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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE issuing of an order under section 144 against processions and the defiance of such an irrational order by the leaders of the people have been the first signs of creating a peaceful atmosphere for the work of the Commission in the land of five rivers! The barbed wire affair and the subsequent attack on the leaders of the people, which, according to Lala Lajpat Rai, was entirely unprovoked are sickening. No wonder then that Mrs. Besant says in *New India* that the best brains and strongest hearts in India will not bear many repetitions of the Lahore outrage. If the huge meeting held at Lahore does not demonstrate to the Commission the real feeling of the people, we think nothing else would. That a leader of the character of Pandit Malaviya should offer himself for arrest for violating senseless orders is significant enough. Coming to the evidence given before the Commission it is clear that the communal question will be the pivot in all the representations made to it. In contrast to the untouchables in Bombay, the untouchables in the Punjab say that they are dead against any sectional representation and acknowledge the work done for them by Indian reformers and reforming bodies like the Arya Samaj and others. In their memorandum they lay the whole blame on Government which in their opinion has done nothing for them during the last 150 years. It is believed that because they refuse to sing the bureaucratic tune, the deputationists will be refused access to the Commission. The Chief Secretary to Govern-

ment, Mr. Emerson while admitting the ideal of the separation of the executive and judicial functions regards it as too expensive to work out, but he said that Government were willing to consider any scheme which would not undermine the maintenance of law and order. It is his belief that Dyarchy in the Punjab has worked smoothly owing to the co-operation between Executive Councillors and Ministers and the personality of the Governor. He does not approve of the abolition of revenue commissionerships who in his opinion are vital links. The only important reason he could give was the value of their advice as senior and experienced officers. He believed that there was rapid Indianisation of the services in the province. Mr. Emerson did not favour the substitution of the provincial service men for the All-India services as this would lead to a deterioration of efficiency. Curiously enough he seemed to support the principle of communal recruitment for provincial services. The Inspector-General of Police in his evidence declared that the policemen could be trusted to do their duty without being affected by communal feeling. He admitted corruption but only in the lower ranks. We are glad to learn from him that the police were being taught that they are servants of the people—a consummation devoutly to be wished; only it is too good to be true. As in Bombay there is a decided objection on the part of the higher officers in the Punjab to the transference of law and order to a Minister. In reply to Mr. Raja, Mr. Emerson explained that the depressed classes were not recruited owing to the objection of higher classes.

The election officer in his evidence bore testimony to the great awakening of the political consciousness among illiterate voters and the increasing number of those who voted at each successive election. He believed that under adult franchise the contact between a member and the voters would be more difficult if present constituencies are retained. But why retain them? It is worth noting that according to the evidence of the Reforms Officer there are no depressed classes in the Punjab in the sense in which the term is used in Bombay and Madras. Dr. Narang elicited the fact from the Secretary to the Department of Local Self-Government that there was no communal representation in the District Boards although the witness was not prepared to admit that this was due to the Muslims having a preponderance in those bodies already. The same witness further revealed that the Punjab Government is in favour of tightening up the use of powers of control over the local bodies. Of course there can be no objection to such control if it is exercised by popular Ministers in touch with the majority opinion of the Legislative Council. Pandit Nanakchand giving evidence on behalf of the Hindus believed that communalism has led to inefficiency in the services. He would even forego constitutional advance if the communal principle was retained. He

was for joint electorates without any reservation. Sir M. Shafi said that with joint electorates there would be more communal bitterness. However he was prepared to concede to the Hindus as a minority whatever was conceded to Muslims in a minority.

The Mill Enquiry. The Mill Enquiry Committee started rightly with the sore point of the wage-cut. On behalf of the owners Mr. Saklatwala emphasized the following considerations:—that the standardization scheme was one of the main recommendations of the Tariff Board; that retrenchment is the order of the day in all industries; that Japanese competition was difficult to withstand without a reduction in all the items. In reply Mr. N. M. Joshi made it clear that there was not only direct reduction of wages but indirect reduction by various subterfuges which he described. Referring to the various attempts at a settlement he gave positive proofs to show how the Mill-owners' Association was every time responsible for refusing the arbitration of a third party. As for depression Mr. Joshi attributed it mainly to the wasting of the resources by the owners in the period of prosperity, without making provision against bad times which alternated with the good times. As methods of reducing costs without reducing wages he suggested the writing down of inflated capital and reducing the item of sale commission. In short he thinks that reconstruction of the industry was possible without touching wages. A *propos* of the question of reconstruction it must be said that the owners were on strong ground when they quoted the considered judgment of the Tariff Board that the depression in the industry could not be attributed to mismanagement and misappropriation or to the inefficiency of the agency system. The next point discussed was the breach of agreement with which the mill-owners have been charged. It turned out however that only sporadic cases of such a breach had occurred which the Committee insisted on being nullified by a literal observance of the agreement. Taking up the standardisation of wages next, the good points of the scheme were detailed by the representative of the mill-owners; they were the removal of disparity between mill and mill, and the grant of a fair day's wages. Mr. Joshi's greatest objection to the scheme as proposed by the owners was that it involved a reduction in the total number of men employed; in addition its weak point was its being thrust on the workers without any consultation with the workers' representatives. The last is a very important example of the owners' failure to take the workers into their confidence; to suppose that an important scheme revolutionizing the conditions of work and the rates of wages can be launched without the good-will of the workers is decidedly short-sighted. The reluctance of the owners to supply all the items of information asked for by the Labour representatives is difficult to understand in the light of their anxiety to prove that a wage cut was absolutely inevitable. We are glad to find that the Committee has insisted on the supply of information regarding production of yarn and cloth and the sale prices according to counts and the wages paid in specified months during the last three years.

Triumph of Miraj to the Chief Peasantry. THE happenings at Miraj on Sunday last ought to provide considerable food for thought. Only four short days previous to the Sunday he regarded it beneath his dignity to receive and confer with a deputation consisting of well-known journalists in British India on the ground that by no action on his part did he want to give the slightest recognition to the Conference of his

subjects. Yet on Sunday he climbed down so far as to give an equal status with his own exalted self to a representative of that very Conference in an inquiry into the whole question of revised assessment. To what can this changed attitude on his part be attributed? Clearly, in our opinion, to an appreciation of the strength of public feeling on the subject. Until he saw the big crowd of the ryots on Sunday waiting at his palace gate for a straight answer to their demand for an inquiry, he had deluded himself with the fond belief that the movement against the revised assessment was engineered by professional agitators having no stake in Miraj. The case however was very different. The increased rates of assessment were universally looked upon as pressing with undue severity on the people concerned. This would have been apparent to any unprejudiced observer if he had seen the villagers pouring in in their hundreds into Miraj at a time when harvesting operations demanded their constant presence in their villages and cooperating whole-heartedly with one another in spite of religious and communal differences, for though the majority of last Sunday's visitors to Miraj were the so-called non-Brahmans, the crowd had quite a fair sprinkling of Brahmins, Muslims and depressed classes. The usual bureaucratic means of threatening them with evil consequences if they persisted in what is regarded by the powers-that-be as a folly with a view to chilling their ardour were employed by the State authorities but failed of their purpose, for the peasants were firmly determined not to leave Miraj until a satisfactory inquiry was promised. It is not very frequently, we are told, that the Chief attends his office, but seeing that large crowd of his subjects he had apparently made up his mind to do so the next day when they were obligingly advised to see him! The summary rejection of this advice was followed by protracted negotiations between the ruler of Miraj and the ryots' representatives which culminated in a settlement. Under this, the Chiefsahab promised to conduct the inquiry himself in collaboration with Mr. Pundalikji, the representative of the peasants and not even to notify the revised individual assessments before the completion of the inquiry, much less to collect it at revised rates. This he was willing to announce orally, but not to reduce to writing, as demanded by the ryots. This insistence on the part of the people upon a written undertaking from their ruler, is explained by the bitter experience which, his subjects say, they have of his past assurances, some of which at any rate have either been violated or have remained unfulfilled to this day. It is remarkable that last Sunday's happenings were not marked by any untoward incident for which great credit is due to Mr. Shikhare, Mr. Pundalikji and their associates who have all along tried to direct this movement on right lines and who on the occasion in question did not spare themselves in impressing upon the peasants the importance of perfect non-violence. It will be seen that the triumph of the Miraj peasantry is greater than that of their brethren in Bardoli where the inquiry will be by two officials, whereas in Miraj a representative of the ryots will be throughout associated with the Chiefsahab in the inquiry on equal terms.

Increasing Support to Nehru Report. WHATEVER the enemies of Indian progress may have to say against the Nehru Report, the fact is that it is gaining added support every day. The U. P. Hindu Conference which recently held a successful session at Etawah under the chairmanship of Lala Lajpatrai has accorded the Report as amended at Lucknow its general support. Though firmly convinced that communal

representation is detrimental to the growth of national spirit in the country, the Conference was prepared to accept the recommendations of the Nehru Report on this point only as a temporary measure. Berar recently held an All-Parties Conference at Akola with Mr. Aney in the chair and decided to give its whole-hearted support to the swaraj constitution prepared by the Nehru Committee. The Deccan is being toured by an influential deputation representative of the different sections of political opinion. The deputation is having a rousing reception at all the places visited by it and resolutions endorsing the Nehru constitution are carried at meetings addressed by them with enthusiasm. During the Simon Commission's stay at Poona an All-Parties Conference for the Poona District was held at Poona which the leaders of the different political parties collaborated with one another in making a success. The peculiarity of the Conference lay in its being presided over by a mofussil leader who has consistently shunned the lime-light of publicity. Moslems and Non-Brahmans are generally regarded by enemies of this country as being opposed to the Nehru Report on the ground that it deprives them of separate communal representation. The speeches made at this Conference by well-known Non-Brahmans and Mahomedans is an indication as much of their nationalism as of the groundlessness of the belief that these communities were universally opposed to it the Nehru Report.

IF extreme caution bordering on conservatism is an "Stake-holders" index to the possession of a stake in the country, those who march under the banner of the Country League must indeed be described as large "stake-holders." Fortunately however they do not number more than 100; else the country's prospects would have been gloomy. The League has submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission in which they agree that India's "final goal" should be self-government within the Empire. But they are not yet quite convinced that this self-government must necessarily be of the responsible type. However they would have no objection to "the fullest possible trial" being given to that form of government with a view apparently to enabling these stake-holders to decide for themselves whether it would do for this country. Coming to their concrete proposals for further constitutional advance, the only one worth noticing is the grant of full provincial autonomy, though of course a cautious and responsible body like the League cannot be expected to reconcile itself to the administration of such vital subjects as law and order by mere Indians. These subjects it would like to be transferred to the Central Government. But in its opinion even this would not be a sufficient safeguard against the abuse of their powers by autonomous provinces. The League therefore asks for the establishment of second chambers in the provinces and the obligation on the provincial Governments to submit all bills passed by the provincial legislatures for the Governor-General's assent. For the League to propose any extension of the existing franchise is of course out of the question. Direct election in the case of the Central Legislature strikes the League as a mistake which can only be repaired by the substitution of indirect election by provincial legislatures and accredited associations representing different sectional interests. The League does not consider any change in the Viceroy's Executive Council necessary and points out as a defect in its composition the absence in it of any representative of the Indian aristocracy. But the greatest surprise for the Indian public is when the League assures an unsuspecting world that it has known "instances of certain individuals who were

quite unfit for such a responsible position." If the League had suggested some tests of fitness for Executive Councillorships, it would have facilitated the task of those whose duty it is to make selections for these positions. But the League apparently does not want to be so obliging.

THE recent educational conference held at Hyderabad by the people of the State is of great importance. It is true that the Nizam is spending about Rs. 74 lakhs on education per year but the significance of the Conference lies in the fact that it was essentially a people's movement. Our Vice-President, Pandit Kunzru, who presided over it delivered an address which disclosed deep study of the educational condition of Hyderabad. He pointed out how backward the State was in regard to the percentage of literates which stood at less than 2¾ while it was 6 in British India, 5½ in Mysore and 12½ in Travancore and Baroda. He also showed that Hyderabad did not spend so high a percentage of its total revenues on education as some of the States in South India did. And even of what was spent a very small percentage went towards primary education. The education of girls was much more backward than that of boys. In the whole of the State there were only 35000 girls in schools in spite of the fact that 85% of the population is Non-Muslim and does not therefore observe purdah. The surest way to quicken the pace of progress was to encourage private effort so that the Government and the people might both work towards a common end. It seems however that an order of 1924-25 places impediments in the way of the establishment of private schools and seeks to bring them under official control. This is most unjustifiable. Similarly there seems to exist another official order of 1920-21 asking local officials to keep an eye on libraries and private schools. It is hard even to understand the reasons for such apparently panicky orders. Among the resolutions that were passed was one for the introduction of free and compulsory education in the State. In view of certain complaints we have heard on the subject, we trust that the Nizam's Government will not insist on Urdu being the medium of instruction even in primary schools but recognise that nearly 50% of its subjects are Telugu-speaking, about 25% are Marathi-speaking, about 12% are Kanarese-speaking and the remaining 13% only speak Urdu. The State language may by all means be Urdu but a foreign language even in primary schools will be an effective hindrance to educational expansion among the Hindus who form more than 85% of the population of Hyderabad.

A retired railway officer with a service of 29 years 11 months found that the amount of gratuity certified as admissible by the audit officer and paid by him represented only 29 years' service. On the audit officer being asked to quote the rule which expressly debarred the fraction of 11 months being taken into account in his *audit* certificate, the retired officer was informed "that he should appeal to the (executive) authority which sanctioned his gratuity if he considers himself aggrieved." Another audit officer—this time the Chief Auditor of a company-worked railway not to be outdone by his compeer in Government service—on being asked the date of the actual payment of certain provident fund dues, returned the letter "with instruction to apply through the proper channel, i. e. through the department under which you served."

THE A. I. C. C. DECISIONS.

WE do not think the deliberations of the All-India Congress Committees are calculated to assist the cause of unity among men of all parties at this critical period of the national life. In the first place, there was hardly any need of passing that item of the main resolution which referred to the severance of British connection. Dominion Status as it is understood today connotes such a complete freedom to the states which are members of the Commonwealth of free nations that the right to secede is implied in it. It is understood however that they voluntarily remain members of the Commonwealth because it is advantageous for them to do so not only on the ground of sentiment but also on that of tangible advantages. One such advantage is the common protection afforded by the British navy and the military assistance from other Dominions in case of a war which all the members regard as a common peril and the justice of which they recognize. The other Dominions have already affirmed their freedom not to participate in a war of which they do not approve. The misconception about the true character of Dominion Status has been latterly responsible for an amount of wordy warfare between those who champion it and others who champion Independence. In any case this is certainly not the time to waste energy over such logomachies and thereby risk the chance of causing dissensions and possibly splits amongst ourselves. It is a pity that the Nehru Report was not supported more enthusiastically than it actually was. Although the main resolution admitted that the recommendations of the Report are a great step towards political advance it only says that the Committee generally approves of them. Now this may mean anything or nothing. The only consolation is that those who are intent on working for Independence are allowed to salve their consciences by doing what they wish, without the necessity of obstructing the work of those who believe in the goal of Dominion Status.

Coming to the detailed proceedings we must say that we do not agree with Mr. S. Iyengar when he said in moving the resolution on Independence that Dominion Status meant acceptance and perpetuation of Imperialism. With fiscal autonomy and a freedom from political domination there is hardly anything left of Imperialism unless the meaning of the term is watered down to being the member of an Empire. It is good therefore that Mr. S. Iyengar declared that the goal of Independence was not obligatory on individuals; we are equally relieved to hear from him that he is not against the Nehru Report. Mrs. Besant while moving an amendment for the deletion of the clause relating to the severance of British connection was therefore right in giving the warning that the rejection of the Nehru Report would be a fatal step for the Congress to take. Mr. Satyamurti in spite of his known zeal for Independence welcomed the resolution because the labours of the All-Parties Conference were recognized by it. His assertion however

that Dominion Status could not be a step to Independence is perfectly meaningless. Pandit Motilal Nehru impressed on the Committee that the Nehru Report enabled the Congress to realize that there was hardly any party in India which was satisfied with anything less than a form of government which prevailed in the Self-Governing Dominions. He gave it as one of the reasons which made him support the resolution, the vouchsafing of equal liberty to those who stood for Dominion Status to pursue their own programme. Lastly he gave one of the most convincing reasons why the Committee must endorse the decisions of the All-Parties Conference. As the Conference was brought into being by the Congress it would be stultifying the Conference if its decisions were not accepted by the parent body. It must be admitted that Pandit Motilal exerted the most steady influence over the A. I. C. C. by his tact and reasonableness. Lala Lajpatrai added his own quota to the warning given by Mrs. Besant against throwing away the present excellent opportunity of uniting all Indians.

Now that the Congress Committee has given its support to the Nehru Report the next move ought to be a more vigorous propaganda in favour of it. It is also to be hoped that the next session of the All-India Muslim League will endorse the Report. We are quite confident of the beneficent influence which Mr. Jinnah will exert in the Committee appointed by the Muslim League to confer with the other parties for arriving at some sort of compromise with regard to the proposals formulated by it. The proper course for Muslims in presence of the Nehru Report is neither to sulk nor to quarrel but to settle the differences, if there are any, by a joint sitting with the Nehru Committee. There is yet time to repair the harm that has been done already by Muslim leaders like Maulana Shaukat Ali who judging by his performance at the U. P. Muslim Conference has gone beyond the bounds of decency in unseemly denunciations. If it is true, as the Muslim leaders say, that the proposals of the Nehru Committee are not sacrosanct, it is equally true that the Lucknow decisions or the Delhi proposals are not sacrosanct either. The necessity of the situation however is to arrive at a constitution agreeable to all alike. It is to this end that the common endeavour has to be directed.

THE AGA KHAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL SCHEME.

IN view of H. H. the Aga Khan's position in the Muslim community and his well-deserved reputation for level-headedness and statesmanship it is necessary to examine the criticism levelled by him at the Nehru Scheme and see whether we can benefit by his reflections and judgments. To begin with he expresses his hearty sympathy for Dominion status, although he qualifies it by describing it as an ideal to be steadfastly pursued, the implication being clear that it is beyond the range of practical politics. He at once passes on to a criticism of the details. Relying on the recent statements made by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner and H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala he believes that the Princes would not join a

federation in which they would be governed by the Commonwealth Parliament. But certainly this does not mean that the internal administration of the States would be controlled by the new Parliament, but only that the new Government including the Executive and the Legislature will step into the shoes of the present Government of India. As a matter of fact the States will lose much of their freedom in the federal constitution proposed by the Aga Khan himself, which we shall consider very shortly. His second objection is to the proposals about representation of the interests of the minorities. He asks for guarantees not only for Muslims but for the depressed classes and Non-Brahmans and the whole genus of such minorities. If the guarantees consist of logical and moral assurances that under a system of adult suffrage every community is bound to be represented by members of the Legislature numerically proportionate to the population of the community the guarantees are there already, vouched for by the general experience of all countries with a more or less democratic constitution. Legal guarantees it is beyond the power of the Nehru Committee to give, not being a sovereign body. It is curious that H. H. the Aga Khan is still thinking in terms of the old shibboleths which, as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has shown in his recent book, have been discarded by all countries professing to have popular government. Even where minorities enjoy what is called cultural autonomy no political privileges and rights are given to any minorities.

According to H. H. the Aga Khan, defence is not handled properly and seriously in the Nehru Report. He doubts whether the new Government will have sufficient prestige and power to gather a great army. Not to leave us mystified and agape with wonder he explains further what he means. So far as he can see, the present British Government will not care to leave a large army to the new Government responsible to Indian people; which means in other words that the so-called trustees, as soon as the ward comes into his own, will disband the means of his defence and leave him to his own devices. The world will know what to think of such trustees when they abandon their trust. In his opinion it is not honourable to the British people to leave an armed force in a country for the government of which they are not responsible. If it is so what becomes of the declaration of 1917 and further declarations to implement the same? With such strange notions of trusteeship and honour it is no wonder that he cannot imagine a time in the near future when the British people will hand over three hundred and twenty millions of people to an Indian Commonwealth.

We come now to the model preferred by His Highness himself. With a unitary Government, he thinks that people cannot govern themselves; for governing themselves they must be free from the dictation of the Parliament at Delhi. The people of India being varied in their outlook and standards, every distinct province, race or community would, he thinks, be justified in asking for self-determination. Consequently the next step in his reasoning is a regrouping of the provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis. His model therefore is the German Empire before the dismemberment of it at the close of the Great War. Each Indian province must enjoy the full freedom that Bavaria for instance did in that Empire, the only bond uniting these 'Indian Free States' being the British Sovereign. This is certainly Federalism with a vengeance. In pursuance of this ideal he would cut up Bengal into two provinces; Gujerat would be one province on the principle of one race—we doubt whether he uses the term race in the sense of ethnology—the Mahomedan provinces of the west would form another state and so forth.

There are one or two sentences here which show that in his antagonism to a Central Government in India, there is at the back of his mind the idea that such a Government would be dominated by Hindus. Such an idea is seen to be utterly delusive when one scans the provisions for the constitution of the Central Government in the Nehru Report. The one good point of his scheme of federation appears to be that Indian States are made to fit into it by making them into free states of the British Indian type by the grouping of them into confederations in the case of smaller principalities. But even here there is the difficulty of inducing these latter to lose their individuality by merging themselves into larger units; in the meantime it is difficult to imagine what will be the position of individual Princes when these mergers are effectually carried out. So what appears so enticing to begin with turns out to be a hard nut to crack. This experiment of a transfer of complete responsibility is to be tried *ab initio* only in one or two states or areas and to be extended successively to others. Apparently he is so much attracted by the model of the German federation that he tends to forget that even in the German constitution Prussia was a dominant state, the Prussian King was the German Emperor and that the Chancellor of the German Empire appointed by the Emperor had unlimited powers of curbing the autonomous proclivities of Bavaria and other constituent states.

Recently the London *Times* has given its blessing to the scheme proposed by the Aga Khan. With a great gusto it announces the fact that the Indian Princes are going to negotiate not with an Indian Dominion which is an anathema to it but with the British Government. It naturally exploits the dissatisfaction expressed by one section of the Muslims and by some other communities with the Nehru Report. It agrees with the Aga Khan that it is unimaginable that the British Government would shoulder the responsibility of the defence of India when it becomes an independent Dominion. It describes this as "a dishonourable political folly." Even the *Times* however regards a strong Central Government a political necessity and criticizes the proposals of the Aga Khan for their vagueness in indicating the nature of such an authority in India. The great merit of the scheme in its opinion lies in its recognition of the diversity of the Indian people. Now it does not require a great genius to recognize this diversity; what the Indian nationalist has to say about this diversity is that in spite of this diversity unity has been evolved and it would be sheer folly to nullify its effects by the creation of communal or racial units and put back the hands of the clock. We wonder whether the *Times* is prepared to champion the cause of self-government if India is divided into autonomous states on the social and cultural basis. All this talk of diversity is mere political clap-trap.

TEACHERS IN CONFERENCE.

IT is a truism to say that two of the greatest evils that India is suffering from today are ignorance and poverty. But one does not realise the urgency of these problems until, on certain occasions, the relevant facts and figures are thrust on one's attention. In regard to our ignorance, Principal Seshadri had something very pertinent to say when speaking the other day at Bombay as Chairman of the Executive Body of the All-India Federation of Teachers' Associations. Quoting the latest Report of the Government of India for Education viz the Report for 1925-26, he pointed out that the percentage of boys under instruction to the total population was only 6.5 today and that of girls 1.3. One must admit that in spite of some improvement that has taken place during

the last ten years these figures tell but a sorry tale. And yet the importance of education does not seem to have been adequately realised by the Government of India. Speaking on this point, Mr. Seshadri said,

"It is unfortunate that the educational inquiry now being conducted by the Committee presided over by Sir Philip Hartog should be an auxiliary to the Simon Commission, an arrangement which has brought it into considerable disfavour with the public of India...Hustling through the entire continent of India and Burma at a speed which can only be compared to the lightning rapidity of an American globe-trotter, limited in terms of reference only to considerations which have got a bearing on political development and thus subordinated in its aims to things other than educational, it would be surprising if the Hartog Committee produced any report of great value to educational advancement."

It cannot be denied that Mr. Seshadri has gone to the root of the matter. Nothing could be more obvious than the fact that educational progress as such has not been assessed at its true value by the Government.

If however there is one factor that is more responsible for the educational backwardness of our country than another, it is of course the problem of the teacher. That our teachers are as a rule ill-qualified is true but that they are also ill-paid is glaring. Some of the problems affecting secondary teachers in the Bombay Presidency were prominently brought before the public at their conference held in Bombay a few days ago under the presidency of Mr. M. R. Jayakar. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Murzban rightly pointed out that secondary education and secondary teachers have both received scant recognition from the Government and the University so far—a fact that Mr. Jayakar also mentioned in his presidential address, for he pleaded for more cooperation between the Director of Public Instruction and his Inspectors on the one hand and the secondary school teachers on the other. Towards the close of his address he also said to the Government "If you want your teachers to be a body of responsible and respectable men, although you can not afford to pay them high salaries, at least you can treat them with confidence and self-respect, giving them more independence and initiative and by doing so, they would become your trusted confederates."

Mr. Murzban asked his fellow-teachers not to take the slight from the Government lying down. He rightly claimed that as trained teachers with long experience, they should have a share in shaping educational policies and programmes. It was inexcusable that when the University Reform Committee was appointed not a single school master was put on it though secondary education was included in the terms of reference. Again he wanted that every school should have a free hand in the selection of the medium of instruction for itself. In short, what he wanted was that the teachers should organise themselves and assert their rights to shape educational programmes. We are sure that in regard to that basic claim, no reasonable person could have any quarrel with them. After all, they it is who have to work out the methods of study given to them by the authorities. And it is but perfectly reasonable that they should be able to shape these methods with the aid of their experience.

While secondary teachers as a body should have more power in relation to educational curricula among themselves, we think that the lot of the assistant masters requires particular notice. We feel sure that nobody will claim all the monopoly of experience and wisdom for the headmaster of a school

and yet the existing practice in the vast majority of cases would imply such an assumption. The status of the ordinary teacher is perfectly miserable. He has generally no voice in the administration of the school affairs. He is but a wage-earner who toils for a certain number of hours a day and receives his wages therefor. It should not however be impracticable to take the advice of teachers in all secondary schools, so far as the management of those schools is concerned. Such a plan would give them some dignity and a love of their work. Secondly we should note the very low pay that most of them get. The grant-in-aid code has not a word to say about the salaries of the teachers and the work to be done by them. In the result, private schools run down their salaries, due to unhealthy competition, to a shamefully low level. We are very glad to note that a resolution was passed at the Conference, drawing the attention of managers of aided and unaided schools to the desirability of raising the salaries of their teachers and of arranging a scheme of provident fund for them.

OBSCURING REAL RAILWAY RESULTS.

(1) BY DOWNRIGHT UNDERCHARGE.

IN calculating the financial results of new lines built as branches or extensions of the main lines, Government make an allowance equal to 5 per cent. of the gross earnings of the new lines for the use thereon of the rolling stock of the main lines. This percentage is of very old standing, going back to a date more than a quarter of a century old and has, in our opinion, never been adequate in the past. The working expenses of the main lines have risen substantially since the percentage was first fixed, so that that percentage is most decidedly inadequate under modern conditions and constitutes an indirect method of artificially inflating the profits or deflating the losses of new lines. A glance at columns 7 and 9 of statement No. 7 at p. 52 *et. seq.* of volume II of the Railway Administration Report for 1926-27 will bear this out; and yet in his answer of September 5, 1928, to starred question No. 108 the Financial Commissioner, Railways, solemnly asserted that Government have no reason to believe that as an all-round rate the percentage is inadequate. As a matter of fact, however, in no case is the charge of 5 per cent. sufficient even to cover the annual depreciation and the interest on the capital invested in the rolling stock. Taking as example the Moulmein Ye Railway built as part of the Burma Railway system under the guarantee of the Burma Government, the financial results of this railway, for the year 1926-27 as given at p. 182 of the Legislative Assembly Debates of September last are as below:—

(1) Gross earnings	Rs. 5,00,722
(2) Hire for rolling stock at 5 per cent. of gross earnings	Rs. 25,036
Other working expenses	Rs. 3,06,442
(3) Net earnings 3,31,478
(4) Interest on Capital 1,69,244
(5) Loss payable by the Burma Government 5,67,177
 3,97,933

Now, during the year 1926-27, the Burma Railway system spent no less than 25 per cent. of its gross earnings of Rs. 4,62,96,000 on the maintenance of its locomotives, carriages and waggons, so that the amount rightly recoverable from the Burma Government for the hire of the main line rolling stock comes to Rs. 1,25,180 instead of Rs. 25,036—a difference of Rs. 1,00,144 representing the extent of the artificial deflation of the loss payable by the

Burma Government. Let us now examine whether the hire of Rs. 25,036 covers even the annual depreciation and interest on the capital invested in the rolling stock. The budget of the Burma Railway system for 1928-29 shows Rs. 16,08,000 on account of depreciation of rolling stock for the year 1926-27; while the interest at 4 per cent on Rs. 5,46,31,000 representing the outlay on rolling stock as it stood on April 1, 1926, amounts to Rs. 21,85,240, making a total of Rs. 37,93,240. This represents no less than 8 per cent. of the gross earnings of the Burma Railways and yet the Government of India maintain that 5 per cent. is a reasonable annual charge! The matter is clearly one which deserves the serious attention of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways, especially when further proposals for new lines with or without the local Government's guarantee are placed before them.

(2) BY MISUSE OF DEPRECIATION FUND.

Prior to the year 1924-25 the practice on Indian railways in respect to the provision for maintenance of property differed from that adopted in private industrial concerns. An ordinary commercial concern provides for depreciation of its property by setting aside annually a portion of the original cost of its wasting assets out of its earnings and crediting it to a depreciation fund which is charged with renewals as they are made. It was held to be inconsistent with the ordinary scheme of Government finance to set aside for the future money not actually required for the current year's expenses. No provision was, therefore, made for depreciation and the expense of renewals or the write-off of the value of worn out plant was met as part of the ordinary annual working expenses. Since the charges on account of these contingencies vary from year to year to a considerable extent, it was impossible to make any useful comparison of the financial results of one year with those of another, or to say whether the railways were earning an adequate return on the capital outlay or to detect and check any tendency towards extravagance. In paragraph 7 at pages 62-63 of their report, the Indian Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23 brought out this aspect of the question in the following words:—

"We.....are of opinion that it should be laid down that each railway should make adequate provision every year for the maintenance and renewal of its permanent way and rolling stock. The funds so earmarked should be debited to working expense and carried to a suspense account which could be drawn on as necessary; to meet current requirements, any unspent balance being carried forward from year to year. Unless some such arrangements are adopted and strictly adhered to, it will not, in our opinion, be possible to say whether the railways are earning an adequate return on the capital outlay and there will be no effective check on ordinary working expenditure."

A depreciation fund, although of an imperfect kind, has no doubt been started from April 1, 1924; but even such as it is, it is worked in such a vicious manner that it defeats one of its fundamental objects of acting as a regulator of working expenses, i. e., of keeping as far as possible the expenditure on maintenance and renewal of the property reasonably constant and of protecting the financial results of the working of railways from abnormal fluctuations. Here is an instance of this vicious method taken from the answers given in the Legislative Assembly on March 28, 1927 and September 5, 1928, to starred questions Nos. 1276 and 96 respectively. During the year 1925-26 no less than 101 locomotives were found in excess of requirements on the North-Western Railway, of course as a result of

"improved methods of working." These were sold to other State-worked railways for Rs. 34,79,000. Their original cost was Rs. 60,31,000. This original cost was rightly credited to capital by *per contra* debit to the Depreciation Fund. But the sale-proceeds of Rs. 34,79,000 which strictly speaking should have been credited to the Depreciation Fund were in virtue(?) of some rule of an obviously crude character credited to the Revenue Account, thus bringing about an illegitimate reduction in the working expenses of the railway. This naturally vitiated the financial results of the North-Western Railway for the year 1925-26 for purposes of comparison with those for the year 1926-27 and it became necessary to explain that a portion of the increase in working expenses of 1926-27 was due to the fact that "the actual expenditure last year was decreased by..... credits received from the sale-proceeds of engines sold to other railways." When will our 'experts' adopt common-sense methods? But we forget we must start from now preparing for inviting ten years hence another Committee to look into our affairs and make recommendations!

ECONOMY.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER,

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA October 18.

THE SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

THERE are many signs to indicate that the General Election in Great Britain will not be put off further than summer next year, and that it will be profoundly important for the future of the country. The last few weeks have been politically eventful, and the decision arrived at in the course of these Conferences as well as the trend of events which the by-elections disclose have set people thinking. The Tavistock election came in for special notice as the triangular contest was most obvious in that connection and its results disillusioned the optimists in all the three Parties. The Conservatives had the victory, but a victory which warned them of their weakness. They did not have anything like the majority they had looked for and necessary to maintain their present supremacy. Though traditionally theirs, the Liberals failed to hold the seat despite remarkable effort. On the other hand, though Labour did not gain its goal it polled over 2000 votes, a noteworthy phenomenon for the west county. Further consideration of the voting in the nine by-elections since last April shows that this advance of Labour is no accidental or isolated instance. The relative strength of the three Parties in the last six months shows as follows:—Conservative, 79, 258; Labour, 70, 761, and Liberal, 48, 740. In the coming Election, no one doubts, the effect of the incalculable factor of universal suffrage will be generally to strengthen Labour, even if it does not put it in the supreme place. One of the first consequences of such a position would be to put the Conservatives and Labour fully face to face, thus depriving the former of their enormous advantage in the present three-cornered system.

It may seem, and not the stoutest optimist in the Liberal Party can reasonably hope for more, that in such a contingency, the Liberal Party, or to put it more precisely, Mr. Lloyd George, will be provided with just that opportunity in which his genius can find its fullest scope. Manipulating now the Conservatives, now Labour, he would become King-Maker. Whatever may have been the possibilities in this regard, were Mr. George to have his own way, he is himself realising increasingly that neither the great traditions of his Party, nor indeed the small

but exceedingly important and influential minority of its representatives, would admit of such a dis-establishment. It is on that account that we no longer hear of that alliance between Labour and the Liberals that was so often spoken of not so very long ago. It is probably on that account also, for there is no more astute observer of tendencies than Mr. George in this regard, that the Liberal leader has been lately insisting on the distinctiveness of the Party. The conclusion of a motion in the annual Conference of the National Liberal Federation recently held at Yarmouth is remarkable. It stated that "the Party refuses to link its fortunes by any pact or agreement with any other Party. While willing to co-operate with others for the achievement of the reforms to which it has set its hand, it will resist every proposal which is in conflict with its principles".

Nor is Mr. Lloyd George alone in discovering the truth that he will have to seek the salvation of his Party on its own distinctive merits and that to be tempted into compromises at this moment is political short-sightedness. The Labour Party's indiscretions and violation of principle were not confined to its conduct concerning the Simon Commission. Mr. MacDonald also has had to learn wisdom, and latterly he has been showing signs of manliness. To that extent, it is significant, he has been inspiring fear and respect, and the prospect of Labour's coming into power is for the first time in many months being seriously considered in the country. Mr. Baldwin, no less than the other two leaders, finds compelled to avow his convictions and show the positive points in his programme. As the time for the General Election approaches, that administrative prestige which the Party in power can always use for political purposes will serve less and less, and Mr. Baldwin and his men will have to come into the open like the others. When that happens it will be fully evident that the coming Election is a turning point in the history of the country. It is not merely a contest between Parties but, in a very real sense, a conflict between principles. Already this is being realised as will be evident from the following two extracts, one from a Conservative journal, and the other, from a speech of Mr. Lloyd George.

Says Mr. Garvin in the *Observer* :

"The attitude of the older Parties towards the progress of Socialism seems quite blind. Both of them underestimate the Labour movement altogether, and nothing will awaken them until one day some definite success or proposal of Socialism gives them the shock of their lives. Already... Labour is in sight of becoming the strongest single Party in the country. Its programme, at a time when the weight of taxation is the deadliest enemy of export and employment, means the £ 1,000,000,000 Budget. It means tampering with the banks in a country where all is staked on credit and confidence. It means nationalisation, by successive steps, of mines, railways, land.... Remember that in this country, as in no other Western nation, our security for the continuance of capital and credit on the existing basis is only political. Alone amongst great peoples, we have no such social security as is provided elsewhere by powerful agricultural influence depending on private ownership".

In quite another vein, but oddly enough, much to the same effect, Mr. Lloyd George gives the warning.

"The decision that the Tories came to at Yarmouth was one of the most momentous in the history of this country. I don't care what the Prime Minister said in his speech. What matters is that the men behind him, the men he represents, the men without whom he cannot win a single election, have with practical unanimity decided that the fiscal system of this country has to be altered and that henceforth this country is to be protectionist... I know it will be said they only decided in favour of more safeguarding, which would include iron and steel. Iron and steel are the key-stone of the whole

fabric. If that goes the whole fiscal fabric as we have known it for sixty years crashes in ruins at our feet".

Home politics will not by any means be the only issue in the coming Election. Rarely as the question of foreign policy disturbs the English people, in the last few months it has become a matter of the gravest concern to it. The whole question of naval disarmament has been a desperate problem, and the present Government's manner of handling it has added vastly to its difficulties. It should never have been allowed to become sensational. This episode of the Anglo-French naval accord, on account of the rather dramatic nature of its incidents, has aroused more bitterness between the two English-speaking peoples than was ever experienced within living memory. What is graver still, it has caused so much talk in the world outside as to import all kinds of complications into it. By a series of most unfortunate incidents, for which Tory arrogance must be held responsible, it has lent picquancy to an issue which should have always been approached in a spirit of conciliation. It has most certainly aroused vehement passions, and no one should misjudge the extent of Americophobia in England or Anglophobia in America at the present moment on account of the efforts on the part of certain men and women, however influential they may be, to smooth the way. Similar attempts were frequently made as between Germany and England on the eve of the War and even during its course. The question of foreign policy, it is safe to predict, will figure in the coming Election more than it ever did on a similar occasion for decades, except for the Khaki Election. At a time when the general impression persists, with good reason, that the Conservative Government has been all along paying lip-service to the League of Nations and that its real intentions have at last been exposed, Mr. MacDonald's enthusiasm for the League will certainly operate in his favour. But it is very difficult to determine to what extent really there is any understanding of the League or appreciation for it in England. It is all to the good, therefore, that foreign politics should figure largely in the coming Election.

REVIEWS.

RISE OF THE WORKING CLASS.

A SURVEY OF SOCIALISM. By F. J. C. HEARNshaw. (Macmillan.) 1928. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 473. 15 s.

THE author of this book claims forty years of study, observation and reflection in arriving at the conclusion that Socialism gives a diagnosis of the diseases of the body politic which is entirely wrong and suggests remedies which are dangerously pernicious; and he denounces socialism as "one of the gravest of existing menaces to the future peace and prosperity of the world in general." The author, after defining the essence of socialism, traces the sources of its theory to three springs—French sociology, English economics and German political ideology. He then examines Marxian Socialism at length, and believes he has shown that the Marxian system has collapsed as an intellectual edifice from the sheer rottenness of its foundations; but its integrity, he says, is still persistently proclaimed by the dictators of the revolutionary underworld, because "in the realm of fancy it provides, as no other form of socialism does, a pseudo-economic and pseudo-ethical justification.

for the predatory individualism which is the real motive force at the back of the social revolution."

There is no attempt in this book at an understanding of the psychological factors that underlie Marxian Socialism and the revolutionary movements of the last twenty years that it has inspired. There is an equally plain attempt at varnishing the weakness of a superficial criticism by supplementary quotations from other authors who sing the same chorus: and at every step one is reminded that the weakness of an argument is not helped by abuse and the employment of question-begging epithets.

We shall only tackle the author's treatment of two of the Marxian doctrines—the materialistic conception of history and the class war. "The materialistic conception of history means that every movement and every belief is to be explained by the economic interest or class interest of the people among whom it arose." The author then goes on to show that the absurdity and inadequacy of this view were acknowledged by later socialists; and that though it may explain the evolution of primitive barbaric society wholly engrossed in the struggle for the means of existence, it leaves out of account religion, patriotism, devotion to ideal causes, martyrdoms, spiritualities; "it does not explain Karl Marx himself." A criticism that dismisses the economic interpretation of history in this manner can only be characterised as superficial. Economic necessity has often been the determining factor in permanent social change. We may appeal to moral incentive and accomplish splendid work in detail; we may in this way bring help to unnumbered individuals; but unaided moral incentive is helpless to compass that decent society which two thousand years of Christianity have failed to realise. It is this that explains why Socialist propaganda has swept forward as a torrent in our times,—the recognition of the fact that the sanctuary of life is rooted in the bedrock of the physical and the natural, not located remote in the distant heavens.

The main economic phenomenon of the nineteenth century was the emergence of the great working class; the main fact of the twentieth century is bound to be the advance of this class into conscious power. Political democracy has been realised but it has brought disillusionment with it, and the world today is reaching out to a social and economic democracy in which the working class must develop a psychology as distinctive as that of the feudal baron. We may like the fact or dislike it—we have to face the fact that class consciousness is growing with fierce rapidity from the soil of our present economic order—one of those living forces which have a majesty and a grandeur not unlike those of the movements of the tides and the planets. Out of the strong may come forth sweetness; in the rising tide of the working class moral forces will have their part to play—and though it may be beyond our power to create them, it is not beyond our power to direct, control and transform them. The awakening demand of the proletariat for power, for freedom, and for well-being can be translated into

life in terms either of crude self-assertion—and Mr. Hearnshaw can see so far and no further, so far as socialism is concerned—but this demand can also be moulded into the achievement of a common good. The theory of the class war may be pernicious but it is not by overlooking the facts in which it is rooted, but giving them their due weight that we may overcome the harm that it threatens. "A body hast thou prepared for me" so wrote the Psalmist in earlier days. In the rise of the proletariat, in the grim and repellent reality of the class war, have we got the body into which it is our privilege to infuse a soul worthy of our loftiest aspirations.

We have never seen a more jejune criticism of the shortcomings of the present economic organisation than Mr. Hearnshaw offers us towards the end of his volume; and as for his constructive proposals for reform one feels tempted to say:—

"I wish that my room had a floor,
I don't so much care for a door—
But this crawling around
Without touching the ground
Is getting to be quite a bore."

P. A. WADIA.

PROPHET OF SOCIALISM.

HYNDMAN: PROPHET OF SOCIALISM.
1842-1921. By FREDERICK J. GOULD. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. 308. 10s. 6d.

THE author, a follower of Hyndman, has given, in this book, a clear view of Hyndman's life and his socialistic activities. He is not however blind to his hero's defects, and is not prepared "to rank all Hyndman's visions and decisions as entirely competent." The reviewer is not, it must be confessed, in love with socialism, and therefore is not prepared to accept the fundamentals of Hyndman's gospel. But he will not hesitate to give Hyndman his due meed of praise for his life-long and disinterested services in the cause of the poor and the down-trodden. Nay, Hyndman deserves a specially generous tribute from us Indians, for whom, as the late Mr. Tilak said in a letter to him at the time of leaving England, he laboured hard for 45 years, advocating "complete Home Rule for India." Hyndman gave every assistance to the late Dadabhai Naoroji, Lajpatrai, Tilak, Khaparde, Bepin Chandra Pal and others in focussing the attention of the British public on the necessity of stopping the fearful drain of the hard earned money of the Indians under the pretext of profit, rent, interest, and price of good government. He was in favour of granting India complete Home Rule, and once he had to suffer the insult of being expelled from a meeting for exposing the cruel "bleeding to death" of Indians! Not only that, but his paper *Justice*, was proscribed from India by Lord Morley, because of his "incessant attacks on the defects of British rule!" Hyndman fought equally well for the Irish, and the African natives, and had a vision of "Asia for Asiatics." His sympathies went wherever the capitalist Governments oppressed the poor. To serve the poverty- and the slavery-stricken people was a passion with him, and the world is certainly the poorer by the loss of such a fearless champion.

Hyndman's main objective was the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth or a Socialist Government. When he was born (1842) the wage-earners were very hard hit by the capitalists. Most of those who became Labour leaders at the close of the last century were then ordinary labourers earning

a pittance for working twelve hours a day, living "in squalid misery", and meeting "a slow petrifying death." Robert Smillie has said in his book "My Life for Labour" how little boys in coal mines were harnessed with sirdle and chain, and pulled, amid mud and water, tubs of coal in dark passages; and girls trousered and naked to the waist drew trucks seven, eight or nine miles daily". This revolting state of things brought on the nemesis in riots and revolutions; and socialism, anarchism, nihilism and Bolshevism are nothing but the manifestations of the reaction produced by it. Out of these, the first impressed itself upon the mind of Hyndman as the least disturber of society. Marx's "Das Capital," a really epoch-making book of the latter half of the last century, made an abiding impression on Hyndman, though it did not lead him straight to the "third international." Hyndman became socialist, but his socialism did not outstrip his nationalism. He was an Englishman to the core. Indeed it may be said that nationalism was a weak spot in his socialistic armour. He had a groundless but strong faith that his nation was the god-ordained country destined to lead mankind towards the goal of Cooperative Commonwealth. And he stuck to this belief even when his own country dashed unceremoniously to the ground all his cherished hopes after the end of the war. There was nothing to choose between German and English Capitalism. Both were equally bad, but he chose, for insufficient reasons, that of his country as a lesser evil.

His Co-operative Commonwealth was to be based upon the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange. "Under such a system three or four hours' industry a day" was sufficient! But how was this dream to be realised? By force? No. He was against its use, and he preferred the slow method of counting heads instead of the summary but disastrous method of breaking them; was it to be gained by general strikes? Again, no. His methods were peaceful, though he was not against violence when it was deemed absolutely necessary. He rightly thought that revolutions cannot be made to order. They require the ground to be prepared. He therefore wanted to make the masses economically and intellectually ripe for his ideal, and he spent his life in winning over the masses to accept his gospel. He was however only partially successful. The author says that Hyndman succeeded in only rousing the English people to a consciousness of the cause of poverty among the wage earners. Hyndman deplored, like the old sage Vyasa, the author of Mahabharat, that his own people were "quite incapable of appreciating" what he had done for them. And he had to be content that only some of the objectives of the Social Democratic Federation had been achieved—"free meals for poor children, free education and eight-hour day." However this prophet was, as usually happens, not honoured in his own country. Indeed, he was four times defeated at the polls, and could never enter Parliament. But in Czecho-Slovakia he was the guest of the new Government which showed a thorough appreciation of his principles.

India is also faced with problems of extreme poverty and unemployment. Hyndman's cure for these diseases was socialisation or nationalisation of industries controlled by democratic parliaments. This control of democracy is impossible in India where nearly 95 per cent. of the people are steeped in ignorance. Under such conditions socialisation cannot be a panacea for all the ills of the Indian body politic. And Hyndman himself has said that "Social problems in separate nations must be solved in accordance with the stage of development which

each country has reached." India therefore cannot blindly copy the tenets of socialism. India however will ever remain grateful to Hyndman for his disinterested service in the cause of Indian Home Rule, the attainment of which alone will go a long way towards the solution of her problems.

V. M. BHAT.

INDIAN PAPER MONEY.

PAPER CURRENCY IN INDIA. By B. B. DAS-GUPTA. (Calcutta University.) 1927. 8¾ x 5¾. pp 331.

THE volume elucidates one of the most important parts of the currency mechanism in India, isolating it for a special and detailed treatment. The most useful feature of the treatment followed is the large space given to historical matter describing the early phases of every aspect of the development of paper currency in India. Giving the account of note issue before the Act of 1861 which transferred the right to the State the author notes the absence of any restrictions upto 1839, at which date the maximum issue was fixed. The Act of 1861 was largely influenced by Sir Charles Wood who belonged to the currency school and who therefore modelled it on the Bank Charter Act in Britain. The author rightly says that the Act still serves as the basis of the complicated superstructure that has been built upon it during the last fifty years. We are given a valuable resumé of the heated discussion between Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Samuel Laing about the agency work to be assigned to the banks, the latter insisting on encashability at all branches of banks and the former requiring legal convertibility by the Department of Issue which had no connection with a bank. This prejudice against the banks, the author tells us, continued right up to 1902 when Sir Edward Law proposed the transfer of the note issue to a bank formed by the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks. The mechanism of the issue has been explained by Dr. Das-Gupta very thoroughly. It may be noted that Sir Raymond West had made the earliest suggestion for a one-rupee note before the Herschell Committee. It appears from the history given by the author that universalization of the notes did not throw any additional cost on the Government for remittance of money; the author believes that the currency circles acted as a bar to the free mobility of money. More than a third part of the book is given to the discussion of reserves, one of the most fascinating topics in banking and currency and we must admit that the author has made it intensely interesting. We are surprised to find that Dr. Das-Gupta criticizes people like Dalal and Webb, Thackersy and Iyer, who objected to keeping any part of the reserves in London in giving evidence before the Chamberlain Commission, when the sinister policy of putting off the Gold Standard was thoroughly exposed. Similarly his criticism of the policy of holding a large amount of gold in the paper currency reserve seems difficult to understand. It is not right to say, as the author does, that Indians want rupees and not gold.

The author does not believe that the Act of 1920 effected real stabilisation of the Indian currency; it is clear also that he is in favour of a large amount of deflation. Up to 1919 no elasticity was secured for the paper currency except by increase of the fiduciary issue; since that year the practice of issuing notes against bills of exchange has been sanctioned. The author however recommends that safeguards should be provided against speculation by means of hundis which are not genuine. In addition the fiduciary portion instead of being fixed is made proportional to the whole issue. Dr. Das-Gupta right-

It deplors that the day when the permanent provisions of the Act of 1923 will have been realized seems to be far distant. Regarding the growth of issue the author rightly believes that the growth must be due to a growing confidence in the issue due to judicious administration and not to a forced circulation. It is to be noted that the bulk of the jute and cotton crops is financed by paper notes. The author's view chimes in with our own view with regard to the causality of the increase of note-issue in the matter of a rise in the index number of general prices. With regard to the future of the paper currency the author would direct the policy so as to secure stability of prices. In India recourse to the printing press during the war has led to an increasing price-level. He further suggests that the same agency entrusted with the supervision of paper money should also supervise credit. The author objects strongly to the rigid stages of evolution outlined by the latest Currency Commission and is in favour of leaving a wide discretion to the Central Bank. He also recommends the abolition of circles and the universalization of all the notes. As for the gold bullion standard the author gives it a heart-felt benediction and expresses warm gratitude to the Hilton-Young Commission for their monumental report. We who plump for a Gold Standard cannot of course share his feelings in this matter.

The volume under review undoubtedly displays not only erudition but a clear grasp of the main issues. The result is a very readable and interesting study of the various intricacies of the paper money in this country. We hope that the book will clarify the thoughts of many who at this particular time are being roused to the importance of this subject by the dislocation of currencies all over the world.

V. N. GODBOLE.

A NEGRO SAVINGS BANK.

THE FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS BANK. By WALTER L. FLEMING. (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.) 1927. 8¼ × 5. pp. 170. \$ 2.

THE author does not think it necessary to tell us why he felt called upon to publish the present treatise which is an expanded reprint of an essay first published in 1905. Independent students of American history have often been struck by the refined racial discrimination practised in God's own country. A nation which in 1866 called upon itself all the evils of a civil war in the pursuit of such a humane cause as the abolition of slavery, is yet the nation where the negro is still the victim of an effective social and economic boycott. Freed from their position as slaves of individual masters by the generous impulse of a youthful and prosperous people, the Negroes in America are to day reduced to a position not very far removed from that of slaves to the community. Though in the fundamental law of the federation and of most of the states there is very little that supports such a policy of social and political ostracism a mass of subsidiary and insidious legislation has come into being which effectively debar the freedmen's descendants from partaking in the social, economic and political life of the community on terms of equality with the white men. In the course of the present book Dr. Fleming relates an account of the effort made by white America to help the habilitation of the Freedmen in the years of the Civil War and after. It is the purpose of the author to relate the story as a chapter in the economic history of the Negro race, but at this distance of time and place, the story may as well be read as an

episode in the racial and political record of the American Government.

While the civil war was yet in progress thousands of slaves were being libe-rated by the advancing armies of the federation. Physical liberty, however, did not bring the opportunities of honest and self-dependent living in its train. For a time no doubt, the generals of the Federal army acting under the impulse of the moment employed a large number of ex-slaves as soldiers and parcelled out many of the confiscated estates among them. But neither at the time of the liberation nor at any later period has the American nation betrayed any signs of having realised the immense national responsibility regarding the Negro part of its population. In fact it does appear to a detached student of American history that the death of Abraham Lincoln removed from the scene the only man who had a full and correct appreciation about the nation's responsibility in the matter of slavery. Dr. Fleming's account of the establishment of a special savings bank for the Negroes under an Act of the Congress and its subsequent failure due to dishonesty and inefficiency on the part of the managers and to ignorance and negligence on that of the Negro depositors is extremely incomplete in this respect. From first to last the inception, working and failure of the Freedmen's Saving Bank is an indictment of the Government of U. S. A. as a civilised and a competent administration. Imagine a government which does not notice that the Act as published is not the same as that which was actually passed, which allows for decades the unchecked issue of propagandist literature claiming a state connection for a private bank and which in the last resort throws up all responsibility for the evils resulting from its own incompetence and watchlessness! Dr. Fleming, we are constrained to remark, would have improved his reputation as an impartial student of history had he not failed to refer to this obvious aspect of the case. In the light of the data supplied by Dr. Fleming's book attention may be called to the obvious, but sometimes neglected, truth that the development of banking facilities among a backward community must keep pace with the growth of their habits of watchfulness and self-reliance.

D. G. KARVE.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASES OF EDUCATION. by ROBERT R. RUSK. (University of London Press) 1928. 5s.

THE relation between Philosophy and Education is age-long, but like many such relations it has been subjected to vicissitudes in our time. Psychology took philosophy's place in this association, and until the resurgence of Idealistic Philosophy, was being regarded as the unquestionable basis of the science of Pedagogy. With the recent developments in Philosophy, such as the appearance of New Naturalism, Pragmatism, Critical Realism, etc., however, the impossibility of reducing the conception of values to any other terms has come to be recognised. The consequence has been a greater appreciation of Philosophy and the restitution of its original connection with Education. Dr. Rusk's book is an attempt, and a very interesting attempt, to show the essential connection between Education and Philosophy. His method is mainly historical, and in this book he has sketched out a history of Philosophy from the standpoint of Education, thus doing for modern Philosophy what so many have done for Psychology. "The answer to every educational question is ultimately influenced by our philosophy

of life. Although few formulate it, every system of Education must have an aim, and the aim of Education is relative to the aim of life; Philosophy formulates what it conceives to be the end of life, Education offers suggestions how this end is to be achieved." Such is his main position. To him even Mr. Bertrand Russell's suggestion for the adoption of psychological concept in Education is unsatisfactory for, "Psychology, having run the gamut of scientific metaphor, mechanical, mathematical, physical, chemical, has not yet freed itself from the biological categories. . . . Even Psychology cannot adequately serve; so long as it regards itself as a positive science, and leaves to logic, ethics and aesthetics the consideration of the norms of valid thinking, of goodness, and of beauty; it cannot serve as an adequate philosophical basis for education." It is no criticism of Dr. Rusk's work to say that his subject is vast in scope and needs much spade work before a classic can be produced. That preliminary essay he has done, within the limits he has set himself.

R. RAO.

JOURNALISM IN INDIA. By PAT LOVETT. (The Banna Publishing Company, Calcutta.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 96.

FEW newspaper readers in India could resist the attraction of articles written over the pen name of the famous "Ditcher" but not many know that the real "Ditcher" was Mr. Pat Lovett, Editor of the *Capital* of Calcutta. This book which in part consists of lectures delivered at the invitation of the Calcutta University contains in outline an account of the journalistic career of this talented Irishman, but it also provides us with side-lights on the career of the Press in India. Mr. Lovett joined *The Times of India* as a reporter in 1883 and after a period of hard apprenticeship to the profession, made his name as the sporting correspondent of that paper. In 1912 he ascended the editorial gadi of the Calcutta weekly and ever since, till the time of his death, was entertaining an anxious circle of readers with his Diary week after week. Being an Irishman and feeling like one, he could not but sympathise with Indian Nationalism; but he had his thrusts at the Indian and the Englishman alike. However they were couched in such inoffensive language that though hard to bear, they yet left no wound behind. A racy style of expression characterised by silent mirth was a peculiar feature of the writings of the inimitable Ditcher. We heartily wish that his Diary for the last fifteen years and more will soon be published in book-form as much for the sake of the robust commonsense that is found in it as for the sake of its homely style.

S. P. S.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM. By J. SASSENBACH. (The International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam.) 1926. 7¾ × 5¼. pp. 140.

THE author deserves the thanks of Trade Unionists for his having produced a concise summary of the eventful career of the International Trade Union Federation. Though in its international form, Trade Unionism is still an infant, and its doings in the nursery are well worth narration, especially in view of the fact that it has managed to preserve its integrity and its world-motive intact, in spite of such

exasperating ordeals as the great war on the one hand and the perilous Red menace on the other. Coming into existence as the result of a compelling international urge on the part of the workers, almost contemporaneously it evolved two distinct machineries—the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats so as to mobilise exhaustively the working class forces. The International Federation, at first a purely statistical bureau, soon asserted its right to decide whatever was beneficial to the worker, as well as the peace terms in a manner advantageous to him. As part of its mission, it also inspired such conferences as the International Educational Conference, the International Summer Schools and a Preparatory Migratory Conference followed by the World Migration Conference in order among other things to tackle the yet unsettled question of the freedom of movement of labour, not of the black-legs. Though in addition it cheerfully undertook the relief of the strikers of various lands and side by side agitated for the ratification by the governments of the world of the eight-hour-day and other protective measures adopted by it.

Such is the gallant record maintained by the Workers' International, which all through its struggling years, and later on, had the "kindly light" of Karl Legien,—whose close associate our author happens to be—to show it the way.

K. V. R.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE LIFE OF LORD CURZON. Vol. III. By THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY. (Benn.) 1928. 9½ × 6. pp. 457.
- SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1926. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 9½ × 6½. pp. 565.
- LENIN. By VALERIU MARCU. (Gollancz.) 1928. 9½ × 6. pp. 419. 21s.
- JAPAN AND HER PEOPLE. By ETHEL M. HUGHES. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1928. 7¼ × 4¼. pp. 131. 2s.
- THE FISCAL PROBLEM IN NEW YORK STATE. (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. New York.) 1928. 9 × 6. pp. 275. \$3.00.
- A SURVEY OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLAND AND WALES. By A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS & D. CARADOG JONES. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 9½ × 5½. pp. 246. 10s.

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