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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	353
ARTICLES :—	
The Fateful Fast.	355
Depressed Classes Representation. By A. V. Thakkar.	357
An International Review. By Madame L. Morin.	359
Criminal Tribes in Bombay. By K. G. Sharangpani.	360
OUR LONDON LETTER.	361
OUR PUNJAB LETTER.	362
REVIEWS :—	
Prices and Modern Currency. By D. R. Gadgil.	363
History of Orissa. By S. C. Sarkar.	363
SHORT NOTICES.	364

Topics of the Week.

Public Reactions to the Mahatma's Decision.

IT is interesting to observe the reactions of public opinion to Mahatma Gandhi's resolve to fast himself to death if the arrangements for the representation of the depressed classes in the legislatures of the land proposed in the communal award of the British Government were not suitably modified. There never was any doubt that in setting his face against the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes, the Mahatma was speaking for quite a considerable section of opinion among them. Since the declaration of his resolve to fight the Government's attempt to provide such special protection for those classes with his life, they have seen the need of not keeping their views to themselves, but of making them as widely known as possible. It need hardly be said that this is a far more effective way of giving their support to Mahatma Gandhi in his fight to get the award modified in so far at least as it concerns the depressed classes than passing no end of resolutions merely expressing the public admiration for and sympathy with him in his self-inflicted suffering. If depressed classes opinion is thus mobilised against separate representation for them and makes its disapproval of the communal decision unmistakably clear to all concerned there is no reason to suppose that the British Government will even then insist upon foisting separate electorate on the depressed classes against their will. It is from this point of view that we welcome the meetings of the depressed classes that are daily taking place in different parts of the country at which their opposition to se-

parate electorates for themselves is unequivocally avowed. We propose to single out for brief mention only one or two such meetings. The one held at Calcutta organised, we read, under the auspices of as many as eleven depressed classes organisations, was attended by ten thousand members of those classes. This meeting disapproved of the communal award because of its failure to give them adequate protection, while it "will effectively bring about statutory separation and consequent disruption of Hindu society and will put a permanent ban and humiliation on these classes." The Megh Sabha of Lahore, also a depressed classes organisation, has after due deliberation, characterised the communal award as "highly suicidal to the best interests of the depressed classes", while a mass meeting of the depressed classes held at Damoh in C. P. has also expressed its emphatic disapproval of the provision of separate electorates for themselves. The more of such meetings and resolutions, the better for the achievement of the object which everybody has at heart, viz., the saving of the Mahatma's life.

Mahatma Gandhi's firm stand has also served to create a landslide of public opinion in favour of the removal of civic disabilities to which these people have been subject for ages. Thus we find that the managing committees of several Hindu temples which are generally centres of unreasoned orthodoxy, to which the Depressed Classes have been consistently refused admission, seem to be now more favourably inclined, on the question of their admission to these temples. Indeed, the doors of such temples in a number of places like Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Poona, Bombay, etc. have already been opened to them, of course, not without opposition from the more orthodox elements of Hindu society. This would have been unthinkable with so little effort on the part of the depressed classes but for the Mahatma's sudden intervention on their behalf. Public opinion is also showing a greater measure of sympathy in regard to the use by the members of the depressed classes of public roads, schools and serais. It is to be hoped that this very desirable change in public opinion will be a permanent feature of the relations of Hindu society with the depressed classes and will before long result in some practical steps calculated to improve their social status and make them look upon themselves as part and parcel of Hindu Society.

* * *

Well done, C. P.

WE are glad that the public dissatisfaction with the communal decision of His Majesty's Government has found some constructive channel for its expression at least in one province viz. the Central Provinces. The decision, it will be remembered, proclaimed the British Government's anxiety not to close the door on an agreed settlement among the communities, whether such a one be forthcoming in regard to the whole of India or in one

or more of the Indian provinces. The leaders of the different communities in C. P., instead of contenting themselves merely with an expression of their condemnation of the award, recently put their heads together with a view to devising a *via media* more in consonance with national feeling than was proposed in the award and it is really a source of satisfaction to us to learn from a manifesto issued recently over the signatures of prominent communal leaders of the province including, be it noted, those of the depressed classes, that their efforts in this direction have been crowned with deserved success and that the leaders of minority and majority communities have agreed on joint electorates with reservation of seats for the former as the basis of the constitution of the future legislature of the province. This arrangement also provides for the number of such seats to be in no case less than that granted to the minorities by the British Government in their award which, as it were, establishes the bona fides of the majority community not to cheat the minorities out of what they have secured from the Government. This move in C. P., taken in conjunction with the provision of joint electorates in the municipal bill recently passed by the Bengal legislature may be safely regarded as an indication of the fact that public opinion in this matter is veering round to common electorates. While it may be admitted that the communal problem in C. P. is not as complicated as in some other provinces, there is no reason why similar attempts should not be made elsewhere. The award does not lay down any procedure for the substitution of such agreements, should they be arrived at, in place of the arrangements for minority representation included therein, nor does it make clear the means that may be adopted by His Majesty's Government in order to ascertain whether a proposed settlement is backed by public opinion. There is apparently every reason to hope that this new arrangement will be duly endorsed by the C. P. legislature. Will the Government regard this as satisfying the requirements of the situation or suggest other means of ascertaining the measure of public support to it. As we have already said, we would like nothing so much as the initiation of non-official movements in the different provinces with a view to promoting common agreement on the communal issue. Such attempts may not succeed in all cases; but there is no reason why the different communities should at least not agree, as in C. P., on demanding that nobody should be compelled to register himself in the communal register if he prefers his inclusion in the general one. This would doubtless be a step, however small, on the road to common electorates.

* * *

Indian Women's University.

THE Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference have, in a special resolution recently passed by them, put on record their deliberate view that the Indian Women's University, with which the name of the well-known social reformer and educationist, Prof. D. K. Karve, will ever remain indissolubly associated as its founder, was fulfilling a definite educational purpose. That is making a by no means extravagant claim on behalf of the University. Indeed a perusal of the latest report of the University shows that the claim is more than justified. It is seen from the report that there are as many as 24 institutions in the different parts of the country working along the lines laid down by the University. More than 2,500 girls were reading last year in the middle and high schools affiliated to the University, and about 125 were receiving higher education in the colleges conducted under its auspices. But to appreciate properly the growing popularity of the University, a study of the number of

students appearing at its degree and entrance examinations, which is found in the report, is necessary. This shows that while the number of those that appeared for and passed the G. A. examination in 1928 was respectively 15 and 10, the corresponding figures for 1932 were 23 and 14. The entrance examination of the University attracted in 1928 only 69 girls, while this year the number had nearly trebled itself, being 201, while the number of passes more than doubled themselves, having risen from 46 in 1928 to 108 in 1932. The progress as represented by these figures might appear to some as being not as encouraging as might be wished; but seeing that the University is trying to explore new ground in insisting on vernacular being the medium of instruction and that its degrees yet do not enjoy the same market value in the absence of a Government charter, as those of other Universities, which are recognised by the Government, there is hardly any reason to feel dissatisfied at the pace at which it is advancing in public estimation. The activities of a new venture like the University are, as a rule, considerably handicapped by want of adequate financial resources. Prof. Karve's case was no exception to this rule; but the munificence of the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, than whom it would be hard to find a more broad-minded or wide-visioned Indian merchant-prince, enabled the University to carry on its useful work unhampered by this handicap. The recent action of his trustees, however, in withholding the monthly payment of interest on the corpus of fifteen lakhs, has placed the institution in difficulties, the nature of which only those who are in any way responsible for the conduct of such institutions can appreciate. Even with the most drastic retrenchment, and economies in expenditure resulting in the reduction of the salaries of the staff from Rs. 125 to Rs. 75, the University budget shows a deficit of Rs. 30,000—a circumstance which is naturally a source of much concern to the organisers. It would indeed be a pity if this valuable educational experiment has to suffer for want of the requisite finances and we have really no hesitation in endorsing the appeal of the Standing Committee of the Women's Conference to the late Sir Vithaldas' trustees to reconsider their decision to stop their financial support to the University. We would also earnestly appeal to the Bombay Government to give a charter of recognition to the University, which, besides giving a much-needed status to the University, will also rescue it from the financial difficulty it is faced with.

* * *

Excise in C. P.

THE excise administration report of the Central Provinces and Berar for 1931 records a further heavy fall in consumption as also in excise revenue, thanks to the anti-drink activities of the Congress and the prevailing economic depression. The consumption of country spirit decreased in a single year by as much as 39 per cent. and was, we are told, the lowest on record. Where, as in some other provinces, the decreased consumption of country liquor is accompanied by a rise in that of foreign drinks, it creates a situation which no friend of temperance can contemplate with equanimity. In C. P., however, not only was there no increase in the sale of imported liquor, but its consumption too showed a welcome decline. It must, however, be admitted that there was an increase of nearly 2,000 gallons in the consumption of beer manufactured in India; but this is attributed to its greater use by troops located at Jubbulpore who seem to prefer it to imported beer. Any way, the rise cannot be regarded as at all disquieting. This all round reduction in consumption resulted in the fall

of the total excise revenue by as much as 33 per cent. and brought it down from a little over a crore of rupees to Rs. 69 lakhs which considerably added to the difficulties of the Government. The report is written, as most of such reports are usually done, with a view to support the official contention that reduced consumption inevitably leads to increased illicit distillation. The statistics given in the report show that the number of such cases went up from 447 in 1919-20 to 2,472 last year, while the number of persons prosecuted for excise crime which was 1,506 in 1919-20 was 4,800 in 1931. That these figures

are such as to give food for anxious thought to all temperance workers cannot of course be doubted; but they cannot be allowed to be used, as in the report, to discredit the goal of total prohibition upon which public opinion has set its heart. The increase in illicit drinking points, in our opinion, not to the abandonment of the goal of prohibition, at which the writer of the report seems to be studiously driving, but to the need of stricter measures for its detection. There is no reason why with greater co-operation from the public and a detective staff really knowing its job this should not be practicable.

THE FATEFUL FAST.

THE Mahatma entered on his fateful fast on the 20th inst. in the Yerawada Jail. When the question of his vow was discussed in the Legislative Assembly last week on an adjournment motion, the spokesman of the Government gave the public to understand that the Mahatma would be given opportunities to mobilise public opinion and for that purpose he would be released from prison. From a statement made in the Assembly on the 20th it appears that the Government had no intention of releasing the Mahatma unconditionally but that they had all along intended to confine him to some place other than the prison and restrict his liberty. The Mahatma demurred to this arrangement; he had not asked for his release; his vow was not a trick to secure it. If his liberty was to be restricted, there was no point in his leaving the prison; he might as well stay there. The Government have ultimately decided to keep him in the prison but leave him free to meet people whom he wished to meet. And the censorship over his correspondence has been removed.

We cannot but profoundly regret the action of the Government, which, to say the least, is mean and petty despicable. They have ignored the unanimous wish of the people of India for his unconditional release well before he commenced his fast in order that he might be able to move about the country and mobilise public opinion. They would release him only after he started his fast. Even if he was then released unconditionally, he would not have been able to career round the country, in view of his weak health and the superimposed fast. There was not the slightest possibility of his abusing his unrestricted liberty. As it is, the purpose of his release is but imperfectly served. He may be free to meet a few leaders, but he will not be able to meet the general public, who make and unmake the leaders. Moreover, whatever one may think of the Mahatma's views, it will be universally admitted that he is the very soul of honour, and he was unlikely to take advantage of his unrestricted freedom to promote the civil disobedience movement, knowing that he was set free solely for another and limited purpose. And if he did travel beyond the limit, the Government could have clapped him in jail again without trial, as they have done before. If the Government's claim that their ordinance policy had been a success, was well-founded there was even less justification for the petty action of the Government. Apparently, it is not

Anyway, the Government have been lamentably niggardly in implementing their promise to afford facilities to the Mahatma to mobilise public opinion.

While it was in the hands of the Government to allow the Mahatma access to the people, the means to save his life rested primarily with the Depressed Classes. If those leaders among them who stood for separate electorates would consent to give up their demand, the Mahatma's vow will be fulfilled and his life saved. It must be remembered that the Mahatma's present objective is the negative one of the cancellation of the separate electorates granted to the Depressed Classes under the Communal Award. He is against the school represented by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. But it is not clear whether he is in favour of the school represented by Mr. M. C. Rajah, which demands reservations on a population basis in common electorates. We have always held that separate electorates were no protection to the Depressed Classes. But we recognise there is an influential school among them which believes in it. It must regretfully be admitted that the Mahatma by his conduct towards that school in London at the second Round Table Conference, as brought out in a very pointed way in Dr. Ambedkar's recent statement, has not made it easy for them to repose implicit confidence in himself or his followers. The Mahatma not only refused to concede reservation of seats in common electorates for the Depressed Classes, but, what is most strange for him, he attempted to enter into a pact with the Muslims to oppose the Depressed Classes; he would yield to the Muslim all they demanded if they would join him in opposing Dr. Ambedkar's demands! Dr. Ambedkar replied by out-manceuvring the Mahatma; he himself entered into a pact with the Muslims and against the Mahatma. In the event both have lost; the Mahatma lost his plea for common electorates and Dr. Ambedkar got very much less than what the Minorities Pact promised him and his colleagues in the Pact have now deserted him. We hope the lesson will not be lost on both. Some kind of compromise between the two seems inevitable. And the solution most canvassed is common electorates with reservations. It remains to be seen if the Depressed Classes' leaders will between themselves agree to this way out and if the Mahatma will agree to it too.

In the meanwhile, at the instance of the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, some of the

most influential leaders of Hindu community met in Bombay on Monday last to consider ways and means of saving the Mahatma's life. The Conference is still in session as we write and its conclusions are not yet known. Its task, however, lay in two directions. The first is to find a political formula to save the Mahatma. For this purpose a knowledge of the mind of the Mahatma is essential, whether he would agree to reservation or if he would object to it also. For it should be noted that the Mahatma's objection is to the perpetuation of the distinction between the Depressed Classes and others of the Hindu community. Separate electorates divide the general mass of the people into two classes. Reservation is not wholly free from this blemish. Though the general body of voters need not be classified as Depressed Class and other in the voters' list, the candidates must declare themselves as belonging to the Depressed Classes or the other. Segregation will be there, though limited to a small class of candidates. It, therefore, remains to be seen if the Mahatma considers the toleration of this limited amount of segregation as compatible with his vow. The Bombay Conference had sent a deputation to confer with the Mahatma, and must now be in possession of his views in the matter. From the statement issued by the deputation, it appears that the Mahatma is not opposed to the reservation of seats. It now remains to be seen if the Bombay Conference will be able to persuade the Ambedkar group to agree to it.

It is not surprising that the Depressed Classes have taken advantage of the occasion to seek the redress of the social wrongs that they are subject to in Hindu society. It is not only natural but right that they should exploit it to the full. Those who stand for separate electorates ask for a *quid pro quo* for giving up their demand. It would be unfair, however, to charge them with exploiting mercilessly a misfortune and stampeding the high caste Hindus into doing things which under normal conditions and as the result of reasonable persuasions they would not do. After all, if separate electorates were demanded as a protection against the higher castes in whom the Depressed Classes have no confidence, and if they were to be abandoned in favour of common electorates, the higher castes must give unimpeachable proofs of a change of heart and of attitude towards the Depressed Classes and engender in the latter a feeling of commonness between them and the higher castes. Not unnaturally the Depressed Classes make their admission to the sacred temples of the Hindus the test. If the orthodox Hindus will freely fraternise with them in their temples, it would make it infinitely easier for the Depressed Classes to abandon their demand for separate electorates. The second task of the Bombay Conference is to bring about this social change. It is gratifying that some temples in Benares, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and other places have been thrown open to the Depressed Classes. We hope the movement will gather momentum and the curse of untouchability will soon be abolished by the voluntary action of the high caste Hindus.

But it is futile to hope that the Depressed Classes

leaders will, as the result of their admission to temples, altogether relinquish their demand for special guarantees of political power to protect themselves. They are likely, nay, certain, to bargain for the highest price they can get. Reservations on population basis is the least they are likely to insist on; some of them may even ask for weightage. Dr. Moonje has, apparently under the stress of emotion engendered by the Mahatma's vow, volunteered that he would agree to cent per cent. of the demand of the Depressed Classes; and the Mahatma himself has said in his correspondence with Whitehall that he was not opposed to over-representation of the Depressed Classes. The leaders of the Depressed Classes are not likely to ignore these commitments, the one of the leader of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the other of the leader of the Congress. With the Mahatma's life perilously hanging in the balance, the Hindu Conference will have no option but to accede to all the demands of the Depressed Classes. The alternative is that Mr. Rajah himself may be driven into the arms of Dr. Ambedkar, and the Mahatma faced with certain death.

But the grant of reservation of seats even on a population basis for the Depressed Classes has administrative and political defects of a serious character. In the first place, it has not been easy to define the Depressed Classes for the purpose of franchise qualifications. The latest definition was attempted by the Indian Franchise Committee, but it is at variance with the definitions of other and previous committees. In the second place, there is great difference of opinion regarding the number of the Depressed Classes. The Simon Commission estimated it at 43.6 million, while the Provincial Governments in 1932 put it at 37.45 million, the Provincial Franchise Committees at 18.62, while the Lothian Committee declined to name a figure. It will be extraordinarily difficult for the Bombay Conference to agree on a figure for the whole of India and the figures for each of the provinces. Granting that the maximum figures are accepted, the grant of reservation on a population basis will not make for efficient legislatures. On account of the weightages given to various minorities under the Communal Award, the seats in the different legislatures assigned to the general electorate are already less than its strength warrants. If out of this diminished quota, the Depressed Classes are to get a share proportional to their numbers, estimated at the maximum, the higher caste Hindus will have representation far, far inferior to their numbers, and what is really important, to their capacity and equipment for public work. It is no disparagement to the Depressed Classes that at the present time they cannot produce a proportional number of candidates from among themselves competent enough, or as competent as, those from the more educated higher castes. The net result will be that the legislatures will be filled with a weighted body of extremely narrow-minded and fanatic representatives of the Muslims and other minorities elected on separate electorates and a large number of, for no fault of theirs, not highly competent representatives from the Depressed Classes and a disproportionately small number of the better educated and better equipped higher caste Hindus. Just at the time when it is proposed to transfer power from London to Delhi, it would not be in the best interests of India that its legislatures should be filled with men and women not the best equipped and the most national in outlook. The demand, therefore, for reservation on population basis even without weightage must be deprecated. Universal adult franchise for all communities without reservations seems the only really satisfactory solution, notwithstanding its administrative difficulties.

DEPRESSED CLASSES REPRESENTATION.

If once the representation of the Depressed Classes in the joint electorate with Hindus—or the so-called general electorate—on full population basis be agreed upon, the number of seats that should, in all fairness, be reserved to them can easily be ascertained. The Lothian Committee were not asked by the Premier to recommend the distribution of seats between the various communities and interests, but were instructed *inter alia* to "obtain information on a number of matters connected with the representation of Depressed Classes." This the Committee faithfully did and after ascertaining the figures of population of Depressed Classes, shown in a succinct form in the table on p. 119 of their report, recommended the numbers they thought fair for each of the eight provinces under enquiry. To the findings of this Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, as a representative of the Depressed Classes, was a party.

The Committee had at their disposal the figures of the D. C. population and the population of all Hindus, as enumerated by the most recent census of 1931. In the first five provinces in the table appended, as also in Bihar and Orissa (No. VIII), there is hardly any difference in figures of the D. C. population as worked out by (1) The Provincial Government concerned, (2) the Provincial Franchise Committee concerned, and (3) the Minority of three members (Messrs. Tambe, Chintamani and Bakhale) who have written a minute of dissent on this and on some other matters in the Lothian Report. The three different authorities mentioned above give 13.65, 13.65 and 13.35 millions as the total D. C. population in the five provinces, which shows almost complete unanimity. With regard to Bihar & Orissa, though the respective figures are 5.80, 4.30 and 0.40, showing a wide difference, the Lothian Report has, in the opinion of the writer, very fairly and correctly accepted the total of 4.30 millions as the estimate of the number of Depressed Classes in that province who fall under the definition which they have accepted. Thus for six provinces out of eight there is not any difference of opinion. To these estimates of the D. C. population Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has been a party.

Now that the Prime Minister has under the Communal Award fixed the strength of the various Provincial Councils, and the number of seats assigned to the Hindus (including "others") therein, it becomes very easy to calculate, by mere rule of three, the number of seats that should, in all fairness, be conceded by caste Hindus to their suppressed brethren. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, during the negotiations that are going on between him and the Hindu leaders assembled in Bombay, has handed in a scheme which the leaders have taken to Mahatma Gandhi for his approval. Therein he mentions the number of seats that the D. C. shall have in the eight provinces concerned. These figures do not, I must say, tally with the figures claimable by the D. C. even on the full population basis, as accepted by the Lothian Committee, as can be seen from the table given below—

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SEATS

Province	Total strength of Council	Total general seats (Hindus)	Seats claimed by Dr. Ambedkar	Seats claimable on full population basis.	Seats by separate electorate under Communal Award
1. Madras	215	153	30	26	18
2. Bombay	200	108	16	11	10
3. C. P.	112	88	20	17	10
4. Assam	108	57	11	7	4
5. Punjab	175	43	10	7	0
6. B. & O.	175	114	20	15	7
Total...	985	563	107	83	49

It should be noted that in the Punjab the Hindus are a minority, and that they have not only not gained a weightage there under the Prime Minister's Award, as the Muslims did in all provinces where they are in a minority, and as the Sikhs did in the Punjab, but got less than their due, even according to their population basis. And yet they will in all probability now be asked to set apart seven seats from their already reduced share.

Thus, as against 83 seats claimable in all fairness by Dr. Ambedkar according to the figures accepted by the Lothian Committee and to which the Doctor was a party, he now claims 107 seats, or an over-representation of 23% in the six provinces, where there should be no room for difference at all.

With regard to the D. C. population figures in Bengal and the U. P. there is wide and serious difference. Even the Census Commissioner, the Provincial Government, and the Lothian Committee had not enough information at their disposal when the Lothian Report came to be written. It is for that reason that the Prime Minister in para 9 (3) of his Award says, "Modifications" (from the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee's Report), may, however, be found necessary in some provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to special conditions of a province." The provinces of Northern India here referred to by him cannot be other than one or all of the three provinces of Bengal, U. P., and the Punjab. As can be seen from the appended table, there is not serious difference in the figure of population of the Punjab, but in Bengal and the U. P. there are not only serious, but basic, differences about the statistics of the D. C. In fact, the whole matter is in a fluid condition. In view of that, it is strange and incomprehensible to the writer, that Dr. Ambedkar should propose for adoption such abnormally large proportions of Hindu seats for the D. C. as 62½% and 28% for Bengal and the U. P. respectively. The leaders of the Depressed Classes in Bengal and the U. P. will not themselves claim such exaggerated proportions. If untouchability were the sole criterion, the Depressed Class population in the U. P. will be so greatly reduced in number that, in the opinion of the U. P. Government, they will be entitled to no more than two seats. (Vide

page 116 of the Lothian report). The comparative table for the two provinces is given below.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SEATS

Province	Total Strength of Council.	Total General seats (or Hindu)	Seats claimed by Dr. Ambedkar.	Seats claimable on fair population basis.	Seats by separate electorate under Communal Award
Bengal	250	80	50	27	19
U. P.	228	144	40	13	12
	478	224	90	40	22

I arrive at the figure of 27 for Bengal and call it fair, as I base it on the population figure accepted by the Lothian Report (page 117), and of 13 for the U. P. as a mean between the two extreme estimates of 24, based on the figure considered reasonable by the U. P. Government on one side, and of 2, based on the figure put forth by the U.P. Franchise Committee and the Lothian Minority on the other hand. The figure works to 24 seats even according to the estimates of the U. P. Government who are inclined

to favour the grant of two seats, if only really untouchable classes are taken into account. But Dr. Ambedkar demands as many 40, against 24 on the one hand and 2 on the other. Any unprejudiced man will say that the figure of 40 is unacceptable *prima facie*, and that the correct estimate may lie somewhere between 24 and 2, and in no case will exceed 24. This is a matter for further investigation, if only "untouchable" classes have to be taken into account and not "those classes for which there can be no doubt that special consideration is required" as per the note of Mr. Blunt of the U. P. Government, referred to on p. 115 of the Lothian report. Here the *special consideration* is intended to be shown evidently not on the ground of "untouchability," but on other "special" considerations having no connection with untouchability practised by orthodox Hindus.

I earnestly appeal to Dr. Ambedkar to be fair to the Caste Hindus and do the right thing by the Country as a whole, notwithstanding the grievous wrongs that the caste Hindus have inflicted on his community for centuries.

A. V. THAKKAR.

Comparative Statement of Total Hindu and Depressed Hindu Population, with seats claimed by them, in eight Provinces in India as per different estimates on equal population basis.

Serial Number.	Province.	Total population of Hindus and "others" as per Lothian Report. Part I P. 46 to 73.	Depressed Classes Hindu Population.					Strength of Provincial Councils.	Number of Non-General Seats.	No. of Gen. Seats for Hindus (including D. C.) & "others" and aboriginals.	Seats for D. C. on population basis as based on						
			As per Simon Commission 1929.	As per Census of India, 1931.	As per Provincial Govts. 1932.	As per Prov. Franchise Committees 1932.	As per Lothian Committee Minority Minute, 1932.				Provincial Government Estimates.	Prov. Franchise Committee Estimates.	Lothian Committee Minority Estimates.	No. of seats calculated by R. B. Rajah on population basis.	Seats as per Minorities Pact as calculated by R. B. Rajah.	Seats under separate electorates given by Prime Minister's award of Aug. 1932.	No. of seats on population basis due to the D. C.
		(IN MILLIONS.)															
I	Madras	41.66	6.5	7.0	7.1	7.1	7.1	215	62	153	26	26	26	32	43	18	26
II	Bombay including Sind...	17.15	1.5	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	200	92	108	11	11	11	16	28	10	11
III	Central Provinces	14.77	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	112	24	88	17	17	17	26	22	10	17
IV	Assam	5.62	1.0	1.9	0.65	0.65	0.65	108	51	57	7	7	7	14	14	4	7
V	Punjab	6.77	2.8	1.3	1.3	1.3A	1.00	175	132	43	8	8	6	23	17	0	7
	Total of 5 Provinces	85.97	15.1	14.9	13.65	13.65	13.35	810	361	449	69	69	67	111	124	42	68
VI	Bengal	22.44	11.5	Not available	11.2 B	0.07 E	0.07	250	170	80	40	0	0	61	44 (38?)	10	27 F
VII	United Provinces	41.02	12.1	11.2	6.8 C	0.60	0.60	228	84	144	24	2	2	57	45	12	13 G
VIII	Bihar and Orissa	33.07	5.0	3.7	5.8 D	4.30	0.40	175	61	114	20	15	1.3	24	24	7	15 H
	Total of 6, 7 and 8	96.53	28.5	14.9 + Beng	23.84	4.97	1.07	653	315	338	84	17	3	142	113	29	55
	Total of 8 Provinces	182.50	43.6	29.8 + Bengal's	37.45	18.62	14.42	1463	676	787	153	86	70	253	237	71	123

A Figure furnished by the Minority of two members only. The Majority have given no estimate.

B Under revision. 1931 Basis. Includes Rajabansis 1 1/4 and Hill Tribes. The whole matter is under investigation. Lothian Report, p. 117, gives the figure at 7 1/2 millions.

C Including castes for which special representation is proposed.

D Approximate.

E .07 by some, and 11.2 by others.

F Taking the figure of 7 1/2 millions as correct.

G This is a mean between the figure of 24 of the Provincial Government and 2 of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

H As per Lothian Committee Report see p. 113.

AN INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

GERMANY'S internal difficulties appear to be very much the same. But there is a marked tendency to authoritative reaction on the part of the Government. A new interview with Hitler has given no more positive results than on previous occasions. Hitler will not hear of coming into the Cabinet if he is not going to be the chief and dictate his terms. Consequently the present Cabinet can hardly face the Reichstag without being assured of a defeat. They have, therefore, arranged with President Hindenburg's approval to govern without Parliament. The Reichstag had elected a delegation for the purpose of carrying out negotiations with Hindenburg, but the latter has not yet consented to receive it. Germany's foreign policy has been marked by a large diplomatic offensive, whose developments and various reactions abroad are yet in a process of evolution.

IN ITALY the Finance Minister has decided on some financial reforms which very much resemble those that the French and English Governments are carrying out themselves.

PARAGUAY and BOLIVIA have not yet come to an agreement, in spite of the intervention of the President of the League of Nations and that of the Neutral Commission sitting in Washington. The latter having asked the two countries to sign a 60 days' truce from the first of September, the Bolivian Cabinet has resigned!

IN FRANCE the budgetary problem is the most important. The answer to the German Note is occupying the Government these days. It was decided that the answer would not be given before the other countries had been consulted. It is said to be ready at present, and since the full text of the German Note has now been made public, the text of the answer is expected to be fully published also very soon.

CHINA and JAPAN are astir again in Manchuria. Japan has decided to recognise the new Manchukuo State and to sign a treaty with its Government. Some of the clauses, in particular that on "Extra-territoriality", are expected to create difficulty with the United States. There are many remarks in the press on the implications of the Stimson declarations with regard to the Manchurian question, and journalists engage in prophecies as to the possible consequences of the rivalry between the United States and Japan, and the various "bloos" of Alliances that it might eventually engender. Alliance between America and China? Alliance between China and Russia? And according to the turn of events, one way or the other, in Germany, what will be the attitude of that country towards Russia? All these remarks are mere speculations, but they show in a very striking manner how international the preoccupations of politicians have become, and also that, more and more, Asia is playing a decisive part in the world and in its political and economic balance.

THE OPENING OF THE STRESA CONFERENCE.

The Conference which has just opened in Stresa is expected to tackle one of the most serious causes of the present economic crisis: the economic paralysis of the countries of Central and Oriental Europe. It is presided by Mr. Georges Bonnet, the President of the Committee for Central and Oriental Europe. He has invited there the 15 countries mentioned in the fourth Appendix of the final Act of the Lausanne Conference. This means, in fact, that all Europe (except the extreme North and Spain) will be represented in those debates. This conference has a very particular significance owing to the fact that

it is taking place before the World Economic Conference and that its results are bound to have considerable influence upon it. The problems examined will be of an economic and financial character. The results will be submitted at the end of this month to the Commission of Studies for European Union.

The countries concerned are suffering from an enormous reduction of their commercial transactions and also from an almost complete absence of credits. From 1929 to 1931, the materials produced and exported by the Danubian countries (cereals, wood, hide, petrol, etc.) have decreased according to the proportion of 3:1 and sometimes of 4:1. After the bankruptcy of the Credit Anstalt (May 1931), the foreign credits, which were almost the sole credits of these countries, have been either called back or entirely lost. The fall of the pound has only precipitated the retreat and new credit has not replaced the old.

Another cause of evil is the complexity of the rivalries which have sprung among the countries themselves, some of them being chiefly agricultural, others chiefly industrial powers, and each one, of course, having its own particular interests. One of the main tasks of the Conference will be to convince these countries that they have everything to lose in trying to maintain a hostile independence and everything to gain by a friendly collaboration. A youthful nationalism has become aggressive behind each new frontier and has made political barriers higher by adding economic tariffs to them. But the result is that the economic life of each country is dying, and the Danube, which ought to be the great vital link among those countries, has been forsaken by commercial ships. The crisis has found an easy prey in this part of the world where technical and social evolution had not gone very far as yet. Even the loans begged for and obtained from the great European powers under the constant menace of immediate catastrophe have hardly brought temporary relief, and certainly not an efficient cure. Giving all the figures would be tiresome; but we may mention, for instance, that the total trade of the five countries among themselves has fallen from 969 860,000 dollars in 1928 to 536,060,000 dollars in 1931. The trade of these countries with the rest of the world was 1,982,960,000 dollars in 1928, and has fallen to 1,347,950,000 dollars in 1931.*

AUSTRIA is now a small country, with a population of only 6,500,000 inhabitants, more than half of which is concentrated in Vienna. Her agriculture is insufficient to satisfy the needs of the country itself and her industries cannot live on exportation because of the high tariff barriers of the other Danubian States. The former confidence enjoyed by Vienna as the great financial centre of Europe has been ruined on the one hand by the collapse of the Credit Anstalt, and on the other by the prodigalities of a socialist Government tinged with communist tendencies. A great many sterile political rivalries have not smoothed matters and it is no wonder that Austria should sometimes have envisaged an Anschluss to Germany as a solution of despair. But this Anschluss, which would undoubtedly benefit Germany, would not bring any more customers to Austria, and the best remedy for her seems to be collaboration with the other Danubian countries which might help to revive her industries in a considerable measure, if tariff walls were done away with.

*The figures are those of the League of Nations Economic Committee. It is fair to remember that owing to the fall in prices, the effective decrease in quantity is less than the fall of figures seem to indicate.

HUNGARY, which is practically governed by a kind of feudal dictatorship, possesses immense agricultural resources and can nourish a very vast population (the actual population is 8 millions); but she also has borrowed considerable sums which have gone to make up for the permanent deficit of her budget, the expenses of secret armaments, or the creation of industries (sugar factories, textiles, glass) which were not needed by the country and create unnecessary rivalry to the already existing European industries.

YUGOSLAVIA, which has seen her territory considerably enlarged since the war, is another agricultural country. Her sub-soil is rich in iron, copper, lead, chrome, antimony, but those resources have hardly been exploited as yet. Is it to be regretted? The population (12 millions) is sturdy and active, but capital is everywhere lacking. There again, as in most of these Danubian countries, national industries have been artificially created, not to satisfy economic needs, but nationalistic vanity and desire of rivalry with neighbours! "The needs have increased, but poverty has remained," said one of the enquirers.

RUMANIA is the nation which has gained the most through the war, from the geographical point of view. Her population (17½ millions) is 83% rural. The soil is fertile but the peasants are backward and might utilise it far more efficiently. The annual production of petrol is 6,652,248 tons. Financially, Rumania has escaped some of the misfortunes of her neighbours, thanks to the cleverness of her technical advisers, but her budget is poor and the administration of public finances is not always carried out in a very commendable manner.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA comprises the richest and the most populated territories of the former Austrian Empire; 14,720,000 inhabitants, whose chief occupation is industrial. Among the Danubian countries, it is certainly the most balanced economically and the soundest financially. There is also a moral factor in the situation. Czechoslovakia has had far-sighted statesmen who have shaped her destinies, created faith and enthusiasm in action among the people, and inspired confidence and respect to the whole of Europe in the space of a few years. But, Czechoslovakia, also, has seen her customers becoming rarer and rarer.

How could it be otherwise, when Austria and Rumania cannot pay, Germany cannot pay any more, Hungaria is at war with Prague, economically speaking, and Yugoslavia sells more to Czechoslovakia than she buys from her?

Again, we are faced with an insufficient market due on the one hand to excessive customs duties raised against two good customers, Austria and Hungary especially, and also to the reckless creation of secondary industries (automobiles, tyres, perfumes, silk weaving) the products of which cannot all be absorbed by the home market and consequently hamper the exportation of normal products. The success of the Conference will depend in no small measure on the spirit that the various countries will bring to the negotiations. Common prosperity will be reached only by common good-will and not by petty bargaining.

Money must be made sound, and for that, collaboration of the banks of these various States is perhaps the first helpful step to be taken. Sound finances will not be indefinitely ensured by foreign loans which are definitely lost in eternal budgetary deficits. The creditor countries are beginning to consider the sacrifice as inadvisable, and moreover, their own difficulties do not even make it possible any more. Credits can only be secured if a vast

scheme of economic restoration can be jointly organised and if that rests on reliable guarantees, if the utilisation of the said credits can be controlled and utilised, at least for the larger part in public works which will mean orders for the creditor countries and thereby help to hasten the end of the present crisis.

But will the Stresa Conference find time to conclude an agreement on financial questions which would involve a good deal of preliminary discussion? Economical questions must be solved first, and from that point of view, it seems evident that nothing can be done until a reconciliation is reached between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and a commercial treaty is signed between the two countries, after which the tariff war between the five countries must be definitely given up and an organised system of exchanges put in its place, with a uniform preferential tariff if necessary, the figure would be expressed in gold money and exchanges would be adjusted to the needs of internal consumption of each country. Thus would be revived one of the most interesting articles in the St. Germain Treaty, which the interested parties seem to have disregarded up to now.

The influence of the larger countries in these deliberations can be helpful, but a great deal of tact and discretion has to be exercised. The interested parties must not be dictated an agreement; they must reach it on their own accord and at their own convenience. But they must be led to understand that agreement alone will inspire confidence, and confidence only can bring them the credits they need and without which they cannot revive. Both France and England have already invested considerable sums in Central and Oriental Europe. They cannot expect to be paid otherwise than in goods, but with the actual fall in prices, the amount of goods necessary would be relatively very important. That is why a system of preferential tariffs could be envisaged, the exact mode of which would have to be found by mutual agreement.

But it is a question of life and death for these countries that a solution should be found very soon, and since all the European countries are interested in a more or less direct manner in their revival, one can hope that this will give them the energy to act without delay and to preserve a broad and generous outlook on all questions.

L. MORIN.

CRIMINAL TRIBES IN BOMBAY.

THE latest administration report on the working of the Criminal Tribes Settlements in the Bombay

Presidency shows that there are in the Presidency about 25 of such tribes and the notorious amongst them are the Mang-garudis, Bhamtas, Kaikadis, Haranshikaris, Ghantichors, Berads in the Deccan and the Southern Maratha country and Dharalas, Bhils, Waddars and Lamanias, Kanjir Bhats in the Gujarat and the Hurs in Sind. Because of their being a source of trouble and danger to society on account of their criminal activities their movements are attempted to be restricted in more ways than one under the Criminal Tribes Act.

During the year under Report the population of the various Settlements was 7,786 as against 8,842 a year before. The fall is mainly due to the release on license of 935 persons who are now staying in the Free Colonies attached to the various Settlements and of 301 persons who have been permitted to return to their villages. It is gratifying to note that out of the number released from the Settlements on license only 42 persons were required to be recalled and interned again in the Settlements for having broken the conditions on which they were released. The rest are lead

ing the lives of ordinary peace-loving members of society and showing signs of being cured of their criminal habits, for which achievement the Department deserves to be congratulated.

The population in the Free Colonies—open pieces of land near the Settlements where the persons released on license are given plots to build houses upon and where matters relating to the education of their children, their health, hygiene, sanitation and such other things conducive to their welfare are looked after and supervised by Settlement authorities—increased from 4,982 to 5,752 persons including their dependents. One is glad to find that the habit of building good houses in these Free Colonies is spreading. It is hoped that when the time will come for the Settlements to be closed down the Free Colonies will be absorbed in the local municipal areas, their inmates being treated as ordinary members of the public. There can be no more convincing proof of the measure of success attained in the reclamation of these tribes than the steady rise in the population of Free Colonies and the increase in the number of decent houses built by the colonists themselves. Because of the economic crisis and trade depression, the managers of most of the Settlements found it difficult to secure employment for the settlers, a large majority of whom are being employed in spinning and weaving mills, railway workshops and factories. The Settlement Co-operative Society at Khanapur in the Southern Maratha country provided work for its inmates by taking contracts from the Forest Department and made a profit of Rs. 2,848.

With regard to the health, housing and sanitation of various Settlements it is gratifying to note that a high standard has been maintained. In some of the Districts where Settlements are located and where cholera prevailed, preventive methods were successfully adopted with the help of local medical practitioners. In some of the big Settlements dispensaries and child welfare centres are being conducted and there is an increasing tendency on the part of the settlers to take advantage of the same. Education is compulsory for all boys and girls between 6 and 13 in the Settlements and Free Colonies and as many as 1,709 boys and 1,347 girls were attending schools. The night schools are taken advantage of by 450 elderly boys. Encouragement is given to lads to take to secondary and college education and a number of boys are being sent to high schools, one having qualified himself for admission to the Intermediate Arts Class.

Prominence is given to manual training and instruction in carpentry, tailoring, weaving, and shoemaking is imparted in many of the Settlement Workshops. The scout movement has had a very beneficial influence on the new generation and has made the boys more truthful, active and honest. Out of the 13 Settlements three are under the management of Christian Missionaries, one under the Social Service League of Bombay and the rest directly under the Government.

K. G. SHARANGPANI.

Our London Letter.

(From Our Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

LONDON, 8th, September.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

I now have in my hands the report of the conference of the British Commonwealth League held in London, at Friends House, on June 7, 8 and 9 last, the subjects for discussion being "Marriage

from the Imperial Standpoint," "The Civil Rights of Married Women" and "Inter-Racial Union". The League is established to "secure equality of liberty, status and opportunity between men and women in the British Commonwealth of Nations". The Conference passed a number of important resolutions dealing with various aspects of its work, and in particular, passed two resolutions closely affecting India. One was on the subject of women's suffrage in India, the Conference supporting the organised women of India in their demand for adult suffrage and equal political rights for women, and called upon the Government of India to express these views in the new constitution of India. Communalism for women appears to be the answer. The other resolution ran as follows: "The Conference of the British Commonwealth League urges the Executive Committee of the League to take steps to support the appeal of Rabindranath Tagore." The Conference rendered a most useful service in enabling problems of racial intermixture to be frankly and freely discussed, and one of the most valuable contributions to the discussion was that of Miss R. M. Fleming, whose address ought to be most carefully read and considered as it is based upon a scientific study of the problem divorced from prejudice and preconception. Another interesting contribution was that of Dr. Harold Moody, President of the League of Coloured People, on "Inter-Racial Marriage". Yet another interesting paper was that on "The Legal Aspect of Indo-British Unions" by Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak. In fact, the whole of those proceedings ought to be very carefully studied. The League has shown great courage in offering its platform for the discussion of matters that are usually either taboo or treated from the standpoint primarily of bitter racial prejudice or else mere emotionalism.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS—THE NEXT STEP.

The text of the Viceroy's address to the Simla session of the Assembly has just reached here as I write on the eve of a short holiday. I gather from the telegrams so far received that whilst on the one hand the present policy of repression of Congress is to be continued, which is equivalent to saying that the Congress will take no further part in the reform proceedings, the Cabinet has gone back upon the new policy indicated by Sir Samuel Hoare last June to the Round Table Conference method, which is, in the circumstances, likely to result in the restoration of relations between them and the Moderates, and that we may expect presently to have a modified Round Table Conference held again in London in the autumn. I ventured to prophesy at the outset that, if the Moderates stood firm upon their demand for this, the Government would have to give way if it still desired their collaboration on terms of self-respect and national dignity, and I am glad to see that apparently my prophesy has been fulfilled in so short a time. Of course, as I have pointed out more than once, the Government have taken up the position that there has been no change of policy throughout on their part but merely one of procedure and that their proposals were misunderstood in India. I suppose that it is wise never to expect Governments to admit that the error was committed on their part, and as there is usually a sort of conspiracy not to let down the Government of the day, except upon some great party issue, the general press chorus praises the Government for its wisdom in showing indisputably to the Moderate leaders that they have throughout had only the welfare of India at heart. The *Times*, of course, is adept at this sort of thing, and its leading article on Tuesday was a masterpiece of its kind. On the other hand, no sort of regret appears, except in the *Daily Herald*, that Congress is unlikely to have

the opportunity of participating in the task of constitution-making, and when all is done and the best possible Bill has passed through Parliament, one will still have to ask: what then?

INDIA SOCIETY ACTIVITIES.

The India Society continues to be busy in the good work of cultivating European taste for an understanding of Indian Art, both past and present. I believe that it is at present engaged in the promotion of two important efforts. One of these in regard to which they are negotiating with the Royal Academy is the holding of an Exhibition of Indian Art and Craft of the past on similar lines to that of the recent Persian Exhibition, at Burlington House, Piccadilly. I understand that the earliest date for such an Exhibition would be the early part of 1935, but, of course, it would require all that time to make the necessary preparations and secure the appropriate loans from owners and Governments who would be willing to contribute to the success of the Exhibition.

Of more immediate importance, however, is the holding of an Exhibition of modern Indian Art in London, in the season of 1934, and provisional arrangements are already being made for the organisation on an adequate scale of such an Exhibition. The Exhibition Hall has not yet been decided upon, but it will certainly be a place to which most of the public have easy access to, and endeavours to secure the necessary *reclame* needed for the success of an Exhibition on this scale.

The range of the Exhibition would be painting, sculpture and architecture from all parts of India produced during the twentieth century, and with a view to securing the best available specimens from all the various art centres in India, it is intended to cooperate with regional committees in those centres, and to appeal for loans to Government, the Princes and private collectors. I am informed that consideration is already being given to the possibility of arranging for the Exhibition to be repeated on the Continent, at a later date, if suitable arrangements can be made with kindred societies. It is expected that the regional committees in India will perform the task of adequate selection of representative artists, and that the committees will also arrange for the submission of short histories of the aims and developments of the regional art movements, and particulars of the work of the important artists.

Our Punjab Letter.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LAHORE, 16th September.

THE leaders of the minority communities in the Punjab have not yet been able to decide upon any practicable course of action for opposing the Communal Award which they believe to be ruinous to their very existence. They are still holding private conferences and trying to chalk out a programme which may be acceptable to the general body of their followers and which may be effective. The thinking section of the Sikhs and the Hindus feel that unless they take united action in their struggle against the enforcement of the Award and unless their leaders are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices they cannot hope to succeed in their efforts to persuade the leaders of the Muslims to agree to terms which may be conducive to the development of Indian nationality. It is hoped that the Muslims will soon realise that with a bare majority of their communally-elected representatives in the Legislature they will not be able to carry on the administration smoothly

in the Punjab so long as the Legislative Council is composed almost entirely of mutually antagonistic groups of extreme communalists elected through the vicious system of communal electorates. In their own interests as well as for the common good and happiness of the province as a whole, they should concede the demand for the introduction of joint electorates with reservation of seats and arrive at a reasonable compromise with their non-Muslim countrymen.

It is unfortunate that the leaders of the Sikhs and the Hindus have been wasting their energy by opposing the grant of even a bare majority of seats in the Legislature to their Muslim countrymen, instead of fighting for the abolition of the evil of communal electorates. The course for them to follow even now is to fight for the introduction of joint electorates and to carry on a ceaseless agitation against the anti-national system of election. They should remember that even if our Muslim countrymen get, under the suggested system of joint electorates with reserved seats, a few more seats than what they have got under the Communal Award, it will not make any material difference so far as the protection of any particular interests of the minority communities is concerned, provided that a definite provision is made for the total abolition of reservation of seats after a fixed period. Parties in the legislature on purely economic, political and other non-communal bases can be formed only if the electorates are joint or non-communal. Besides, the special religious, cultural or linguistic interests and rights of the minorities can be protected by various other provisions which may be incorporated in the constitution. The great danger which must be guarded against in this province which is notorious for its communal fights and extremely communal outlook of the elected members of its legislature is that it will be almost impossible for members elected through communal electorates to form real political parties of a non-communal character and to be above communalism on which their election and re-election as well as their leadership really depends. Such members who will naturally be communalists of an extreme type, will only be capable of forming communal groups in the Legislature. The position of the representatives of the minorities who will also be elected through their own respective communal electorates and their ministers will be impossible under such circumstances. It must result in frequent deadlocks which will lead to dangerous communal tension and strife. The communal press, which is the most dangerous instrument in the hands of communal leaders, thrives under such a system. Communal disorders will be more frequent and well cause frequent interference of the Governor in the day to day administration of the province.

It is difficult for a person who has not actually resided or been in close touch with the situation in the Punjab for a sufficiently long period since 1921, to realise the extreme lengths to which communalism has spread and the extent of the prevailing bitterness among the three major communities in this province. The deliberate assertion by certain responsible leaders of the minority communities that they would rather forego the grant of the so-called Provincial Autonomy for the Punjab if it is vitiated by the poison of communal electorates and would rather remain without the Reforms than submit to this anti-national system, is an indication of the extent to which the virus of communalism has gone. In this unfortunate province one finds oneself face to face with rabid communalism almost at every step.

Several organisations for the uplift of the depressed classes in the Punjab have condemned the Communal Award, specially those provisions of it which are calculated to create a

permanent split between them and the Hindus. It may be pointed out that no representation has been granted under the Award to the depressed classes in the Punjab, which is a very serious grievance of these classes, although the caste Hindus have been silent on this point for reasons which may be easily surmised.

Reviews.

PRICES AND MODERN CURRENCY.

THE FALL OF PRICES. By JOHN A. TODD. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 22 cm. 68 p.
MODERN CURRENCY AND THE REGULATION OF ITS VALUE. By EDWIN CANNAN. (King.) 1931. 19 cm. 112 p. 5/-.

BOTH of these books represent brief attempts by veteran English economists to explain the phenomenal fall in prices since 1929 and to suggest remedies for the resulting crisis. Both were written before England was pushed off the gold standard. Prof. Todd's work gives a brief account of the facts and the probable causes and possible cures for the fall of prices. The facts are well set out in a short space and fully supported by detailed statistical appendices at the end. In these earlier chapters Prof. Todd is chiefly concerned with combating the theory that the crisis is due to a scarcity of gold or money. By analysing the data for the movement of gold supplies, of Bank money and the index number of wholesale and retail prices he has no difficulty in showing that no case can be made out for attributing the present crisis entirely to a scarcity of money. It is highly doubtful how far these statistical series can be used for definitely proving the chain of causation and most economists will be found to disagree with the author's contention that the Bank of England's policy in 1925 had little to do with the subsequent depressed condition of trade and industry in England. Even so the case against the theory of the scarcity of money may be taken as well made out. In Chapter IV Prof. Todd puts forward an alternative explanation. This is that there have been increased supplies, notably of some kinds of raw materials and at the same time a considerable reduction in consumption of these especially in U. S. A. In his opinion, the proper immediate cure for the present situation is "the reduction of retail prices so as to promote increased consumption." Though this is advocated as the immediate cure other important measures are suggested as necessary in the long run and these are economies in the use of gold, a regulation of the international movements of gold and a more extended use of the Bank of International Settlements. It is somewhat surprising to find a writer so insistent on the non-monetary causes in the earlier chapters giving such prominence to monetary remedies in the chapter on possible cures. Prof. Todd's book with its appendices will no doubt prove useful in an understanding of the present crisis but it suffers from having been written chiefly to combat one theory and to set up another. Its brevity prevents the picture of a highly complex problem from being presented in full and the controversial approach has necessarily led to a certain disproportion in emphasis.

Prof. Cannan's book though also small in extent covers a wider field. The wrapper states that it has had two aims in view, of which the first is to explain the modern currency systems to readers who are unfamiliar with the working of a gold currency standard. In trying to fulfil this aim Prof. Cannan adopts much the same approach to his subject as

adopted in his book "Money." Two brief chapters on the currency of a modern country and currency standards state the essentials most clearly for any intelligent reader. New ground is broken in the third chapter on the "value of gold standard currencies." As Prof. Cannan points out in the preface, in his earlier work he had found it necessary owing to the prevailing circumstances to emphasise the need of preventing undue inflation; in this book, however, he finds it necessary on the other hand to emphasise the dangers of undue limitation of currency. In view of Prof. Todd's opinions it is interesting to note that Prof. Cannan believes that the slump of 1929-30 was largely due to the action of currency authorities. He makes clear in his usually pungent style what are the real purposes for which a reserve of gold should be held and the futility of having reserves which are never used. While the first three chapters are mainly expository the fourth is controversial and is devoted to an attack on all notions about currency whether held by laymen, bankers, or economists which Dr. Cannan thinks offer obstacles to improvement. Especially interesting in this chapter are the sections on the Bank Rate theory of prices and the Bank Deposit theory of prices. They contain much acute criticism of a deal of thinking in modern monetary theory but are too brief to be entirely satisfactory. For example, Prof. Cannan while criticising other theorists gives no detailed explanation of his own views, relating to the relation between the long term and the short term rates of interest. Similarly the section on the Bank Deposits theory is more successful in showing the great difficulty of statistically determining the amount of deposits that could be counted as money rather than in proving that no part of these deposits can ever be considered as such. Similarly while he is quite correct in pointing out that the possibility of effective action through the bank rate has been much exaggerated he does not produce sufficient reasons for neglecting it altogether. These are, however, small points and this book of Dr. Cannan will long remain one of the most readable introductory books to the subject of modern currency.

D. R. GADGIL.

HISTORY OF ORISSA.

HISTORY OF ORISSA, VOL. I. BY R. D. BANERJI. (R. Chatterjee, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.) 1930. 26 cm. 351 p. Rs. 20.

THIS last flicker of a historical lamp that has now gone out has been by no means the least brilliant. Mr. Banerji—apart from his services to his native province of Bengal—has raised two neglected corners of India,—Sind and Orissa,—to cultural and historical self-consciousness.

The first two chapters (with the fourth) dealing with the topography and boundaries, the peoples, castes and languages, of Orissa should be of great value to the present-day politician and administrator dealing with the well-known Orissa problem. The third and the seventh chapters on pre-historic Orissa and the Overseas Empire of Kalinga are academically the most brilliant portions of the work, and open up new vistas of thought and research. In the seventh chapter Mr. Banerji has indicated the lines on which Indian history of the future will be written. For about 10 years I have been feeling, and telling my pupils, that the evidences of Epic-Puranic traditions, of Insul-Indian, archaeology, and of Vedic mythology and philology (all strengthened by those of Chalcolithic archaeology), point to the existence of a very early common stra-

tum of race and culture covering the whole of Southern Asia,—its coasts, islands, peninsulas and river plains, with its main centre in the coasts, deltas and islands of the Bay of Bengal merging into the Ocean. Whether this is to be called Austric, or Chalcolithic, or Indoceanic, or anything else will be decided in future; but Mr. Banerji has laid a sure foundation in Indologic interpretation by showing that pre-historic Insul-india and Peninsul-india had the same civilization, so that in the near future my historical intuition may come true,—that the histories of these two regions on either side of the Bay of Bengal have pulsated together and reacted upon one another, epoch after epoch, in prehistoric, chalcolithic, Vedic, Buddhistic or post-Buddhistic periods, and even in mediæval and modern ages, the Greater India movement of today being only a befitting continuation of history.

The 19th and 20th chapters give a very intelligent presentation of the facts of the mediæval Hindu Revival in India as shown in the case of Orissa, of the inter-relations between Orissa and other contemporary Indian States, and of the reasons and circumstances of the fall of Orissa from an expansive empire to a 'mere geographical expression.'

In short, this book is one of the most constructive, suggestive and scholarly productions of recent times in India, and will long be used by researchers for guidance.

S. C. SARKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

PROGRESS OF COCHIN. Ed. by T. K. KRISHNA MENON. (Cochin Govt. Press.) 1932. 27cm. 394p. Rs. 3/-

THIS commemoration souvenir published on the completion of the seventieth year of the late Maharaja of Cochin contains articles written by officials, reviewing the progress made by Cochin in modern times. It is a well known fact that among Indian states that have achieved reputation for their progressive rule and advancement, the state of Cochin occupies a very important place. In the articles that are published in this volume an attempt is made to justify the claim made, and rightly too, on behalf of Cochin. The book deals with the history of Cochin, its ruling family and its peoples besides the progress made in each department of governmental activity, upto 1932. One drawback of the book that strikes the reader is that it seeks to represent the views of officials rather than those of the people. In other words, it takes the form of an administration report of the state. We wonder why articles from the public have not been included in this volume. Another serious defect that we note is that it does not contain enough statistical tables to enable the reader to judge for himself the progress made by the state in all directions. Notwithstanding these shortcomings we congratulate the Editor for the nice get-up of the book, the illustrations and also the material supplied.

S. R. V.

LETTERS THAT HAVE HELPED ME. (Theosophy Co., (India) Bombay.) 1930. 20cm. 140p.

THE Theosophy Company are doing a useful work in republishing these early writings of various Fellows

of the Society in the early days. The value of the publications varies, some being too full of technical terms for the ordinary readers, though of course that is less of a drawback in India than elsewhere. The volume and pamphlets under review are however singularly free from such terms and will no doubt—the "better" especially—be of great interest to those whose spiritual experience is turned in the same key as that of the writer.

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