

# THE Servant of India

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

VOL. XI, No. 5. }

POONA—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1928.

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

## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	49
ARTICLES :—	
Mr. MacDonald Takes the Offensive ... ..	51
Education in the Bombay Presidency ... ..	52
Dangers of the Separation of Sind. By Jairamdas Doulatram, M.L.C. ... ..	53
Bikaner and the Butler Committee. By Prof. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B. ... ..	53
OUR EUROPEAN LETTER ... ..	55
OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER ... ..	57
REVIEW SECTION :—	
Writings of Dr. Cannan. By Prof. G. B. Jathar. M.A., I.E.S. ... ..	59
The Web of Life. By Rev. Fr. H. V. Elwin ... ..	59
The Country of the Eskimos. By Miss A. B. Van Doren ... ..	60
Indian Local Self-Government. By R. B. Hivar- gaonkar, B.E. ( Civil ) ... ..	60
A Hand-Book on Money. By V. N. Godbole, M.A. ... ..	61
A Brahman Empire Builder. By D. V. Kale, B.A. ... ..	61
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
The New Reserve Bank Bill ... ..	63
BOOKS RECEIVED ... ..	64

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN our leading article we show how Mr. Ramsay MacDonald exalts the Indian Committee and belittles the British Commission in order to prove their equality of status. In this process of exaltation of the former, Mr. MacDonald says that "no official or non-elected member shall take part in the business" of electing the Indian Committee who are to sit with the Commission in taking and assessing evidence. This statement is in excess of the official statement on the subject, which is that there will be no official among the members elected to the Committee; while the non-official nominated members can be elected. Mr. MacDonald now says that both official and nominated non-official members will be prohibited not only from offering themselves for election to the Committee but from taking part in the election itself. It remains to be seen whether Mr. MacDonald proves right here, and whether Sir John Simon will make an announcement to this effect. Really in order to get representative Indian opinion, Sir John must go farther and declare that when a motion comes before the Legislatures that "Council now proceed to elect the Reforms Committee," only

elected non-official members will be allowed to vote on it, so that he will know and the world will know the extent of co-operation that the Commission meets with in the country. Surely if the persons who are to co-operate must all be unofficial members of the Legislature (as Government propose) as the only true representatives of Indian opinion, it follows that those who are to elect these members must themselves be elected members of the Legislature (as Mr. MacDonald proposes), and it further follows that it must be left to them to determine whether they will at all elect a Committee or not. If it is to be left only to elected members to co-operate (as is right), it should be left to them to withhold their co-operation also, if they so chose. This will put to the test the real strength of the boycott movement.

\* \* \*

THE Madras Legislative Council following the admirable lead given by the C. P. Legislative Council has expressed its want of confidence in the Simon Commission and proclaimed its resolve to leave the Commission severely alone. This is as it should be. As expected, opposition to the boycott of the Commission came mostly from non-official Europeans and depressed classes, not to mention the official bloc. The attitude of the non-official European community which made no secret of its desire to have a purely white commission, towards a resolution proposing a boycott of the Commission is perfectly understandable; but the same cannot unfortunately be said about the depressed classes. We know that in Madras they are subjected to very harsh indignities at the hands of the so-called superior castes; but that ought not to blind them to the realities of the situation. Nor indeed do they seem to have made any attempt to understand the *raison d'être* of the movement for boycotting the Commission. We do not think it is supposed by any boycotter, as one of the nominated representatives of the depressed classes in that council seemed to suppose, that boycotting the Commission was going to bring us Swaraj. Nothing of the kind; and no boycotter labours under that delusion. The proposed boycott is a protest against the national insult underlying the refusal on the part of the Government to allow our countrymen any voice in the determination of our political future on terms of equality with the Commission. If the depressed classes and those who profess to speak for them refuse to look at the matter in that light, let them not misunderstand the objective of those who have set their heart upon a boycott of the Commission. The Madras ministry seems to be split on the question of boycott—the chief minister pulling in the direction of cooperation with the Commission, while his colleagues in that of boycott. If this is so, it will lead to a ministerial crisis in Madras in the near future.

\* \* \*

HIS HIGHNESS the Maharaja of Bikaner's speech in Bikaner Assembly at the time of its proration is remarkable for two reasons; in the first place it throws a flood of light on the psychology of progressive rulers at the present time and secondly it makes a frank confession of the essentials of good government which must be carried out if the Indian States are to escape the stigma of misrule which attaches to them in common parlance. His Highness attaches great importance to the Committee which will consider the rights and obligations of the Princes arising from treaties as well as the financial relations between the Indian States and British India. He expects that the Chamber of Princes and its Standing Committee will be kept in close touch with and taken into the confidence of the Committee at all stages. The constitutional position of the Indian States *vis a vis* the Government of India is being examined by Mr. Abhyankar in a series of articles the first of which we publish to-day. His Highness repudiates the charge against the Princes expressed freely in the press of British India that they have concocted a deep-laid conspiracy to retard the constitutional advance in British India. Speaking as one who knows the Princes intimately His Highness said that he was prepared to give the most unqualified and emphatic denial to such allegations regarding a conspiracy among Princes and he assured us that on various occasions they have publicly expressed their approval and support of constitutional reforms. We are greatly relieved to have such an assurance as it will set at rest all future misunderstandings on this point at least. At the same time His Highness has declared himself to be extremely jealous of the sovereign rights of the States and he criticizes the Indian publicists who light-heartedly talk of revising or even scrapping the treaties on the ground of their being obsolete. With wise statesmanship and mutual good-will both British India and Indian States will in his opinion fit in the future scheme of a self-governing India. We congratulate His Highness on the frankness with which he admits that there are some black sheep in the fold who bring discredit to the Princes and the states but we cannot follow him when he says that in fighting for their rights the Princes are fighting for the corporate body including the subjects of the State. How can the subjects gain if the autocracy of the Princes is rendered inviolable by a new orientation of treaties? When however His Highness passes on to describe the essentials of good government in the States we feel bound to give him a high meed of praise for laying down sound precepts on the subject. The Ruler of a state must have a fixed privy purse; there must be security of life and property; an independent judiciary must be established; there must prevail a reign of Law; stability of Public Services should be secured and lastly there must be efficiency and continuity of administration. We daresay he practises most of them, though we cannot speak with certainty if only for the reason that we have failed in our attempt, repeated so often, to get any official literature dealing with Bikaner—on payment. It is, however, a fine example of self-sacrifice that His Highness has set of assigning, as he says he has done, only 5 p. c. of the revenues of the State for his Privy Purse. His Highness has apparently bestowed great attention on education and sanitation in his state and has not been oblivious of social legislation; he approves whole-heartedly a Bill introduced in the Assembly for the prevention of early marriages by legislation. His Highness concludes on the theme that the real good of the ruler consists in promoting the welfare of his subjects. We can only wish that the last precept would be translated into example by every Ruler of a State.

THE protracted proceedings of the defamation suit instituted against Mr. K. F. Nariman, M. L. C., whose sustained interest in the working of the Development Department is well known throughout the Bombay Presidency by Mr. Harvey, engineer connected with Backbay Reclamation, have resulted in the acquittal of the former. This however does not mean that the latter had been found guilty of corruption. Indeed the Court did not think that on the evidence before it Mr. Harvey could be held guilty of corruption. We think the case has amply served Mr. Nariman's object, viz. that of drawing public attention to the existence of corruption in the Development Department. This he has been able to establish to the satisfaction of the Court whose remark "Entries were put in, which can only lead to the conclusion that bribes were actually paid to some of these officers" ought to provide food for serious reflection to the Government. About the notorious order for the  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch bars, the substantial accuracy of Mr. Nairman's version has been vindicated. The Magistrate holds that the bars were not required and as ordered were of wrong size. This he characterises as "a blunder" and is in no doubt that "the Court had not got the true explanation". Will "the true explanation" be ever forthcoming hereafter? The information supplied to the Legislative Council about this matter by the Government, based as it was on that furnished by the Department, was found to be wrong and the magistrate considers it "a very serious matter for a department to furnish erroneous explanations to a General Member knowing that the latter was bound to act upon them." This of course is not the worst case of its kind, worse cases of distortion by the Department being brought to the notice of the Mears Committee. The long delay in the institution of the proceedings with the consequent loss of valuable evidence had placed the defence at a great disadvantage and the vindication of Mr. Nariman's bonafide interest in the Development Department is therefore all the more to be welcomed and has deservedly earned for him all the felicitations he has been receiving since his acquittal.

\* \* \*

IF Uganda and Tanganyika are unanimous in opposition to being dragged into the maelstrom of Federation (on Kenya's terms)—a feeling which was voiced recently by the Governors of these Colonies—in Kenya itself feeling is becoming strong against the Federation. At the Convention of Associations held in the beginning of January "the opinion generally held (and emphatically expressed) was that from the point of view of Kenya's particular interests Federation, probably, would offer few, if any, advantages." This, however, is small consolation to Indians, for, however variegated white opinion may be on federation, it was quite unanimous in demanding "a European elected majority over all other parties in the Legislature", and a considerable measure of power being definitely handed over to such a white Legislature. In other words Europeans unitedly ask for a complete "English domination." These are simple enough words, but lest their full import should be lost, a prominent speaker at the Convention (Mr. Powys Cobb) put it this way: "Now by those words I imply an English domination, that is to say, not a domination which is Asiatic or domination which is negro, but definitely an English domination." "It must not be watered down by any other sort of influence (not even influence!) and so soon as you sacrifice by one jot or tittle the complete dominance of English control, so soon do you begin to adulterate" the virtue of justice which in his opinion is identical with an

exclusively English dominance. Another objective of the whites in Kenya is "to secure the future of Tanganyika". In what deadly peril does Tanganyika stand? Unless the English have an "unadulterated" dominance in Kenya, "you run the risk" (pointed out Lord Delamere) "of Tanganyika going back to what it was before or becoming a State on the lines of West Africa". What greater misfortune could befall a country or at any rate the white settlers in it than to have in force the West African Policy of native development for native benefit in contradistinction to the East African Policy of plantations or of native exploitation for non-native benefit? It is now for Mr. Oldham to judge how far the white settlers deserve to be "associated with the British Government in native trusteeship." Or does he also believe with Mr. Cobb that "by proposing the creation of an English dominion we are conferring the greatest possible boon on the native populations in Eastern Africa and upon the immigrant Asiatic communities of Eastern Africa"?

\* \* \*

WE are glad to notice in the letter issued by Mr. S. R. Das to the public in India inviting opinions on the question of a suitable site for the proposed All-India Public School that nearly Rs. 15 lakhs have been already secured and that an equal amount would be realized by the end of March 1928. We thoroughly agree with the arguments cited by Mr. Das against its location in an Indian State. In spite of Mr. Das's opinion that in these days, there is no likelihood of any danger to the security of tenure or unwarranted interference from any state we continue to believe that British India is likely to be more immune from the vagaries of erratic administration than the States for some time to come. There is undoubtedly much that is attractive about the Bhopal offer since His Highness the Nawab promises an annual endowment of Rs. 30,000 in addition to a free site. The objection to Poona that the superintendence and management will have to be left to the residents of Poona and Bombay and thus the All-India character of the School will be lost is to say the least fanciful. There is nothing that logically necessitates a staff from these two places alone. It can be chosen from men of all provinces and the management might also be handed over to an All-India Council which can meet in any convenient place in India. Bangalore is rejected on the ground of its being too far south and cut off from a direct railway route and probably the reasons are correct. On the ground of climate however it is hard to beat Bangalore. Mr. Das seems personally more inclined to select Simla since he thinks that it will be easier to secure an All-India atmosphere for the School there. Mr. Das assures us *a propos* of the notion that the School might smell too much of officialdom that in the constitution of its governing body all official connection is excluded. Although Mr. Das says nothing in this letter about other things we should like to say that his quest for an English Head-Master is rather out of tune with current thought. When able Indians by the score are literally going abegging it would be a mere fancy to adhere to the old-world notion that an English head is a *sine qua non* of an efficient institution with any pretensions. Mr. Das also will have to take special care that the defects of the English Public School are eliminated in the institution which he is going to sponsor. It will be sorry result if the products of his School will be saturated with a sense of class superiority and will display a *hauteur* which will ill accord with the needs of a democratic polity.

\* \* \*

## MR. MACDONALD TAKES THE OFFENSIVE.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD is no longer content with defending the Labour Party's support of the All-White Statutory Commission. He now takes the aggressive and tries to put the Indians in the wrong. In the New York *Nation* of January 4 he has written an article in which he pours ridicule and contempt upon Indian leaders for preferring a mixed Commission, the Indian members of which must be "selected and appointed by a British bureaucracy reigning in Whitehall" to "a committee appointed by the non-official and elected members of the Indian legislature." Mr. MacDonald thus tries to make out that Indians, democratic as they profess to be, are really opposed to the method of election, and deplores "the strange irrationality and inconsistency" of the boycott movement. He can only regard this as "the emanation of a political mind that has been untouched by new ideas for a generation" and can only account for it by "poverty of resource," the Indian leaders having nothing to put forward which will impress the Commission. We shall for the moment leave aside the unworthy suggestion made here, but surely Mr. MacDonald knows that the ground of the Indians' objection to the Committees is not their elective character, but their want of co-equal authority with the Commission. In this article he does not pretend that the Committees will be on a par with the Commission. He admits their unequal status, but claims that the inequality will be innocuous inasmuch as the Commission itself has little or no authority. At this stage one would ask, if the Commission is such an unimportant body, why the Government should refuse to include Indians in it. To such a question Mr. MacDonald gives the reply that a royal commission is an antiquated form of inquiry and is now going out of fashion. Well, if it is so, Mr. MacDonald does not seem to have made an effort to persuade the Baldwin Government not to appoint the Commission but to convene instead a Round Table Conference on which Indian opinion insisted. A Commission has been appointed, Mr. MacDonald's aversion to it notwithstanding, and Indians are shut out from it. Mr. MacDonald's disbelief in Royal Commissions proceeds, we are told, from the fact that they "belong to the days of talk and pointless discussions," whereas Mr. MacDonald wants action. We should think that the real objection he feels to a mixed Commission is the necessity of having to carry on negotiations with persons who are in a position of equality. He himself gave expression to it in his speech in the Commons on November 25th, where he related his experiences of the Public Services Commission. "I took a somewhat active part in the negotiations", he said "that had to be undertaken in order to get the Report of that Commission anything like unanimous." This statement is very revealing and shows why Indians insist upon, as the *People* rightly says in answering Mr. Jayakar, "an effective number of representative Indians," effective, that is to say, in making the negotiations successful.

Of course there will be negotiations between the Commission and the Committees too; but they will be between bodies admittedly of unequal authority. Mr. MacDonald does not hope or try to secure for the Committees anything more than this: first, that the two bodies should sit together to hear witnesses (some witnesses, however, being examined exclusively by the Commission, as Mr. MacDonald himself made clear in the House of Commons), and second, in considering the evidence the two bodies should be in mutual consultation. The results of these joint deliberations are, however, to be separately recorded, the Indian Committee sending its recommendations to its Parliament and the British Commission doing it to its. This would be a completely satisfactory procedure if the Indian Parliament also had the same authority as the British. As it is, the former can do nothing to the report that it may receive, while the latter can give it legislative expression at the next session. But, Mr MacDonald says, when this takes place Indian opinion as represented by the Committee of the Central Legislature can again make an appearance and try to influence the Joint Select Committee of Parliament. In fact, the first stage of the inquiry, namely, by the Commission, does not, according to him, signify much; it is the second stage, namely the Joint Committee's inquiry, that is "by far the most important." Mr. MacDonald, in saying this, tries to produce the impression as if a new privilege has been given to India in being allowed to put her case before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and is more than a compensation for the exclusion of Indians from the preliminary inquiry by a commission. The fact of course is that even if Indians were admitted to the Commission, the other avenue would still have been open to them. And before the Joint Select Committee the Indian committee would necessarily be in the rôle of witnesses, not negotiators. This sums up the Indian objection to the Statutory Commission and, indeed Indian leaders would be guilty of "letting go their grip of the bone in order to snap at the shadow." For nothing could be more shadowy than the supposed equality of the British Commission and the Indian Committees.

#### EDUCATION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

THE latest report on public instruction in 1925-26 makes as usual very interesting reading. The report is belated by more than a year owing to extra work entailed by the transfer of primary education to Local Boards. The total expenditure on education from Government funds in 1925-26 including expenditure in England was Rs. 194 lakhs and shows an excess of about Rs. 8 lakhs compared to the previous year, which is decisively indicating a slow pace. Of the total expenditure nearly 21 p. c. is defrayed from Board funds and nearly 51 p. c. from Provincial funds. The number of primary pupils has increased in one year by 6.8 p. c. the number of students of Arts Colleges has increased by 4.7 p. c. while the number of students of professional Colleges records a fall of 3.8 p. c. The pupils in primary schools increased by 6.8 p. c. and much of

the credit has to be given to the expansion schemes initiated by local boards and some of the municipalities. An amount of leeway has however to be still made up and it is certainly not possible to rest on our oars. The total of the pupils in the upper primary stage is about 77,000, while the total of those in the lower primary stage is 8,36,000; there is thus a wastage of nearly 80 p. c. between the two stages. As a remedy the Report suggests a resort to compulsion and this is certainly the only remedy. That out of all the Local Boards only two District Boards and five Municipalities submitted schemes for primary education does absolutely no credit to the enterprise and passion for public weal about which we hear so much in the press.

That the total expenditure on technical and industrial schools should be at the figure of Rs. 1.86 lakhs, is extremely deplorable in the light of the facts revealed by the Industrial Commission. Similarly the total expenditure on commercial schools is Rs. 1.31 lakhs, which is far short of the requirements of the new era which has recognized the futility of a purely literary education. The Report records a marked progress in girl's education the number of pupils having increased by nearly 11,672. The total number of girls under instruction in primary schools is 1,82,086. Out of the women teachers 63.6 p. c. were trained, a result which reflects great credit on the Training institutions. A noticeable feature in the comments of the Report on Girl Guides is that the greater number of these guides are Indian Christians and Parsis. The Muslims are still backward in the matter of education as compared to the advanced communities, the literacy figure for the former being 9.6 p. c. and 16.1 p. c. for the latter. In the matter of trained teachers the position is eminently satisfactory considering the general backwardness of the community. The community is far behind the Hindus in Higher Education, the percentage to population for advanced Hindus being 0.15 while that for the Muslims being 0.004; in other words only 4 persons out of a thousand receive higher education. It is gratifying to learn that the prejudice against depressed class children is lessening; the Report however remarks that Gujarath is a special sinner in this matter. In all the Government have provided nearly 225 special scholarships for backward Hindu communities awarded every year of which 90 are available for Arts Colleges.

The distribution of scholars according to race or creed throws light on the comparative progress of different communities. In primary education the number of Brahmans and other advanced Hindus is nearly equal; while the number of Marathas and other cultivating classes labelled 'Intermediate,' exceeds the total of advanced Hindus by nearly 2 lakhs. When we come to secondary schools the predominance of advanced Hindus becomes marked; the Brahman pupils number nearly 24,000, other advanced Hindus nearly 11,000, and Jains nearly 3,000; the Marathas however number only 5,000, while other cultivating classes and Lingayats a little less than 10,000. In University education the Brahmans number 4,200, other advanced Hindus nearly 2,000; while the Marathas number only 300, and the Intermediate Hindus nearly 500. The backward classes supply only 897 pupils to Secondary schools and in University education they claim only 14 scholars. The Indian Christians supply nearly 20,000 pupils to primary schools, nearly 10,000 to secondary schools and about 450 students for University education.

Amongst District Board schools the largest amount of expenditure is shown by the schools of East Khandesh which spend nearly Rs 8 lakhs dur-

ing the year. The next two places are taken by Dharwar and Satara Boards in order; the former spending nearly Rs 7 lakhs and the latter Rs 6.87 lakhs. The districts marked out as spending the least on Board schools are Panch Mahals in Gujarat which spends Rs. 2.19 lakhs and Thar and Parkar in Sind which spends Rs. 1.23 lakhs.

The result of the promotions to higher classes in Local Board and Municipal schools is extremely deplorable; out of the total of 7,36,757 pupils appearing for examination only 4,53,778 were promoted; there is thus a wastage of nearly 3 lakhs, which hardly does any credit to the efficiency of the teachers. If the wastage is due to bad attendance, under-feeding or bad eye-sight the defects ought to be remedied by a systematic medical inspection. Leaving aside the Bombay Municipality the average pay of the trained assistants, male and female, works out at Rs. 36.55 which is just the bare living wage for an ordinary-sized family. The case of untrained assistants is much worse, their average pay being nearly Rs. 20. The wide diversity in the cost of educating per pupil in the Training Colleges both for men and women appears difficult to account for. While the cost for the Training College for men in Poona is Rs. 329 that for the Training School at Dharwar is Rs. 488; and the cost for the Training College for men in Ahmedabad works out at Rs. 330. Similarly while the Training College for women at Poona shows the cost of educating each pupil as Rs. 500, the Training College for Women at Dharwar gives the figure Rs. 672 and the one at Hyderabad gives the figure Rs. 792. Amongst Arts and Science Colleges the highest cost per pupil is shown by the Royal Institute of Science at the figure of Rs. 888; the next lower figure of Rs. 817 is shown by the University School of Economics and Sociology. The smallest cost in the whole range of figures is shown by the Fergusson College and the New Poona College. We may agree with Mr. Dracup that "Education in the Presidency made steady progress during the year under review" but that it is progress at snail's speed is writ largely on the face of the annual Report on public instruction for 1925-26.

#### DANGERS OF THE SEPARATION OF SIND.

THE Congress at Madras passed a resolution that Sindh may be constituted a separate Province. The Congress did not make this recommendation because the delegates were convinced that separation from Bombay was good for the people of Sindh or that they wanted it themselves. The delegates had neither material nor opportunity to form any opinion as to the political economic or other advantages or disadvantages to the inhabitants of Sindh that would follow its formation as a separate unit of Government. They made that recommendation because some Muslim leaders demanded it as a condition precedent to their acceptance of joint electorates. These Muslim leaders insisted on the separation of Sindh for no other reason except that it would confer some advantage on the Muslim community. It is no use any Congress or Hindu leaders labouring under a delusion that they have by agreeing to the separation of Sindh brought either Swaraj or Unity nearer. In my humble view by becoming a consenting party to the Muslim demand the Congress has laid the axe to both nationalism and unity. This may not be quite evident today but it will become abundantly clear as time goes on. An indication of the real purpose of the demand for the separation of Sindh and other cognate proposals of Muslim leaders is available in the speech delivered by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad at the recent Calcutta session of the Muslim League. Maulana Azad has put the

matter pithily and unambiguously and no one who does not deliberately avoid the plain meaning of plain words can mistake its ominous import. The *Hindustan Times* of 3rd January 1928 thus reports Maulana Azad:—"Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad declared that by the Lucknow Pact they had sold away their interests. The Delhi proposals of last March opened a door for the first time to the recognition of the real rights of the Mussalmans in India. Separate electorates granted by the Pact of 1917 only ensured them Muslim representation, but what was vital for the existence of the community was the recognition of its numerical strength. Delhi opened the way to the creation of such a state of affairs as would guarantee to them in the future of India a proper share. Their existing small majority in Bengal and the Punjab was only the census figure but the Delhi proposals gave them for the first time five provinces of which no less than three (Sind, N. W. F. & Baluchistan) contained a real over-whelming Muslim majority. If Muslims did not recognize this great step they were not fit to live (applause). There would be now nine Hindu Provinces against five Muslim provinces and whatever treatment Hindus accorded in nine provinces Muslims would accord same treatment to Hindus in the five provinces. Was not this a great gain? Was not a new weapon gained for the assertion of Muslim rights?"

Do the people of India realise that far from establishing unity and nationalism, the Congress has, in its wisdom, once again recognised the partition of the Indian nation along the permanent lines of religious cleavage and given the stamp of its approval to a state of armed neutrality and a balance of power under which the Muslims are to use their majority in five provinces to retaliate on their peaceful Hindu neighbours for the ill-treatment, supposed or real, which Hindus give to their Muslim neighbours in any one of the nine Hindu provinces. This is the memorable achievement of the Madras Congress. A new "weapon", as Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, has put it, has been handed by the Congress to the Muslims to put the "oppressive" Hindus of Madras, Bombay, C. P. or U. P. right, vice versa, if the Hindus so desire, they can use their majority in the Legislatures of the above provinces or in the Central Legislature to hit back against the Muslim oppressors of Bengal, Punjab, Sindh or the Frontier Province. I have great respect for the Congress leaders but I have no hesitation in saying that just as in 1916 led by an opportunist desire to achieve unity they sanctioned communal electorates, so guided now by a similar desire they have sanctioned communal provinces. The consequence will be the same as before. Unity will not be achieved. More disunity will have been facilitated. A change of opinion will no doubt come once again but at leisure. In the meantime the only sufferers will be the Hindu community and the cause of nationalism. I know most Congressmen will not to-day agree with me. They will decline to admit the plain implications of Maulana Azad's speech. My words can only appeal to those who do not wish to deal with the problems of their motherland in a narrow opportunist spirit and these, should stand out against this pernicious principle of communal provinces which the Madras Congress has adopted.

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM.

#### BIKANER AND THE BUTLER COMMITTEE.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER recently addressed his so-called Legislative Assembly. His address was full of vituperation of the critics of Indian States and especially of autocracy, and con-

tained a defence of the policy which the Maharaja and some of the shining lights of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes are pursuing in order to bring about political relations with the British Government. This speech must have fallen flat upon the innocent hearers, who have no part or lot in shaping the destinies even of their own State and who have hardly any interest in the developments taking place in British India and the future of Indian polity. However, the Maharaja took this occasion to make his views known to the public on the wider question of further reforms for India, and we are now able the better to understand the motive behind the inquiry which the Butler Committee is called upon to undertake, its limited scope and last but not least, the threat which the Maharaja has administered to the British Indian leaders of strenuous opposition to their efforts to secure control over India's internal administration and of stout resistance on the part of the Indian princes against any interference in their own internal affairs. The Maharaja states that this inquiry was solicited with a view to safeguard the rights of the States, their Governments, their people and their internal autonomy and independence. We should like to know whether his own subjects or those of any other states had made any proposals to His Highness to take the initiative in safeguarding their rights and if so what was the nature of these proposals. The desire for such an inquiry, we are told, was based on the instinct of self-preservation and self-defence. The Maharaja complains that not only from people obviously ignorant or hostile and unfriendly to the States or their Rulers but even from certain individuals from whom the States did not expect such irresponsible statements, cries about the Treaties with the Indian States being no more than scraps of papers, and about the States and their Rulers constitutionally possessing no sovereign rights or status were repeatedly heard. These light-hearted critics, the Maharaja adds, bluntly arrogated to themselves and to the Government of British India of the future, the right to interfere in all matters, external and internal, pertaining to the States with a view to infringe their sovereignty and to violate their autonomy, fiscal or otherwise. The states were also influenced by the apprehensions thus caused generally to seek safety and security for the future through such an inquiry. The Maharaja further enlightens us that the request for such an inquiry was put forward on behalf of the States at a Round Table Conference held at Simla last May which was presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy and was attended by some high officials of the British Government and some Princes and Ministers representing the States. If the proposals related to the establishment of direct relations with the British Government they were undoubtedly in violation of the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1858 amended by that of 1919. Was it not necessary to invite to this Conference some leaders of the Central Legislature as representing the present Government and people of India? If the Princes were speaking on behalf of their people was it not equally essential to invite the representatives of the people of the States to this Conference? We are sorry that Lord Irwin, before he acceded to the request for this inquiry, did not hear what the other two parties had to say on the subject. This serious omission of consulting vested interests in this problem materially detracts, in our opinion, from the utility of this Committee.

The Maharaja explains that the present scope of inquiry is limited to an equitable and just appreciation and recognition of the constitutional relations of the States with the British Govern-

ment, and a fair adjustment of the financial and economical relations of the States with British India. This elucidation makes the terms of reference of the Committee understandable. The first term of reference is to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States. These words were so far vague. We are, however, now in a position to comprehend the real import of the words 'Paramount Power' which mean and are to be understood as relating to the British Government and not to the Government of India representing the Paramount Power. The Committee is called upon to investigate the relations of the States with the British Government and not with the Government of India. These relations in common parlance have till now been described by the phrase "direct relations." The Committee therefore is going to investigate the question of direct relations of the Indian States with the British Government and this interpretation is strengthened by the remark of the Maharaja of Bikaner that the Indian States claim to occupy the position of politically separate and constitutionally independent units of the great Indian Empire. This unequivocal desire on the part of the Indian Princes means that they want to be independent of the future Government of India, of the democratised constitution of India, and that they desire that the British Government should deal with the Indian States directly and not through the intervention of the Government of India as constituted by Parliamentary statute.

The second term of inquiry relates to a fair adjustment of the financial and economical relations of the States with British India. This is what is known as the adjustment of matters of common interests between British India and Indian India. We are informed by the Maharaja that the scope of the inquiry does not include the question of the future position of the Indian States in a self-governing India. The Maharaja emphasises that after the labours of this inquiry are concluded and direct relations are established a further investigation will have to be held with a view to safeguard the interests of the Indian States as divorced from the Government of India of the future and forming part of an Imperial polity as Independent units of the same. In short, the present inquiry is to be only of a preliminary character and the utmost that is expected of it is that it is to make out a case for leaving the Indian States out of the constitution of the future Government of India. If the object of the present inquiry was only to collect material and data and different points of view why are the terms of reference of the Butler Committee so restricted and why were the leaders of British India and Indian States not consulted even in an informal manner before this inquiry was instituted? Whatever might have been the policy so far it is not yet too late to set matters right by providing ways and means by which public opinion in Indian States can be properly ascertained before any conclusions reached by the Committee can be relied upon.

The genesis of the Butler Committee given by the Maharaja forces one painful conviction upon the mind of everyone who is interested in the welfare of the Indian States. His Excellency Lord Irwin till now made non-committal speeches and has during the short time that he has been here visited a large number of Indian States; had conversations with the Indian Princes and a Round Table Conference with the most prominent among them. But though His Excellency has thus gone out of his way to understand the Princes' point of view, he has not tried to understand that of the Indian States subjects. The ultimatum which he sent to His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the European Officers he managed to place at the head of affairs in that State show

that Lord Irwin touched only one aspect of the problem and did not take any steps to improve the lot of the subjects of that State groaning under misrule. The settlement of the Bharatpur affair, the unsatisfactory administration at Indore after the ex-Maharaja's abdication and the innumerable complaints which are daily ventilated to the Political Department inevitably lead one to the inference that the interests of the subjects in Indian States are not properly safeguarded even when His Excellency himself has been in direct charge of this portfolio.

This speech of His Highness confirms the apprehensions which were entertained in this country about the machinations of the Indian Princes or to use the words of His Highness, 'their deep laid conspiracy or their unboly alliance with the foreign Rulers with a view to retard the constitutional advance of British India'. The Maharaja has loudly protested against any such insinuation and vehemently denounces those who scented danger to the aspirations of the Indian people when these Indian Princes sent their emissaries to England. But all these apprehensions are turning out to be wellfounded. The whole defence of the Maharaja unequivocally points out that the Princes do not want to be in any way associated with the future government of India, that they want to be independent of it, that they are afraid of the future intervention of responsible Ministers in the autocratic administration of the States and that they hope that they can secure in perpetuity their own autocratic and irresponsible powers by being directly connected with the Crown. The Maharaja of Bikaner has been saying that he and those of his order who are of like mind, have no hostility to the legitimate aspirations of British India, and that they have no desire to put any impediments in the path of the progressive realisation of constitutional reforms (it is significant that the Maharaja does not say responsible government) in British India; the Maharaja further asseverates that he has taken various opportunities to express publicly his approval and support of constitutional reforms in British India. We wonder if the Maharaja thinks that the people in British India are simpletons not to understand the implications of direct relations with the British Government. The motive underlying this theory of direct relations is given out in an unambiguous manner by a writer in the *Times*, by the contributions to the Press of such reactionary imperialists as Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Sydenham and in an inspired article in the *Round Table*. The Maharaja has not repudiated, and does not do so even now, the sentiments attributed to the Indian Princes in these weighty pronouncements, although he has carefully dealt with every point of the criticism levelled against Indian Princes. In the face of these facts and in view of the open war which he wants to wage against the present constitution of the Government of India does it lie in his mouth to say that he is not opposed to the aspirations of the British Indian people?

The Indian Princes are determined to maintain intact their autocratic sway, no matter what developments take place in British India. If they succeed in achieving their object they will make still further efforts to become constitutionally independent of the Government of India. If however the future commonwealth of this country would try to interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian States, the Indian Princes, the Maharaja threatens us, have no intention of meekly submitting to any such demand and will certainly not go under without a struggle. This determination of the Maharaja to prevent intervention in the affairs of the Indian States by the responsible Ministers of the future commonwealth appears to us fantastic. Ever since the

regime of the East India Company the Indian Princes were under the domination of the Court of Directors and were not in any way related to the Crown. Since 1773, the Governor General is entrusted with the superintendence, control and management. And through all the vicissitudes of the constitution, the superintendence, direction and control of India including not only British India but Indian States has vested in the Governor-General. It is in virtue of the authority thus vested in him that the Governor-General has been interfering in the internal affairs of the States through the Political Department during these 150 years in an uninterrupted manner; but never before was this new fangled theory of direct relations advanced till now. Apparently the Princes did not feel any humiliation in submitting to petty despots of the Political Department. But the moment the powers of the Governor-General are about to be transferred to the chosen representatives of the people who after all are their own kith and kin they are raising the standard of revolt and want to be entirely dissociated from the future responsible Government of British India! Whether this means sympathy with the aspirations of British India or striking at the root of the future fabric of democratic constitution we leave it to our readers to judge. The inner motive of every man is always not apparent in his outward professions but is to be inferred from his actions. And this demand for direct relations is nothing but an audacious effort to throttle the Indian democracy of the future.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

## OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, Jan. 12th.

### THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE.

WORLD-PEACE, I had stated in this correspondence, would be by far the most important problem that 1928 would face, and that America's attitude toward it would determine the general manner of approaching it. The year had hardly commenced when the press of two continents with one accord found itself giving attention to it. The occasion has been a plan of Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, the United States Secretary of State. It is now the subject of negotiations between the French and American Governments. Three other plans are being, or will be, urged in the present Congress at Washington. One of these is that of the Republican Representative, Theodore E. Burton, who proposes that the United States shall prohibit the exportation of arms or ammunition to any country that engages in aggressive war, in supercession of all previous agreements. The Burton resolution aims at penalising the nation that violates its agreement not to fight and meets the difficulty of determining the "aggressor" by leaving it to the discrimination of the President of the United States. The difficulties here, it must be obvious, are precisely of the same order as the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations encountered in this connection. Another proposal which Senator Borah, Republican, the well-known president of the Foreign Affairs Committee, fathers is that nations, specially Great Britain, France, Japan, and Germany, should confer with the United States on deciding upon the best method of eliminating war. The mere meeting, he feels, would have a decided effect on public

opinion which he considers the most powerful factor in the matter. In view of the existence of the League the only argument to commend this proposal is possibly the participation of the United States in the initiative. Yet another suggestion is that of Senator Arthur Capper, also Republican. The Senator would have a peace-pact composed in general terms denouncing and renouncing war which the United States may conclude with the other States and persuade these latter to conclude among themselves. But for the fact that the United States is the initiator, it is very doubtful whether so much thought would be given to it. Sweden has, in fact, concluded a series of treaties making war illegal in all circumstances with Austria, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Germany.

#### THE KELLOGG SCHEME.

The Kellogg scheme represents a phase in the development of the negotiations which Monsieur Briand's proposal to "outlaw" war as between France and America gave rise to. There are two parts to it: one which deals with the renewal of the arbitration treaty between France and America, which in common with others of the same kind will soon terminate, and the other which treats of the perpetual peace pact. In the discussion of the latter the position has already shifted from the "outlawry" of war to the "outlawry" of aggressive war, as indeed it might have been anticipated. It would not seem that the American Government makes a sharp distinction between the two parts of the Kellogg scheme, but French opinion is particular about it. This insistence may not have appeared if Monsieur Briand's expectations that the pact he proposed would be bilateral had been fulfilled. The transformation of the bilateral pact into a multilateral one is the essence of the Kellogg scheme, and it has produced grave disillusionment in France. As between France and America there are no questions which could be said to admit even the risk of a conflict, and the tradition of friendship between them is both historical and psychological. That was indeed one of the causes why a pact of perpetual peace between the two Republics, it was argued, should be easy of achievement and then it was thought that the pact might be held up as a model for other Powers. It is not possible that Monsieur Briand who made the proposal ignored the diplomatic advantages that would come to France by being so closely linked with the most influential of the world-Powers or that the other side closed its eyes to the possibilities to which the American financial policy as regards the European debts and the American political policy of isolation from Europe would be exposed in case of its consummation. A more formidable objection was however, the indirect effects of any such pacts on the relations of other Powers with America, more precisely Anglo-American relations.

#### AN ALERT BYSTANDER.

Great Britain, there is reason to believe, has been alert all along ever since the "outlawry of war" movement was in the air. The movement was, in

fact, originally conceived to consolidate Anglo-American friendship. Last year when two of America's non-official ambassadors to Europe, Mr. Levinson, the Chicago lawyer and Mr. Borah's friend, and later, Mr. Butler, president of the Columbia University, came over to this side, both with enthusiastic proposals for peace, the reception to their ideas in Paris and London was contrasting. The immediate effect was the change in the premises of the "outlawry of war" scheme including Monsieur Briand's initiative. Large sections of the British press ignored it, but there were prominent people in England who chuckled at the turn of events. One of them who said nice things about the Franco-American project at the time now makes the caustic observation: "The surprising idea arose of forming, to begin with, a separate pact between France and America. What our nearest neighbours naturally want above all things is to be sure, amidst the anxious uncertainties of the future, that the United States shall never be actively against them, whatever else happens." Britain has reason to be on the watch because "When the Covenant (of the League of Nations) was first adopted, the bloodless pressure of sea-power was expected to be the surer of economic agents. Britain was to be head-constable. In the new naval circumstances, Britain will not and cannot undertake any blockade involving the faintest possibility of armed conflict or even a serious friction with the United States on the old, stubborn, dangerous question of the maritime rights of neutrals." In the changed naval and economic circumstances put together, a naval blockade of Britain by America or of another Power with America's support means the wholesale strangling of the entire Island. The problem in this new turn of the peace movement is therefore the Anglo-American naval problem.

#### THE STIPULATIONS.

Turning aside from the proposed peace-pact which has been quite appropriately compared to the Covenant of the League of Nations, the second part of the Kellogg proposal deals with the form of the arbitration treaty now put forward by the American Government to replace the old one. Instead of the old established exclusion of points touching "vital interests" and "national honour" from the sphere of arbitration, three definite reservations are now made, a moral though not much of a material improvement. They are questions of domestic affairs, the Monroe doctrine, and those involving third parties. Considering the present state of the world, which practically precludes the probability of a war confined only to two parties, and also that America as the world's leading power cannot and in all probability will not be a passive spectator in case of eventualities, the third restriction is a severe limitation on the uses of the projected pact. Not unreasonably, therefore, it is construed as a loophole for America to exert her dominating influence on a suitable occasion. The first two considerations alone need not keep her from joining the League, for the League's Covenant recognises both the Monroe doctrine and the absolute sovereignty of States in their internal affairs, unless it be for the usual excuse that the constitution of the United States will suffer no diminution in the Senate's powers as regards foreign policy. The Empire has provided similar argument for Britain. It is interesting for the moment, however, to see two English-speaking nations, foremost among the world's powers, each in the same predicament: Great Britain, piloting the League of Nations through political complications, regardful of the realities of commitments, avoiding changes, evading issues, yet unable to dare to desert the cause of peace for fear of facing the moral censure of the world and of her own people;



and America, similarly on her continent keeping up the show of the Pan-American Congress, shepherding it into considerations of economic and cultural questions such as passport arrangements, the nationality of wives of citizens, the exchange of professors, the production of better maps and surveys showing natural resources, carefully avoiding the political channels into which the Latin States would have it turn, and yet being obliged loudly to put up schemes of peace lest the world and her own citizens (among whom idealists may be numbered as much as elsewhere) should blame her. In both countries, at least the politician's necessity to include peace in his programme, the pacifists may claim, is due to them.

### OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Pretoria, DECEMBER 30.

#### INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION.

SIR GEORGE PLOWMAN, the present Administrator of Natal, is due to retire in January next, but it was hoped that he would continue in office for some time longer. His successor has however been announced. It is Mr. R. Gordon Watson. It is now anticipated that Sir George Plowman will not preside over the Indian Education Commission but leave it for his successor. The Commission is not likely to commence operations till February next. Meanwhile the Experts from India are studying the problem by interviewing the officials of the Education Department, the Congress and the Indian Teachers' Association and the Indian public interested in education.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

These discussions have been informal and tentative, more to gather information than to formulate policies. They have however brought to the surface some questions of policy. The first question relates to the place of Indian languages in the school curriculum. Opinion seems to be fairly unanimous that the medium of instruction should be English. It is also recognised that in bi-lingual South Africa, the Indians also should learn Dutch or African. There is however some sharp difference of opinion regarding the place of the Indian vernaculars. There are some who wish strongly that these languages should be taught as secondary languages in the schools. There are others that would drop them altogether or trust to some influences to keep them up. These people argue that there is no single vernacular for the whole Indian population, but several: Tamil, Gujarati, Hindi, and the Muhammadans insist on Urdu also. They recognise that it is very hard to arrange for instruction in all these languages in all the schools or even in some of them. It is asking too much of the Natal Government, none so sympathetic as it is towards Indian education, to provide instruction in all these languages. They further contend that with so many languages to learn, the poor child will be over-burdened and over-taxed at a very tender age. Since these languages are out of touch with the live literary currents in India and will be more so in future they can at best survive in a corrupt and archaic form, and are not worth preserving at so much cost to the young children. The Indian population in South Africa will more and more tend to be South African-born, who will more and more use English as their mother-tongue in their homes. As a matter of fact a good number of colonial-born Indians use English as their mother-tongue even at the present day. To them the languages of India will more and more become foreign and recede into the position of dead classical languages, like Sanskrit

and Persian. There is no practical use for those languages either in business or in daily intercourse in South Africa. To the contention of the other side that religious literature is available only in the languages of India, they reply that it could be obtained in English. The peoples of Europe do not all learn Hebrew to study their Bible but have it in their own languages, English, German, French and so on as the case may be. Even in India it is not all Hindus that learn Sanskrit to read the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavat Gita, but have these in their own languages. There are Muhammadans in East Africa, in Arabia, in Egypt, etc. who do not study Urdu for their religious instruction. In South Africa itself, there are the Malays who are good Muhammadans but who know no Urdu. No, Indian religion and culture are not tied to the chariot wheels of Indian languages, but can be appreciated through other languages. As against these arguments is the sentiment that as Indians we ought to cherish our languages, and pass them on to our children. If an unsympathetic Government with no respect for our civilisation and sentiment, will not recognise our languages in its schools, the Indian community should have separate schools wherein they shall be honoured and taught. As a matter of fact, at the present moment the Indian community runs a number of private schools where the children, after attending the recognised schools for five hours in the day, spend another two hours learning either Tamil, or Gujarati or Urdu. It is cruel on the children to sweat them for so many hours in school.

The second question of policy is the course of instruction for Indian children. At present, the curriculum is identical with that of the white children. Should it be so or should it be different? Here political considerations override purely pedagogical ones. Any variation might be construed as racial discrimination and might lower the value of that education in the eyes of the whites. Consequently opinion is fairly unanimous that the curricula in Indian schools should be identical with those in European schools. There is however a thin volume of opinion among Indians and among some Europeans that they should be different. The reasons are not always the same. The Indian asks what is the use of the type of education that creates aspirations for professions that are closed to Indians. There is a type of European who fears that education will improve the efficiency of the Indian as a competitor with the European and hence he must be given education that is different and will not accentuate competition. There is yet another variety of European opinion which is undoubtedly friendly and which bases its advocacy of different curricula upon respect for Indian culture and civilization, and which wishes that the Indian should remain true to his civilisation. It points to the advantage secured by Native education by its separation from European education and advocates a closer approximation of Indian education with the Native. Whatever be the motive or justification all these advocate an education that would fit the Indian to the vocations that are open to him in this country. They are mainly of the lower technical order.

#### TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

With reference to technical education, the *Natal Advertiser*, a friendly paper but only upto a point, had a characteristic leader the other day. After making a complimentary reference to Mr. Sastri for being able to raise nearly £20,000 from the Indian community for the Training School, a piece of work, "analogous to the wonder-working Moses of old", it continues, "The Union Government has declared

itself in favour of technical training for non-Europeans, and has already an institution at Cape Town where certain crafts are taught to Malays, "coloureds" and blacks. It is now proposed to extend this liberal attitude to Durban and we understand that, when this proposed (Indian) Training College is built, the Technical College will be asked to accept responsibility for various evening classes to be held there for technical training of non-Europeans in this part of Natal."

While welcoming this proposal, the *Natal Advertiser* offers vehement opposition to the inclusion of commercial education for Indians. "We are well aware that it is better for an Indian trader to be efficient rather than inefficient. It is better that he should keep his books well than ill." All the same the European opinion will say "that without these aids the Indian businessman is a terrible competitor at the present time. What is he going to be like when the Government subsidises instruction that is going to double his competence as a competitor with the white?" Again, "we know the point is advanced by the Indian educationists at present visiting Natal that it is only intended to train those Indian youths who at present are employed by their own compatriots and who today are inefficient or relatively so. We are not so sanguine as to think that the experiment can stop there. If the Indian youth, with his amazing industry and his very high order of intelligence, can get a commercial training at State expense (or even his own) he is bound to be, in some measure, a competitor in an already overstocked market that thinks less of colour than of wage levels." It therefore advocates that Indians as well as other non-Europeans should be given training in productive crafts, and lays down the principle that "the non-European is least the enemy or the competitor of the white man when he is helping to make things rather than merely distribute them." It however recognises the force of the Indian answer that "the skilled productive trades are today closed (at least by any apprenticeship entrance) to the non-European: and that it is no good giving technical training to youths who will not be allowed to practise those trades," and admits that the "Trade Unions feel the most implacable hostility towards Indian technical instruction in productive crafts." The *Advertiser* has tied itself up in a knot!

#### THE TRANSVAAL SITUATION.

Finding that their requisition for a general meeting of the Transvaal British Indian Association to consider the question of reunion with the Congress was ignored by the Secretaries and the Executive Committee, the 700 signatories invoked the Vice-President's help to convene a general meeting of Indians in the Transvaal. This was held on the 18th December and was attended by over a thousand people. The meeting preferred an indictment against the Executive of the B. I. As. and demanded their resignation and appointed another Executive either to take their place, in case they resigned or to become the Executive of another organisation, the Transvaal Indian Congress, which was forthwith to seek affiliation with the Congress. The B. I. As Executive have ignored these resolutions as not binding on them. The Transvaal Indian Congress is therefore functioning and has decided to send delegates to the annual Conference of the Congress. Mr. Pragji Desai, who was mainly responsible for the good work in the Transvaal, has been appointed one of the Secretaries of the new organisation and in that capacity joined the deputation of the South African Indian Congress Executive which met the Secretary to the Department of the Interior at Pretoria on the 19th inst. to discuss the question of the exchange of assurances between the

Minister and the Indian Congress and the condonation of illegal entrants of the past.

#### CONDONATION OF ILLEGAL ENTRANTS.

It will be remembered that the Minister had promised to condone the illegal entrants in the Union provided the Indian community promised to work the Cape Town Agreement and cooperate in preventing further illegal entry. He would not however accept the assurances from numerous bodies but desired that the South African Indian Congress, as representing the entire Indian community, should give it. This became impossible in view of the secession of the T. B. I. A. Now that a new organisation has been formed in the Transvaal affiliated to the Congress, it is anticipated the assurances will soon be exchanged.

#### DEPORTATION.

Certain Indians in the Cape, who have been proved to be illegal entrants, have been for some time under orders of deportation. But the execution of the orders was repeatedly postponed. But one Ahmed Sahib was actually put on board at Cape Town about the 15th inst. The Congress officials got alarmed at this for they had hoped that until the question of exchange of assurances was finally settled no deportations would be carried out. At the intervention of Mr. Sastri and the Congress officials, the deportation of Ahmed Sahib was cancelled and he was disembarked at another port in the Cape Colony, Port Elizabeth. It is however doubtful if the amnesty will extend to all cases, some of which are indeed very bad. For instance, an Indian gave out and apparently proved that he had been in the Cape for many years, and was legally so. Later, it was proved that he was a deserter from a ship very recently. In fact the captain of the ship who had paid a penalty of £100 for the Indian's desertion, came across him on a subsequent visit to Cape Town and denounced him to the police. It is too much to ask the Union Government to condone such Indian criminals.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN FEDERATION.

The opponents of the Cape Town Agreement and the Congress finally met on the 28th at Johannesburg to form a Federation to represent their views and to supercede the Congress. The Federation contend that the Congress was not a representative body of the Indians in the Union. The main objection to the Cape Town Agreement was that the Union and the Indian Governments did not consult the Indian community. The Federation suggest that the Minister of the Union should call a convention of representative Indians and come to a settlement with them. They object to the policy of reducing the Indian population in the Union, of western standards to be reached by Indians, Sec. 5 of the new Act and higher education for Indians at Fort Hare.

The following figures (taken from the report of the Department of Census and Statistics) regarding the movement of Indians into and out of South Africa will be found interesting:—

	1924	1925	1926	1927.
Assuming domicile				
Males	330	423	454	0
Females	167	183	231	0
Total	497	606	685	0
Born in India	409	523	595	0
Relinquishing domicile				
Males	890	1059	1540	0
Females	377	499	798	0
Total	1267	1558	2338	2986.
Born in India	756	932	1273	0
Born in S. Africa	472	588	993	0

It follows from these figures that the net reduction in Indian population has been 770 in 1924, 952 in 1925: and 1653 in 1926.

## REVIEW SECTION.

### WRITINGS OF DR. CANNAN.

**AN ECONOMIST'S PROTEST.** By EDWIN CANNAN. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1923. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 438. 16s.

THIS is a selection of letters and articles written by Dr. Cannan between 1914 to 1926. Dr. Cannan tells us that immediately on the outbreak of war he offered his services as a harvester, but that nothing came of it presumably because he was regarded as too old at 53 for any strenuous service even as a non-combatant. Under the circumstances the only thing he could do for his country was to raise his powerful voice in protest against the many economic aberrations into which the nation was being led with the best of intentions by those who were at the helm of affairs during the eventful period already referred to. The range of topics covered in this book is extraordinarily wide and Dr. Cannan has something illuminating to say on every subject he touches. There are two main lines of protest running through these excerpts: the one against the narrow economic nationalism which thinks of the interests of any particular country as being necessarily opposed to the interests of other countries; and the other against proposals which were mischievous from both the national and the international points of view. The book presents to us the spectacle of a distinguished economist and patriotic Englishman valiantly battling against the dangerous delusions of all kinds entertained both by Government and the people on the numerous thorny questions of public policy and private conduct raised by the war. The need of instructing public opinion on weighty matters of economic import was imperative and Dr. Cannan's unrivalled power of simplifying what is abstruse and difficult so as to adapt it to the comprehension of the common herd has enabled him to satisfy this need with notable success. The student of economics will rise from the perusal of the book with his notions very much clarified on some of the most difficult problems in this subject such as those connected with prices, currency, banking, etc. We find here abundantly exemplified the special qualities we have learned to associate with Dr. Cannan's writings particularly when he is engaged in the congenial task of exposing economic fallacies—the firm grasp of economic theory, the ruthless and rapid analysis which, so to speak, tears the heart out of a complicated question and drags into the day-light the lurking error in a plausible but unscientific argument, the Johnsonian *flair* for the crushing retort and the bludgeon-stroke demolishing with a few words the elaborate and fine-spun fabrics of unpractical theorists. (The reader will recall Dr. Cannan's famous defence of the gold standard as against the gold exchange standard and other intricate arrangements which have been proposed by various economists. The gold standard, he said, is the only standard which is "knave-proof" and "fool-proof".) The style is not characterized by the literary finish of a Nicholson or an Edgeworth but is eminently well

suited for popular propaganda. The selection includes a lecture on Adam Smith as Economist, the first of a series delivered at the London School of Economics in 1926 to commemorate the completion of a hundred and fifty years since the publication of the 'Wealth of Nations.' Considering the occasion, the lecture is remarkably free from anything approaching extravagant laudation or hero-worship. One rather wishes that Dr. Cannan were more lavish in his praise of old masters like Adam Smith and less downright in dealing with the like of Dr. Marshall, but Dr. Cannan in spite of his many merits suffers from a somewhat inadequate development of the bump of reverence.

G. B. JATHAR.

### THE WEB OF LIFE.

**THE WORD IN THE WORLD.** Being the Adult School Lesson Hand-book for 1928. (National Adult School Union, London.) 1927. 7¼ × 5. pp. 294. 2s. 6d.

THIS is a "little volume, but great book". Its somewhat unpromising title and appearance conceal an entirely admirable interior. Well-written, up-to-date, graphic and alive, this little book should appeal to many different strata of culture and temperament. The questionnaires are stimulating and the bibliographies sufficient.

The aims of the Adult School Union, which has been issuing these volumes annually since 1911, are to teach the art of life to those who do not have the opportunity of learning it in the great universities. It emphasises the responsibility of citizenship and equality of opportunity. It encourages international brotherhood, tries to educate public morality and overcome the British class system and helps men to understand and to reproduce the life of Christ.

These ideals are reflected in "The Word in the World." The thesis of the book is, briefly, that life is sacramental. It emphasises the belief in "a spiritual interpretation of life; that behind the things that are seen there are invisible realities; that God dwells in man; and that religion is an appeal to the whole man, and not to any one part of him to the exclusion of the rest". Under the figure of a web, the grand unity of every form of life is attractively displayed. The threads of life are interwoven. The crude marram grass prepares the sand to produce sea kale. The moorland heather gives protection to the fungus which provides its food supply. Mistletoe seeds depend on the birds for their dissemination. Worms prepare the ground for the growth of fibrous-rooted plants. The Pilot-fish attends upon the shark, the Nile plover waits on the crocodile. It is well-known how the lives of men are affected by animals. Plague is spread by the bite of the rat-flea. The American cotton-crop is damaged by the boll-weevil to the extent of £60,000,000 annually.

Humanity too is one. On the whole, man has the same fundamental desires, finding expression in countless different forms. His ordinary interests are analysed—recreation, politics, friendship, the newspaper—in which is held "the ends of myriad invisible electric conductors along which tremble the joys, sorrows, wrongs, triumphs, hopes and despairs of as many men and women everywhere." But man has higher loves and these are all movements of the one spirit: music—which creates and fans the fire of the spirit of man; history—which is the story of his

response to God's overture; architecture—expression of a nation's temperament; poetry—"the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge"; painting—which captures "the spirit of universal beauty, deep, mysterious;" science—the splendid product of the search for facts; citizenship—the organization of our corporate sense; and religion—which vivifies, ennobles and sanctions all these things. Man is most universal in his sorrows; and so Tragedy, the setting and condition of noble living, is considered in thirty invaluable pages on Shakespeare.

There is another web of interdependence—the web (a tangled one indeed) of the political and international world. The nations are linked together by trade and commerce, emigration, literature art, sport, and even by a sort of oecumenical patriotism, which sees a divine purpose moving through history to produce a Family of Free Nations, in which all shall have an equal part, and in which all shall be free. As Tagore says, "There is only one history, the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one". The book is an English one, but it is strikingly free from imperialistic jingoism, although a good deal of space is given to the affairs of the British Empire. It frankly admits the evils of empire-building, and is not afraid to find in Caliban a type of the primitive peoples debauched of the fire-water given to them by the "pioneers of civilisation". The Catholic religion, which the book largely expounds, and which was founded by One who was Himself a member of an oppressed and suffering race, can never logically ally itself with an imperialistic outlook. Conditioning all this is the vast web of the world's religions. "The webs overlap and their threads are interwoven", and therefore kinship and fellowship should govern the attitude of all men of spiritual culture towards one another. Men must regard each other from the level of God. As Maeterlinck says finely, "when Jesus Christ met the Samaritan, met a few children, met an adulterous woman, then did humanity rise three times in succession to the level of God".

To a world so interwoven in its interests and aspirations, the figure of Jesus Christ is present as offering a universal appeal. In Him, the great values by which men live are focussed—the Unseen rather than the Seen, the Fundamental rather than the Superficial, the Hard rather than the Easy, Sacrificial Love rather than selfish egoism. He is no iconoclast: He abolishes nothing real: He sets up a standard of justice based on universal sympathy: He is the Commonwealth in which all men shall be free and equal: He gives "the human spirit a chanter and an inspiration to be what God meant it to be."

H. V. ELWIN.

**THE COUNTRY OF THE ESKIMOS.**  
**ACROSS ARCTIC AMERICA. NARRATIVE**  
**OF THE FIFTH THULE EXPEDITION.** By  
KNUD RASMUSSEN. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New  
York.) 1927. 9½ × 6½. pp. 388. \$ 2.

To those who follow the lure of adventure and seek acquaintance with strange peoples, Rasmussen will prove a delightful guide and stimulating companion. His narrative of great achievement is told in a simple unpretentious style, minimizing discomfort and risk, and dwelling on the joy of discovery and fresh experience. The reader who follows the narrative, with its accompanying illustrations and maps, will lay down the book half convinced that he has himself spent three years in the Eskimo country.

For such a task, no European could be better qualified than Knud Rasmussen. The son of a missionary, he was born in Greenland, spoke the Eskimo

language as his native tongue, and proudly claims through his mother a strain of Eskimo blood. His playmates were Eskimo children, and as a boy of eight, he drove his own team of dogs. After completing his Western education, he spent eighteen years in Greenland, laying those foundations of intimate and detailed knowledge on which the present investigation is based. With this background, Rasmussen was able to move as an Eskimo among Eskimos, eating their food, wearing their clothing, sleeping in their blubber-heated, hermetically sealed snow-huts, and entering with sympathy and appreciation into the experiences of their lives.

The expedition set out from Greenland, and ended on the shores of Behring Strait. A further attempt to get in touch with the Eskimos of Liberia was foiled by the unfriendly attitude of the representatives of the Soviet, who allowed Rasmussen only 18 hours on Asiatic soil. His ice-trail of approximately 20,000 miles chiefly followed the shores of the old "North West Passage," once so ardently desired by European navigators in search of a short-cut to India. For the greater part of this distance, Rasmussen journeyed with only two companions, an Eskimo man and woman. Together they trekked from one to another of the tiny, scattered Eskimo encampments, sharing in their abundance or want, joining in their pastimes and in their toil.

The object of the expedition was an investigation into the history, culture, and religion of the whole Eskimo race. Whether or not the theory be true that the Eskimos are a surviving remnant of the civilization of the Stone Age, the author is firmly persuaded that in some distant pre-historic period, they and the American Indian split off from a common stock; and that all the Eskimo tribes, whether following coastal or inland habits of life, possess the same folk-lore, culture, and religious traditions. The latter fact was conclusively proved by the author through his collections of charms, amulets, and other material having a religious significance, and through his equally valuable mass of songs folk tales and prayers gathered from the various tribes with whom he mingled.

One of the interesting contrasts of the book is found during the latter portion of the long journey, when the writer passes across the Alaskan border and comes in contact with the "modern" Eskimo, who has come under the economic influences of the West. From garments of caribon skin, snow igloos, blubber lamps and kyaks he passes to iron bedsteads, petrol lights, typewriters, and wages of \$ 25.00 per day. Rasmussen found the results less destructive than might be expected. Schools, hospitals, co-operative societies—practical as well as theoretical Christianity—seem to have done much to protect the Eskimo from the abuses of American civilization.

One hesitates to refer to the already threadbare subject of Miss Mayo's book; yet it is impossible to lay down "Arctic America" without feeling the contrast between the attitudes of the two writers. In Rasmussen we have no casual tourist, but a man who from earliest childhood has entered into the cultural and spiritual experiences of the people of whom he writes. Their faults he does not gloss over. The reader visualizes the cruel winter famines and the resulting lapses into cannibalism; the chronic fear of over-population and consequent custom of girl-infanticide, with its natural result of polyandry; feasts and holidays that lapse into immorality; disregard of human life; and quickness to take blood revenge. But over against these uglinesses is always the bright side of the picture—cheerfulness and joy in life amid the most cruel and depressing surroundings; unstinted hospitality; family affection; upward yearnings of the spirit. The faults are largely accounted for

by environment and economic pressure; the virtues—what can account for them save God? Says Rasmussen: "The Eskimos, intimately studied, are much more spiritual-minded, much more intelligent, much more likesable than the average man has been led to expect. They prove to be human beings just like ourselves—so like indeed that we cannot avoid drawing them into the fold, and saying, 'These people belong to our race'".

A. B. VAN DOREN.

### INDIAN LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT.

#### CONSTITUTION, FUNCTIONS AND FINANCE OF INDIAN MUNICIPALITIES

By K. T. SHAH and G. J. BAHADURJI. (Indian News Paper Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1925 10 × 6½ pp. 514 Rs. 10-12.

PROF. SHAH is a close student of economics and this valuable book, besides being a boon to the students of Indian economics, will be an admirable guide to the executive officers and councillors of our municipalities who are interested in increasing the efficiency of their administration. His present volume is divided into three parts. In the first part, namely, on constitution of Indian municipalities, the author, after giving his observations on municipalities of foreign countries, appropriately deprecates the principle of representation on a communal basis in vogue in Indian municipalities. Although the principle of nominations by Government on municipal bodies can be generally denounced, still owing to the peculiar conditions of India, it can be justified only if the Government takes care to nominate experts or representatives of purdah ladies, depressed classes or backward classes, who otherwise would not be able to secure elected seats. It is a fact that educational qualifications and a capacity to work on municipal bodies, which ought to be the real criterion and which alone will enable them to be of any real service to their co-citizens, are woefully ignored both in the election and nomination of members.

The author suggests that the municipal council should predominantly be a legislative body for the city. It is very often true of many a municipal body in this Presidency that municipal councillors fail to understand that their function is only to guide the general policy of the municipal administration, and that the actual executive function rests with the stipendiary or honorary executive officers with the President at their head. "Equally important with the above, is a change in the methods of recruiting and the conditions of maintaining the personnel of the municipal service" necessary for increasing the efficiency of municipal administration. At present any local hands or persons discontented in other departments are generally recruited in the municipal service; and for want of any service stability, municipal jobs merely serve as stepping stones for other better salaried posts. The author suggests as a remedy a system of open competitive examination at least to fill up the superior posts in municipal service. This system will naturally necessitate the creation of consolidated municipal service at least, for the whole of the Presidency though not for the whole of India immediately. Facilities can then be provided for the interchange of officers between several municipalities. We consider that if this system is brought into force at an early date, the smaller municipalities can derive the benefit of certain officers trained in bigger municipalities and even the officers will themselves feel more stable in the municipal service in respect of their pay, promotion and prospects. It can be remark-

ed at this stage that the Local Self Government Institute recently started at Poona is working in this direction by training officers for local bodies. It is now for them to avail themselves of such trained officers, giving less importance to local and personal influence, by which the present recruitment seems to be largely influenced.

In the second part the author describes what ought to be the real functions of Indian municipalities. According to the present Municipal Acts, Public Health, Public Safety, Public Convenience and Public Instruction appear to be the only traditional civic functions of municipalities. "But for the proper development of municipal sentiment, for a full-blooded enjoyment of civic life, there must be such an all-round extension and expansion of municipal functions as would affect, improve and brighten every phase of civic life, and satisfy every aspect of the citizen needs." Prof. Pherwani has remarked in his book on "Municipal Efficiency," the efficiency of municipalities is primarily suffering for want of a definite ideal in the minds of both the councillors and the executive officers. All kinds of civil welfare work in a town ought to form part of the functions of a municipal body. Prof. Shah, concurring with Prof. Pherwani, further suggests that with this wider scope of municipal functions the present Acts will have to be modified so as to include these expanded municipal functions. In this book Prof. Shah describes in detail the activities called for in the different functions of municipalities, viz. Public Health, Public Safety, Public Convenience, Public Instruction, Housing Reform, Providing Civil Amenities, etc. He further suggests that some of the so-called outside functions should be "municipalised". For instance, at present the municipality contents itself with providing municipal markets and slaughter-houses with a duty in the shape of inspection of food and drink supplied in the city, as water is now municipalised, so also the principal articles of food and drink can be municipalised, as is done in other parts of the world.

Part third is devoted to a detailed discussion on municipal finance. It is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the expenditure side, and the second with the sources of revenue of Indian municipalities. The author at the outset distinguishes municipal finance from national finance by pointing out specifically that as municipal expenditure is localised only to the benefit of those residing in the municipal areas, municipal income must therefore be so derived as to restrict the burden of such income to the citizens. The natural corollary that follows is that municipalities must levy more of direct and less of indirect taxes, such as octroi duties, if they cannot absolutely abolish them. The author further describes in detail Municipal borrowing, municipal budget, municipal industries etc, and makes some general suggestions for the reform of financial organisations.

R. B. HIVARGAONKAR.

### A HANDBOOK ON MONEY.

MONEY. By R. A. LEHFELDT. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1926. 7¼ × 5: pp. 116. 2s. 6d.

THE general reader is always anxious to have at hand a hand-book on an economic subject which enables him to understand the broad features of it in a non-technical way and this booklet gives in a moderate compass all that such a reader would like to know on the subject of money.

In all modern societies money is crystallized by law and the manner of liquidating debts is ordained

by the legislative authority. Silver and gold were in the evolution of money ultimately chosen as the material suitable for money. After giving the history of the supply of gold the author declares that the most important question affecting gold is whether the world's demand for it is increasing faster or less fast than the stock which is increasing at present at the rate of £75 millions every year; but after propounding the question he gives no definite answer to it. Discussing paper money the author has emphasized that to secure a paper currency from depreciation the convertibility must be genuine; not only must the legal right be there but there must be no trouble, delay or expense; we wish the governments of the world would treasure this principle which is the great bed-rock of all successful administration of paper money. He also emphasizes two other conditions. One is that a person obtaining gold must be at liberty to do what he likes with it, melt it, or export it at his pleasure but cause the restrictions on the use of gold interfere with the value of gold. The other is that as soon as an excess of currency is suspected deflation must be practised and the excess paper money destroyed. The account of the cheque system given by the author is remarkably suitable for a general reader. Discussing money as a standard of value, the author shows how money changes from century to century in its relation to other things and is not thus a stable standard of value. The study of prices reveals that when gold and silver are plentiful prices rise and when they are deficient prices fall. But along with this there are other causes which must be isolated before the change in the value of money can be measured. Coming next to the social consequences of price-changes, the author draws attention to the importance of national debts in this survey. If the value of money is low the tax-payers gain and the bondholders lose. But in his opinion the temptation of manipulating the value of money with a view to defrauding the creditors should be resisted in the interest of sanctity of contract.

On the question of good and bad trade the author is quite positive that the upsetting of the economic equilibrium is in a large measure due to the action of the credit organization. A boom is always the result of an increase of the circulating medium by banks and the cure is always effected by withdrawal of currency. It is to be noted at this point that the author shows how the Gold Standard is a check to this vicious movement and a system of inconvertible paper money the greatest stimulus to the speculative boom. He advocates a Central Bank which will assist the other banks in applying the check to a movement of speculative prices by raising the rate of discount. In the section on international payments the standard theory of foreign exchanges is explained with great lucidity. With regard to the quantity theory of money the author thinks that it is borne out by the recent history of inflated currencies during the Great War; it is the only clue to the intricacies of monetary relations. In the last section Prof. Lehfeldt considers various suggestions to improve the present system of money. The general object of all methods of improvement is the constant value of money. The greatest disturbing factor is the trade cycle consisting of a boom followed by a crisis. The first method suggested is the substitution of an index number standard for the metallic standard; according to this every contract is to pay a certain amount of goods and not a certain amount of money. Prof. Lehfeldt regards this system as rather premature inasmuch as it would disconcert the commercial world by its novelty. He himself favours the method of controlling the output of gold by placing it under the control of an authority which would act in the interests of the world. Mr. Keynes' scheme of a

managed currency is regarded by him as impracticable because the authorities in charge of the currency are not yet worthy of the complete trust which the system presupposes. He believes that the present organization of money will lead gradually to internationalization of money and for this we must facilitate the adoption of a common unit and free transfer of money from country to country. A co-operation between central banks for facilitating foreign payments and the agreement to maintain a free market for gold suggested by the Geneva International Conference are strongly supported by Prof. Lehfeldt. We commend this introductory volume to all students of economics with the conviction that it will stimulate them to the further study of the vast subject of money. It is remarkably lucid and suggestive.

V. N. GODBOLE.

### A BRAHMAN EMPIRE-BUILDER.

**MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE NANA FARNAVIS.** By A. MACDONALD. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 184. Rs. 5.

THE intelligence and statesmanship of Nana Fadnis were serviceable to the Maratha Empire far longer than those of other statesmen of his age and it is but proper that his life written from a political point of view should be very important. The sketch, here reviewed, was first published in 1851 and is a reprint, with an introduction and, we presume, also the notes, by Principal Rawlinson of the Deccan College. The original memoir has a great historical value and well deserves to be reprinted even at so late a date. The book makes interesting reading and freshness and vividity of style distinguish its beautifully printed pages. The book is a faithful attempt at representing the political situation of the days of Nana Fadnis (1761-1800), though, as was perhaps quite natural, the British relations in every case are more fully dealt with. Facts are not misrepresented except in very few cases, prompted by the scorn and prejudice of the author against the Marathas and especially the Brahmans. But slighting remarks in regard both to the morality and good sense of the Marathas are scattered throughout the book; and some of these, especially those on p. 4 line 12, p. 11 line 4, p. 28 lines 21-22, p. 48 line 10, p. 52 lines 11 and 12, deserve to be noted. Nana's ability and statesmanship are sympathetically regarded and the political situation, especially the relations between Nana and Mahadji and their influence on contemporary Maratha politics is shrewdly observed (pp. 43; 54). The delineation of the Maratha character and prospects of the Empire (pp. 90-91) does credit to the political insight of the writer.

The following statements need corroboration: p. 12 lines 11-12; p. 26 lines 5-6. The Ghasiram incident on p. 157 tones down the height of his offence. Complete editing ought to have corrected several place names in order to facilitate understanding, e. g. Sasuran (p. 26) will be better recognised as Saswad, Sidar-Tank (p. 158) as Siddha Teka. Such mistakes are so many stumbling blocks to uninitiated readers and should not have disfigured a university publication. Some more will be found on p. 5 line 25; note 1 on p. 22 must be printed below p. 24 and confuses the reader out of all his wits; the use of the word 'former' in both the places in paragraph 2 p. 23 is obscure; those on p. 122 line 8 and p. 138 line 13 are almost ridiculous.

Apt remarks on the character of the various people often give weight to the sketches and the author's remarks about Bajirao II, though unnecessarily severe, are nevertheless appropriate and believable.

Several other remarks are no doubt out of taste and suit a more ungenerous age of British politics.

The little map, curiously, is not compiled with an eye to the requirements of this particular book and might as well have been omitted; the photograph of Shanwar Wada is as unmeaning and useless as the map, so far as the present book is concerned.

A word must be said for the very interesting appendix II, 'Autobiographical Memoir of the early life of Nana Fadnis', translated from the original Marathi by Lieut. Colonel John Briggs, Resident at the court of Satara (1823-26). The translation, according to Mr. Rawlinson, is a free but not an inaccurate one. Comparing with the original, however, one does find inaccuracies, which are unpardonable unless the copy of the translator differed substantially from that published in the *Kavyetihasa Sangraha*. That portion of the translation referring to Nana's habit as a child, of farming lumps of clay into images and of stealing the household images of the family, must, I fear, be taken to be spurious (p. 165). A statement further down on the same page, 'God permitted me to be present to perform his funeral obsequies' is unnecessarily unidiomatic. Certain omissions appear uncalled for even if they do not generally mar the political interest of the biography. The editor has realised this discrepancy and thought it necessary to supply at least in two cases such deficiencies in notes, e. g. p. 173 notes 293. Another discrepancy on p. 170, the reference to the Bel tree in the place of the Bor tree, mentioned in the *Kavyetihasa Sangraha* must make people doubt whether it is a mistaken reading or whether there exists any other version of the same valuable paper.

An attempt to supply dates in an introduction to the biography has led the author into mistakes. Both the Madhavraos died two years earlier than at the dates given on p. 162. That Nana Fadnis in his young days pursued the study of the Vedas and Shastras is questionable or at least awaits proof. In spite of these and similar blemishes, the book deserves a place in every historical library.

D. V. KALE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE NEW RESERVE BANK BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I read with great interest your leading article headed "A New Basis for the Reserve Bank" in the issue of the 19th January. It seems that you have not fully appreciated our attitude towards the proposed Reserve Bank. May I be permitted to make our position clear?

Answering our objections to the Reserve Bank Bill you observe "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." I am afraid you have failed to appreciate the real nature of the proposed legislation. We insist on scrapping the Bill because we believe that its passage will render it impossible to reopen the question of the standard, and will make difficult if not impossible the development of industrial banking thus retarding the industrial development of India. It should not be forgotten that the proposed Bill is not a temporary measure but it attempts to place our monetary organisation on a permanent and lasting basis. Sir, why this haste in rushing through the Bill? The agreement with the Imperial Bank of India terminates in 1931 and at that time we can reopen the whole ques-

tion of monetary reform and place our monetary organisation on a sound and lasting basis. Even if the Bill is passed, it does not come into operation for three years. If you think that under the Bill you are getting half a loaf you are mistaken because not only we are getting nothing but we are depriving ourselves of a chance of getting an effective gold standard. This Bill is meant to carry out fully and effectively the recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission which are summed up by Sir Basil himself in one phrase "stability of exchange". All the recommendations are meant to maintain the stability of exchange now at (1s. 6d.) and it is for this sole purpose, maintenance of the stability of exchange rate that an authority (the Reserve Bank) with powers to control, manage and manipulate not only our currency reserves but also our money market is to be brought into existence. This Bill is meant to achieve this object. Our currency organisation under the proposed Bill will only be a continuation of the pre-war system with improvements in its mechanism. Keeping in mind the conditions on which gold is to be given for internal currency and the nature of our trade balance the provision to give gold for internal purposes is practically of no use. You say that the Gold Bullion Standard for whose operation the Reserve Bank is to be brought into existence is at any rate not worse than the old standard. I fail to understand how a person with your study and equipment can be so hypnotised as not to see through the game and make such a statement. The Gold Bullion Standard with the Reserve Bank will be worse than the Gold Exchange Standard which was without a Reserve Bank. I request you to study those clauses of the Bill which deal with the business of the Bank assets, liabilities and investment of the Reserve. They will manipulate our reserves more scientifically and systematically. They will effectively manipulate the conditions of our money market so as to render difficult if not impossible the development of industries.

You proceed "It is unfortunate that for various reasons we cannot adopt a gold standard and a gold currency." May I know those various reasons? When we demand an effective gold standard, we do not want the Government to undertake an obligation to convert the whole of our rupee currency into gold. In my scheme of introducing a gold standard this obligation need not and should not be undertaken. The quantity of the rupee currency may be contracted to such an extent that it will not be necessary to undertake this obligation and even if this obligation is undertaken after the necessary contraction it will not land the Government into any difficulty. All that I insist upon is the stoppage of the coinage of the rupees—this is accepted—and that all additions to the currency henceforth should be made either in gold notes or gold coins, preferably gold notes and that a gold coin should be accepted as the standard coin of India and an open and a free mint for the coinage of these coins. This scheme does not require any additional reserve of Gold. Our trade balance and our existing gold resources and reserves will be sufficient to get enough gold, if only the London Money Market gives up the idea of using our gold. Our opponents misrepresent our demand and condemn it on wrong grounds. I have developed this scheme in my "Monetary Reform in India." It is regrettable that beyond the conception of an orthodox gold standard there is no attempt on the part of our legislators to approach the problem in the light of modern theories. All of us are so hypnotised by our 'friends' that we believe in the impossibility of a gold standard for India.

You further state that "As we do not contemplate such a possibility of establishing an effective

gold standard within a couple of years—we would regard it as bad tactics to scrap the measure as Profs. Wadia and Joshi recommend." Sir, with the passage of the Reserve Bank Bill, there is no possibility—not even remote—of introducing an effective gold standard. It is strange but it is true that during the last ten months—within a year Sir Basil has frittered away nearly £22 millions belonging to the Paper Currency Reserve on the flimsy ground of maintaining the exchange rate and providing the Secretary of State with enough funds. May one ask Sir Basil as to whether India's gold reserves after the passage of the ratio Bill have increased or decreased? At the time of the passage of the ratio Bill our gold and sterling resources amounted to nearly £80 millions; today they are reduced by no less than £22 millions. This is the way of securing a gold basis for our currency and this is the way to prepare us for the introduction of an effective gold standard! The currency and financial policy of the Government during the last few months has been as arbitrary as it has been detrimental. It has been a gamble in the whims of Sir Basil, the Secretary of State for India and the Finance Committee of the India Council. It is time that our currency and financial policy is regulated by definite rules.

You seem to believe that by the passage of the Bill India will get financial Swaraj. This is only a hallucination. The Reserve Bank will be only a glorified and enlarged office of the Controller of Currency. The Bill is designed to organise, systematise and tighten financial hold over our reserves, resources and money market. I am glad that the members of the Legislature are keen upon throwing out the Bill though for different reasons. May I request the members of the Legislature not only to scrap the Bill but also to demand an explanation from the Government for frittering away our sterling resources? They should get a guarantee from the Finance Member that no more gold or sterling reserves will be frittered away on flimsy grounds. Yours, etc.

G. N. JOSHI.

Bombay, Jan. 30.

[ In the above letter which has been slightly abridged, Prof. Joshi has explained his position with regard to the Reserve Bank Bill. In his opinion the idea that the Reserve Bank will give financial Swaraj is a hallucination. We do not agree with him on that point. We think that the Reserve Bank, however defective its constitution might be, will transfer control from Whitehall to a corporation in India. We are prepared to concede to Prof. Joshi that there would be an amount of manipulation in the election of Directors and that plastic Directors might get into the sanctuary; but to suppose that all the Directors would be hypnotized into saying ditto to whatever is proposed by the Government and that the Reserve Bank would be simply a magnified comptroller's department would be contrary to ordinary expectations. In any case it is better that Currency and exchange are managed through an institution brought into being by the sanction of the Legislature than by executive action. If the Reserve Bank is there the Government will have to manoeuvre at least to get the consent of the Directorate whereas without a Bank all will be plain sailing. Prof. Joshi is emphatic about the point that if we now assent to the Bank the question of a Gold Standard will be closed for ever. We are inclined to think on the contrary that the question of the Gold Standard can be broached at

any time and our hands are not tied down by simply passing the Reserve Bank Bill now. The fact that Sir Basil Blackett is playing havoc with our gold reserves tells either way—Ed. S. O. I.]

#### TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

THE Annual Report of the Bombay Audit department for 1925-26 reveals arrears of dues, Municipal setting at naught Government orders, Mistake. violation of the provisions of local Acts, and irregularities in expenditure. The previous audit notes have not been minded; great laxity prevails in municipalities about recovering dues by legal processes. No reports are made except in a few cases of the progress made in reducing arrears with regard to the local fund. On the 31st March 1925 the total arrears of all municipalities amounted to Rs. 15.6 lakhs. and the examiner complains that little use is made of the power to recover dues by warrants. A large number of municipalities have failed to balance expenditure on conservancy and the proceeds from the sanitary cesses. The Report points out that separate accounts are not kept for receipts from toll and wheel-tax which are earmarked for road expenditure by a large number of municipalities. In reviewing the report the Government have asked the Collectors to draw the attention of municipalities to the defects disclosed in the Report. This tale is hardly creditable to the members of local bodies and municipalities, in whose hands is placed the machine of local self-government for the welfare of the people. The case of the Sholapur Municipality ought to serve as a warning for local bodies to discharge their duties with a sense of grater responsibility. In fact the whole reputation of local self-government is at stake till the success of local bodies is beyond cavil. It would be a pity if Government Officers will be obliged by the maladministration of local bodies to interfere in order to right wrongs every now and then.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD. (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7x4½ pp. 256. 2s.
- REFERENCE BOOK OF GYMNASIAC TRAINING FOR BOYS. By THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, England. (H. M. Stationery Office, London.) 1927. 9½x6½. pp. 323. 3s. 6d.
- ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN ECONOMICS. By B. G. SAPRE. B. (G. Sapre, Sangli.) 1927. 7½x5. pp. 512. Rs. 4-4-0.
- MY WORKING LIFE. By LORD SYDENHAM. (John Murray, London.) 1927. 8½x5½. pp. 465.
- THOMAS PAINE, PROPHET AND MARTYR OF DEMOCRACY. By MARY AGNES BEST. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 9x5½. pp. 413. 16s.
- NAPOLEON. (Translated from the original by Eden and Cedar Paul) By EMIL LUDWIG. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9½x6½. pp. 707. 21s.
- JEAN PAUL MARAT. By LOUIS R. GORTSCHALK. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9½x6½. pp. 221. 12s. 6d.
- WHERE IS LABOUR GOING. A POLITICAL PAMPHLET. By L. HADEN GUEST. (Jonathan Cape, London.) 1927. 8x5. pp. 156. 5s.
- SULTAN MAHMUD OF GAZNIN. By MOHAMMAD HABIB. (D. B. Taraporewalla Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1927. 7½x4½. pp. 108. Rs. 2-8-0.