

Servant of India

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

VOL. XI, No. 4. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1928.

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

CONTENTS.

| | Page |
|---|------|
| TOPICS OF THE WEEK | 37 |
| ARTICLES :— | |
| The Indian Church Act | 40 |
| The Economic Position of Great Britain | 41 |
| Excise in Bihar and Orissa | 42 |
| OUR U. P. LETTER | 42 |
| REVIEWS :— | |
| Municipal Administration. By Dr. V. Shiva Ram, M.A., Ph.D., F.R. Hist. S. | 43 |
| The Communistic Position. By Prof. B. G. Sapre, M.A. | 45 |
| Medium of Instruction. By Prof. M. R. Paranjpe, M.A., B.Sc. | 46 |
| MISCELLANEA :— | |
| The Christmas Spirit | 47 |
| The New Reserve Bank Bill | 48 |
| BOOKS RECEIVED | 48 |

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Liberal Party has given much scandal to our Anglo-Indian mentors by its advocacy of the Simon boycott and support of, or at any rate acquiescence in, hartals on the day of the Commission's arrival in India. The extreme section of this Press of course tries to make out that the boycott is opposed to constitutional agitation to which the Liberal Party is pledged. The *Times of India* e. g. puts forward this contention and cites in support an extract from Mr. Gokhale's speech. The fact, however, is that Mr. Gokhale was at great pains to prove that the boycott was included, and did not for the matter of that constitute the most extreme measure, in constitutional agitation to which all constitutionalists were entitled to resort as might be expedient. The boycott again that Mr. Gokhale referred to was the boycott of British goods as a political weapon for the redress of grievances, which to be sure is a much more serious affair than the boycott of the Statutory Commission intended merely as a gesture of indignation. The saner elements of the Anglo-Indian press recognise the perfectly licit character of boycott not only for the Indian politicians in general, but for the Liberal Party in particular, and only express doubt as to the desirability of adopting it on the present occasion. They also admit hartals to be legitimate as a form of protest, but they contend that if disorder results therefrom all those who do not actively dissociate themselves from this movement and repudiate it will be held legally and morally responsible for creating disorder, he

Statesman which is amongst such papers says: "A hartal conceived as a simple 'down tools' movement would be a comparatively harmless demonstration, but many of those who at Benares called for a hartal know full well by past experience what such a strike degenerates into. Theirs must be the sole responsibility for whatever happens, and what happens may be grave indeed if we look back to memories of previous political hartals. Men who play with fire in this way cannot plead afterwards that they did not foresee what would come of their action." The Anglo-Indian press therefore resounds with the cry that the Liberal politicians should condemn the hartal of February 3 and thus fix the responsibility for any evil results that may follow exclusively on the shoulders of the Swaraj party.

We hope that the Liberals will not harken to this siren voice and do anything calculated to weaken the solidarity of the boycott movement. The Liberal Party *qua* party is not committed to hartals, as it is committed to boycott. We know that there are several prominent Liberals who are in favour of hartals as well, and if they join in them, we daresay that they will do so with the full knowledge of the responsibility that such action entails. They will not try to minimise or wriggle out of this responsibility, but surely they are entitled to plead that they cannot be held accountable for any breach of the peace, should it unfortunately occur in spite of all their efforts to prevent it. If it is contended that every person must be regarded as at any rate morally responsible for all the consequences which, though not intended, are known beforehand as likely to flow from his action, we would only urge that this reasoning be carried a step backward. If Indian politicians, though exerting all their influence on the side of peace and non-violence, are still to be held liable for any riots that follow in the wake of the hartals which they organize, because they could foresee this result, Lord Birkenhead and all those who share responsibility with him for the present policy in India, must be treated as the ultimate cause of such riots as it is they who, by creating bitter discontent by their reactionaryism, have unleashed the spirits of disorder in the country. They cannot argue in self-defence that Indian discontent might have taken a less dangerous form of expression than hartals any more than can Indian politicians argue that the hartals might have been conducted in a peaceful manner. Lord Birken-

head could foresee that such a mass of discontent must find vent in an undesirable way just as much as the Indian politician can foresee that the *hartal* must take on an ugly shape if it once starts. Similarly if even those Liberals who do not wholly approve of *hartals* as a suitable form of demonstration are to be roped in in a comprehensive responsibility for any untoward happenings for the reason that they do not dissociate themselves from *hartals*, all those who, like the Anglo-Indian press, encourage Lord Birkenhead in his anti-Indian policy are equally responsible with his Lordship for the unpleasant consequences for which they are anxious in advance to saddle the responsibility on the Liberals.

* * *

ACCORDING to the *Times of India* boycott of the Commission can be defended only on one ground: "That is knowledge, positive and certain, that those are false assurances of fair intention and friendship with which the British Government, the heads of all British political parties, the British Parliament and the British Press have commended to India the scheme for the Statutory Inquiry." Now, of course, no one can be absolutely certain in a matter of this kind. But surely if, with the knowledge that it has that the conferment of equal powers upon the Indian Committees would liquidate the boycott, the British Government does not make an authoritative announcement to this effect, leaving room at least for doubt that equality of status is not in fact intended, one may legitimately draw the inference that the Committees will perhaps enjoy some dignity, but no effective power. There are other indications also, one of which is contained in the last number of the *New Statesman*, which has the following:—

The demand of the National Congress for a "round-table conference of plenipotentiaries" is plain nonsense. India has not and cannot have any "plenipotentiaries", has not that is to say, any leaders who can speak authoritatively in the name of the people and can command the obedience of the people or even, indeed, of their own nominal party followers. That is one of the roots of the whole difficulty. There is no Indian "nation" with which we can negotiate. It appears that many Indian politicians attach too much importance to the Irish precedent. There is no effective analogy between the two cases. The Southern Irish were and are a nation, and what is more they were a nation in arms. We could deal with their leaders, knowing that they could both speak for their country and in the last resort in spite of the fanatic de Valera, rule it. But there is no corresponding body in India with which we can conceivably negotiate. We cannot, in fact, "negotiate" at all; we can only impose this settlement or that. It is an unfortunate position, but until the Hindu and Moslem leaders of India are prepared to accept responsibility for the maintenance of law and order without calling for the help of British troops, there would seem to be no way out of it.

When the authorities are studiously silent and when what are supposed to be organs of progressive opinion in England write in this style, need one be surprised if Indians come to the conclusion that, in despite of all the fair words used by the Government about equality, the Indian Committees will be, as the Viceroy's statement says, mere "witnesses." There were several men who supported the Commission in the belief that (in the words employed by Mr. Pethick-Lawrence in the Commons debate) the Government were "attempting to make a bargain as between equal persons deciding how a transitional stage shall be reached." Mr. Pethick-Lawrence said he was

supporting the Commission because it was possible to interpret the Government action in that way. If however the Commission was really appointed to inquire, as Mr. Pilcher had alleged, into the conduct of the Indian legislature, "the thing is simply a fake and a sham," and "in that event, I fully agree in the view of our Indian fellow-subjects that this procedure is not worth their attention," that "their attitude of desiring to boycott it will be justified, and I think the Government will have led the members of our (Labour) Party into a trap in getting us to agree to this Commission." All such persons have now enough reason to revise their former opinion as to what interpretation is justified by facts and to feel that they have been led into a trap.

* * *

THAT Mr. Jayakar also should fall a victim to such confused thinking as the Anglo-Indian press betray on this question Another Such Voice. is to us a source of much pain and astonishment. He knew, he says in an interview in New Delhi—quite a safe place for such an interview—that the boycott of the Commission, itself a form of non-co-operation, would inevitably lead to proposals for initiating all the other forms of non-co-operation as well, viz. *hartals*, boycott of Councils and therefore—well, and therefore he was opposed to the boycott of the Commission itself. A very queer argument, one should think. Mr. Jayakar is on the merits of the question, either in favour of boycott or opposed to it. If the latter, there is an end of the matter, and one need not argue any further. If the former, i. e. if he be in favour of boycotting the Commission, he need not turn against it because it is likely to give rise to other boycotts—in the hands not of course of Mr. Jayakar, but of other people. What is there in this wide world which, though reasonable in itself, is not susceptible of being stretched to unreasonable lengths by unreasonable people? Still one does not for that reason withhold one's support from things which one considers wise and expedient. The Liberals certainly do not favour the boycott of Councils and some Liberals may individually be against *hartals* as well, but that does not deter them from supporting the limited boycott which they favour, viz. the boycott of the Simon Commission. Mr. Jayakar himself does not oppose self-government or Dominion Status, because a demand for it must inescapably lead to a demand by other people for independence, to which he is opposed. Similarly he need not oppose the boycott of the Commission because he is opposed to *hartals*. But the trouble with Mr. Jayakar is that he does not know his own mind. He of course gives us a promise, for which we are duly grateful that at the right time he will be found in the right place. Of course he is much too much of a Responsivist not to respond to a general wish to boycott the Commission. To oppose, on the ground of conscientious objection, a unanimous demand for a certain course of conduct, requires a slightly different material from that of which, happily for us boycotters, he is compounded. We have therefore no difficulty in accepting his assurance that he will eventually fall in with the country as a whole. But we would ask Mr. Jayakar how even when the proper time comes he can range himself on the side of boycott, if, according to him, boycott is to be avoided because it leads to undesirable things. He must then be against boycott not only at present but for all time.

But Mr. Jayakar fondly hopes that there will be no need for boycott. This of course makes his position much more rational than that of Mr. Kelkar, who is certain that boycott is inevitable in the end

and yet is opposed to an immediate declaration of it. However Mr. Jayakar must either be living in a fool's paradise or must have a very poor idea of "equality of status" if he thinks that the Indian Committees will be given equal powers with the Commission. Apparently he is of the opinion that everything will be for the best in the best of all possible worlds if the Statutory Commission too is called "a delegation of British Parliament" as the Indian Committees will be called a delegation of Indian Parliament. With the Responsivist leader, as with our Indian princes, it is only a matter of dignity. Not so with others: they want the substance of power and not the shadow of a name. Only on one point will Mr. Jayakar "insist," if Responsivism is capable of insisting on anything: viz. that the Joint Parliamentary Committee, to which he suggests Indian representatives should be added, should treat the reports of the two "delegations," by courtesy so-called, as "of equal weight." Now there are at least two fallacies in this: the Joint Parliamentary Committee will not consider the Statutory Commission's report at all, but will only consider the Government's proposals based on the report. It is therefore quite out of place to ask that the Committee shall treat the two reports as of equal weight. Nor is it reasonable to demand or possible to promise in advance what weight shall be given to any report. In the second place even the worst apologists of Government do not profess that the Indian delegations (it is wrong to suppose that there will be only one delegation, there will be several that will be heard by the Parliamentary Committee will have any other status than that of witnesses, who will perhaps be in longer touch with the Committee than ordinary witnesses, but who are witnesses all the same. Mr. Jayakar asks that to this Committee an Indian element should be added. This also is not a demand that can be made in consonance with correct procedure. Nor will the Indian members, if they are co-opted, occupy the same position as that of the regular members of the Committee. Unless, therefore, Mr. Jayakar is content with the nominal equality, by which he lays so much store, he will have to come into the broad stream of boycott, and those whose whole politics consists really in swimming with the current, need really cause no misgivings to anyone as to how they will ultimately act. Then why worry as to what they say at the moment?

IN passing a resolution expressing want of confidence in the Simon Commission, the Well done, C. P. C. P. Legislative Council has correctly expressed the Indian view on the subject. The attempt made by the Government spokesman to make out that the exclusion of Indians from the Commission's personnel did not necessarily presuppose a desire to insult the Indian nation was as unconvincing as it was futile. He was at considerable pains to point out that inasmuch as the Commission had been allowed practically unfettered discretion in the matter of settling its own procedure, it was imprudent on the part of Indian politicians to commit themselves to a position from which it would be difficult for them to resile. It is of course true that the Commission is free to settle its own procedure of work; but it is equally true that it cannot move outside the framework intended for it. And in any case so long as Indians continue to be excluded from it, how could any self-respecting individual or party dream of having anything to do with it? It has been made clear times out of number by those who are in the vanguard of the movement for boycotting the Commission that in case an adequate number of Indians should even yet be included in its personnel, they would be ready to call off the boycott. Those who, like the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government, plead for a relaxation

of the boycott of the Commission, on the ground that the scheme of its work really grants to the committees of the legislatures equal status with itself show an imperfect appreciation of the mentality behind the movement. The Muslim members of the Council did not know their mind and took no definite stand, which is greatly to be deplored. They shielded themselves behind what was to them an inadequate expression of Muslim opinion in the province, but considered the proposed expression of want of confidence in the Commission premature, the Council not being asked to elect its committee to associate with the Commission. In taking up this indecisive attitude they seem to us to be deceiving none but themselves. If such expression of public opinion as has taken place since the announcement of the personnel of the Commission is not enough to enable them to decide their own attitude to it, one wonders whether they will ever be able to do so. If the nominated representative of the depressed classes in the Council is to be taken as a faithful exponent of their views, they seem to be determined to appear before the Commission. In taking up this attitude, the depressed classes do not seem to have taken a sufficiently long view of the situation. Seeing that it is not the bureaucracy, but the Indian intelligentsia that has been its true friends in the past as it will continue to be in the future, it is to be hoped they will yet see their way to revise their anti-national attitude.

CONTRARY to expectation the situation of the strike took a definite turn for the worse last week. The condition that the work of the absentees should be done by their neighbouring workers was withdrawn by the Spring Mill. The workers however insisted on the withdrawal of the notice giving the option of working both sides for a higher wage. Mr. Bakhale at this stage attempted to induce the workers to resume but he failed in this task. The E. D. Sassoon group are not even allowing option in the matter of the new system. A strong committee appointed by the Textile Labour Union has watched the development of the strike and rendered the best assistance to the workers. When the strikers of the Spring Mill joined work on Monday morning it was thought that this would be the signal for a resumption of work. Sir Victor Sassoon declared recently that he is against option being allowed to workers and so it is unlikely that the E. D. Sassoon group will show any desire to make compromises. Mr. Ginwalla has suggested a round table conference between the representatives of mill-owners and those of textile workers. This is decidedly the right way of arriving at a working settlement. So far there have been no negotiations between these two. The strikers of the Sassoon Mills very recently held a mass meeting and elected seven members from amongst the strikers to work as co-opted members on the special strike committee appointed by the Textile Labour Union. The strike committee has found out on the strength of information supplied to it by mill authorities that under the new system nearly half the savings go to the owners and half to the workers. The Committee is thinking of demanding that 70 p. c. of the profits due to the introduction of the double-frame system should be handed over to the workers. We hope the round-table idea will materialise soon; otherwise the spectacle of stray workers resuming their task in driblets and thus acting against trade union principles is certain to be witnessed very soon.

THE INDIAN CHURCH ACT.

THE Indian Church Bill which became law a few weeks ago deserves to be studied from various points of view. Its complement, the Indian Church Measure, has dissolved the union legally existing between the Church of England and the Church of England in India. Henceforward the Metropolitan Bishop of the Indian Church shall not be subject to the general superintendence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Any rule made by any synod, council, assembly or officer of the Indian Church shall not in future be subject to any legal limitation in respect to scope or effect. The General Council in India will hereafter make, amend or repeal rules for the general management of the Indian Church and the property and affairs pertaining to it. The Churches hitherto maintained by Government will continue to be maintained and repaired at Government expense and new ones may be added to them by the Governor General in Council with the concurrence of the Bishop of Calcutta. The maintained churches shall be available for the services of the Church of England as contained in any Book of Common Prayer from time to time authorised in England. The object of the Bill is to make the Indian Church a voluntary association legally entitled to manage its affairs like other Churches in the same communion in the Dominions, the United States, China and Japan.

The Bill was supported by the Church Assembly of India as well as by the Diocesan Councils all over the country. It is noteworthy that the opposition to the Bill in India came from Englishmen who did not like the idea of a Church governed by a body of mixed Englishmen and Indians. The main grievances of the members of the Church of England in India are the application of the ecclesiastical law of England to India and the absence of any representation on the National Assembly of the Church of England and in the Houses of Convocation in England. As explained by Earl Winterton in the debate on the Bill, since the grant of a Charter by William III to the East India Company it has been the practice to provide chaplains and churches for British-born subjects of the Crown. But to-day these are outnumbered by the Indians who belong to the Church of England who number about 4 lakhs out of the total number of 5 lakhs of persons belonging to the Church of England in India. The problem therefore was how to secure the self-government of the Indian Church without jeopardising the traditional character of the Church organization. This problem has been solved by the joint consultation between the Government of India and the Bishops as a result of which a scheme of rules which has been agreed upon by the two, and which has received the concurrence of the Secretary of State will be given effect to. These rules, among other things, ensure that in regard to Government chaplains there must be equitable treatment in such matters as refusal of license and proceedings before ecclesiastical courts. The chaplains will also be represented on the Provincial Council and the Diocesan Councils in India.

Another point of view from which to look at the Act is the principle of supporting at the expense of the general taxpayer in India a Church which caters for the spiritual needs of only a fraction of the citizens. There is much to support the maintenance of the Indian Church out of the State exchequer. As a matter of fact it has been maintained by the Government for nearly 300 years, meaning by the Church the maintained churches and there is very little doubt as to the objection of the Government to provide out of public moneys the spiritual ministrations for servants of the Crown including the Army. In the second place provision is made from army funds for the spiritual ministrations of the Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. If therefore other Christian servants of the Crown are provided for, it is difficult to see why the Church of England should not receive State support. Another point made out by the Under-Secretary of State is that the lands and sites belonging to the mosques and temples in India are entirely exempt from land assessment. The idea therefore that only the Church of England is singled out for specially favoured treatment turns out to be erroneous.

As against all this array of arguments are to be placed the grounds on which the objectors of the Act opposed the measure. To the contention that the practice of supporting the Church of England in India began in 1698 Mr. Thurtle retorted that the argument of antiquity is never conclusive. We ought, he said, to consider the question not on the basis of prescription, but from the point of view whether it is right and proper. In Mr. Thurtle's opinion the civil servants at least ought to find the money to maintain their religion in India. Considering that the argument of self-government of the Church in India is brought in he said that the matter should be deferred till such time as the Indian people are free to decide for themselves and have control of their national fortunes and national finance; if they then thought fit to create and endow the Church of England in India no one could object to that course. Col. Wedgwood objected to the very principle that the State should supply the Church of England ministrations to the civil servants and asked whether the State would supply ministrations for all varieties of faith that go to compose the civil service. He next referred to the argument that this Act merely gave to India the right of self-determination and dwelt on the absurdity of applying the phrase to the creation of the Indian Church when the right of self-determination as to whether they should find the funds for the upkeep of the chaplains and churches, was not granted to Indians. As a matter of fact Col. Wedgwood said the reduction of the sum allocated to the Army is practically impossible for the Legislative Assembly in India. It is almost humorous that this vicarious self-government in the matter of the separation of the Indian Church should be trotted out so eloquently when the vital question of self-government in general is on the anvil and is not even properly discussed in all its bearings.

As for the Assembly Earl Winterton declared that there has never been any Resolution passed in the Assembly hostile to the measure. He is perfectly

right in his surmise that the reason for this is that the Muslim and Hindu members of the Assembly feel it would be a rather ungracious attitude on their part to object to this small sum of money being given in assistance of the Church of England in respect of obligations of the Government to the European servants of the Crown. This is quite true, but we should not like this feeling on the part of the Assembly to be construed into an intellectual surrender to a principle which is based on solid foundations and is incontrovertible.

Considering the various issues raised on both sides we are inclined to the opinion that the present is not the time for raising a dispute about the contribution of the State towards the Church of England in India. When the whole question of the Army expenditure is again discussed in connection with the possibility of introducing responsible government in the Central Government and when the question of disestablishment of the Church in England is decided one way or the other we can take stock of the situation at the time and arrive at a mature decision.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

PROF. PIGOU has written a memorandum under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society, which reviews the economic position of Britain comparing it with that of the pre-war period. We comment upon it in the hope that India will learn a good deal from such a survey. The increase in population between 1911 and 1921 is nearly 5 p. c., this being lower than any recorded increase; a result of the mortality of young men during the war. 1926 shows an increase of a million males over 1913, belonging to the age-group 45-65, partly owing to a fall in birth-rate in earlier decades. Some curious results of the war are seen in the persons employed in occupations comparing 1911 with 1921; in agriculture there is a fall of 14 p. c. in the number occupied, in private domestic service a fall of 19 p. c.; in dress-making and millinery there is a fall of 52 p. c. In the chemical industry there is a rise of 47 p. c.; in the making of electrical apparatus a rise of 107 p. c.; in the cycles and motor-car industry a rise of 101 p. c.; the employees of national Government as well as local Government rose by 56 p. c. From 1921 to 1926 however pig-iron industries, iron and steel industry, engineering, shipbuilding, coal-mining and iron-mining all showed a fall of wages and a high percentage of unemployment.

The aggregate income of Great Britain in 1911 was 2,026 millions; in 1924 it was 4,188 millions. Allowing for a rise of approximately 90 p. c. in prices—which is the same thing as a fall in the value of money—the real rise was only 2 p. c. The large increase in unemployment is due to the fact that the wage-earners have set their rates too high to allow of normal employment. On the supposition that the real demand for labour is not likely to improve, this policy cannot be justified. The skilled workers employed in industries directly exposed to foreign competition were in 1924 less well off than in 1913, while workers in sheltered industries have improved their average position. Between 1914 and 1924 the hourly wages of men have increased from 7½d. to 15½d., and making allowance for the increased cost of living (176 in 1924 as compared to 100 in 1914) real wages have increased by some 11 p. c. Adding the figure of the unemployed to that for the employed

in order to arrive at wages per head, the rise is still 4 p. c. in spite of a shorter working week. In industries exposed to foreign competition the rise has been from 45 p. c. to 75 p. c. but in sheltered industries the rise has been from 80 p. c. The greater relative rise of the wages of unskilled workers is due to the urgent demand during the war for comparatively unskilled labour. If as a result he has become physically more efficient and in future there is a comparatively large demand for unskilled labour, then the improvement in wages of this class will become permanent. The wage-earners as a body to-day have to their credit further gains in the form of the employers' contribution to the insurance funds and an increased amount for old age pensions and as non-material gain an increased amount of leisure per week, by the reduction in the length of the working hours.

Prof. Pigou says that the popular notion that the total national income to-day is much smaller than in the pre-war period is illusory; he puts it to-day at only 5 p. c. less than what it was in 1911. The general shifting of the distribution of wealth is in favour of the poorer classes because £253 million on pensions and on education and allied heads is enjoyed by the poorer classes, while taken from the rich classes. The total savings in 1911 are estimated to amount to £330 millions; in 1924 they are at the minimum £450 millions. If we translate the savings of 1911 at the price level of to-day they would amount to £550 millions; consequently there is a shortage of £100 millions in savings.

The imports in 1924 as compared with 1913 have maintained themselves; exports have declined by nearly 20 p. c. Between 1900 and 1913 the imports and exports rose at the rate of 2½ p. c. and 5 p. c. per annum respectively. It is clear therefore that the great setback between 1913 and 1924 is due to war conditions. It should be noted, however, that this weakness is not peculiar to England because the total exports of the world have not risen during the same period by more than 31 p. c. and that the proportion of Great Britain's exports to the world exports has fallen only by 1 p. c. The decline of the British export trade is due to the impoverishment of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the self-sufficient attitude compelled by the war and the high incidence of tariffs. As to the greater fall in exports as compared to imports Prof. Pigou assigns the result to the changes in the amount of imports that Great Britain is entitled to receive as interest on previous investment which, being invisible export, is not shown in the ordinary figures of merchandise and bullion. If however we look to the balance of total credits and total debits in 1913 and 1926 matters are more serious. In 1913 there was a balance of £181 millions in favour of England; in 1926 there was a balance of £12 millions against her. Broadly put, the position is this: England has not at present any appreciable surplus on her trading for making loans to foreigners. With regard to changes in the price a unit of British exports unchanged since 1913 was able to purchase 20 p. c. more of imports. This is clearly due to a higher price of exports due to the intensity of the foreign demand and the lower price of imports due to decreased demand from Europe.

A few figures may be reflected upon for comparison with India. The total trade in merchandise in 1913-14 was Rs. 427 crores; in 1924-25 it was Rs. 387 crores. There is thus a fall of nearly 21 p. c. If we take imports and exports separately there is in 1924-25 a fall of 25 p. c. in imports compared to 1913-14 while the rise in exports in 1924-25 as compared to 1913-14 is only 2½ p. c. In the matter of exports, therefore, India's position was more satisfactory than that of Great Britain.

EXCISE IN BIHAR AND ORISSA.

THERE is nothing particularly striking about the working of the Excise Department of Behar and Orissa for 1926-27, the administration report of which has recently reached us. The provincial Government is still thinking in terms of the traditional bureaucratic policy of maximum revenue from minimum consumption, while the whole country is crying itself hoarse for prohibition. Since the creation of the province in 1911, its excise revenue has been steadily growing. In 1912-13 it was a little over a crore, while during the year under report it was in the neighbourhood of two crores, in other words a rise of 90 per cent. The consumption however has not shown a correspondingly marked decline as it should have, that of country spirit, e. g. having during the same period gone down by only 8 per cent. This makes one strongly suspect as to whether it was not the revenue rather than the temperance side of the policy that was receiving greater consideration at the hands of the Government. But to come back to the year 1926-27, the total excise revenue for that year was Rs. 19,797,751 which exceeded that for the previous year by only Rs. 60,000, the incidence of excise revenue varying between as. 3 and Re. 1-7-0. What is known as the sliding-scale system is in force almost throughout the province, it being claimed for it that it eliminates the element of speculation inseparable from similar other systems. In granting excise licenses, only one shop is allotted to each licensee to the great dissatisfaction of 'big business' which finds its occupation gone. The existing excise rules also provide for close personal supervision on the part of a licensee of the working of his shop and require his daily presence for two hours thereat. While this has the merit of more people sharing the excise profits, it has the great disadvantage of adding to the number of people with vested interests who cannot be expected to be friendly to prohibition. The experiment of replacing subinspectors by inspectors on inspection work with a view to check corruption notoriously prevalent in the excise staff is reported to be working well and will in due course be extended to other districts. The number of licensing boards remained stationary, viz. 8 and they could do nothing beyond closing only 10 toddy shops and changing the sites of 2 country liquor and 1 toddy shops. A most uninspiring record! Nor did the excise advisory committees fare better. Their recommendations were, it is said, carried into effect wherever practicable, which perhaps means they were mostly ignored. The spirit in which these recommendations are dealt with is well illustrated by the manner in which a suggestion, that the sale of liquor should be stopped during festivals, for which one committee was responsible, was disposed of. No action was considered necessary on it simply because the magistrates and the police already had the power of closing shops, should they apprehend any breach of peace. Who but the unerring Government could have dreamt that in making this recommendation the Committee in question was actuated by a desire to see the public

peace undisturbed? If we read its intentions aright, it put forward the suggestion more as a matter of temperance than anything else. One licensing board cancelled a license, acting on the supposition that if you are empowered to grant a license, as the Board was, you can as well cancel one. This led to a difference between itself and the Collector and when the matter was referred to the Government, it was ruled that the Board had no such power as it was claiming for itself. The consumption of country liquor showed a decline from 1,124,009 in 1925-26 to 1,064,352 gallons during the year under report and the total revenue from it also went down from Rs. 8,086,571 to Rs. 7,862,696, which it is difficult to reconcile with the Government's policy. Certain areas inhabited by the aborigines have at present no liquor shops, but were responsible for a few cases of illicit manufacture and sale. It is to be hoped that this will not be used as a ground for quartering such shops on them. The only temperance activity noticeable in the province was among the low castes, with whom a vow to desist from drink still has great influence.

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, January 18.

BOYCOTT OF THE STATUTORY COMMISSION.

THANKS to the Statutory Commission, a new alignment of political parties is taking place in this province as in others. The Liberals and the Congressmen stand for unqualified opposition; and today they are united. At the All-Party Conference at Benares they have announced their "firm resolve to have nothing to do with that Commission in any form and at any stage of its work." They have further decided to observe *hartal* on Feb. 3, the day when the Commissioners land in Bombay. That the Liberals should have agreed to the use of this favourite weapon of the orthodox non-co-operators may look somewhat strange when viewed as an isolated fact. But, then, the full import of the words uttered by the President of the Liberal Federation at Bombay should not be lost sight of. It was not airy talk, as some imagined it to be, when he said to the Government "If you sow the wind you should not refuse to reap the whirlwind. Then again, if the Liberals, by subscribing themselves to the observance of *hartal*, succeeded in turning down the proposal for boycott of British goods from the programme of the Conference then it must be put down to their credit for effecting such a modification, and the Government should still be thankful to them. Thus the two main political parties will lead the movement for the boycott of the Commission. And they carry with them such of those Muslims and Zamindars as are known for their nationalist tendencies. Of course, there are some among both Muslims and Zamindars who wish to please and have to please the Government, and they will appear before the Commission. Minister Nawab Muhamad Yusuf will be their leader. The position in the Legislature however remains undefinable.

A CHANGE IN GOVERNORSHIP.

The looked for change has come: Sir Alexander Muddiman has replaced Sir William Marris on the provincial *gaddi*. The new régime dates from January 14, 1928. Sir Alexander has been heartily welcomed by the press and the public at large and co-operation is assured to him from all sides. That augurs well. If His Excellency will fully avail himself of the

support thus extended to him his task will be made very much easier. Sir Alexander Muddiman will prove an improvement on his predecessor in one respect at least. He is believed to be more suave of manner. That is no doubt good. His amiability and courtesy should greatly help him in creating a friendly atmosphere round him. But these two qualities by themselves would not ensure success. 'A touch of Nature' is what the Marris ridden province cries for most, and if the new Governor provides it, he will not have held office in vain. A frank recognition of popular rights, of justice in the place of prestige; due consideration to the interests of the taxpayer; strength in dealing with his own officers; a liberal and sympathetic attitude in the working of the Constitution; a strict and impartial policy with regard to communal matters—these are some of the qualities which His Excellency must show to establish his claim for success as an administrator. Courage to admit errors committed by his predecessor in office and wisdom to repair them by a bold and straightforward policy, are what will win him appreciation at the present moment. Whether he will choose to do so or prefer fiddling, is what everyone is eager to know.

SIR WILLIAM MARRIS' RECORD.

Sir William Marris as Governor did not belie his own past record. At a special Durbar held here a few days before his retirement he made a comprehensive review of his administration, referred to the labours he had imposed on himself at the beginning of his régime and explained what His Excellency's Government had done in respect of those problems. To enumerate them, in the order in which he named them, they are as follows: (1) His Government acted as trustees for the good administration and happiness of the province as a whole; (2) it secured financial stability; (3) it sought to administer the constitution faithfully according to the rules prescribed for it; (4) it appointed a third Minister; (5) it made an energetic and sustained effort to improve provincial education; (6) in the matter of public health it marked a period of expansion and activity; (7) it did much for agriculture, and with regard to industries it had already passed 'the stage of experiment'; (8) it made a great advance towards temperance; (9) it made progress in local self-government; (10) it completed the Sarda Canal as a project initiated in Sir Harcourt Butler's time; (11) it made a 'thorough and thoughtful' overhauling of the prisons; and (12) it did not witness more than 89 communal riots in its time, which again did not cause more than 81 deaths and 2,300 injuries. It goes without saying of course that His Excellency was perfectly satisfied with what his Government had done under his personal direction in all these matters, and was not prepared to admit that the people governed had any legitimate ground of complaint against the measures adopted for the improvement of their condition. As regards adverse criticism appearing in the press on his administration, he brushed it aside without ceremony. He said, 'The opinion of the outside critic . . . is not the only tribunal before which a retiring Governor has to appear. If he has taken his office at all seriously, he has to search his own mind, look over the record for himself and withstand his own cross-examination.' It may perhaps be conceded that from his own point of view he is right, for otherwise he would not have acted in the way he did. It is not all or many that can look at questions from several points of view, and where this is so a certain obliquity of vision is inevitable. It is just so with Sir William Marris. To represent him correctly, Morley's description of Lord Palmerston may be repeated almost word for word: "Firm, prompt, clean-cut, but apt to be narrow, teasing, obstinate, a prisoner to his own arguments, and wanting in the

statesman's first quality of seeing the whole and not merely the half"—and in the case of Sir William Marris it may be added—the reserved "half". It is this last defect in him that is responsible for much of the misery caused by his administrative mistakes. Saying then not a word about intentions, with which one has no concern and confining oneself to effects, one is bound to say that a good deal of what has been done by Sir William Marris's Government in several directions has been of undoubted disservice to the province.

SIR WILLIAM'S ADVICE TO ZAMINDARS.

Even at the last moment Sir William Marris did not forget the Zamindars; and the Zamindars would not forget him either. His great concern was about their future political advancement. Replying to the address presented by the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, he once again urged on them the need for a strong, alert and organised body of landlords in the public life of the province. As landlords, he pointed out that their position fitted them in many ways to be the leaders of public life, and that they had close and peculiar relations with the inarticulate masses of the people who formed the tenantry. They had, he told them, a stake in the country, obviously more to lose by disorder than some other people. No one wishes the landlords ill. What every patriotic man is anxious about is that they should awaken to a sense of their responsibilities before it may be too late and that they should move with the spirit of the times. If the Zamindars take their proper place as organisers and leaders of the "inarticulate masses of the people," there can be nothing more welcome than that. The middle class politicians who stand for just concessions to tenants are in no way opposed to the landlords. But the bureaucracy is concerned to misrepresent their attitude and create bad blood between two sections of the community. If the bureaucracy support the landlords today, they do so for obvious reasons and not because of an excess of love for them. It is for the Zamindars to arrive at a correct understanding of things and to cease playing into the hands of the Government. Then only can they get their rightful place in the public life of the province.

REVIEWS.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE GOVERNMENT OF EUROPEAN CITIES.

By WILLIAM BENNET MUNRO. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 1927. pp. ix, 432. 15s.

MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

2 vols. By ERNEST S. GRIFFITH. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1927. pp. xix, 734. 42s.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN MANY LANDS.

By G. MONTAGU HARRIS. (P. S. King and Son, London.) 1926. pp. vi, 340. 15s.

"Municipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations. A nation may establish a system of free Government, but without municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty" *Alain De Tocqueville*, "Democracy in America."

THESE three works together give the latest developments in municipal organisation in Western Europe, the United States and the Dominions. Of these three Prof. Munro's is the most valuable and instructive. The style is clear and interesting; the material is admirably arranged and presented with a clarity, which is typical of all Prof. Munro's writings. His

is an entirely new book, intended to replace the one of the same title originally published in 1909. Of the merit of this earlier work, it is sufficient to say that it remained for eighteen years a standard book on municipal government in Europe with a comprehensive description of city government in England, France and Prussia available for students in comparative municipal government. During this whole period, no scholar was tempted to rival Prof. Munro's achievements. In the meantime, of course, many changes, some of them of vital importance, have occurred in the municipal systems of these countries and hence this new book. The present volume differs both in scope and organisation from its predecessor. It includes a chapter on Italian cities and a chapter on Scotch and Irish cities. The chapters on German cities are not entirely confined, though largely so, to the Prussian cities. The arrangement of the matter in the new edition has also been improved, as instead of presenting the material relating to each of the more important countries in a single chapter, there are, in the new edition, ten chapters on England, eight on France, in each case, including chapters on municipal history, central control, suffrage and elections, party activities, the council, etc. There are separate chapters also on London and Paris. German cities are covered in two chapters, one on "German Cities before the War", the other on "German City Government today."

Prof. Munro has made a more decided attempt than before to correlate American and European experience. Prof. Munro has obviously written for the American reader and especially with the American college student in mind. The English and French portions of the work are dotted rather thickly with references to American municipal institutions and problems. While this is an advantage to American readers, constant references to things American somewhat mars the perfection of the author's exposition for foreign readers. It is to be regretted that the author felt obliged to cut down the treatment of German cities from 100 to 40 pages. The importance of German cities has in no wise diminished since the war. In fact, their struggles and expedients are more important than ever, now that they are on a democratic basis. It is however extremely difficult to obtain data concerning their post-war condition. The safest course under the circumstances is the one followed by Prof. Munro, i.e. to confine himself to a description of the machinery of city governments in Germany. Prof. Munro's volume is on the whole indispensable to students and teachers of comparative municipal governments, and is, like all the works of Munro, very readable, interesting and instructive.

Mr. Griffith is an American and his work on the Modern Development of City governments in the United Kingdom and the United States consists of two volumes, the first dealing with the historical and descriptive material, and the second with political and economic considerations. The work is the outcome of research spread over a period of nearly ten years at Liverpool, Oxford and Princeton. The author's conclusions may be briefly stated as follows:—

"At the outset, I was a believer in centralisation but as the evidence began to unfold, my opinion reluctantly but none the less surely changed into a profound suspicion of the wisdom of central interference in the city government. This and the belief in the efficacy of a tax on the capital value of land as part of a sound system of taxation are the main conclusions".

Volume II of Mr. Griffith's work is more valuable as it discusses the constitutional problems of city governments. The last chapter on the Systems of City government summarises the chief features of the British and American systems of municipal government, compares and contrasts them fully and suggests certain remedies for cities both of the United States and United Kingdom. Part III of the work contains a useful and exhaustive bibliography of works consulted by the author, including a full list of governmental documents and periodicals for both the United States and United Kingdom.

The appendices also contain very useful statistical data on such important matters as occupational statistics of municipal councillors for British cities, the development of committees in British cities, comparative analyses of city expenses and other interesting data such as percentage of electoral voting, etc. The work contains also an index of principal United Kingdom statutes cited, as also a satisfactory general index. The volumes under review constitute a useful addition to the literature of modern city government, though the price of 42 sh. is a bit too high for the Indian reader.

Mr. Montagu Harris's work on "Local Governments in Many Lands" is the outcome of information collected by Mr. Harris as an officer of the Ministry of Health for the Royal Commission on the Local Governments in 1923. The information was collected through the agencies of the Colonial Office, India Office and the Foreign Office on the systems of local government in force in the British Empire and a number of foreign countries. The author has added to these a chapter on the local government of England and Wales, Scotland, the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. The work under review is a useful compendium of the framework of both municipal and local government in each country, though necessarily sketchy. It supplies more or less the place of a handbook for local government confining itself almost to a description of the local governments in the countries treated together with statistical data.

The last chapter on Summary Review discusses important problems like centralisation and decentralisation, financial autonomy, officials, the executive and the referendum. Mr. Harris's conclusions of his comparative study are interesting and in the main accurate. He says, "Taking the local government of a country as a whole, the greatest freedom appears to be found in Switzerland, more specially in the German cantons." Though he points out that "the status of the elected council in local governments stands perhaps higher in Great Britain than in any other country, and since the powers granted to most of the local authorities are very wide and, with few

exceptions, there is no limit on the amount of rate which they may raise," on the other hand it is open to central departments to intervene as regards a great many details of local governments mainly, but not entirely, on the ground of the government's grant-in-aid. Mr. Harris also admits that the most complete freedom from external control is enjoyed probably by the cities in those states of United States of America which have adopted the system of the "home rule charter," and by the towns in Canada and Australia. Apart from Great Britain, Switzerland, and the United States of America the countries of Europe (Germany excepted for administrative autonomy) are generally attached to the more centralized and bureaucratic system, of which France is the model and the most complete exemplification. Under the Japanese system, the local authorities are largely under State control. The author frankly admits that in British India, there is no local autonomy, and that it is a wholly exceptional case for reasons not mentioned. The author also points out that the Spanish legislation has noticeably broken away from the French tradition, while the local authorities in Sweden, Finland, and to a lesser extent in the part of Northern Europe enjoy a decidedly fuller freedom than do those of Central and Southern Europe.

The number of Acts relating to local government which have been passed in different countries during recent years and the proposals for further changes which are being discussed on all sides form a very striking phenomenon at the present time. In Europe, it is true that in spite of the opportunity which is given by the drafting of new local government constitutions for each of the German States and by the reorganisation of administration generally in the countries of the Middle East, few new principles have as yet made their appearance. It is rather in the United States of America than in any other country of the world that genuine new developments in local government are taking place. Most of them, it is true, are concerned with the forms of town governments rather than with the relation of the governments to any outside authority, still the United States of America is the largest laboratory where different experiments are being tried on an extensive scale in the problems of municipal and local governments, such as, initiative, referendum and recall, short ballot, direct primary, popular election of officers etc, the results of which are bound to be profitable and instructive not only to Indian students of local governments but also to new States of Europe who are just now engaged in constitution-making and revision. For these reasons, the three books under review are both interesting and instructive and of the three Prof. Munro's is by far the best and indispensable.

If Mr. Harris had also compared the working and result of each system, this would undoubtedly have been more interesting and instructive. Such a comparison, however, could never be made from information acquired from statutes, reports and text books. Vital and other statistics can tell something, but the actual effect of a system of governments

on the life of the people can be judged only by experience, and there are very few (Bryce being an exception) who have sufficient experience of the life of different peoples to be able accurately to compare one with the other. The book is very useful, however, as it may serve to indicate possible sources of more detailed information and is to be welcomed for that reason.

V. SHIVA RAM.

THE COMMUNISTIC POSITION.

MODERN INDIA. By R. PALM DUTT. (The Communist Party of Great Britain, London.) 1927. 7¼ x 4¾. pp. 174. 2s. 6d.

THIS book is a revised edition for the use of English readers of a book first published in India in 1926. It is an attempt to interpret the economic history of India under British rule from the point of view of an out-and-out Communist, to analyse present political and economic condition of the country and to suggest a comprehensive programme for the organization of the peasantry and working classes in India into a homogeneous Party which, in collaboration with the rising Communist Party of British workmen, is to work first for the political independence of the country and next for their emancipation from all bourgeois domination.

Briefly the argument of the book is as follows. British rule in India is only a phase of Imperialism which is nothing but Capitalism buttressed by political domination. It has passed through two stages in the past. In the first stage the East India Company carried to England the riches of India accumulated through centuries. In the second stage this wealth was used for establishing Capitalism in England and for exploiting the raw materials of the country for the manufacturing industries of England. The third stage began with the close of the War when British capitalists began to establish industries overseas and with the advantage of nearness to raw material and cheap labour cut the ground from under the feet of the Labour movement in England. The British working classes, faced with increasing unemployment and reduction in wages, realised that the real strength of capitalism lay in the subjection of Asiatic and African countries. So long as that subjection continues the working classes in England have no chance of successfully fighting capitalism in England.

The writer thus traces the growth of imperialism which supplies the key to the world politics of the 20th century. "Imperialism is the most advanced form of capitalism. Capitalism begins with the exploitation of the workers in the capitalists' own country. But expansion rapidly brings the need for new and wider markets and new sources of raw material. So come the first colonial wars of conquest. Later, capitalism reaches a point at which the most intense industrial development has been reached in the home-country, to the stage of large scale monopolist enterprise; and the further expansion of capitalist enterprise, rendered inevitable by the annual accumulation of profits, can only take place by overflowing to other countries and subjecting them also to industrial exploitation. Railways, machinery and capital are exported to the new countries; industrial enterprises are established on the basis of the cheap and defenceless workers of the new country, over which political power is maintained by the imperialist state; and interest and profits are drawn to the shareholders of the imperialist country. This is the modern form of imperialism, the imperialism of finance capital." (pp. 54-55.)

This imperialism has brought in its train forces that will ultimately destroy it, viz. the struggle of the British working classes for the overthrow of capitalism in England and the struggle of the subject races for the overthrow of the political yoke. Both will combine against their common enemy.

Judged by this ultimate result the present attitude of the official Labour Party in England or of the Nationalist Movement in India towards the Indian question is not approved by the writer. The British Labour Party is as yet too imperialist and the Indian National Movement too much under the domination of the upper classes, according to him. The Indian leaders are actuated by class interests and are out for an alliance with British imperialism for the joint exploitation of the masses. He regards the goal of dominion status as the expression of this alliance and would be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence. In this work of political and social emancipation the higher classes are incapable of taking a leading part. The hegemony must come to the working classes. In support of this contention he refers to the political events in India since the non-co-operation movement. Gandhi's great work was that he reached the masses. But the moment he gave up their support he failed. As soon as the masses became active and the first symptoms of activity were visible at Chauri Chaura and Bareilly he called off the movement. The Bardoli resolutions are a proof that at the critical moment Gandhi cast his lot with Government and the landholders. The Swaraj Party is even less, equivocally the champion of class interests. Even the Congress can hardly be called at the present moment a truly mass organization.

The writer, therefore, urges the organization of the peasantry and the working classes for the attainment of political independence and social emancipation. The workers are the future governors of the State and as such politics must have the first claim upon their attention. It will be short-sighted on their part to confine themselves to purely economic issues. In this struggle the working classes must co-operate with the working classes in Britain, for capitalism is their common enemy. The author regards this alliance between Indian and British working classes as the outstanding feature of the impending political and social struggle, and the inevitable fulfilment of the prediction made by Marx about the overthrow of capitalism. "The Indian will not reap the fruits of the elements of the new society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie till in Great Britain itself the present ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Indians themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether." (p. 174.)

It is impossible to criticise in the short space of a review all the assumptions and ideas of the author. He is an uncompromising Communist. Even in England Communism is making very slow progress. It will be years before these ideas penetrate the masses in India. Communism, in practice, amounts to a political and social revolution and the path of wisdom lies in so improving the condition of the masses—politically and socially—that the masses will be effectually weaned from such dangerous doctrines.

E. G. SAPRE

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

THE LANGUAGE MEDIUM QUESTION. By C. H. SCHMIDT (J. L. Van Schaik, Ltd., Pretoria.) 1926. 8½ x 5¾. pp. 107.

"FROM the very beginning our home has become associated with a certain language and not only our

home but all our experiences. Our playmates speak the same language, we find it serves our purpose everywhere. But when we come to school, we find that one of the chief objects of study is another language, that this language is placed before our home language, and that after a while it supersedes our home languages as medium of instruction. . . . Different associations are now connected with those two languages. The home language is associated with all the child's ordinary experiences and a certain feeling tone is connected with it; the foreign tongue becomes associated only with school work. The result is that the school becomes unnatural, something that has no connection with ordinary life. . . . Very often the child knows that the teacher is using a language in school, which he does not as a rule use outside it. Consequently the teacher is unnatural and the school has, for the child, no relation to outside and home life and experiences."

For the last hundred years Indian students are forced to receive their education in such unnatural schools at the hands of unnatural teachers, and although in recent years, there has been a slight change for the better there is little likelihood of our educational institutions becoming natural in the near future; for the persons who are at the helm are influenced by considerations which are political and sentimental rather than educational. Those who object to the use of the foreign medium do so not so much because they think it to be educationally unsound but because they regard it as humiliating; and those who advocate its use do not always plead that the use of the foreign medium helps the progress of education but that it tends to the spread of the English language and weld the country into a political whole.

The language medium question, however, is not peculiar to India. "We meet it all over the world; in the British Empire it is found in Wales and to some extent in Scotland and Ireland, in Canada and in South Africa; we find it in Belgium, and in a minor degree in Switzerland. On the borders of Germany it caused continuous trouble, namely in Alsace-Lorraine, in Poland, in Hungary, and in Czechoslovakia; the United States with its large alien immigrant population, is not altogether free from it."

Mr. C. H. Schmidt, who is a native of South Africa, had most of his education through a foreign medium and has had in later years exceptional opportunities of studying the subject. In his small monograph of over 100 pages, besides discussing the subject in all its aspects, he offers to the reader a valuable symposium from all the bilingual provinces enumerated above. There is little that is new in his presentation of the arguments or his conclusions, but one is easily impressed by the striking unanimity of opinion against the use of a foreign medium in schools. If forced to study his subjects through a foreign medium, a child pays more attention to words and less to the subject-matter. His thinking is thus arrested and he cultivates the habit of rote-learning. It checks his reading power and we have the familiar phenomenon of the average student finding it difficult to finish his text-books and therefore depending for his success on abridgments sold in the bazaar. For the same amount of work a boy toiling with the help of a foreign medium is sooner overcome with fatigue and the strain caused by the necessity of working with a fatigued brain dwarfs the student's intellect.

It is therefore impossible to justify the use of a foreign medium except when the home language is inadequate to act as a medium of higher education. "We then have to make the best of a bad job; we have to see how the displacement (of the home language by another) can be accomplished with the least

possible harm. We must not fall into the error of making a knowledge of the foreign language the end of education instead of only a means. Many people have made this error. . . . Ahsanullah (India) advises that English should be the medium in the University and partly in the school, because 'displacement of English as a medium of examination will have a serious effect on the study of English. To teach English quickly it should be made a medium of mental exchange and a vehicle of thought-conveyance. Students should think in English, speak in English, write in English'. A knowledge of English is here the sole consideration."

"From India we very often hear the argument that English must be used as a medium because the introduction of a Western culture requires a Western language. A Western language will of course be best suited as a vehicle of Western culture, because the two have always been closely connected. But Western ideas can gradually be introduced into the East without also introducing the Western language. Many Eastern ideas have been introduced into the West. Our religion, for instance, comes from the East, but we did not have to adopt an Eastern language with the ideas, even though our language was deficient at the time. . . . If India desires Western ideas to be introduced there, this does not imply that the whole of India must study through the medium of a Western language. It simply means that a Western language must be learnt as a second language".

It will thus be seen that Mr. Schmidt has presented to us a very useful and interesting monograph on an educational subject of first importance, and the student of Indian education should not fail to read it.

M. R. PARANJPE.

MISCELLANEA.

THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT.

It is the practice of the Natal Mercury every year to surrender its editorial authority on the Christmas eve and publish in the place of editorial articles contributions from eminent statesmen and ministers of religion. Accordingly at last Christmas year it published articles by three men, the place of honour being given to the following Message of Christmas by Mr. Sastri.

To a Hindu, brought up in the philosophy of the Vedants, toleration of other faiths and other modes of worship comes easy. Toleration deepens into sympathy and understanding when one has a working faith in the brotherhood of man and allows idealism to shape one's course in life instead of regarding it as a sign of a softening brain or an old-world morality. Every form of earnest piety, every time-honoured religious observance is to him a way of approach to God, not his own it is true, but not necessarily less suitable or less sure. I own to a feeling of profound reverence when I behold a service in a church and am hushed into the silence of communion at the sight of a Mohammedan kneeling in prayer. The rejoicings of Christmas, consecrated to childhood and its innocence and glory, and summoning men and women to the duties of forgiveness and reconciliation, make an intimate appeal to one whose every prayer includes a thrice-repeated invocation for the blessing of peace—that perfect peace of the heart which follows when all passion has been subdued, all desire has been conquered and all regret has been left behind. At the opening of a sacred book or the beginning of a devotional exercise a pious Hindu joins his hands in supplication for the good of every fellow-creature: "May everyone

cross the difficult places of life, may everyone behold happiness, may everyone attain true wisdom, may everyone rejoice everywhere." To forget wrong and admit the wrong-doer to one's love is the sublime teaching of all the great religions of the world.

On one holy day of the year all differences are laid aside, the mind dwells on our common origin and our common destiny, and we all return, if we can, to the ways of simplicity and guileless mirth. But can we? Blessed is he who can cast off the folds of sophistication that overlay his soul. By constant use the words come easily to the lips; but how hard is the reality! The true sages of our race are few. The learning of books, the performance of rituals, the mortifications of the flesh—these lead nowhere. God's grace, according to Hindu teachings, has most often descended on the crude children of toil, on the unlettered denizens of the forest. What a rebuke to pride and pomp and power! By a supreme effort we suspend on a given day the outward manifestations of vanity and animosity, but the real chastening of the heart is not there; and the brawls and contending ambitions break out afresh on the morrow. Let us pray that the spirit of the Christmas season animate us at all times. When a man dies his worst critics remember only his good points and overlook his foibles. How much happier both he and they would have been if they had practised a little of this magnanimity while he was alive! This world would be a different place and Heaven would be all around us if but the lesson of these rare moments could be carried into the rest of our lives. A sudden shock should not be necessary to awaken us to the realities of life. . . . The realities of life! In daily language we apply this expression to the phantoms and shadows which we pursue, and we dismiss as dreams and trances the revealing flashes of wisdom which come to us when striking events happen. Well was it said of old: "The sage is awake when the world sleeps; he sleeps when the world is awake."

Another snare from which the spirit of the Christmas season should save us is to suppose that one rule governs human conduct as between individuals and another rule as between communities, nations or States. Is life one whole or a series of unconnected fragments? Could it be that God meant the law of love and compassion only for individuals and not for organised groups? Many things, forbidden in ordinary social intercourse, are supposed not only to be allowed but to be enjoined in war and in diplomacy. International and inter-communal ethic falls far short of ordinary ethic. It is seriously contended by some authorities that the precepts of Christ were intended for the simple relations of private life and must not be extended to the larger sphere of inter-State relations. As if an evil multiplied thousandfold could by some subtle alchemy be transformed into good; as if virtue was but vice on a large scale! Surely this is a disastrous blunder of thought. Christ's commands, like the commands of other great teachers and exemplars, are universal in their range; they know no limit of race or colour, no mere geographical or political boundary. They would discipline us into one brotherhood; they would constrain us by the gentle bond of love and mutual helpfulness into one family. We believe in the essential dignity of every soul in God's creation. That is the essence of every religion which is called a world-religion. You cannot please God by benefitting one set of His creatures at the expense of another set of His creatures. The fact that you regard yourself as belonging to the one set and not to the other is of no consequence. Injury to a part of humanity is injury to humanity and a violation of the purpose of God, who is all goodness and all love.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE NEW RESERVE BANK BILL.

Mr. B. Ramachandra Rau, lecturer in Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, has sent to us his views on the new Reserve Bank Bill of which the following is a summary:—

IT is not certain that the national ownership of the Reserve Bank will be secured by the new Bill. All the shares in our opinion ought to be held by Indians alone. Racial considerations should prevail when economic interests are at stake. The new Bill covers the whole of India including Indian States, and this is a distinct improvement but the allocation of shares between the five territorial divisions is not fairly done. The proportion of shares allotted to Madras and Rangoon ought to be increased from Rs. 40 lakhs to Rs. 50 lakhs. The reintroduction of the disqualification of the members of Legislatures from being Directors is a retrograde measure. The representation of special interests as agriculture, commerce and industry follows the American and other examples faithfully and is to be welcomed. Although an Indian majority is promised by Government there is no reason why all the Directors should not be Indian nationals as in the case of the Reichsbank of the German Republic. (Vide Memorandum of the League on Currency and Central Banks, vol II, page 69.)

A small executive committee should be created to replace the General Board when emergency decisions have to be taken especially in regard to the discount policy. It is good that the notes are to be double guaranteed both by the Bank as well as the State. The notes of the Issue Department are to be handed over to the Banking Department only in exchange for other notes or gold and silver coin and bullion or securities permitted by the Act to form part of the Reserve. This is a guarantee against an excessive issue. In the case of the Reserve the proportional reserve principle has been adopted. It is likely that the upholders of the Banking principle will protest against this fixing of a minimum proportion: but in our opinion it is a sound principle. We recommend that extra notes beyond the statutory limit might be issued by the payment of a tax of 5 p. c. on the additional issue in order to give the needed elasticity to the note-issue. The provision in the old Bill laying down that at the end of ten years the proportion of gold securities must not exceed 50 p. c. of the gold coin and bullion has been completely removed in the new bill. The greater the quantity of gold in the Reserve the sooner will come the time when India can adopt a real Gold Standard. It must be remembered that the Gold Bullion Standard is only intended as a half-way house to the automatic Gold Standard. The contemplated increase in the holding of rupees will perpetuate our bondage to silver. What is required is the inuring of the people to the use of bank-notes till the psychological moment arrives when the rupee can be declared to be demonetized.

The permission granted to the Reserve Bank to sell gold-exchange in certain notified countries is justified on two grounds: first, by this ready convertibility into gold-exchange the value of currency is made stable, secondly, a greater stock of gold can be held in India from the very start. But without a definite limit placed on gold securities this provision can only end in the increase of gold securities in the gold portion of the Reserve. The holding of the foreign bills of exchange in the bank's portfolio need not be adversely criticized because it secures elasticity to the Reserve and is quite in keeping with the practice of the foreign Central Banks. The only danger is that

in times of war this country might be cut off from the financial centres in which its assets are piled up.

In spite of the unanimous protest against the compulsory deposit of 7½ p. c. of the current accounts and 2½ p. c. of time liabilities by scheduled Banks this provision has been retained. Against this handicap is to be the set off of the privilege of rediscounting given to scheduled Banks. We recommend that permission might be granted to these Banks to keep half of this compulsory deposit in the form of Government securities. The ordinary banks feel aggrieved at the preferential treatment meted out to the Imperial Bank. The maintenance of the interest-free cash balances of a minimum amount at all centres of the Imperial Bank is unnecessary. Barring the loss of privilege to the share capital of the Reserve Bank the position of the Imperial Bank is in no way prejudicially affected. There ought to be a provision in our opinion for lending accommodation to non-scheduled banks through the scheduled Banks.

The lending of money against promissory notes of scheduled Banks will remain the major form in which accommodation can be given to them by the Reserve Bank to help the financing of crops and industry. The possibility of bad loans ought therefore to be guarded against. This would introduce standardized methods of accounting and reporting. This would also mean the examination of these banks by the Reserve Bank which will be a new innovation in Indian banking practice. The clause limiting the amount of securities to 25 p. c. of liabilities of the Banking Department, though recommended by the Hilton-Young Commission, is removed in the new Bill on the ground that its retention would lead to the violation of the Act frequently as deposits generally fluctuate. We agree with the framers of the Bill as to the necessity of removing such a clause, which is sure to lead to a suspension of the Act. Finally we think the period of the charter is too long. The first charter of the Bank of England was granted only for a period of ten years. When new institutions are created a period of long tenure would tend to make them lethargic.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL. (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 768. 21s.
- THE UNSOLVED RIDDLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. By STEPHEN LEACOCK. (John Lane The Bodley Head, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 140. 5s.
- A SHORTER HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. By A. F. HATTERSLEY. (University Press, Cambridge.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 246. 6s.

THE INDIAN COMMONWEALTH

An organ of Swaraj and liberal and progressive thought in every sphere of national life.

TO BE ISSUED BI-MONTHLY.

The first issue will be published in March 1928.

Editor: R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

Pages 60.

Annual Subscription:

Indian: Rs. 8 Inclusive of postage.

Foreign: 14 shillings

All communications to be addressed to:—

R. G. PRADHAN,

Editor, The Indian Commonwealth,
NASIK (Bombay Presidency.)