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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is a tradition of British public life to keep colonial affairs as far as possible out of the range of party politics. It is not of course always feasible and indeed desirable to adhere to this convention, for sometimes occasions arise when divergences of colonial policy form important platforms in the rival programmes of the different parties, as, e.g., when self-government was conferred upon the Transvaal. That normally it is found a workable rule is itself due to the fact that colonial questions have only a distant and indirect bearing on questions of internal politics, on which mainly elections turn. This British convention can be even more strictly observed in India by our politicians with regard to questions affecting our countrymen overseas; and in fact there is now a complete unanimity among all parties on such questions. This is as it should be; for the controversies which divide one party from another in India have no relation whatsoever to the problems which face us in the colonies. If it is sound policy for us not to import our domestic differences into our overseas work, it is not merely sound policy but an absolute necessity for our compatriots across the seas to hold themselves strictly aloof from controversial politics in India. They must above all present a united front to their respective Governments and to the Imperial Government, and this necessarily demands the observance of strict neutrality on their part on questions agitating politicians in the home country. If neutrality is required on these questions, it is still more imperatively required on the question that has recently come to occupy the foreground of Indian politics, viz. the question of independence and of the severance of the British connexion. The reason for this is obvious. Oversea Indians and those who espouse their cause in India base their claims for wider citizenship rights and for removal of existing disabilities mainly

on the ground of their British citizenship. They always require and, it should be, handsomely acknowledged, generally receive the support of the Government of India in their struggle; but the Government of India would obviously be rendered powerless to afford any substantial assistance to our countrymen in British colonies if their avowed aim is to cut adrift from the British Empire. That Mr. Sastri found it necessary to give this advice to Indian settlers in S. Africa on the eve of his departure shows that there is danger of some foolish utterances on independence again creating a prejudice against them which is being slowly and laboriously removed. It is obvious that such utterances will not possibly help forward Indian independence, but only throw back the phenomenal progress which the work of reconciliation has recently made in that country. The *Hindu* is unable to see the need for any such self-denying ordinance for Indian settlers in British colonies. The matter can be put to the test in this way. Let its editor, if he belongs to the Independence school, or some other member of the Assembly who does, be deputed to Kenya where a non-official delegation would now be very useful, and let us see whether he will not find that his airing of Independence views there does not at once put him out of court.

THE Associated Chambers have apparently a poor opinion of the elected members of the Assembly because in their opinion they are irresponsible; in support of which they cite a number of Bills and demands which were opposed by the Assembly in spite of their being sponsored by Government. In the phraseology of the Chambers therefore responsibility is synonymous with saying ditto to everything proposed by the Executive. They propose therefore that indirect election should be substituted for direct election and Sir George Godfrey, speaking on their behalf, expressed a hope that this would result in the return of 'men with better balanced ideas and who were less biased against Government'. It passes our understanding how the representatives elected by the provincial councils instead of by voters directly could escape being biased simply on this account; does Sir George think that the provincial councils are less saturated with the bias against the powers that be or more schooled in the arts of diplomacy and conciliation? The Chambers in addition recommend either a reduction in the strength of the elected members of the Assembly or an increase in the number of nominated members so as to reduce the strength of the "anti-Government" party. Among the safeguards wanted by the Chambers the one that puts an axe at the root of all responsible government is that the position of the Government vis-a-vis the Assembly should be strengthened; in other words it means that the irresponsible

Executive of to-day is to continue unabashed. They also ask for a statutory declaration forbidding discriminatory legislation against any commercial industrial or agricultural interests. It remains to be seen how they respond to Sir John Simon's request for a properly drafted clause to secure this end. The general tone of the thought of the Chambers is revealed by the remark made by Sir George Godfrey that if the new Constitution met with any obstruction it should be withdrawn; this is not argument but bullying pure and simple. The witness could only consent to the abolition of the certifying powers of the Governor if Second Chambers were established as a check on the hasty legislation of the Provincial Councils. The Associated Chambers would consent to provincial autonomy but in any case they do not accept the proposal of a cabinet system of government, with the Ministers drawn from one party; instead they would favour the perpetuation of the present system of Ministers being nominated by the Governor from the various parties. When asked whether he would give fixity of tenure to Ministers, the witness replied that he did not mind unstable Ministries. Putting these two together we obtain a sort of coalition ministry not in any way responsible to the Legislature, and it is doubtful if provincial autonomy is worth anything under these conditions. In fact under a different guise this is an enlargement of the Diarchy which the Chambers have admitted to have been a failure. To Sir H. S. Gour's pertinent question whether the proposals of the Chambers would satisfy any section of the Indian intelligentsia and would meet the legitimate aspirations of Indians the witness had the hardihood to answer in the affirmative. We do not know whether to call this optimism or a wilful make-believe. One difference is noticeable between the Associated Chambers and the European Association with regard to law and order and it is that whereas the majority of the Chambers are in favour of their transfer to a Minister under certain safeguards the latter body is unanimously opposed to such a transfer.

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Too many writers in the public press have assumed that the Hilton Young Commission has made a definite recommendation in favour of the establishment of mixed electorates in Kenya. This assumption, however, does not accord with facts. The Commission (or rather the Commission *minus* the Chairman, whose view is different) has no doubt expressed the view in the abstract that "the ideal to be aimed at is a common roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races," but it hastens to add that "this ideal can be realised only by consent." Paraphrased, it means that a common roll can be substituted for the existing communal roll only if Europeans will agree to such substitution. That no Government can force on the white population of Kenya any arrangements distasteful to it is well known by now, but the Commission feels that if it can be proved by statistics that the contemplated change will make no difference to the predominance of the European community in the Legislature, it is perhaps yet possible to persuade the community to agree to the change. And, in this belief, the Commission has recommended that "consideration should be given to the replacement of adult franchise in Kenya by a franchise depending on a civilization qualification;" for, the Commission says, "the communal system of election is almost a necessary corollary to adult suffrage." It is a necessary corollary because a common roll with this franchise for both communities will probably give about twice as many seats to Indians as to Euro-

peans. That, of course, must be prevented anyhow. Europeans and Indians must in the final result be able to win the seats respectively allotted to them, for the Commission assumes (and the injustice done by it to the Indian cause will be made apparent here) that the present relative strength of the two races in the Council (11 Europeans and 5 Indians) is "roughly in proportion to its estimated political capacity and importance." The test of civilization must therefore be so jerrymandered as to yield nearly the same results as now. To put it more simply, the Commission hopes that the Europeans can be induced to give up communal electorates if on the common roll system they can be guaranteed the maintenance of their present overwhelming predominance, and in this belief suggests that the High Commissioner should be charged with the duty of finding out what franchise under the system of a common register will secure this result and for that reason is likely to be acceptable to the whites. The recommendation which the Hilton Young Commission has actually made is thus quite different from what it is widely supposed to have made.

But the general impression in the country that the Commission has made an unqualified recommendation for the introduction of common in the place of communal electorates has coloured the opinions of many critics, and not least among them of Col. Wedgwood to whom there is no more convinced opponent of communal electorates in Great Britain. His remarks, made to an interviewer in London, on the Commission's report are more favourable than one would have expected of him, and this is no doubt due to his belief that communal electorates are, as a result of the Commission's report, about to disappear from Kenya and that common electorates are to come into existence instead. This supposed gain was perhaps considered by him to offset to a certain extent the mischief that is sure to ensue from the Commission's proposal to allot six seats to natives, all to be filled by Europeans. This proposal he no doubt condemns, but somewhat tepidly. His condemnation of the whole underlying principle of "association of immigrant communities in the responsibilities of trusteeship" would, we feel sure, have been hotter and more downright if he had not misconceived the precise scope and content of the Commission's recommendation relating to the common franchise. This misconception is widespread even in India, and it must first be removed before a right appraisal of the merits of the Hilton Young Report becomes possible.

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THE idea of extending the lives of the present legislatures in India is being energetically canvassed at present and the various Councils will soon be called upon to consider the suggestion. It is significant to note that most of the supporters of this suggestion are people who owing to their pro-Commission sympathies find it inconvenient to face the electorate. Even if the suggestion were put into effect and the lives of the Indian legislatures extended for the full period authorised under the existing statute, it will hardly obviate the need of another election under present arrangements before the Simon Constitution is promulgated. This is expected to happen in 1932, while the longest period for which the legislatures can be granted extension cannot be more than twelve months. It is of course open to the Government to go before Parliament for an amendment of the law so as to secure the necessary authority to continue the present legislatures until such time as the Simon reforms come into operation. If this happened, the

Councils will have been six years in existence, and therefore out of touch with the constituencies. The best plan would be to have fresh elections at the normal time, i. e., towards the end of this year to be followed by fresh ones when the Simon statute comes into being. Indian public opinion would, we are confident, strongly resent any extension of life allowed to the present Councils which must be dissolved when their normal life comes to an end.

THE Bombay Corporation has this year escaped a large deficit by a vigorous retrenchment effected by the Standing Finance Committee. The Corporation has thus succeeded in balancing the budget without any increase of taxation. The discussion on the Budget reveals a fundamental cleavage of opinion between those who champion a forward policy even at the cost of piling up debt and others who are out for retrenchment *a l'outrance* without considering the needs of civic development along all the lines. Mr. Dalal, the Municipal Commissioner, advised an avoidance of both the extremes and, while warning against increasing the debt burden, harped upon the clamant demands on the part of the population for increased amenities which can scarcely be supplied from current revenues. He rightly stressed the need to watch with care the unproductive part of the debt; he gave Rs. 7.91 lakhs as the figure of the unproductive debt with Rs. 51.3 lakhs as the interest charges thereon. We are glad to read from his speech that the loan commitments of the Corporation have been much smaller even than those recommended by the Sir M. Visvesvaraya Committee. The serious irregularity revealed by him in devoting part of the loans from Government to other objects than those for which they were made is deplorable and needs prompt correction. Mr. Dalal suggests a salutary amendment to the rule observed in the limit set to capital expenditure which ought to be met from revenue and he proposes the adoption of a limit of Rs. 25,000 beyond which minor works should be financed from borrowed funds. Although Mr. Dalal's defence of the development policy of the Corporation is slightly overdone the point he makes out that you cannot calculate in terms of money the benefits to the people of healthier and happier surroundings is certainly acceptable. There is no doubt that the schemes of development so far carried out have cleared an amount of slum area which has been a disgrace to the civilized existence of the premier city of India and reduced the death-rate in it to a point lower than that attained in any other large city in India. The realizations however from the sale of lands cleared by the projects ought to be quick enough to prevent the burden of a continual charge on account of interest on the development loans. The development schemes of the Bombay Government ought to serve as a standing warning to the Corporation against extravagance and happy-go-lucky financial operations, which in the long run create a load too oppressive to bear. We thoroughly endorse the contention of the Municipal Commissioner that increases of grants should not be made except on the initiative of the Executive: any such motions, if they are passed and made mandatory, would, as he says, throw the whole budget out of gear, reducing budget-making to a game of chance. The city of Bombay may certainly be congratulated on the figures of expenditure for education, which show that Bombay with a smaller population spends four times as much as Calcutta on the item. On the question of retrenchment Mr. Chandavarkar put forward the claims of the employees who had served for a long time faithfully; and we think he was right in saying that the Corporation would be creating un-

called for misery and distress if in its enthusiasm for retrenchment it would throw people unnecessarily out of employment, in face of an implied guarantee of security of tenure.

A MYSORE Government Order on the Report of the Bangalore Disturbances Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir M. Visvesvaraya has just been issued. The Committee has censured the manner in which the Diwan and the Director of Public Instruction had kept their interference with the affair of the image and the so-called temple secret and mystified the situation, thus causing needless complications later on. The Committee has also held that the Muslims had come to the place of disturbance prepared for the attack on the slightest pretext. The most serious charge brought by the Committee is that for four days after the riot no serious effort was made to trace the offenders and the Committee regarded the indifference of the higher police officers as strange and inexcusable. The Report of the Committee admitted that dissatisfaction with the administration added to the intensity of the feeling against officials revealed in the disturbances; but it does not believe in the theory of a conspiracy either against the Diwan or the State. Another serious indictment made by the Committee deserves to be noted; and it is that they consider the calling in of the military as unnecessary. The Committee also seriously viewed the abdication of their authority by the District Magistrate and the City Magistrate.

The Government Order agrees with the Report that the vernacular Press has been responsible for inciting communal hatred and jealousies in the mofussil, and seems to justify its policy of the suspension of some of the newspapers. As against the findings of the Committee the Mysore Government absolves the Director of Public Instruction from blame on the plea that he did not realize the influences behind the agitation. With regard to the Committee's criticism as to the failure to make arrests on the night of the disturbance the Government do not like to question the bona fides of the District Magistrate and the Inspector-General and accept their explanation that any arrests instead of quieting the general atmosphere would have precipitated further disorder. We are inclined to think that in this matter the Committee's judgment is more weighty than the explanations of the officers who themselves are charged with failure to do their duty. The Mysore Government repudiate the suggestion that the police and the magistracy took their orders from Members of Government or subordinated their discretion to the behests of official superiors. We are prepared to believe this, but we do not see why the Government object to the description of the failure of the police to make arrest as a breakdown of Government machinery. The police being a very important arm of Government the failure of the police is certainly tantamount to a breakdown of the Government. Again we fail to see why the Government of Mysore think it unnecessary to make further inquiries into the allegation that boys were dragged into Mr. Abbas Khan's house and that their bodies were found there under suspicious circumstances. If no enquiries are made it will strengthen the popular suspicion that there has been a hushing up of Muslim delinquencies. As for the demand for constitutional changes made by the Committee we are glad to note that the Government of Mysore declare that they will ever be open to all reasonable representations in such matters. Curiously enough there is not a word in the Order about the shooting incident.

THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS.

THE Viceroy's opening address to the Legislative Assembly on Monday last contained two announcements of solid benefit to India: (1) the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the conditions of labour under the presidency of Mr. Whitley, on whose recommendations the so-called Whitley Councils were established in England, and (ii) the deputation of a civilian officer to Kenya to represent the Government of India's view on the Hilton Young Report to the Kenya Government. The need for a comprehensive inquiry into the existing conditions of industrial workers and a search for practicable methods of ameliorating them was long felt by those who are working in this field of public activity, but it is really very creditable to the Government that they ordered such an inquiry before a demand for it had grown insistent in the country. It may be that the recent strikes in most industrial centres have accelerated the Government's decision in the matter, and we only hope that the inquiry will not be limited to the consideration of the means whereby the serious embarrassment caused to them and to the employing classes by industrial disputes will be mitigated. The issue is a much deeper one than this and we are sure Lord Irwin visualises it in its deeper significance. Speaking to the industrialists in Calcutta, he observed recently, and he repeated the observation in this speech, that the present industrial *malaise* could not be cured only by Government forging weapons of repression but mainly by employers proving their determination "to leave their employees no justifiable ground for complaint." It is to be seen how far this Commission succeeds in finding a solution to the vexed question it will inquire into. Royal Commissions are so notoriously unsuccessful in this. We welcome the Commission mainly because it will arouse and deepen public interest in this sadly neglected subject. For, in spite of our vaunted solicitude for the interest of the masses and our eagerness to seek political emancipation only as a means for the inauguration of a new order of society in which everybody will receive an equal chance, it remains broadly true that our politicals have looked after the middle and upper classes and ignored the lower ones—both peasants and workers (though the conjunction of these two words calls up dreadful visions before some minds). Secondly, a great deal of information regarding conditions of industrial labourers has to be collected and such a survey can be undertaken only by a governmental agency. If it is remembered how cordially the Bombay Government's proposal for a Census of Production was hated by the employers, the difficulties encountered by a non-official agency in undertaking the compilation of such information without the authority of Government will be readily appreciated. In the Commission's Report we shall find at any rate a body of authentic information regarding the living and working conditions of labourers and their grievances. With this information before us and with the newly awakened interest

of the politicians in this question it will not be difficult to find the remedies. For after all we have to make no new discoveries in this sphere but only to apply the lessons of other industrialised countries to our conditions. We hope that the composition of the Commission will be carefully selected and none but the ablest will be chosen. Many a recent investigation set on foot by Government was foredoomed to failure because of the hopelessly weak personnel of the investigating body.

The deputation of an I.C.S. officer to Kenya—and recent practice demands the selection of an Indian officer—to plead the cause of the Indian community from within the Government of Kenya will be of very great help to our fellow-countrymen. They are sorely in need of such help. We have no doubt that the Government of India will be firm in its advocacy of the Indians' just claims. The question however is what attitude it is going to take to the new policy outlined in the White Paper of 1927. Is it going to accept the policy of "association of immigrant communities in native trusteeship" and confine its endeavour to the securing for the Indian community as large a share in this trusteeship as possible or to protest against the recent change and call upon the Imperial Government to revert to the policy of 1923? In the latter alternative it will not be enough merely to send a delegation to Kenya where the larger question of policy cannot be discussed, the proper forum for it being England where it should make its protest known. The Assembly members will, we feel sure, elicit an answer on this important point. Anyhow there will be much for the Indian civilian to do in Kenya itself, and the Government of India is to be congratulated on this step.

On the political side Lord Irwin had little to say that is cheering; but on the other hand he said little that is challenging either. It was hardly to be expected that he would admit the utter futility of the evidence that is being tendered to the Statutory Commission and the consequent necessity of seeking a different approach to the constitutional problem. Nor was it to be expected that he would forbear from condemning the ultimatum of the Congress and its threat of mass civil disobedience. But the condemnation is uttered in as unoffensive a manner as possible, and that is something to be thankful for. The Congressmen have no reason to resent this warning, for surely they are fully conscious of the consequences to themselves of breach of law on their part. Pandit Motilal Nehru is said to have construed this speech as a desire on the Viceroy's part to extend the time-limit within which responsible government is asked for. We for our part see no warrant in the speech for such a hopeful construction unless of course the Viceroy desires, as everybody must, to stave off the evil day as much as possible.

PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

IT is announced that the Government of India will re-introduce in the Central Legislature the Public Safety Bill designed to remove non-Indian Communists

out of the country, which was defeated last year by the merest accident. The Bill, we are assured, will not include within its scope Indian Communists, for dealing with whom the Government is preparing, it is said, a different measure. There is no doubt that the large growth in industrial unrest and in lightning strikes that has taken place recently will give an added impetus to the Bill, which will consequently find an easy way to the statute book; nor is there much doubt that soon after "indigenous Communists too will be severely handled. Government has latterly come to conceive such a contempt for public opinion—for the opinion of all but reactionaries—that it is hardly to be expected that it will forbear, in deference to the views of advanced politicians, from pushing through this panicky legislation when it can manage to receive the support of a majority in the Legislature. Government's appetite for Coercion Acts apparently grows on what it feeds; for it has already in its armoury a large number of weapons like detention and deportation without trial. These it is not prepared to give up but finds them increasingly insufficient to cope with dangers to India's peace which, in its eyes, only go on accumulating.

By a happy coincidence the Government of India's announcement to enact an anti-Communist measure synchronises with that of the Irish Free State to repeal the Public Safety Act of 1927. The sensitiveness of the Free State to public opinion throws into strong relief the Government of India's utter defiance of it. The Cosgrave Government at first proposed a measure without limit of time and could easily have passed it. But, in response to public opinion, it consented to limit its duration to five years. Before many months had passed it offered to repeal the Act at the end of 1929, but now, we are told, by a further concession to public opinion it has decided to relinquish the powers given by the Act at the end of 1928. Thus the Act, which was passed in July 1927, has not been in operation for more than a year and a half; and even so it has had a merely nominal existence on the statute book. Its powers were used, we believe, only to detain one suspect. Anyhow we have the statement of the *Irish Statesman* that "hardly any of the terrible powers it conferred on the Government were used." As the *Statesman* puts it, the Act "was born at a period when to the dilated consciousness of our political every flea was an elephant, and it is repealed at a time when normal vision is restored and it was found that the elephants were after all only fleas." It was avowedly an emergency measure intended to strike down a military organization then existing in the country and the Free State Government felt bound to abandon it when the emergency had passed.

But contrast with this the mentality of the Government of India. The Public Safety Act of Ireland enabled the Executive, among other things, to declare associations advocating or suggesting violence to be unlawful and to make membership of such associations criminal and punishable as such; similarly it gave power to the Executive for the expulsion of dangerous persons and for the detention of

persons in custody without trial. We have on our statute book permanent laws and regulations conferring equally wide powers, and the justification that is advanced for the retention of these powers is not that they will be immediately required to meet an emergency that has arisen or that is impending, but that they may be required in the distant future, when it may not be easy, in view of the growing force of public opinion, to obtain them. Opposing a proposal to repeal the repressive laws, the Home Secretary observed with brutal frankness in the Council of State on the 7th September 1927:—

"The (Samiti) Act is a reserve power. We do not want to use it at the present moment, and I do not think it reasonable to suggest that it should be repealed merely on grounds of that nature... I wish to make it plain that it is not a question of the present atmosphere. Our case is not that at the present moment we are contemplating the use of this Act; our case is a different one. It is that if trouble were to occur—and who, Sir, will guarantee that it will not occur?—it is most important not to have to wait until a situation has developed which will persuade a naturally reluctant Legislature to grant powers to stop such trouble... We should have to get together an overwhelming case to put before the Legislature before we could hope, I am afraid, to convince my honourable friends opposite of the necessity of action... (To repeal the Act now) is like a man who in the hot weather under a cloudless sky throws away his waterproof—a very imprudent thing to do in a climate like Simla. That is an imprudence which an individual would not commit. But it is precisely that imprudence which some Honourable Members ask Government to commit in carrying through this (repealing) Bill".

On this reasoning every country must arm itself with all imaginable powers of coercion sufficiently far-reaching to provide against every possible contingency. But how dare the Irish Free State and every other civilized country be so imprudent as not only to neglect this necessary precaution but actually to provide constitutional provisions making it impossible for such as Mr. Haig and Mr. O'Connell to take the precaution? How can these states lead as it were a hand to mouth existence in the matter of repressive measures, taking such measures only when they become imperatively necessary and abandoning them the moment they can be abandoned even at some risk? The Government of India is no doubt more careful of the lives of its subjects, but evidently the political philosophy which imposes upon it such a high standard of public safety has not yet won for it many adherents among civilized nations though it has many among the other sort.

"LIVING INDIA."*

THIS is the latest portrayal of Indian life and culture as seen by a foreigner in the person of Mr. Savel Zimand. The introduction is written by the famous Æ (G. W. Russell). The author begins with a bit of history to explain the background. The story of Clive's winning the Empire by the conquest of Bengal and of the extension of the Company's territorial possessions under successive administrators is told with commendable frankness. The author does not conceal the oppression under Clive or the unscrupulous trickeries of Warren Hastings.

* *Living India*.—By Savel Zimand. (Longmans.) 1928. 8 x 5 1/2. pp 280. 10s.

The author quotes with approval Lala Lajpat Rai's estimate of the existing administration of India on the eve of the Great War; that "the constitution was viciously autocratic, bureaucratic, antiquated and unsatisfying, and India has in the past been governed more in the interest of the British merchant and the British aristocrat than in the interests of her own people". Mr. Zimand thinks that under Diarchy the Central Legislature remained merely a glorified debating society and that inside the paraphernalia of democracy in India there was no substance.

Next Mr. Zimand describes the social fabric in India with marked sympathy and freedom from preconceived notions and prejudices. His description of Hinduism as "vague and comprehensive it has remained remarkably elastic assimilating each new successful religious movement that has sprung up on Indian soil" is markedly true. He devotes an amount of space to explaining the law of Karma which is one of the most important items in the make-up of the Hindu religion and the power of this pessimistic belief in Karma on the lives of the people. There is very little that is new in his description of the caste system; yet his comments on it are very fair and display a sense of proper perspective. He believes that modern conditions of life are slowly undermining the system; he also pays a high tribute to the roll of men associated in the movement started to remove the stain of untouchability from millions of Hindus. With regard to child marriage the author refers to the attempt made by Miss Mayo by misquoting his writings to produce the impression that Dr. Tagore favoured the system. He also exposes the utter absurdity of the generalization of Miss Mayo that every Indian girl looks for motherhood nine months after puberty by quoting the census report for 1921, in which it is said that the first child is generally born three years after consummation of marriage. Further he absolves the Indian Parliamentarians from the charge brought against them by Miss Mayo that they oppose the prohibition of the marriage of girls of immature age. In fact the opposition came, as he shows by reference to the proceedings of the Assembly in the case of the Age of Consent bills, from the official side and from the side of orthodox Hinduism. Discussing the Hindu-Muslim relations he hazards a guess that the religious animosities may be only the outward expression of economic rivalry and he attributes the backwardness of Muslims to their neglecting to participate in modern education. As for the truce effected in 1927 by the Indian National Congress he thinks that only the over-sanguine would assume that it represents more than a momentary truce.

Mr. Zimand gives a fair description of the position of Indian Princes. His view is that they are a political anomaly since they are without any basic power and he quotes Lord Reading's communication to H. E. H. the Nizam that the British Government is the only arbiter in cases of disputed succession and the varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility. And his conclusion is that thus far the majority of them are still unprogressive and his suggestion is that the Government should "advise" the Princes to introduce responsible government. As for the question what status the States will occupy in a self-governing India he says in a caustic vein that the British Government has not as yet found a solution other than the protection of their autocratic rule. It is fortunate that the author recognizes that the problem of poverty overshadows every other problem in India and he quotes from Mr.

Dube's study of the Indian food problem printed in the *Indian Journal of Economics* of January 1921: "Taking the average of seven years it will be seen that 64.6 per cent. of the population lives always on insufficient food getting only 73 per cent. of the minimum requirement for maintaining efficiency". He attributes the high death-rate in India to malnutrition, fatalistic depression, insanitary living and lack of medical assistance. We are not surprised to find that the author's judgment on the industrial conditions in India is very unfavourable. The Factories Act of 1922 and legislation providing workmen's compensation for accidents passed in 1923 and other welfare schemes he appreciates, but he says "that all this is merely a drop in the bucket." Under the significant title of the "White Brahman" the author recounts one of the most readable stories of racial discrimination in India as well as elsewhere in the Empire. The relatively unimportant position held by Indians in the large concerns of the country is proved, he says, by the fact that out of the total capital of all joint-stock companies in India amounting to £471 millions that held by Indians amounted only to £60 millions. He quotes from Mr. MacDonald's "Government of India" where he points out that a large part of the Army in India—certainly one-half—is an Imperial Army which is required for other than purely Indian purposes and the cost of which therefore ought in justice to be met from Imperial funds. The struggle for the redress of this injustice becomes, as he truly says, the story of the rising tide of nationalism.

This story he tells in Part III under the title "Seething India." He shows how Mahatma Gandhi was a believer in the Empire in 1914 and helped to raise a large number of recruits and encouraged his countrymen to fight with Great Britain for victory; and how after the black chapter of the Punjab affair he lost his faith in the Empire and began to preach non-co-operation. According to Mr. Zimand, the secret of Mahatma Gandhi's power to sway millions lay in the religious interpretation he gave to politics because for him there was no politics devoid of religion. He admits that the boycott against the schools has not been a failure but has done much harm. Similarly in his opinion hartals and civil disobedience have failed on account of the failure to observe non-violence. The gain however was that nationalism was carried as never before to the masses; in addition he says that it must be admitted that Mahatma Gandhi's method of non-violence has contributed to the advance of self-respect and self-sacrifice in India. Mr. Zimand traces the influence of Mahatma Gandhi in the Akali Sikhs' agitation over the management of the Sikh shrines. The trouble of to-day, he says, centres in the fact that Indians want to be free and desire that they should be governed by their own people while the sun-dried bureaucrat tells them that British rule is as good, if not better, as the rule by their own people. He describes the rise of the Swarajist party and its gradual consolidation by its leaders and tells the story of the challenge thrown by the Assembly in the form of the Resolution recommending the Governor-General to summon at an early date a Round Table Conference for preparing a constitution for India. Although the prominent members of the party gave up indiscriminate obstruction and adopted the view that political offices should be accepted the party lost ground in the election of 1926. The author believes that the party has remained to the present day the strongest in the country.

In dealing with the recent events Mr. Zimand has maintained a scrupulous aloofness and gives both sides of the problem of the Simon Commission and its progress without much dogmatism. But there is no denying that he has much sympathy with the

Indian point of view. The Indians, he says, admit that a wholly impartial Indian cannot be found who would have absolutely no bias in favour of a particular constitution for India, but they retort that this consideration did not prevent the invitation of Michael Collins, Griffiths, and others to co-operate with the British Cabinet in the preparation of a constitution of the Irish Free State. The Commission, he says, may be expected to decide whether the Central Government will be made responsible to the Legislature and whether the Imperial interests in India can only be safeguarded by a British bureaucracy and also to decide whether the anomalous India Council which, as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said, is a Civil Service imposed as a check upon the House of Commons, will continue or be replaced by an advisory committee composed of members of Parliament. Mr. Zimand is of opinion that universal suffrage is inconceivable in India for another half of a century and his summing up is that the recommendations of the Commission must be sufficiently moderate to guarantee acceptance by Anglo-Indians; on the other hand they must not neglect the Indian point of view so as not to alienate politically-minded India permanently. Finally, like a true friend of India he gives the warning which the *Pioneer* gave a few days ago that if the problem is not solved India will drift into the same condition as Ireland drifted in the terrible days of the Black and Tans. In Mr. Zimand's opinion the greatest opportunity for Great Britain is to find a solution for the most serious imperial problem—that of making the Indian people the political equals of the white Dominions. We welcome Mr. Zimand's book as giving a sympathetic survey of India's problem and feel sure that it will to some extent counteract the work of India's libellers in the United States by giving them a more correct version of Indian developments.

RECEPTION OF THE NEHRU REPORT.

I.

AN impression is abroad, and it has been in particular sedulously fostered by British interests in the Press in India and in England, that the country is hopelessly divided over the Nehru Report. If a stock is taken of the points of agreement and difference, however, it will be found that there is a very large measure of general agreement on the Report, although, unfortunately, heated controversies over what I should think to be minor or irrelevant matters have obscured this important fact.

First, let us consider the Congress resolution. The way in which the resolution was drafted in the hopeless attempt to placate the extremists was unfortunate. The time limit specially is puerile. But, nevertheless, the resolution conveys complete acceptance of the constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee, subject only to this reservation that the first article of the Constitution relating to dominion status is accepted only tentatively for one year. What is being emphasised about this resolution is that the Congress has insisted on its ideal of complete independence and that its acceptance of the Report is less than half-hearted. But the point which is really worthy of note is very different. By the Madras resolution the Congress is committed to a scheme of complete independence. But, according to this resolution the Congress finds the Nehru Constitution to be so satisfactory that it is prepared to suspend its accepted programme of independence in favour of this scheme. It is not a proof of its dissatisfaction with the Report but rather of its complete acceptance of the Scheme, even to the extent of suspending their already accepted programme.

The mentality behind this resolution properly analysed will probably be found to be like this. We do not believe that we shall have full dominion status and we consider that it is not worth while worrying about it. Our objective is and ought to be independence. But if we are going to have dominion status on these lines immediately, within a year, we shall be glad to have it.

The minority in the Congress, whose amendment was lost, were not prepared to go even so far in their acceptance of the Nehru Report. They would not tolerate any talk of dominion status—of anything short of complete independence. They totally rejected the first article of the Nehru Constitution. This is usually put forward in bold relief. But it is forgotten that despite their dissent from this article, so far as the Constitution itself goes, barring its reference to the relation of England to India, even these dissentients give their complete support to the Nehru Scheme. Mr. Satyamurthi in his speech emphasised this aspect of the resolution. They were not out to throw the Nehru Report into the scrap-heap, they cordially approved the Constitution as a whole, but they were not prepared to accept that portion of it which said that India was to be linked up with the British Empire.

It is clear therefore that both wings of the Congress completely accepted the Constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee, though they differed on the question of the relation of India and England.

In the All Parties Convention, which represented numerous parties and sections of opinion, the Nehru Report was adopted with minor alterations. There was an amendment for the deletion of the first article, but it was lost by a large majority. The Convention however was most acutely divided on the communal question and two important secessions occurred on that topic. The Muslim League put forward six amendments which their representatives moved in the Convention. The most important amendments were lost, and after that many of them did not take any further part in the Convention. The Sikh League put forward some proposals, but, instead of moving them, they made a statement and walked out.

The broad statement is therefore frequently made that the Muslim League and the Sikh League have not accepted the Report. But if we analyse their amendments we shall find that both these bodies were really prepared to accept the Report with only minor amendments.

The only substantial points on which the Muslim League desired the Report to be modified were, (1) the reservation of one-third of the seats in each House of Parliament for the Mahomedans, without liberty to contest additional seats, and (2) the vesting of the residuary powers in the Provincial Governments. The proposals which they suggested, in the event of the Nehru Report not being accepted do not deserve consideration in this connection. For the question we are considering is whether, if the Nehru Constitution as a whole were to be given to us these people would accept it.

Now, it is noteworthy that subject to these reservations, the Muslim League was prepared to accept the whole of the Nehru Constitution, including the joint electorates and adult franchise and non-reservation of seats for Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab and everything else. By the side of this substantial measure of acceptance of the Report, their reservations were of little importance.

Take first the question of reservation of seats in the Central Legislature. The framers of the Report themselves calculate, as pointed out by Mr. Jinnah, that the Muslims would have under the Nehru

Scheme, approximately one-third of the seats in Parliament. To that everybody was willing to agree. The Muslim League wanted that number to be guaranteed by reservation. The concession they wanted, therefore, though wrong in principle, was very slight in value, and would in fact not hit Hindus so much as it would hit the Moslem majorities of Bengal and the Punjab, who would between them practically grab the bulk of one-third of the seats in Parliament. This difference between the Convention and the Muslim League on the communal question, therefore, was surely not such as would justify us in disregarding the large ground of agreement between them on the communal question.

The other question on which the Muslim League found itself in disagreement is not on the face of it communal, though the motive behind it might be communal jealousy. The Nehru Constitution vests large residuary powers in the Central Government and even authorises Parliament to suspend the provincial constitution. The Muslim League wanted that these powers should not be vested in the Central Government. The difference between the two was on the question whether India was to have a federal or a unitary constitution, a question on which it is easy to differ. The insistence of either party on its point of view was perhaps largely due to the fact that while Muslims feared that the predominantly Hindu Central Government might unduly interfere, with the governments of the Punjab and Bengal where Muslims would predominate; while Hindus were afraid that in the absence of recourse to the Central Government they might be crushed in Bengal, and the Punjab. Nevertheless, it cannot be questioned that the difference even on this head was slight compared with the large field of agreement between the two.

If these are all the differences, it is easy to see that they can be easily solved by further conversation. What would seem to be needed for this is merely a little further elaboration of the Nehru Scheme and provision of safeguards which would allay the fears of either party.

The note of dissent struck by the Sikhs is of even less importance. They too like the rest accept the whole of the elaborate and detailed scheme of the Nehru Report with but one reservation which they formulated in two alternatives. They were anxious to abolish even the measure of communal representation which was accepted by the Nehru Committee. The Committee are on the whole against any form of communal representation. As a temporary measure, for ten years, however they have recommended the reservation of seats in some provinces for Muslims and in the N.-W. F. Province and Sindh for Hindus with a common electoral roll. In the Punjab and Bengal however they have provided for no reservation of seats for any community.

The Sikh League in their statement made a strong plea for the abolition of all reservation on a communal basis in any province. This is exactly what the Nehru Committee has provided in the Punjab. One would have supposed that the Sikhs whose interests are concentrated in the Punjab would welcome this. But the Sikhs are not happy. They insist that so soon as you recognise the principle of reservation anywhere, say in Madras you must reserve for the Sikhs a number of seats in the Punjab.

To appraise the exact importance of this dissent, it is important to bear in mind that in the Punjab and in the Central Government, the only two governments with which the Sikhs are directly concerned, the very principle which they want has been recognised: no seats have been reserved there.

Their dissent, so far as the first alternative is concerned, therefore, relates to provinces with which the Sikhs have no concern.

It would be clear, therefore, that with regard to the Nehru Scheme there is, to say the least, a very substantial measure of agreement between all the parties which took part in the Congress, the Convention and the Muslim League, even after giving the fullest measure of importance to all dissenting opinions in those bodies. The differences between those who want dominion status and those who want independence are not of any importance in connection with the question which I am discussing, viz., whether the Constitution framed by the Nehru Committee is accepted by all. I have shown that the scheme of the Constitution itself is accepted by both sides. Their differences on the question of external relations cannot be taken to minimise the importance of their agreement to the frame of the Constitution. In South Africa some Nationalists want severance from Great Britain, others—General Hertzog being a recent recruit to their rank—want the connection with the Empire to continue. In spite of this difference they are agreed as to the form of the constitution for internal administration. And if one were asked to draw a constitution for South Africa on an agreed basis, he could draw such a constitution without difficulty, and reserve the question of external relations for further consideration, and neither party could have much ground for complaint so long as a free constitution was given. For with a free constitution the question of severance or continuance could be solved without difficulty any day, by the free consent of the people. However much, therefore, this difference may be emphasised for platform purposes it is of no importance in connection with the most knotty point of the problem of constitution-making for India. On the really difficult and important part of the work, therefore, one may say that there is more than a fair measure of agreement on the Nehru Report.

NARES CH. SEN-GUPTA.

(To be concluded.)

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, January 10.

1929.

DISILLUSIONMENT is the most marked feeling in the world which has passed into 1929, and that state is nowhere more evident than in Western Europe, still the principal scene of world-events. In Great Britain, the severe and protracted illness of His Majesty the King has cast a gloom over the whole land although, happily enough, the worst, it would seem, is over. Last year's great hopes about industrial betterment have not led very far. The National Industrial Council, which was the outcome of the discussions between the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and Lord Melchett's group of employers, has yet to find favour with organised employers despite Labour's support. The figure for unemployment stands at a quarter of a million higher than a year ago, and latterly, if the realisation of this fact has led to a fine display of seasonal goodwill, it has also laid bare the radical nature of the disease. The continued depression in the coal industry has proved to be beyond the reach of any scheme of transference as regards the excess of labour in the mines, and the circumstance must work its own course. Such truths to which almost the whole of industrial life in England is waking are not calculated to cheer a people whom only visions of success and ambition can spur into effort. The

consequence is that Great Britain is mentally bogged and cheerless. And it is in such mood that the country has to face this year the important event of a general election which is becoming increasingly significant owing to the growing prestige of Labour and diminishing faith in the competence of the Conservatives to deal with the economic and industrial situation. Yet the dilemma is fearful and the Prime Minister took care to expose it in his address at Worcester over the week-end.

"We have to remember", said Mr. Baldwin, "that the Socialist or Labour Party is still based on Socialism. We know that its strength in the country is derived from the power of the Socialist appeal. We know that the basis of Socialism is some form of national control as opposed to private enterprise. The danger I see is that some attempt to nationalise or to control banking may be resorted to and imposed upon the country. Nothing could give a greater shock to the credit of the country than any nationalisation of banking and at a time like this it would be bound to retard this long hoped for and long expected improvement in trade."

Imperial politics are no less dismal: in Egypt, suspension of the Constitution with its inevitable consequence of stimulus to subterranean activities; in Palestine, communal jealousies; in Iraq, pronounced and growing discontent over delay about admittance into the League; in South Africa, the flag question; in the Irish Free State, defiance of the authority of the Privy Council; and in India, the Simon Commission.

As regards foreign relations, British diplomacy has rarely suffered such eclipse as at present. The statements coming from the Foreign Office and the contradictions which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been making were enough to prove this. Since that cardinal blunder of declining to face America fairly and squarely at Geneva regarding naval disarmament, Great Britain has been obliged to take a fitful course in the domain of foreign affairs. First came the Anglo-French naval agreement, whose effects on Anglo-American relations would greatly outlive the newspaper sensation exposing the tragedy. This is being followed by a cunning move to play France and Germany, one against the other, over the Rhineland occupation with the result that Germany is walking in the same path in her dealings with Moscow. The cumulative effect of all this is undoing the work of Geneva for which all Europe, as every one knows, is bound to rue. This sad story, it must be acknowledged, is set off by the British Government's recognition of China. But not only was priority in this matter more or less of the nature of an accident, the terms are much narrower than what the optimistic references to the event in the British press would lead one to believe.

THE FIFTH POINCARÉ CABINET.

It is reported that Monsieur Poincaré is again seeking to withdraw from power unless the French Parliament now in session expresses its confidence in him by a majority, ample enough to indicate a broad and stable parliamentary basis for his Cabinet during the months ahead. The French Premier seems to have discovered that he was mistaken in constituting a Cabinet this last time without a portfolio for himself. This situation, while depriving him of the influence over members of Parliament arising from the dispensing of patronage, also leaves him out of direct touch with affairs. Harmony in the Cabinet has been latterly lacking due to what is deemed as designs on the Premiership. The more important reasons are perhaps that, from its inception, the position of the fifth Poincaré Cabinet has been unsatisfactory because it includes no members of the Radical-Socialist Party and has been never

able to count upon more than half-hearted support from that powerful organisation in the Chamber; and secondly, the financial scandals of the *Gazette du Franc* and its like involving various persons now or previously of high position in the Government have had the result of much talk of a *Malaise* in the country and of dissatisfaction among the masses with the parliamentary regime as it works at present. Monsieur Poincaré obviously considers that the principal task which he assumed in 1926 has been done, or at any rate, that it has been begun on a sound basis, since the franc has been stabilised and the budget has been voted for the third year in succession. Much no doubt, still remains to be done, but it is principally in the field of foreign policy. The German reparation settlement, settlement of French debt for American war stocks, and some action on the inter-Allied debts to America, are questions to be faced, but Monsieur Poincaré would take charge of these vital negotiations only if adequate support were assured him. Whatever answer the Chamber may make, there is little doubt about realities of the political situation in France. There, unlike in Great Britain, post-war recovery has been phenomenal. France's problem has been demand for more labour, not unemployment, and the damage which the War did to her industries in the North proved a blessing on account of the facility it created for beginning anew on another basis. France absorbed her new acquisitions into her industrial and commercial system marvellously, and her illustrious Premier made good her financial position so that the country might profit by her prosperity. But Monsieur Poincaré's position in French politics has been illustrative of the resourcelessness of parliamentary action rather than the contrary. So far Western Europe has, at least nominally, remained the stronghold of democracy, and the fashion of dictatorships remains restricted. If the Fifth Poincaré Cabinet has to be followed by a Sixth and on the terms laid down by the Premier, it would raise seriously the issue of the future of Democracy.

THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS.

It has taken a long time to reach an Allied and German accord on a text relative to the Constitution and functions of the Commission which shall be charged with revision of the method of payment of German reparation. In making a final settlement of this problem, the work of the Experts is two-fold: the fixation of the total sum to be declared owing by Germany, and the manner in which this debt shall be paid. As regards the first of these, questions of prime responsibility for the War aside, public opinion in Allied countries would not be satisfied if Germany's financial position after the War should become or remain free from any of the difficulties to which the Allies are subject. The Experts, whatever their methods, would find themselves obliged to give weight to such "moral considerations." Complications of another nature would beset the task of determining the manner of payment. The few years of the actual working of the Dawes Plan have shown that the economies of the States are linked and are interdependent more closely than the economists of a previous generation had suspected. Most recently, for example, German absorption of gold has tended to upset widely separated money-centres, as a result of one of the powerful, though artificial, factors which reparation payments, like inter-Allied debts, have introduced into the money-market of the world. This exceptional German demand for gold, which is connected inseparably with the system of the Dawes Plan, even threatens to depress the world level of prices with damaging effects upon business and industry elsewhere.

Whatever the maximum and minimum figures of concessions and demands which the Experts may or may not present at the Conference, it is accepted on all sides already that the outcome of their discussions will be a substantial reduction in the total originally fixed for German payments of reparation, and a more rapid evacuation of German territory held under the Treaty of Versailles. Both these results, however, would be directly dependent for Germany upon the political pressure she would be able to bring about, and that is perhaps the most formidable factor in the European situation as it is seen at the opening of the New Year.

REVIEWS.

DIFFICULTIES OF BILINGUALISM.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM. By A. J. AUCAMP. (J. L. Van Schaik, Ltd., Pretoria.) 1926. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 247.

"BILINGUALISM serves to describe the condition in which two living languages exist side by side in a country." Baroda and Belgaum are bilingual cities where the children learn to speak two languages with almost equal facility. Education of these bilingual children is a knotty problem, and has always been solved by the politically dominant language trying to suppress the other by force or persuasion. Thus under the domination of the English language Welsh in Wales and Gaelic in Scotland are practically extinct by now. In Belgium the more cultured French kept down Flemish and in Poland and Switzerland the pendulum swung alternately from one to the other of the two or three languages spoken in these countries.

The problem of bilingual education has, however, assumed a new aspect in these twenty years, particularly in Canada and South Africa where two national groups speaking two different languages are equally influential, and valuable contribution is made by the educators in South Africa towards the solution of this problem on mainly educational grounds. The book under review discusses the history of bilingualism in different countries and shows how education through the medium of a foreign tongue has always proved a serious handicap in the educational progress of a child.

The book should be particularly interesting to the educators in India where has been going on for the last fifty years a continued struggle between the Indian languages and English for recognition as the proper medium of instruction in schools and colleges; and the reviewer may be pardoned if in illustrating how the question presents the same difficulties in all countries he exceeds somewhat the ordinary limits of space for a review.

"Wales stands out as a unique example of a country that can be said to constitute a nation, that nevertheless does not aspire to independent statehood. The Welsh language has had a long historical development and its literature was cultivated long before English existed as a literary language." But in 1921, only 38% could speak Welsh and only 6% could speak Welsh alone. Wales is now, for all practical purposes, an English speaking nation. In 1846 was appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the educational conditions in Wales and a member of that Commission said, "The existence of the Welsh language was a disaster, a misfortune to be dispensed with as soon as possible." To him the problem was "how to employ the old tongue as a scaffolding, yet to leave no trace of it in the finished building." In forty years more the outlook had

changed and the Royal Commission in 1886 reported that "the educational failures in Wales were largely to be attributed to the neglect of Welsh." In 1911 the pronouncement was more definite, for it was found that "the comparatively newer method of utilising the child's knowledge of Welsh in his education had practically *doubled the efficiency of schools.*"

In Scotland, in 1921 there were only 35% Gaelic speaking people and they resided mostly in Highland counties. Thus Gaelic is now, in Scotland, a dead language. "Scotch parents themselves were often reluctant to have Gaelic taught to their children as they believed that that would necessarily mean an imperfect knowledge of English."

While the change in Wales and Scotland was brought about by a policy of peaceful penetration, in Ireland it was brought about against strong resistance from the people with the result that, although Ireland is now practically an English speaking nation, there is a strong reaction in favour of Gaelic and vigorous efforts are made to reintroduce it in schools and university colleges.

But one witnesses the struggle in very acute form in Canada. To a French Canadian "to learn French is a duty, to learn English is a necessity." In Ontario "The English section, being in the majority, are determined that the youth of the country shall grow up with a thorough knowledge of English, and the French are equally zealous that their own language shall not be neglected." In certain provinces in Canada the problem is further complicated by the presence of immigrants from various nations. Thus in Manitoba, out of 610,118 people there were 40,638 French, 19,444 German, 16,594 Polish, 16,669 Jewish, 26,698 Scandinavian, 5,329 Belgian, 20,728 Dutch, 1,933 Italian, 897 Swiss, 257 Greek and 959 Rumanians, etc.

Apparently this heterogeneity has not stood in the way of the political progress of Canada which has "already laid the foundation of Canadian nationalism in the face of a diversity of race, of religion and of language."

Bilingualism in South Africa is in some respects more interesting still. As in Canada it is not a struggle between two highly developed languages like French and English, but between English and an undeveloped vernacular like Afrikaans which did not exist before A.D. 1700 and which was not used in writing up to A.D. 1850. But in the last fifty years the language has developed rapidly and is being used not only in religious, social and commercial spheres but also in literature and in education. In 1918 a Professor of Afrikaans was appointed in the Grey College and about half the lectures of the Grey College are given through Afrikaans. In the Transvaal University College several subjects are offered through the medium of Afrikaans.

It will thus be seen that "where two national groups have been forced together there has always been a resolute effort on the part of the weaker or the conquered group to resist assimilation and to preserve its language as a link with the past." In Wales, Scotland and Alsace-Lorraine after the peace of Westphalia, was adopted a policy of peaceful penetration and no resentment was felt against the dominant language. But in Ireland and Canada, in Poland and Alsace-Lorraine after 1870, the drastic measures used for the extermination of the indigenous languages roused a great deal of opposition.

"To-day the value of the national vernacular has been recognised and the principle of the mother tongue medium widely adopted in such countries as Wales, Belgium, Switzerland, Porto Rico, Cuba, Canada and South Africa."

"In Moerbeke-Waas, a village east of Ghent, which is distinctly Flemish, the medium of instruction was for some years altogether French. Within recent years, a total reorganisation has taken place and it is an instance of most extraordinary progress made after the mother tongue medium was adopted, in contrast to the listlessness and the general backward condition when French was the medium."

D.T. Saer conducted in Wales a set of experiments testing the effects of bilingualism upon the intelligence of young children and his experiments seem to show that knowledge of two languages in the case of young children tends to bring uncertainty and confusion into the mental conceptions of the child, especially where there is a superficial knowledge of one language. "Such confusion," says Saer, "results from the use of two languages before the power of using one language effectively has been acquired."

Educationalists in India will find it instructive to read the following: "The learning of the second language is the acquisition of an instrument. We cannot bestow too much time on that instrument and neglect the content. In the grades in S. Africa it is often complained that with a bilingual system almost half the time goes in the teaching of language and that the other fundamental subjects of the curriculum are neglected."

M. R. PARANJPE.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS.

WORLD PROSPERITY AND PEACE. (King.)
1928. 9½ x 6. pp. 188. 5 s.

THIS is the Report of the Conference of the League of Nations Union held in London with a view to popularise the conclusions of the International Economic Conference of Geneva. It includes a number of addresses by leading economists and Ministers of State connected with industry and finance and discussions thereon. Prof. Gilbert Murray, speaking on the world situation said that the great harm done by the War was the disequilibrium, a lack of co-ordination between producer and consumer; the remedy clearly was the removal of trade and tariff barriers. And he expressed gratification at the fact that eight Governments in Europe had announced their intention of suffering temporary disturbances in order to secure the general good by letting trade flow freely. M. Theuni, President of the International Economic Conference, pointed out that tariffs had become not only unstable but more complicated and congested; but Europe forgets, he said, that the extension of industry and its complexity have overstepped racial boundaries and that modern production cannot be absorbed by the internal market of a nation. Another item in the economic situation of the world was the increase of foreign debts leading to the difficulties of transferring wealth from one country to another; altogether the European situation was very serious in his opinion and the only remedy was an improvement in the economic organization and in commercial relations. Mrs. Wootan laid great emphasis on the problem of finding out which of the industries are based on an insecure foundation and which are likely to be permanent and hence those which we should welcome; in fact, we have to discriminate between artificial protection and a healthy development of new industries. During the discussion that ensued Sir George Paish laid his finger on the real solution for poor trade which was greater buying power and this was only possible by enabling people to meet their credit by enabling them to sell more goods by removing tariffs and other barriers to free circulation of goods.

The next question discussed at the Conference

was that of commerce and the tariff problem. Mr. Philip Snowden referred to the creation of new States which were anxious to emulate the older countries in the adoption of a policy of protection as the principal difficulty; and suggested that the discussion might concentrate upon trying to adopt practical measures for giving effect to the resolution of the Economic Conference. Dr. Schullar admitted that after fifty years' experience with the protectionist system the Continental States see that they are on the wrong road and that their tariffs are far from being scientific. Mr. Walter Runciman summed up the free trade position by saying that if Europe instead of developing rival nationalisms can regard herself as being one large economic unit in which all countries are dependent upon each other, the prosperity of Europe will rival that of the U.S. The general trend of the discussion on the Tariff problem was in favour of the abolition of tariff barriers in order to help reconstruction. M. Walter Stucki referred to the fact that the draft of a new Swiss Customs Tariff has been returned to the Government by the Parliamentary Commission with a suggestion that the duties must be lowered in accordance with the ideas promulgated by the Economic Conference of Geneva; this showed the direction in which individual countries ought in his opinion to cure the malady of what he calls "the hypertrophy of protection." He also congratulated France, Germany, Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia on having made large reductions in their tariffs in the spirit of the Geneva Conference. Mr. Layton drew attention to the fact that the Resolutions of the Geneva Conference were not drafted so as to apply to Europe only but to the world; and to show the effect of the International Economic Conference he cited the instance of the Tariff Board in Australia as condemning the excesses of protection and complaining of the serious situation in which Australian industry is placed owing to the rising cost of production. Sir George Paish quoted the opinions of various bankers who believe that nothing can prevent a breakdown in matters of trade and finance and insisted on urgent action being taken to carry out the policy advocated by the Geneva Report.

The subject of 'rationalization of industry' was discussed under the presidency of Sir Arthur Balfour, who said that the most important aspect of it was to produce on such a scale as to improve the standard of living and yet to secure sufficient profit to keep up the plant to its highest pitch. Sir Alfred Mond suggested well conceived combinations which would secure a pooling of finance, knowledge and research, and he hoped that there would be more and more international arrangements for carrying on the great industries of the world, which would secure the cheapest production without sacrificing the national interests of the several countries involved. Mr. Pugh, Secretary, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, among other things described the present industrial bureaucracy as antiquated having its views on labour's place and rewards in industry based upon the economic philosophy of the eighteenth century and asked with what standing and with what status labour should cooperate in the scheme of rationalization. Major Urwiok emphasized that aspect of rationalization inside the individual enterprise which may best be described as scientific management, and he thought that England as a nation should set about securing higher education in industrial administration since, compared to Germany and U. S., she was decidedly backward. Mr. Hodson of the Oxford University Branch of the League of Nations Union struck a jarring note referring to the bad tendencies of the monopolies and trusts recommended and suggested that the League of Nations should set up a

body for keeping a watch over the combines in industry and checking their activities; but we think it was necessary to show the reverse of the shield.

One interesting fact is that at the International Economic Conference agriculture was placed on an equal footing with commerce and industry and the London Conference also devoted a good deal of attention to the subject. There was a general agreement about the world-wide depression of agriculture being caused by the disequilibrium between the prices of agricultural products and those of manufactures. Sir Daniel Hall gave statistics of the growth of production to show that there is no real over-production but a cessation of demand owing to the inferior purchasing power of the industrial population. As one remedy Mr. Alexander suggested the establishment of direct trade relations between the producer and the consumer by means of co-operative marketing. Sir Atul Chatterji, who was in the Chair, said that recommendations of the International Conference reached their present value and authority because the three branches of world economics, viz. agriculture, commerce and industry were studied by it on parallel lines and their interrelations fully recognized. The final session discussed the important question of "Economics and the World Peace". The Lord Mayor of London, recognizing that peace and economic prosperity were reciprocally connected, hoped that an atmosphere of friendship might be created around the nations and bring about growing prosperity of the world. Sir Herbert Samuel pointedly remarked on the unanimity of the conclusions of the International Conference although fifty States with varied interests were represented at it; the spirit of these conclusions is that each country prospers best in a prosperous world. Sir Edward Hilton Young remarked that the efforts made by experts at the International Conference are more useful for the advancement of the cause of peace than the direct labours of a disarmament conference because the force of international trade counteracts the separating force of nationalism. M. Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, said that he welcomed the resolutions of the International Conference because they did not neglect the needs of labour and the interests of social justice, without which industrial prosperity cannot be solid. Prof. Gilbert Murray in conclusion appealed to every one present to get the knowledge of the resolutions of the International Conference spread widely over the world. We hope this excellent publication will popularise the new gospel of peace among the English-speaking people of the world.

V. N. GODBOLE.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND INDIA. By E. H. WARMINGTON. (Cambridge University Press). 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 417. 15s.

THE author has attempted to give a history of the Indo-Roman commerce from the triumph of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius. Mr. Warmington has gone into a detailed study of the trade upon the basis of original classical sources in the Latin, Greek and Russian languages. He has also drawn material from French and German works and has

produced a fascinating history of the Indo-Latin trade. No aspect of this trade has been left untouched. Besides the usual articles of export and import the author has dealt with trade in animals, plants and mineral products.

We highly recommend the book as a rich mine of information and a comprehensive survey of the Euro-Oriental trade during the periods of the glory and decay of the Roman Empire.

BALKRISHNA.

THE LIFE OF THE CELL. By D. L. THOMSON. (Thornton, Butterworth.) 1928. 6½ × 4¼. pp. 252. 2s.

THE book under review has in every way kept up the reputation of the Home University Library. It presents in a clear and concise form practically all the known facts about the life of the cell, which is the smallest unit from which all organisms are built up. There are chapters on the structure of the cell, the chemical nature of the substances involved in the building up of the cell, the chemical and physical changes taking place when the cell carries out its physiological functions and lastly its life-process. Each chapter is treated in such a way that it should be understandable to a layman. The illustrations give a good idea of the things described and the bibliography at the end is intended to serve as guide to the reader's thirst for more knowledge.

D. D. KARVE.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL INDIA. By NAGENDRANATH GANGULEE. (University of Calcutta.) 1928. 9½ × 6¼. pp. 155.

THIS is a collection of lectures on rural matters delivered on different occasions from 1917 to 1926. As pointed out in the introduction by Sir Horace Plunkett, most of the addresses have one object in view, the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the problem of rural India. This Commission has come and gone and its report is before the public. The basis of the prosperity of the rural parts is shown to be connected with Rural Economics, a study of which is strongly urged. The author has not much use for politicians and pins his faith on a "proper adjustment of the socio-economic life" of the people. Some of the lectures relate mainly to Bengal. The book contains many interesting suggestions and data which come in useful for those who are working in this field of Rural Development, although we may not all accept the author's conclusions.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

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