State's control in the departments dealing with internal affairs should in his opinion be immediately done away with. As a corollary he says the India Council should also be abolished, because in the remaining sphere of Foreign and Political Affairs, and Army and Navy the Secretary can easily secure the advice of experts. He is inclined to support a Federal Constitution for the

United States of India in which the Central Government should possess specific powers and all residuary powers should vest in the individual provinces. In the Central Government he recommends four reforms: handing over the Foreign and Political department to a member instead of the Governor-General; relieving the Commander-in-Chief of the membership of the Executive Council; increase in the number of members of the Executive Council to eight, four being Indians; making the administration of universities and the co-ordination of provincial activities in the transferred departments a transferred subject in the Government of India. Referring to the Central Legislature Sir Mohamed Shafi would propose an increase in the numbers of votable items and a widening of the franchise. He expresses the opinion that in commenting on the work of the provincial Governments the system of diarchy was not given a fair trial and that the "free consultation between both halves of the Government", referred to in the report of the Joint Committee, was not acted upon by the Governors of provinces. We were quite taken aback to see him thereafter, instead of advocating complete provincial autonomy, urging that we should revert to the principle of unitary Provincial Government. His apprehension is that the transference of Law, Order and Justice is fraught with the greatest danger, in the light of the inter-communal enmity. If Law, Order and Justice are reserved and placed in charge of the Governor alone personally, he would even abolish the provincial Executive Council. Sir Mohamed Shafi recommends a wide extension of the franchise, in view of the training which the voters have received already. On the question of services he thinks that the very grounds urged by Indians for the Indianisation of services apply equally to an equitable adjustment of the claims of various communities. Nobody can quarrel with this claim but the difficulty arises only in interpreting the word 'equitably.' We have already expressed our views as to what it should mean.

* * *

IT would appear that the I.L.P. sent a memorandum of its views on the East African problem to the Madras Congress, together with certain suggestions as to the resolutions that may be adopted on the subject. Nothing was however heard in Madras regarding this: or was the memorandum sent to the East African Indian National Congress, which held its session in Nairobi in Christmas week? The *East African Standard* (in its issue of Dec. 24, p. 48) says that the statement was meant "for the Congress to be held in India." Anyhow the resolutions suggested by the I.L.P. are quite sound, and it would have been well if the Madras Congress had passed them in that definite form: the resolutions actually adopted are not so clear-cut. The I.L.P. draft ran as follows:—

1. That until a democratic franchise is granted to the Natives of the East African dependencies, the policy pursued in them should remain in the control of those who represent and have to obey the directions of Imperial Parliament, and,
2. That the electorates that already exist as well as any others that may be set up in these dependencies should be equally open to all British subjects irrespective of their race.

This draft rejects the new policy and urges upon the British Government to go back to the policy which is supposed to be in force since 1923 and also emphasises the institution of common electorates. Both these points are clearly brought out even in

greater detail in the first part of the resolution passed by the Liberal Federation, which runs thus :—

"The National Liberal Federation views with grave concern the declaration of policy contained in the recent White Paper entitled "Future Policy in Regard to Eastern Africa" which, in the constitutional changes likely to be introduced under the guise of Federation, threatens to place the Indian residents as well as the African natives under the domination of the European settlers, in complete reversal of the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923. This Federation is opposed to the new policy of "associating the immigrant communities in the responsibilities and trusteeship of government" and urges His Majesty's Government to retain all political power in its own hands and not to advance the political status of either immigrant community till a fair proportion of the natives attain the franchise on a common property and educational qualification and can obtain an effective share in representation by election on a common register."

Though the East African Congress did not pass any resolution on the new White Paper, the Memorandum which it is going to present to the Commission, runs, as will be seen from "Our East African Letter", on identical lines and embodies both the points mentioned by the I.L.P.

THE only alternative to this policy of rejecting *in toto* the new white Paper is of course that of making the most of the latter and of trying to make the Indian share of native trusteeship, if not as big as the European share, at least as big as could be. We have always been emphasising that it would be a most fatal error to adopt this alternative, and we are sincerely glad to find the powerful voice of the *Hindu* lifted in stern deprecation of it. Says our contemporary :—

"A few days ago, a warning was uttered in these columns as well as in the Legislative Assembly that the Indians in East Africa should be very wary in their attitude to the proposals now under enquiry by the Hilton Young Commission. That that warning was quite justified and necessary is evident from the opening day's proceedings of the East African Indian Congress, a report of which will be found elsewhere. The speech of Mr. Phadke, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, would seem to suggest that the leaders of the Indian community in East Africa were ready to swallow the bait held out to them by the white Federationists. "The proposal has been made to give us," Mr. Phadke said, "share in the trusteeship of the native population and it is up to us to show to the Commission that we realise all the implications of such a responsibility and that we are prepared to shoulder our share of the burden with a clear conscience." We do not think that when Mr. Phadke uttered these sentiments, he was aware of the dangers lurking in the proposal. In the first place, no thinking Indian can, without doing violence to the ideals for which his country stands, agree to be a party to a trusteeship of the kind imposed on African natives and administered in the way it has been done hitherto by Britain. In the second place, there is the danger that, as the price for this partnership in trustee business, the Indian community in these areas will have to agree, if the federation idea materialises, to be reduced to the position of impotent minorities. Will it be prudent for the Indian community there to accept the meaningless eyewash of a verbal recognition as co-trustee as a satisfactory *quid pro quo* for the existing solid rights which, once surrendered, they might never be able to regain? The answer is plain. They should not commit that folly. We are glad to note that Kunwar Maharaj Singh, who spoke on the occasion on behalf of the Government of India, set his face against this move and definitely claim-

ed, as the essence of the Indian demands, "equal opportunities with other races." We have reasons to think that East African Indians have begun to realise that the federation scheme is a delusion and a snare.

The *Hindu* is here confounding the Unofficial Conference with the Congress. We are afraid on this occasion Kunwar Maharaj Singh also took up a position which is no other than that of Mr. Phadke; for when he spoke of "equal opportunities" being accorded to India, he meant an equal share in native trusteeship. We are glad to find our contemporary's forecast about the Indian community becoming alive to the danger implicit in this attitude proving true.

IN Bihar and Orissa as in other parts of the country the registration of vital statistics is Public Health of not free from defects. While the registration of deaths is fairly reliable, the same cannot unfortunately be said about that of births and diseases. Attempts are however being made in that province to see if any improvement in the matter cannot be effected and to this end during 1926, as the latest Public Health report tells us, the accuracy of 18,630 vital occurrences was tested. This disclosed 170 omissions and led to 120 prosecutions, the offence being brought home in 81 or two-thirds of the cases. Local bodies with their meagre resources have never been able to do as much as they might for public health; but the withdrawal by Government during the last year of their contribution towards the pay of municipal health officers has added considerably to their difficulties. The result was that in some cases they decided to do without such officers to the undoubted detriment of public health. All the same the provincial birth-rate shows a welcome increase from 35.6 in 1925 to 37.2 last year; while the death-rate in stead of going down has gone up from 23.7 to 25.7. The Director of Public Health assures us that some of the deaths at any rate, e. g. from small-pox, are easily preventible, only if there had been greater willingness on the part of the public to get themselves vaccinated. This is greatly to be deplored. Small-pox, we are told, took a toll of 34,873 in 1926 and maimed and disfigured many more for life. Though vaccination is compulsory in some parts of the province, it is not so in others, the question of making it compulsory in these areas being under consideration. But, according to the Director of Public Health, the real remedy is not only to make primary vaccination, which affords immunity only for a limited period, but even revaccination compulsory. In countries like France and Germany where this is done, the disease is practically stamped out. Public opinion in this country is however not so far advanced as to tolerate compulsory revaccination; but there is an increasing appreciation of the benefits of vaccination all round and there appears to be no reason why primary vaccination should not be made compulsory everywhere. This must no doubt be preceded by vigorous propaganda on the part of the officials of the Health Department and the enlightened public with a view to make the general mass of the population realise the good that vaccination would do to it. Ignorance of the elementary health principles and the absence of any facilities for medical aid in rural areas are responsible for a considerable part of the present high mortality in our villages. While the former will disappear only in proportion as education spreads, we fail to see why the Bihar and Orissa Government should not try the scheme which seems to be working with success in some provinces whereby qualified medical men are given facilities for settling in rural areas.

A NEW BASIS FOR THE RESERVE BANK.

A GAZETTE OF INDIA extraordinary has published the new scheme for the Reserve Bank which Sir Basil Blackett has formulated after consultation with banking and financial experts in London and which presumably has been blessed by the Finance Committee of the India Office. The new scheme is a revival of the Shareholders' Bank launched at first before it was amended by the Joint Committee and gives up the two points on which that Committee had insisted, namely, the right of members of the Legislatures to become directors and the constitution of the Bank as a State Bank with the whole capital subscribed by the State. To this extent it is what is piquantly described in current criticism as a *v-lte face*. But so far as the other points insisted on by the Select Committee are considered nearly all of them have been given effect to, with a few exceptions which we shall presently point out. The question of questions, therefore, which we are all called upon to decide is whether in this slightly truncated form we shall accept the new Bill, or reject it, or whether the game of give and take or compromise is to go on as it did during the passage of the old measure till it lands us into another *emente*. Before we decide these issues we shall have to examine the basic principles of the new Bill with a view to discover whether the safeguards demanded by the Joint Committee as well as by the public are provided for.

It is clear from the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill which is now rejected, that their object in recommending a State Bank was to guard against the domination of sectional interests by the formation of a Directorate chosen from the public bodies of India including the Legislatures. A second safeguard demanded by all Indians is that the Bank shall not be dominated by London financial interests and the vagaries of the financial advisers of the Secretary of State. A third safeguard or rather a corollary of the others which Indians demand is that the Directors shall not be subservient to the managers but should fearlessly watch the national interests and prevent any step which would subordinate Indian interests to those of any other countries. The domination of sectional interests is to be precluded by a provision that Directors should be elected by delegates who are themselves elected by five different groups of shareholders in different provinces and who thus cannot ordinarily conspire with one another in order to elect Directors holding the same views, political, economic or communal, as those held by a dominant section.

We do not share the common apprehension which has been freely expressed in the press that the managers will manipulate the elections with a view to get such Directors as are amenable to their influence and as would not assert their independence. The second safeguard we referred to above is assured, in the opinion of Sir Basil Blackett, by the omission of the option given to the Imperial Bank of India to subscribe 30 p. c. of the capital, by restricting the possession of a share to persons domiciled in India,

to British subjects ordinarily resident in India and to companies in India or companies incorporated by law in the Dominions or by Act of Parliament in England, having a branch in India. This effectually prevents the domination of external capital. The rule contained in section 10 that no shareholder shall have more than one vote prevents power passing into the hands of big Exchange Banks with head offices in other parts of the Empire. Out of the total of 24 Directors the following are almost certain to be Indians: one Deputy Governor; at least one Director amongst those nominated by the Governor-General; two Directors elected by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce; and at least eight amongst those elected by the shareholders. If, as is very likely, the Director elected by the Provincial Co-operative Banks is also an Indian, the total would come to 13, so that a clear majority of Indians is assured. As for Directors being subservient to the managers of the Bank, there is no reason to suppose that public opinion which is sufficiently operative in other spheres would not have its play in this particular. To suppose that a Director who is an Indian would deliberately support anti-Indian interests at the behest of others is, without definite reasons to support such a belief, rather unfair. Taking all these provisions into consideration, we think it worth while to consider the Bill on its merits rather than set our face against it simply on the ground that it has changed the basis of the Reserve Bank from a State Bank to a Shareholders' Bank.

At this point we are bound to take cognizance of the arguments of the school of thought which would reject any scheme short of a full-fledged Gold Standard with a gold currency. Prof. Wadia and Prof. Joshi, in their joint communications to the press recently addressed, have appealed to the members of the Assembly to scrap the Bill unless a real Gold Standard is promised. They point out that there are vital differences between a Gold Bullion Standard in England and India; while England possesses a gold unit in terms of which all values are measured and the foreign exchanges are left to themselves, India under the new standard has no monetary gold unit of value and will continue to be on a rupee basis; in addition the regulation of exchange by currency manipulation will be the main objective under the new system in India. They further refer to the certainty of a Reserve Bank controlled mostly by the Government who will not be freed from the pressure of the London money market. All this may be true; in fact we agree with Profs. Wadia and Joshi that the Gold Bullion Standard in actual working will be hardly distinguishable from the Gold Exchange Standard except in the matter of receiving actual gold in exchange for ordinary currency. But it looks as if the policy recommended by them is the whole-hogger policy; it amounts to saying that you will have either the whole loaf or go without it altogether. In this matter we would rather reverse their maxim and act according to the maxim 'half a loaf is better than no bread'. It is unfortunate that for various reasons we cannot adopt a Gold Standard with

a gold currency; but it would be bad policy to reject a standard which, however short it may fall of the ideal standard, is at any rate not worse than the old standard. Apart from the question of standard, a measure that removes the control of the Government in India as well as in England from the system of note-issue and the system of credit control and hands it over partially at least to the representatives of the shareholders and of the public bodies in India ought not to be rejected unless we have reason to think that within a couple of years there is a possibility of establishing an effective Gold Standard. As we do not contemplate such a possibility we would regard it as bad tactics to scrap the measure as Profs. Wadia and Joshi recommend.

Coming now to the details of the Bill we must say that many of the changes made in the new Bill are not only inconsistent with the policy laid down by the Joint Select Committee but even with the recommendations of the report of the Royal Commission. The period of the Act coming into force, which was formerly fixed at July 1929, has been postponed for a maximum period of three years so that for another four years and half there will be only preparation for bringing into force the most important obligation to pay gold in exchange for currency. This, to put it mildly, is intolerable delay. The power of the Reserve Bank to invest in Government securities of any maturity is an inconvenient latitude and is not conducive to sound banking. A very sound provision introduced in the previous Bill, requiring that at the end of ten years the gold securities in the Reserve must not exceed one-half of the total gold assets, has been omitted on the ground that it unduly hampers the executive in the management of the Reserve. This is a curious argument since all provisions of law are intended to hamper and in hampering itself lies their virtue. After the omission of this provision, the temptation to substitute securities for bullion will be greater and there is nothing to prevent the bullion part of the Reserve being reduced to the minimum of one-fourth of the total amount of the Reserve as required by section 31.

It is difficult to assess properly the advantage of the indirect election by which the Directors will be elected by an electoral college of delegates elected by the shareholders. One possible advantage is that the Directors will be finally elected by a body which will be more select and for that reason likely to be better able to exercise due discretion in the choice of those to whom will be entrusted the destiny of the powerful monetary and financial organization controlled by the Reserve Bank.

The majority of the members of the Assembly believe that unless they are represented on the Directorate there is no guarantee that measures detrimental to Indian interests will be thrown out at the meetings of the Directors. In their opinion the Assembly is the best guardian of the interests of the people and it follows therefore that the representatives of the Assembly are the proper custodians of Indian interests in the Bank. According to them,

therefore, the politician instead of being tabooed should be regarded as the best link that joins the Bank to the people. If, therefore, they still adhere to the same view and are ready to stake everything on the principle of the right of the Assembly to have a hand in the management of the Bank, the outlook for the Bill does not seem to be very hopeful. For ourselves we are not great sticklers for the principle of a State Bank. If the objects of a State Bank can be realized by the new Bill it is immaterial whether the Reserve Bank is a State Bank or not. What we would urge on the members of the Assembly is to judge impartially whether the new Bill with its Directorate is likely to establish an institution free from sectional interests and able to concentrate on the work of organizing the monetary resources of the country for furthering its progress. If it is found to be wanting in this respect, of course it will have to be rejected. But it should not be rejected on the ground that members of the Assembly are committed to a certain principle and they cannot recede from it on the ground of consistency or the exigencies of party loyalty.

HOW NOT TO ANSWER MISS MAYO.

QUITE recently I have received through the post from America a typed letter and enclosure, which have somewhat troubled me and made me anxious. No one, who knew me personally, could fail to recognise, that the falsehoods of Miss Mayo's book are of a character which would make me profoundly unhappy. At the present moment I am engaged, during every spare moment, in framing a constructive answer to it. The slanders against the two friends, whom I love most in all the world; the indictment (as Burke would have called it) of a whole nation; the outrageous charge of sexual immorality, cruelly levelled against India's educated young men, who have been my own students for twenty-four years; the special contumely heaped upon the Bengali people, among whom I have lived so long a time in closest friendship,—all these things, and much else besides, have given me acute distress, and I am bound by the ties of honour and duty and love to do what I can to put things right, wherever I can do so.

Yet this letter, which I have received and reprint below, has only added to the distress I have felt, and to the misery of the whole situation. The letter runs as follows:—

"We would very much appreciate it if you would kindly give accompanying letter some prominent publicity in your valuable columns. In fact, the matter deserves an editorial treatment. Should there be any doubt to this suggestion, we would strongly commend to your consideration publishers' note which you will find on the paper cover of the said book. This, by the way, will be extremely helpful in understanding what a tremendous propaganda is going on against India in the United States of America.

"Further, to counteract such venomous lies that the hirelings of the Imperialists are scattering against our nation with an arrogant air of Anglo-Saxon superiority, the only weapon that we can wield is to vivisect their social organism and show to them the ghastly evils that they hide under their white linen. To that end, our friends are sending you a series of articles that are aglow with solid facts and statistics, unlike the imaginary lies and dead quotations manufactured by the mischievous brains of Katharine Mayo.

"Believe us, Sir, that the only language that these nations of the West understand is the language of KICK FOR KICK. So we request you to rise up to the occasion, abandoning our age-old Nirvanic attitude of indifference. We who are on the spot are unable to bear the shame. As journalists as well as advanced guard of Indian opinion, you to whom we are looking for helping us in giving lie to these fragrant lies of the Anglo-saxon race.

BANDE MATARAM".

The actual article for publication, which accompanies this covering letter, is on the whole a good one. A summary of the book is given, that is fair and frank both in its statements and its analysis. There was nothing to give me pain there. But what has troubled me greatly, was the covering letter itself, with its spirit of sheer naked retaliation. I have learnt to love India with all my heart, because I have found, in India, that which I could not find in Europe, namely, the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount in practice,—the spirit which refuses absolutely to have anything to do with the doctrine of 'an eye for an eye' and 'a tooth for a tooth.' On the other hand, this covering letter openly advocates 'a kick for a kick,' which is the same thing in other language.

When the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, was in Japan, at the time of the passing of the Anti-Asiatic Immigration Law, in 1924, there was the danger of a violent outbreak of retaliatory fury, leading quite possibly to some fatal act which would have led to fresh reprisals. The situation was critical. The poet, in his public speeches, declared that the true dignity of Japan was to remain calm and collected, realising indeed the injustice that had been done, but too great in soul to retaliate and so come down to the same level as the oppressor himself. He was thanked by the elder statesmen, as one who had nobly helped them with his good counsel in the hour of their greatest trial.

I believe that the true heart of India would echo the same thought. To return 'kick for kick'; to pour out venom for venom; to 'vivisect' the American social organism, as Miss Mayo has 'vivisected' that of India,—surely all this is repugnant to India's best mind. Rather, the aim should be, to show, by a careful dignity and self-restraint in utterance, that India is not prepared to descend so low as Miss Mayo herself has done.

C. F. ANDREWS.

INTERNMENTS.

I.

INDICATIONS are that the Bengal detenus will at last be released *en bloc*—three years after their being interned. The *Statesman* and, what is far more significant, the *Englishman*, have made suggestions to that effect to the Governor of Bengal, who is already engaged in carrying out the policy of release piecemeal. This in itself would be regarded as a presage of what is ordained to happen, but there are other factors which lend support to this forecast. Mr. S. R. Das, Law Member of the Government of India, suddenly left Calcutta for Delhi, which must be, it is said, to attend an extraordinary meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Rumour further says that the Executive Council has decided upon opening the prison doors wide and setting at liberty everyone detained under the Ordinance of three years ago. The approval of the Secretary of State is, we are told, now awaited. We sincerely hope that this forecast will prove true and what has been rankling in the mind, not only of Bengal, but the whole of India, will at long last be a thing of the past. It is possible that the Government of India are contemplating this step, if they are doing so at all, in order to buy off the opposition of the Indian people to the Simon boycott. The *Statesman* seemed to advance this consideration in its leading article of 8th inst., and Mr. N. N. Sircar, a leading advocate of Calcutta, did well to give a warning that though the release of internees would tend to pacify embittered and exacerbated opinion, the agitation for the boycott of the Statutory Commission would not die down on that account, for the agitation was due to causes unrelated to Bengal internments. But there is no doubt that the act of clemency would in other respects, go far to ease the situation. The release of prisoners by driblets, it is rightly urged, involves much the same amount of risk, but does not lessen popular discontent, while wholesale release would be regarded as a gesture of good-will and produce an atmosphere in which other ameliorative measures, if they are adopted betimes, will have a chance of producing their good effect. It should be noted that it is not proposed to repeal the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925, or the Ordinance as the *Statesman* fittingly calls it; for it is an Act of the Governor, and not of the Legislature, of Bengal. The Act is still to remain on the statute book, to be called into action whenever occasion may necessitate it. If the release is to have its full pacificatory effect, Government will do well to follow it up by the repeal of the Act as well. After all, the Government can always take the necessary action in an emergency without such a law and go to the Legislature for it at need. But now Government must go forward in full faith that the necessity for a repressive law no longer exists, if it ever existed.

II.

A propos of this, we would point out that the Public Safety Act of the Irish Free State, which, like our own Samiti Act and regulation III, allows associations to be proclaimed and suspected persons to be deported, was definitely limited in its operation to five years. We mention this because when Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill, intended to deprive Government of power to do these things, came up in the Assembly for discussion in last session, the Home Member and some other officials gave the impression that it was intended to be a permanent measure, as apparently the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Regulation of 1818 are. We could not, at the time say definitely what its duration was, though, judging from the Free State's past policy, we could throw doubt

on the suggestion of official members. The official report of the Dail is now available, which enables us to say that the Act, drastic as it undoubtedly was, was automatically to expire at the end of five years. We have already stated before (in our issue of Dec. 15, 1927) that this Act supposed to run for the maximum period of five years, did not in fact run for five months, for Mr. Oesgrave has already announced his decision to abrogate it. Compare with this Regulation III of 1818, for instance, which is in existence for 110 years and may remain in existence, for aught one can say, for a few centuries more, if the existing Government be allowed to remain in control for so long. In order to bring out the contrast into full relief, we must also consider how much more serious was the situation in Ireland, confronted as it was with the remnant of a military organization in active existence, with the situation in Bengal. The Irish Act gives wide powers to the executive and the objection to it was, as our objection is to the Bengal Ordinance, that these powers may be used against innocent people. But the Irish Government could point to a safeguard, which is naturally lacking in India, the safeguard, namely, of the executive being responsible to the legislature. It would be interesting to quote here a passage from a Minister's speech where this point is stressed. Said Mr. Hogan:

"We are asked what guarantees there are that we will use these wide powers with discretion. We were responsible for carrying on this government for the last five years. We were responsible for it under difficult circumstances. We had to take drastic decisions. Did we ever abuse our powers? Did we ever turn our powers on the ordinary law-abiding citizen? Should you not take that into account? Are we going to change now? It was said that the people have no safeguard. Deputy Johnson (leader of the Opposition) knows perfectly well that this is nonsense. He takes the first section and points out, rightly, that the Executive, at its discretion, may suppress an organization which they declare is illegal. He says that the most harmless organization in Ireland may be suppressed, that it has no safeguard, and that this will hand the thing over to the Executive. Is that the position? The Deputy knows perfectly well that it is not, and there is no use in trying to make our flesh creep on those lines. What about the Parliament? Is not this Parliament in existence? The Deputy must have very little confidence in his own Party or in the other Parties in the House. Does he really believe in his heart that if we use this particular provision in the way he suggests we could exist here for twenty-four hours?"

A Member: We would not let you.

Mr. Hogan: Of course not. That is what you are here for. I could go down the whole Bill in the same way and I could ask Deputy Johnson if that guarantee is not there the whole time."

We in India of course have no such safeguard against arbitrary use by the executive of any of the powers, vested in them, of detaining persons in custody without trial. In Ireland this safeguard is very effective and in fact one does not hear there of such complaints as are persistent in India of people like Subash Chandra Bose who cannot reasonably be suspected of revolutionary conspiracy being clapped into gaol.

III.

It would be interesting to recapitulate here the action taken by the Irish Free State with a view to meeting the insurrectionary attack on the State in

circumstances which of course cannot for a moment be compared in gravity to the circumstances in India. First, the Free State Parliament passed a Public Safety Act in the latter half of 1923, to last only for six months. The circumstances were thus described in the Preamble: "Whereas a number of persons have been for some time past engaged in an attempt to overthrow by force the lawfully established Government of Saorstát Eireann and to that end have created a state of rebellion which has been carried on by means of armed attacks on the military forces of Saorstát Eireann, assassination and wounding the citizens, destruction of private and public buildings and other property, unlawful seizure and occupation of land, armed robbery of Government offices, banks, and other institutions and persons, and divers other modes of defying law and causing public disorder" &c. &c. The Act allowed the Executive Minister to order the detention in custody of any person against whom there was reasonable ground of suspicion that he was engaged in a revolutionary conspiracy. The duration of this law was limited to six months, and when it was found at the end of the period that the law was still required to cope with the military organization, the Act was renewed in 1924 for a year. Provision was made in these Acts for a quasi-judicial inquiry, as there is in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, but the provision in the Irish Act ensures justice far more than that in the Bengal Act. The latter in Section 18 provides that every case of detention will be subjected to the scrutiny of two judges, but the verdict of the judges is merely recommendatory to the Bengal Government, instead of mandatory as on the Irish Government, for the Act says:

"On receipt of the said report, the Local Government shall consider the same and shall pass such order thereon as appears to the Local Government to be just and proper."

Now contrast this with the following provision in the Public Safety Acts of the Irish Free State:—

"When such an Executive Minister shall receive a report from the Appeal Council that there are no reasonable grounds for suspecting the person interned of having committed, or being engaged or concerned in the commission of, any of the offences mentioned in the Schedule to this Act he shall, within one calendar month from the receipt of the report, order his release unless—

(a) he shall refer back the report to the Appeal Council for the consideration of further evidence, or

(b) the person be charged with any offence punishable by imprisonment."

An adverse report by an Appeal Council, adverse, that is, to Government, compels the executive in Ireland either to release the person or to put him on his trial. In Bengal the report is not mandatory in any sense. The form of the inquiry conducted by the Appeal Board in the Free State is prescribed by regulations, and the Act provides that—

"Any such regulations shall be laid before each House of the Oireachtas as soon as may be after they are made, and if either House of the Oireachtas shall pass a resolution annulling the regulations, the regulations shall be annulled accordingly, but without prejudice to the validity of anything already done under them."

The control of Parliament is thus maintained intact throughout.

IV.

In November 1926 the Irish Free State found it necessary to revive the Public Safety Act and this

time the Act was made permanent. It could be brought into force after proclamation as follows :—

"(1) If at any time the Executive Council is of opinion that a national emergency has arisen of such character that it is expedient in the public interest that provisions of Part II of this Act should be put into force, the Executive Council may by proclamation declare that a state of national emergency exists.

(2) A proclamation made under this Act shall (unless continued under this section) remain in force for three months only and shall then expire, but any such proclamation may from time to time be continued in force for three months by proclamation made by the Executive Council before the expiration of the original proclamation of the last continuance thereof.

(3) If at any time when a proclamation (whether original or continuing) is made under this Act the Oireachtas or either House thereof stands adjourned to a day and hour more than five days after the making of the proclamation, the proclamation shall be expressed and shall operate to summon the Oireachtas or such House thereof (as the case may be) to reassemble at a convenient hour to be specified in the proclamation on a convenient day to be similarly specified not less than three or more than five days after the making of the proclamation, and in every such case the Oireachtas or such House thereof, as the case may be, shall reassemble on the day and at the hour so specified as if it had stood adjourned to that day and hour.

(4) Every proclamation made under this section shall be forthwith published in the Iris Oifigiuil and shall also be laid before each House of the Oireachtas as soon as may be after it is made and if either such House shall, within the next subsequent twenty-one days on which that House has sat, pass a resolution revoking such proclamation, such proclamation shall forthwith expire but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under such proclamation."

The Act is permanent, but within a month of its passage the Government released all the persons against whom they had taken action under it and has since taken no further action thereunder.

V.

Ireland of course relies upon responsible government as a sovereign remedy against the exercise of indiscriminate authority. Even when that remedy is available to the people, the Irish Free State Government, distorted as its judgment latterly has been by the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins, has all along shown far greater consideration for the rights and susceptibilities of people than the Indian Government can boast of. The latter, after cancelling internments, must give its attention to the Samiti Act and Regulation III of 1918. What the Irish Free State did after five months the Indian Government may well do after 110 years.

OUR EAST AFRICAN LETTER.

NAIROBI, 6th January.

THE CONGRESS SESSION AT NAIROBI.

THE East African Indian National Congress has just concluded what probably has been the most important of its seven sessions. In the December of 1926, weary of an unavailing struggle and despairing of any support from home, the Congress accepted, under

protest and provisos, one of the decisions of the White Paper of 1923, i. e. the communal franchise. In fact the Government of the Colony had made certain promises in the event of the Indian community accepting to work the communal roll.

The Government did not or could not fulfil these promises. The community found an Indian gentleman rushing to the Legislature Council in defiance of their wishes. The position of those Indians who spoke on behalf of the Government and persuaded the Congress to except the situation as it then existed naturally became intolerable. Matters did not improve when Sir Edward Grigg, pursuing his own ambitious schemes, reported to the Colonial Office that he had succeeded in finally settling the Indian question and that he had ready for launching a scheme of an East African Federation, provided His Majesty's Government would take a step forward in the constitutional development of Kenya.

I do not think anybody can blame the Indian people of Kenya if they were dissatisfied with their leaders and became extremely suspicious. Abstention from practical politics for nearly four years, consequent demoralisation in their own ranks and the apparent abandonment of the cause by leaders coupled with a complete disorganization of the machinery of the Congress and some notion of treason within—all these were bound to make them sullen and angry. The report of the Feetham Commission and the appointment of the Hilton Young Commission aggravated both anger and suspicion. At the end of September the prospect seemed very dark, and the Indian cause appeared to be all but lost, when the Convention of Associations put forth vulgar schemes of European aggrandisement and threatened to perform arrogant feats of almost irresistible strength directed to crush the Indian and African communities for ever.

Providence seemed to initiate a change in His inscrutable way. The East African Indian National Congress found in October an organizer devoted to national work. At the same time the Government of India, moved by the Central Legislature, decided to send two representatives of theirs to East Africa to help the Indian community in preparing their case. The Executive Committee of the Congress lost no time. On the one hand they launched on a scheme for organising the Congress on a sound basis, and on the other they at once decided to co-operate with the Government of India. There was at first some discontent on the score of non-officials not having been included in the deputation, and had the Executive not been prompt, Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. Ewbank would not have had that whole-hearted co-operation which has been already theirs. But all tendency in the direction of non-co-operation is now wholly obliterated. An Unofficial Conference of Indian Associations in East Africa was convened to discuss the issues of the day with their two officials, and in order to show that the Indian community desired to consider them in perfect good-faith, Sir Edward Grigg was invited to declare the Conference open.

The Governor of Kenya, however, made a strongly provocative speech and the very act of inviting him

seemed to widen for a time the gulf between the Indian leaders and the Indian people in general. The Unofficial Conference ignored the speech and proceeded to discuss the issues in a very calm, dispassionate and constructive spirit. A proposal to revert to the position of 1923* was defeated by a considerable majority of votes in the Conference. But a further provocation was provided by the Governor publishing his speech in the form of a booklet and broadcasting it. The egregious memorandum of the Convention of Associations put up the backs of the Indian people still further, and the climax came when Sir Donald Cameron, the able Governor of Tanganyika, made an exposure, in a frank and trenchant speech at the Caledonian Dinner in Dar-es-Salaam, of how Sir Edward Grigg had been pulling strings in England to satisfy his own ambition.

The Indian people were furious and Mr. A. M. Jeewanjee led the opposition. He opened a campaign in favour of boycotting the Commission at a mass-meeting held in Mombasa. The campaign was soon extended to Nairobi. The Executive of the Indian Association at Mombasa accepted a motion in favour of boycott by 10 to 2. The people in Nairobi were intoxicated with delight at the prospect of finding an opportunity once again for indulging in non-cooperation and unstrained abandonment to thoughts of harm done to us by the white settlers in Kenya, and to India by the British people in general and also to thoughts of our past glory and future "superiority." Hundreds flocked to meetings held in order to advocate a complete boycott of the Commission and those who had succeeded in steering the Unofficial Conference into an attitude of constructive co-operation were at the nadir of popular esteem, or rather at the zenith of unpopularity.

The *Democrat*, the leading organ of Indian opinion, was the first to shake off the hypnotic influence of the word "boycott", and gave a very clear lead to the people in a manifesto published on the eve of the Congress. This paper has all along been the advocate of extreme measures and its manifesto came as a surprise to many people. There was a revulsion of popular feeling. When the time for taking decisions came, the Congress unanimously passed a resolution recommending that a memorandum should be submitted to the Hilton Young Commission, and that a deputation of five representatives should appear before the Commission to tender oral evidence. At the same time the Congress rescinded the decision of 1926 and refused to accept the elections on the basis of the communal roll due in February 1928. A resolution was also passed to withdraw all Indian members from municipal and other public bodies in case decisions unacceptable to the Indian community are reached on the Feetham Commission's Report. Definite instructions are given to the Committee appointed to draft the memorandum: that political federation is to be opposed; economic co-ordination by administrative Conferences is to be supported, provided it is not harmful to Indian

* In respect, we believe, of rejecting the communal franchise.

interests; and all proposals of constitutional advance in Kenya are to be resisted till all the communities in Kenya are placed on a common roll on the basis of a common franchise.

U. K. OZA.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From our Correspondent.)

GENEVA, Dec. 28, 1927.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

FOR Europe 1927 sets not in gloom but in light. The Polish-Lithuanian understanding and the Franco-Italian reconciliation are notable and in equal measure the definite prospect of the revision of the Dawes plan and that of a Franco-American treaty "outlawing" war are influences for good. The lira has been stabilised and the franc promises to follow suit. Next spring, if all goes well, the Soviet representative will confer with the British Foreign Secretary again, probably with more definite results than in November. Yet, the Old Year bequeathes grave problems to the New, and their course, upon which it sheds a gleam of hope, is much dimmed with fear. Three of the most outstanding of these may be considered here. They are: I. World-Peace, II. Reparations, and III. Anglo-American Relations.

I. WORLD-PEACE.

Of the three, without doubt, the first in importance is the problem of peace. As the years march the need to revise the fatal Treaty of Versailles is more pressing. It is not that this was an unforeseen consequence, but the initiators of the Treaty, chief among them President Wilson, had presumed that the most important gain would be to set up the League of Nations and that all the needful readjustments would follow automatically. But for that it would indeed seem that they would have striven to render the Treaty a little better than what it is. The anticipation proved wrong, first, because from the very start the League lacked, on account of seceders, the comprehensiveness which, it should have possessed to become effective, and, secondly largely because of the first circumstance, the Great Powers have made it their Cinderella. The theory of national sovereignty, instead of suffering modification at the instance of the League, has swung towards added affirmation. The Mandatory system has not had a complete chance and there has been no mitigation in colonial rivalry. Disarmament has become a ludicrous issue and the cause of the League and that of peace generally have become party-politics. The British Premier, confronted recently with 128,770 pacifists stating that "convinced that all disputes between nations are capable of settlement either by diplomatic negotiations or by some form of international arbitration, we solemnly declare that we shall refuse to support or render war service to any Government which resorts to arms", drew a picture of the consequences of this attitude which must be regarded as an eye-opener to even the mild variety of the Tory mind. If England be disarmed she will, it seems, become an easy prey, she will lose her colonies, she will lose her trade, and she will suffer the horrors of famine. This is the prevailing mentality about pacifism, yet peace can only come through some sort of *modus vivendi*. If it is not firmly set up in Europe nothing short of chaos awaits it in the coming years. Italian regeneration, German recuperation, and Russian rehabilitation are real necessities which must be treated lest they should take their own course. The diplomatic method of an appeal to the *status quo* is quite inadequate here. By next spring the Governments

of Germany, France and perhaps Great Britain also, would probably witness a swing to the left, and the reactionaries, with all their resources in opposition, at a time when constructive liberalism will be in demand, may be a factor for insecurity.

II. REPARATIONS.

Within four years since world-experts met in Paris and devised a presumably final scheme for payment of the reparation owed by Germany after the war, their plan has become a subject of international debate. It was started by Mr. Parker Gilbert, the Agent-General for reparation payments, who directs from Berlin the operation of the Dawes plan. His latest annual report contains not alone his previous warning as to the dangers inherent in excessive State expenditure by Germany, but also an expression of opinion that the plan itself is defective. In his view the naming of the total amount which Germany is required to pay can be the only real incentive to the German people to discharge its obligations. This defect in the Dawes plan is, however, more easy to point out than to remedy, for the latter involves international agreement. In Washington the Secretary of the Treasury endorses Mr. Gilbert's remarks, with the reservation that the present arrangements regarding war-debts to the United States are to stand in any event. In Great Britain and Germany the proposed change is generally acceptable, but not so in France. French opinion would support Mr. Gilbert on the understanding that in no case is France to pay more for her war-debts than she receives from Germany as reparation. This has been the French attitude all along, and M. Poincaré may restate it in the Chamber at a suitable opportunity. In this attitude France is the spokesman of the European nations indebted to the United States as a result of the war. The Administration in Washington, on the other hand, has been insistent in maintaining that there can be no relation between the manner and extent of German payments as reparation and the payment to America on account of war debts. The "European view" is that the relation cannot be escaped, that ability to pay in the latter case depends on actual payments in the other. The question is fraught with the utmost delicacy, for Europe has need of America and America is adamant on this matter. What colonies are to the average European are war debts to the American; her financial Monroe doctrine is built of concrete like the territorial. The question is also urgent because Germany will not long continue to endure the present burden and it is as great a tangle of political and financial issues as can be.

III. ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

The last of these problems connects itself with the first and assumes all its importance. I had almost said Anglo-American rivalry instead of relations. America and England ranged against each other is a far greater portent of world-convulsion at the present moment than that of England and Germany in 1914. The League without America lacks substance and no peace movement which does not embrace that country will fare any better. Latterly certain complications have arisen owing to the reactions of the membership of some South American States in the League over the American hegemony in the Southern continent. If only because of the cost involved Great Britain cannot possibly keep her troops in China at the present strength until the Chinese question resolves itself. Both these factors afford an excellent handle to British diplomacy to play against America through the League and through Japan. The well-known publicist, Mr. Wickham Steed, concluding his "American Diary" in the *Observer*, says: "Our greatest interest is to preserve and strengthen the peace of the world. The preservation of peace and the development of Western

civilisation depend in large measure upon British and American co-operation. This co-operation is possible. Conflict is also possible. Our stake in this vital matter is so immense that we cannot afford to run the risk of not being understood by the people of the United States." How very much that risk actually exists may be gathered from the fact that fears began to be entertained in Europe about the proposed Franco-American treaty "outlawing" war, which was regarded as practically certain as soon as it was understood that Senator Borah desired to extend the formula so as to include Great Britain in it.

REVIEWS.

A CIVILIAN'S SUGGESTIONS.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS. By J. N. GUPTA, with an introduction by LORD SINHA. (R. P. Mitra & Sons, 63 Beadon St., Calcutta.) 1927. 10 x 6¼. pp. 282.

THE book is based on the experience of Mr. Gupta as a member of the I.C.S. in Bengal. The whole book is an appeal to his countrymen to do their utmost in whatever sphere they may be placed, to work in a spirit of selflessness and devotion for the good of their motherland and also to Government to remember that the end of the State is the happiness of the people and the mere engrafting of the forms of democratic polity without a corresponding advance in the moral and material prosperity of the people will be like building on foundations of sand. At the outset in discussing the goal Mr. Gupta admits that Dominion Status is a worthy ideal but warns against undue haste in political advance. "The laws of political evolution," he says "are as inexorable as those of the physical world and to attain true freedom progress must be internal." For this purpose he emphasizes the vital necessity of rural reconstruction in the widest sense of the word.

Coming to the actual method of work, he describes the means he himself adopted for the uplift of the people as a district officer. His persistent aim has been to secure genuine co-operation between all sections of the community and between officials and non-officials, and he worked to link up the efforts of local boards with the nation-building departments of the Government. While on the theme of sanitation Mr. Gupta urges that the disintegrating basis of our social laws and customs is to a great extent responsible for our physical degeneration and enervation and in this regard the Hindus are steadily losing ground as against the Muslims in Bengal. New medical institutions were started on the basis of supplementing the District Board grant by the grants from Union Boards below; in addition non-official organizations were started for preventive and sanitary work. In addition Mr. Gupta recommends for future a comprehensive scheme for propaganda and publicity work for educating the people. In fighting malaria also Mr. Gupta came to realize that the Government alone cannot do more than carry on research work with a view to find out remedies and giving adequate grants for major schemes and that the main reliance must be placed on District Boards, Union Boards and voluntary and co-operative health associations. As regards an adequate supply of drinking water also he came to the conclusion that the responsibility for this should rest primarily on Union Boards, the District Boards, the provincial Government giving financial aid. In connection with the whole subject of local self-government Mr. Gupta deplors the dissociation of the district officer from the administration of the District Board and in his

opinion it is essential that the funds of the provincial Government should be placed at his disposal as he would thus be enabled to direct the policy of the District Board as well as the Union Boards. The district officer, in his opinion, ought to be the pivot of the whole system of local self-government.

Discussing agriculture, the basic industry of India, Mr. Gupta believes that there is vast scope for its improvement by the aid of science and the application of capital cultivation. At present there is a low level of prosperity, indebtedness and absence of resisting power. The first factor of agricultural improvement is the use of sufficient and proper kinds of manure and for this he suggests a network of manure depots owned by co-operative associations acting in unison with Union Boards which should formulate a definite programme of manuration of the soil—with grants from the District Boards. The second factor is the use of improved seed and for facilitating this he recommends the establishment of seed stores by the initiative of the Agricultural department. The cultivation of suitable fodder crops as a second crop would solve the problem of nourishing food for the starving cattle. The third factor is large as well as small schemes of irrigation and drainage; the main object of drainage being the provision of suitable egress and outfall of water during the monsoon and prevention of water-logging. Minor irrigation works ought to be undertaken in his opinion by local bodies and co-operative societies and should include excavation of tanks, erection of embankments and construction of masonry weirs. Mr. Gupta believes with many others that the smallness of agricultural holdings is a great obstacle to agricultural progress. Without an improvement of the material and moral condition of the rayat legislation to restrict subdivision of holdings is in his opinion worse than useless. But the evils of small holdings, he suggests, would be minimised if agriculturists would purchase costly appliances, artificial manure on a large scale by co-operative effort and also construct irrigation projects by the agency of co-operative societies. For agricultural instruction Mr. Gupta, while favouring the introduction of agricultural instruction in a certain number of middle schools along with other subjects, advocates strongly the establishment of vocational schools where instruction in agriculture will go hand in hand with the pursuit of agriculture as a profession in a farm run on business lines and where some allied industries like dairy-farming and sericulture would also be taught. For the improvement of cattle he suggests the production of fodder as a rotation crop in the dry season and the fostering of the cattle-breeding industry in all suitable places and extensive propaganda by the veterinary department spreading information as to methods of prevention and treatment of common diseases. In this connection it is worth while noting that Mr. Gupta, in answer to the charge brought against the Indian cultivator of neglecting fodder crops, admits "that the rayat does not neglect his cattle from perverseness; to some extent his carelessness is due to his ignorance but the really deciding factor is his poverty". It is difficult for the rayat to find the surplus money for bringing the land under fodder and in many cases even the land cannot be had.

On the subject of co-operation Mr. Gupta, while supporting the movement, gives a number of warnings. Particular attention must be paid to the proper use of the credit obtained and control must be exercised by societies over the action of members. He seems to agree with those who regard the progress of the co-operative societies as too slow and recommend a State Agricultural Bank built up with the assistance of the State for finding credit and wiping out in-

debtedness. The great source of the uneven distribution wherein the agriculturist gets a smaller share of the total wealth is his isolated and unorganized position which enables middlemen to take the lion's share; he therefore recommends the formation of paddy and jute sale-societies on a co-operative basis. Mr. Gupta is however of opinion that development of rural industries is necessary to supplement agriculture for maintaining the population. Among these industries, he thinks there is great scope for the live stock and dairy produce industry. The minimum amount of State-aid which his recommendations imply in his province Mr. Gupta calculates at Rs. 85 lakhs; if this sum cannot be afforded from the ordinary income of the province he thinks it ought to be financed by a loan raised on the credit of the provincial Government. And we do not think he has overcalculated.

Mr. Gupta thinks that conditions are specially favourable at the present moment for a rapid industrial advance in India. The Government have given ample proof, he says, of their earnestness in the cause of industrial development by the repeal of the cotton excise duty and the grant of subsidy to the Tata Iron and Steel Works. He recommends the provincial Governments to make a start by pioneering some of the larger industries including the key industries and transfer them to the people after making them a success. As regards smaller power-industries he pleads for Government assistance in procuring suitable machinery and raw materials and establishing business connection with the Stores Department and outside public and in making suitable loans. Mr. Gupta speaks appreciatively of the cottage industries of mediæval India and thinks that they ought to be supposed to be supplementary to the highly organized machine production. He emphasizes the provision of much greater facilities for the industrial education of the artisans; also superior education to turn out master workmen and *entrepreneurs*; organization of industries especially for opening up new markets by suitable advertising and financing them either through industrial banks or by means of State grants.

Mr. Gupta makes suggestions for administrative improvements for realizing our ideals of constructive work. So far as Bengal is concerned he would recommend the development of the Circle System and the Union Boards both of them for small divisions of a district; each union should have a union farm, a seed store and a breeding farm for agricultural schemes and a union medical store and a union school for educational and health schemes. Even after allowing for the need to democratize district organisation in accordance with the new policy, M. Gupta is in favour of the issue of a comprehensive resolution by Government enjoining on the District Officer the duty of supervising closely all the nation-building departments and also on the departments the duty of acting in close co-operation with him. At the same time sufficient funds should be placed at his disposal. We doubt whether anything would be gained by such formal decrees unless a new spirit prevails in the services. Mr. Gupta has not a very high opinion of the new administration of transferred subjects, which is handicapped for want of funds and the difficulty of securing the support of the Councils. He also complains about undue interference with the work of the District Officer. To improve the financial position, he suggests the wiping out of the Bengal contribution and the imposition of fresh taxation.

In-conclusion Mr. Gupta discusses some of the most vital questions with regard to the life of the nation as a whole. Talking of patriotism and citizenship, he advises young Bengal to develop a true political sense which admits love of political freedom.

as a sound ideal but which "does not unleash the demons of anarchy and chaos so that brute force may batten on the welter of a world in ruins." In India East and West should meet so that there should be a harmonious blending of the spiritualism and self-abnegation of the East with the positivism and virility of the West. Mr. Gupta is convinced that England is anxious to teach Indians the invaluable lesson of self-defence but is constrained to admit that a great deal will depend on the spirit in which all orders in connection with the Indianisation of the army are carried out. On the subject of co-operation he thinks that the supreme need in India at the present moment is for the conservation of all our available resources and a wholehearted and genuine co-operation between all agencies for progress and says a true spirit of federation holds the only key to national progress. The whole book is replete with suggestions which ought to set us thinking, coming as they do from an author whose knowledge of administration is first-hand.

HISTORY OF HUMAN LABOUR.

THE EVOLUTION OF LABOUR. By W. R. HAYWARD and G. W. JOHNSON. (G. Duckworth & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 221. 5s.

THIS joint production of the two authors is, as they themselves put it, a story of the struggles and labours of millions of men and women through hundreds of centuries directed to building up and preserving instead of tearing down and destroying. The book is designed to give to the reader a working knowledge of the economic system under which he lives. The authors state that human beings are inspired to work on account of our desire to enjoy the civilization that we and our forefathers have created and on account of our desire to extend and improve it. Man's original instinct is first to master nature and animals and then other men. Only as his reason gained control over his instinct he was able to cooperate with other men and raise the race from savagery. Man really begins to work and civilization also really begins when the use of grain is discovered and land is begun to be cultivated in the valleys of rivers like those between the Tigris and the Euphrates. According to the joint authors, Egypt gave to the world its first hint as to the power of man's brain. But even then common man was considered to be useful only as a slave or a soldier. The authors very briefly trace the history of human labour through the Greek, Phoenician and Roman civilizations and through the Dark and the Middle Ages. They note the rise of the guilds as the first sign of the common people beginning to think and assert that the labouring man has rights which others must respect. The second part of the book opens with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England, and is followed by a brief description of the evils that had grown under the influence of the philosophy of Adam Smith. A few short chapters then deal with the function of the manufacturer, the merchant and the banker. Towards the end of the book the authors make a mention of the beginning of the factory legislation started by Sir Robert Peel, the repeal of the Combination Laws, development of trade unions and the beginning of the co-operative movement by Robert Owen.

As the book covers a very wide range, it could only deal very briefly with the subject; it is mainly descriptive and there is hardly any attempt at argument, although the authors do not conceal their parti-

ality for the capitalist system as against socialism although they concede the need of giving labour its due which they feel can be done under the present system. The usefulness of the work lies in presenting a bird's-eye-view of the various stages through which human-labour passes; and those who are interested in the subject will not find a few hours spent in skipping through the pages as waste of time and energy.

N. M. JOSHI.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE LAW OF INSOLVENCY IN BRITISH INDIA. By D. B. KSHIRSAGAR. 1927. pp. 232, xlviii. Rs. 2-12.

THAT the law of Insolvency has assumed in recent years unusually great importance is clear from the enormous increase in the number of insolvency cases in the Courts of British India. The Bombay University has done well in prescribing the study of the Insolvency law as a subject for the LL. B. degree examination. The Insolvency Law applicable to the Presidency Towns is contained in the Presidency Town Insolvency Act, 1908, whereas that applicable in other places is contained in the Provincial Insolvency Act, 1920. A comparative study of the law as contained in these two enactments is very essential and Mr. Kshirsagar's book will, we hope, be of very great help both to students and practitioners. The author has done well in giving at the outset a broad outline of the main features of the Insolvency law.

The special feature of the book is the arrangement of the corresponding provisions of both the Acts, which greatly facilitates comparison and makes the study of the subject precise and easy. The notes and the commentary are concise, yet nothing important has been omitted. The bulk of the case-law is well sifted and a few important and leading cases have been cited. To make it quite up-to-date recent cases have been given in the Appendix with model examination questions. The writer has spared no pains to make the book useful to those for whom it is intended. The get-up of the book is excellent and the price is very moderate. The book will, we believe, remove a great want of the student.

S. C. JOSHI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- OUTSIDE THE LAW.** By SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK. (Jayme Press, Kensington.) 1927. 8½ × 7. pp. 126. 7s. 6d.
- FIRST ESSAY ON POPULATION, 1798.** By THOMAS ROBERT MATHUS. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 × 5½. pp. 306. 10s. 6d.
- ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES FOR INDIAN READERS.** By DR. PRAPHULLACHANDRA BASU. (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 348. 7s. 6d.
- FORGOTTEN TALES OF ANCIENT CHINA.** By VERNE DYSON. (The Commercial Press, Shanghai.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 384. \$4.00.
- THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT, 1917-1927.** By K. T. SHAH. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 143. Rs. 2.
- NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION, IX session, 1926.** (Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, Akola.) 1927. 13 × 8. pp. 104. Rs. 3.