

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LAST week's prohibition debate in the Madras Legislative Council has served the purpose of expressing the popular view on the point, namely, that prohibition should be brought about in twenty years. But this was hardly necessary. As was explained by the Minister in the course of the debate, the Government already stood committed to a policy of prohibition; but whether they would bind themselves to any definite time limit is another matter. The Council would have served public interests better if in addition to expressing this pious wish, it had also suggested some practical steps for reaching the goal; but from this point of view the debate was very disappointing. It was reported a little while ago that the Minister intended to initiate the experiment of prohibition in two selected districts. We should have thought that he would take the opportunity furnished by this debate to make an authoritative and comprehensive statement on the point. But from newspaper reports available to us it does not appear that he made any serious effort to take the Council into his confidence with regard to the practical action contemplated by him with a view to bring prohibition nearer. Nor can one say that those who expressed themselves in favour of prohibition,

but made no secret of their dislike of fresh taxation, showed a proper appreciation of the difficulties in the path of the goal upon which they set their heart. The fact seems to be that everybody wants prohibition without being called upon to pay for it. This may be ideal worldly wisdom, but will not in the least facilitate the advent of prohibition. Others who were apparently anxious to appear less irresponsible and more practical suggested that extra taxation would be unnecessary if retrenchment to the extent of Rs. 25 lakhs was carried out every year for 20 years. While it is undeniable that retrenchment will take us some way to prohibition, it is hardly practical politics to say that it will cover the whole gap that may be created by the disappearance of the present excise revenue. If the country is really keen on prohibition, the only way to prove it is by expressing its willingness not to shrink from additional taxation, if that is found necessary. The voting was apparently more interesting than the speeches that preceded it. The Swarajists and the Government bloc refrained from voting, the former perhaps because to them 20 years was too long a period and the latter because any time limit was at all mentioned. This can be understood, though not appreciated, by every body. But what is the explanation for the extraordinary attitude of neutrality adopted by the Chief Minister? While his two colleagues voted in favour of prohibition, he chose to stand aloof. Is this in keeping with the principle of corporate ministerial responsibility which is supposed to exist in Madras?

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SIR BASIL BLACKETT is proceeding to England for the purpose of discussing the details of a plan for constituting the Reserve Bank on some new basis likely to be more agreeable to the Home authorities. What the plan is we shall very shortly be informed about. In the meantime the question arises whether the Finance Member's specially conferring with the Secretary of State is calculated to preserve the dignity and self-respect of the Government of India as well as of the Assembly. Indian opinion was almost unanimous about the possibility of an agreement between all shades of opinion when the Reserve Bank Bill was suddenly withdrawn. It is to be presumed therefore that either the Finance

Member himself suddenly came to the conclusion that there was no possibility of an agreement being reached or that after having gone too far in his concessions to the State Bank scheme he was pulled up from behind. If the first is the correct surmise there is some thing to save the *amour propre* of the Finance Member as well as the Government of India. If however the second alternative is true then the procedure of a special mission is certain to raise apprehension in the minds of those who believe in the constitution broadening from precedent to precedent and in the establishment of conventions which ultimately become more powerful than written statutes. Now the fixing of the constitution of the Reserve Bank is a matter which ought to be decided by the Government of India and the Assembly by joint deliberation and the convention is well-nigh established that when the two agree on any financial question there ought to be no interference from the Secretary of State. From the point of view of convenience a personal conference is far more expeditious in settling points in dispute than a conference by cable and we can only hope that after all this travail and out of the way procedure Sir Basil Blackett will bring back a scheme which will give the Indians all that they have been stipulating for in the matter of essentials.

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IN an interview given to the representative of the *Times of India* Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has something interesting to say about questions discussed at the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations and gives his impressions of his stay in Europe.

**Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's impressions of the League of Nations.**

About the disarmament question he simply says that a motion was passed unanimously "out-lawing War and making it incumbent on all the delegates to the League to resort to arbitration and peaceful methods of settlement before war is launched upon so as to avoid possibilities of war." Curiously enough he does not make any comment of his own on this. About tariff problems he says that in a speech he made as a representative of the Indian delegation he set out the grounds for the qualified protection which is now a part of Indian policy. He deserves our thanks for not succumbing to the doctrinaire opinions of free traders. It was a compliment to India, he says, that he was appointed convener of the League Committee on Health and Sanitary problems. An invitation was extended on behalf of India to the International Committee on Malaria to visit India and acquaint itself with Indian problems. It is Sir C. P. Ramaswamy's opinion, that the position and importance of India in regard to world problems was adequately recognized at the meetings of the League. About "Mother India" he says he was struck with the tremendous effect produced by the book in Europe and he thinks that a reasoned statement of the other side of the case free from temper and passion must be made. He does not however subscribe to the belief that Miss Mayo acted as the tool of some anti-Indian

organization. She seemed to him on the contrary a sort of monomaniac.

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AT present when we are straining every nerve to secure unity and as a means thereto to substitute joint electorates for communal electorates it is heartening to find that the U. P. Indian Christian Conference has passed unanimously a resolution that inasmuch as communal representation tends more and more to disunite the communities of India and is to a large extent responsible for the ill-will, distrust and suspicion between sister communities, it should be replaced by joint electorates with reservation of seats for important minorities. Speaking about communal representation, the President, Prof. J. M. David, admits that it is inevitable that weaker communities should ask for some safeguards in their own interests owing to the fact that things are yet judged in India from the point of view of caste and creed. But in spite of this he is of opinion that communal representation in a country striving to become a united nation is unsatisfactory. An entirely separate electorate narrows the outlook of a community and is likely in his opinion to create gulfs which it will be difficult to bridge over. The demand for a reservation of seats for the Christians may well be conceded by the major communities. We can assure him that it will be conceded very easily. Mr. David however pleads for the preservation of communal interests and nobody will disagree. He is a complete optimist and believes that by closer contact and working side by side for a common ideal the demon of mistrust will eventually be laid low and petty jealousies of caste and creed will vanish and there will be no need for temporary makeshifts like reserved seats. Mr. David thinks that the principal cause of the Hindu-Muslim tension is political and not religious and although he would like his community to offer its services to bring about a better understanding, he admits that for the present the manner of their intercession is a difficult question.

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IN the death of Sir George Paddison, which was announced last week, India loses a genuine friend in official circles. Deep sympathy for the people of this country was a distinguishing characteristic of his official career and the splendid work he did as Labour Commissioner in Madras for the depressed classes in particular marked him out as a supporter specially of the oppressed and the voiceless. But it was really his labours in the cause of our countrymen in South Africa that latterly brought him into fame. In 1925 when the relations between India and South Africa were far from smooth, Sir George was chosen to lead a deputation to that country which did not a little to ease the tension and really paved the way for the Habibulla deputation that followed last year and prepared the ground for the Indo-South African agreement. It is a matter of common knowledge that in giving the

agreement its final shape, the late Sir George Paddison played a conspicuous part. It is a great pity that he should have been called away before the agreement was fully implemented. But his ceaseless endeavours in these matters bear testimony to his deep solicitude for the welfare of our countrymen; and India has reason to cherish his memory for good long time.

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IT is a matter for satisfaction that physical education of the rising generation is latterly receiving greater attention at the hands of our educational authorities.

Physical Education in Madras Schools.

Over two hundred head-masters recently met in a conference in Madras to discuss ways and means of promoting the physical health of their pupils. Papers were read by head masters and by experts on physical education in schools. A valuable feature of the conference was a series of demonstrations of physical activities designed to show what can be accomplished under varying conditions of equipment and space. In his opening address, the President, Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Minister to the Madras Government, said that the Y. M. C. A. School of Physical Training had inaugurated a new era for the right training of masters to impart instruction in physical education. In the discussions at the Conference special stress was laid upon the importance of giving special training to those responsible for physical education in schools. It was resolved to aim at providing every secondary school with a trained physical director, and where that was impossible, to recommend that teachers selected from the existing staff should receive special training for this work. Government was asked to give facilities for acquiring playgrounds and building drill sheds, and to urge schools to provide for each pupil at least half-an-hour a day of physical education. District conferences were recommended where schemes of physical education might be drawn up suited to local needs and making use of local games, competitive tournaments, &c. It was also agreed to recommend that the school time-table be so arranged as to have no class work during the heat of the day, i. e. between 11 and 2 o'clock.

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As is well known, India sends a large amount of labour to Ceylon and is keenly interested in the Minimum Wage Ordinance which is pending consideration

Indian Labour in Ceylon.

by the Ceylon Legislative Council. Two serious defects disfigure the Ordinance as it has emerged from the Special Committee. The first is the absence of any representation of labour interests on the Wage Board. Labour would be vitally affected by the decisions of the Board, and its interests are likely to suffer if it has to go without representation on the Board. In view of the fact that capital is to have its own representatives on the Board, to seek to leave labour out in the manner proposed in the Ordinance is nothing short of iniquitous. Similarly, the Ordinance

fails to make any provision for maternity benefits to women labourers. This omission is defended on the ground that the Medical Wants Ordinance which is still in the making is going to provide for it. But it is not definitely known how long that Ordinance would take to get ready and to come into force. Besides, if there is no intention anywhere to shirk responsibility for the payment of these benefits, there need be no objection to their being mentioned in the Wage Ordinance. When the Medical Wants Ordinance comes to be enforced, this provision about maternity benefits in the Minimum Wage Ordinance may safely be dropped. It would be a good thing and would avoid much needless duplication if matters could be so arranged that both these Ordinances should be simultaneously considered by the Legislative Council.

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DR. R. P. PARANJPYE has been a consistent advocate of India being self-contained in educational matters and in his recent speech at the Indian Students' Hostel in London again dwelt on the same point.

There are 1500 of our young men studying at different centres in England. Taking £350 as the lowest that each student has to spend per year, the cost of keeping these 1500 students in England comes to about half a million pounds. It is true that every student spends out of his own pocket; but there is no doubt that their stay there means quite a considerable drain of Indians' money out of the country. The question therefore is whether India is getting an adequate return for this large amount? Dr. Paranjpye holds the view that if the object of those who go to England was merely to get facilities for learning, "perhaps that same object could with a little organisation be attained by other means, i. e., by starting suitable institutions in India." He also warned students against going to England in a hurry before all the educational opportunities available in India itself had been used up. The fact is that a foreign qualification is regarded as more important than an Indian one and is generally believed to facilitate entry into Government service. What is needed is that in recruiting for the services nothing but the candidate's merit ought to count and that hardly anything should depend upon the label he is able to produce. This is a consummation to be wished for; and until it is attained it would be difficult to stop this drain. Dr. Paranjpye deprecated the tendency generally prevalent among our students to keep aloof from English youths and to restrict themselves to each other's society. This is detrimental to our mental growth and must be abjured. Our task of reforming Indian society would be made more difficult than it need be if we refused to profit by the good points we may discover in other people and deluded ourselves into the belief that we have nothing to learn from others. We trust Dr. Paranjpye's well-meant advice will not fall on deaf ears.

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### THE CALCUTTA UNITY CONFERENCE.

AFTER many abortive attempts, the Calcutta Conference has succeeded at least in bringing about a unity of views about the music and cow questions which had acted as stumbling blocks so far in the way of the progress of the general question of Hindu-Muslim unity. It is necessary however to scrutinize the resolutions passed, in order to see how far they are practicable in actual operation and if they are not, what agencies should be employed to make them effective. The earlier part of the resolution on the music and cow questions concedes the liberty of the Hindus to take processions and play music before mosques but says that there should be no special demonstrations nor shall songs and music before mosques be such as are calculated to produce annoyance or offence to worshippers in mosques. Now this is simplicity of language and benevolence in excelsis; but with regard to the annoyance nothing is said as to who is to be the judge of the annoyance or offence. Should the Muslims in prayer be themselves the judges or the police or some third arbitrating party who will always accompany all these processions? As an exhortatory maxim this would serve admirably but everybody who knows the history of the rows over the music question can feel that face to face with actual realities the inanity of the declaration of freedom would bring itself in evidence. Passing on to the next clause of the resolution it concedes the liberty to sacrifice cows subject to existing municipal laws and enjoins that cows should not be led in procession. It also appeals to the Muslim community so to conduct cow sacrifice as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus. Here again per contra the judges will be the Hindus and any one who knows their sentiments can see that the boundary line between toleration and annoyance will be very thin indeed.

Along with this was passed a resolution restricting conversions of persons below the age of eighteen and enjoining that all conversions should be voluntary and free from coercion and that they should be made public as soon as they are effected so that everybody might know who was converted and to what faith. But unless, as Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad proposes, legislation is passed to make the registration of conversions compulsory it is difficult to see how the publicity enjoined by the Unity Conference is to be realised in fact. The Conference has throughout fought shy of the aid of legislation and relied on extreme conscientiousness on the part of the proselytiser and the proselytised to obey its behests. It is utterly futile to expect wily and unscrupulous agents, proselytizing men of other religions, to lay bare all their methods and make public their own names and the names of their victims. We regret we have to pass the same judgment on this resolution as we passed on the other one, namely that it is too piously exhortatory and will be unable to achieve anything without recourse to legislation. Even a staunch supporter of individual freedom like

Mr. Natarajan has begun to think that some legal restrictions should be placed over conversions and he cites the instance of the Bikaner law in the matter with great appreciation. We have no intention of underrating the importance of the work achieved by the Calcutta Conference and are thoroughly conscious of the difficulties of translating verbal resolutions into working realities of concrete social life. Our object simply has been to point to the immense work that will have to be done later on. As spade-work something has been achieved without doubt; even to put good thoughts into the minds of all citizens is something. In the psychic world no thought is wasted and to have spread abroad a series of notions of good-will and brotherliness will not be an utterly wasteful procedure. We are glad to find that the proceedings were marked all through by a spirit of extreme cordiality and conciliation,

### SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER'S LECTURES ON INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

IN his fifth lecture in the series of University (Madras) lectures on 'Modern Indian Constitution' Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer deals with the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government. Here it is admitted even by Indians that for some time to come a reservation will have to be made of two subjects of Foreign and Political relations and national defence. The question of defence is not impossible to be solved but temporarily it is necessary to exclude this subject from the list of transferred subjects. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer gives a warning that to refuse to consider this question or to regard it as incapable of solution is not consistent with statesmanship. As a transitional stage diarchy will have to be tolerated in the sphere of Central Government; failing this no responsibility might be conceded at all. A second objection to the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government is that under a popular government the rights of minorities may be sacrificed. In European treaties after the war only racial, religious and linguistic minorities have been protected. In India however social minorities and political minorities clamour for protection and what is meant by protection is not a claim to equality of rights but a claim to a privileged treatment. The necessary result of every concession of a communal claim is that it is logically difficult to resist similar claims. In no European country are such claims entertained. The special privileges given to communities are destructive of the virtue of self-reliance and the incentive to self-improvement. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, after examining the several grounds on which special representation of minorities is supported, shows that they constitute a veritable pandemonium of conflicting and contradictory reasons, "but the inevitable result of according representation to communities and classes as such must be the perpetuation of existing class divisions and antagonisms and the maintenance of a narrow communal outlook as opposed to that regard for the welfare of the whole country which is essential to

the spirit of true citizenship and to the proper performance of their duties by the members of a legislature".

No advocate of constitutional advance would take any objection to the principles to be adopted for solving this question as long as they are capable of application to all minorities. Coming again to the crux of defence Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer makes it clear that when we speak of the ability of India to undertake her defence we must take care to impose upon her no greater liability than the self-governing colonies undertook when they obtained responsible government. The fear that an army under the control of the responsible government of India may fall short of the standard of efficiency required for Imperial purposes is not justified by the attitude of the Assembly in the past. In any case the best solution, in the opinion of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, is to exclude the subject of defence from the control of the Legislature for some years to come.

In the sixth lecture he discusses the details of a unitary type of government. Out of the Federal type of government and the Unitary type the latter is the one best suited to India. With regard to a revision of the constitution the best plan in his opinion is to empower the Indian Legislature itself to revise its constitution, but under conditions ensuring ample time for discussion of the proposed changes by the public. The authority by which the constitution should be interpreted ought to be the judiciary and the proper procedure for the judiciary is not to pronounce in anticipation but only when appealed to. It is objectionable to introduce unessential matters in the constitutional law and the practice of introducing regulations on matters of ordinary legislation into a constitution is much more pernicious. Declarations as to the fundamental rights of citizens in the abstract are introduced into some constitutions as an armour against oppression by the executive. But he regards the inclusion of such declarations as inappropriate. In the first place under the system of English Jurisprudence under which we are governed there is no possibility of encroachment on individual rights by the Executive; secondly, many of the rights included in these declarations are expressed in language which permits of interference by the Legislature. They are merely in the nature of moral maxims; if however we treat them as having the force of law they may hamper the passing of measures in the interests of the safety of the state if these measures antagonize the declaration. The only substantial reason urged in favour of a declaration of rights in some of the modern constitutions is that it has an educational value for the ordinary citizen as well as the legislator. But if it is so the best method would be to put them in a separate book.

In the structure of the Central Government the bicameral system is necessary. The need for a Second Chamber becomes more pronounced in proportion to the growth of democracy. For the purpose of enabling the upper house to perform its function of a revising chamber it should be composed of men who would command respect by their merits, expe-

rience and prestige. For this purpose we must combine the two systems of election and nomination. Nomination is indicated in the case of some of the best men who are unwilling to undergo the risks and the unpleasantness of an election. There should be a partial renewal of the upper chamber every two or three years. This would ensure continuity of the tradition of the house as well as infusion of fresh blood. It is desirable to have a higher property and educational qualification for being an elector for the upper chamber.

We are glad to find that Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer has demolished all the outworn arguments in favour of communal representation. He has also done a great service to the cause of constitutional advance by pointing out that difficulties about defence ought not to bar the way to greater autonomy in the Central Government. For this he is prepared to have the much-maligned diarchy in the Central Government with Foreign and Political relations, with the addition of Defence, marked out as Reserved subjects. As things are drifting today, we are likely to have no responsibility in the sphere of central government.

With regard to the declaration of rights for which many constitution-making bodies have shown a special predilection, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer has warned us about its inefficacy in protecting the citizens against the vagaries of the Executive. A diplomatic executive tries to palm off its tyrannical acts under the guise of measures for the preservation of law and order, while a dictatorial executive bent upon *Coups d'eta* regards this part of the constitution as a scrap of paper. It is the force of custom and public opinion that really limit the power of the executive organ of government and if these are feeble no mere Declaration of Rights would constitute a safeguard.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer prefers for India the rigid type of constitution in which the ordinary Legislature is powerless to make any changes in the fundamental laws that govern the structure of the organs of government. That is to say, he cannot contemplate a time when organic changes could be made by the Indian Legislature. But this is not a correct attitude to take with regard to the Indian Constitution. We must persistently try to acquire the power of making future changes in the Constitution, for the Indian Legislature. Although the journey may be slow, this is in our opinion the proper goal to keep before our eyes.

#### OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PRETORIA, 9th OCTOBER.

#### THE EDUCATION COMMISSION.

THE Indian Education Commission continues to be the chief topic of Indian interest. The appointment of the Commission has been uniformly welcomed, but its composition is the subject of controversy. The *Indian Opinion*, wisely one should think, refrained from criticising with asperity the composition of the Committee, and was content to enter a mild but frank protest. The *Natal Advertiser* also

disapproved of the personnel, but observed that Mr. Sastri was too shrewd a diplomat to reject half a loaf if he could not obtain the full loaf. The *Natal Witness* returned to the subject more than once. In its first article it welcomed the appointment of the Commission; in its second it emphasised the significance of the appointment inasmuch as it proved that though the "Natal Provincial Council was protesting (justifiably enough) to the Government that it ought to have been consulted on what is essentially a Natal problem before the Capetown Agreement was drafted" it had decided, thanks to its broad-mindedness and the personality of Mr. Sastri, "to give effect to an undertaking which was thus made over its head." It then proceeded to express firmly, though delicately, its disapproval of the composition of the personnel. "But what Mr Sastri, who is both a visitor and a diplomat, could not and would not say, we may be permitted to say for him—though entirely without his suggestion or authority. And it seems to us that the Provincial Council, having taken the first step in agreeing to appoint a Commission, might well have gone further and entertained more liberal views in regard to its membership. That the Provincial Executive should form part of the Commission is reasonable enough, but that the Commission should be in point of fact exclusively a committee of the Provincial Council is surely loading the dice." It, therefore, suggested as very desirable the appointment of "at least one or two educational authorities who can approach the whole question not only, twith technical knowledge, which is very necessary but with a completely open mind." In the meanwhile the *Cape Times* vehemently protested against the composition of the Commission. "What the man in the street remembers is that the Natal Provincial Council is a body which cherishes vehemently anti-Asiatic traditions; that in May last it passed by 17 votes to 3 a formal resolution condemning the Cape Town Agreement; that its pride was sorely injured at what it considered insufficient consultation over the terms of the Agreement during negotiations; that subsequently it expressed its indignation to the Senate and the Assembly in a form which both Houses were compelled to ignore; and that for years the Natal Superintendent of Education has deplored his inability to induce the Executive to budget for improvements in non-European education." From these premises the plain man would think that the Executive either shrank from an impartial enquiry or wished to spite the Union Government. It asserted that the Round Table Conference, though it was not said so in the Agreement, contemplated a commission of experts. It ended up its spirited leader on the following exhortation:—"Agreement or no Agreement, and quite apart from what the Provincial Council may think of the Agreement, it is beyond dispute that a full investigation is needed into Asiatic education in Natal; and it means waste of time and energy if that investigation is to be held by any but those who are best able to make it. In truth, the whole matter, though Natal has the privilege of handling it, is a national and even an imperial one. Natal is, for this purpose, the trustee of South African honour and statesmanship alike, not in the eyes of the Union alone, but in those of India and of the whole Empire. We trust it is not too late to urge her to rise to the level of the occasion." Evidently the attack went home. For the *Natal Witness* has come out with an obviously inspired explanation of the Natal Government's action, though it at once said that it was unconvincing. The explanation is that in any event the matter has to be finally decided by the Executive and the Provincial Council and it is best therefore that they learn all the details of the subject, that any proposals made by

such a Commission were sure to be carried into effect, that it were better that more modest proposals should be carried through than that more ambitious schemes should be shelved and that experts were not available locally, and the expert from India would make up the deficiency, and so on. It now remains to be seen if the composition of the Commission will be changed or added to; there is yet time for it since no official announcement has as yet been made.

#### FRAUDULENT ENTRANTS.

The next topic in importance is Sec. 5 of the new Act meant to implement the Agreement. It has led to a very intriguing situation. It must be remembered that under the old Immigration Act of 1913, Sec. 10, no prohibited immigrant ceased to be such simply because he was not informed that he was a prohibited immigrant, or because he was allowed to enter and remain in the Union through oversight, misrepresentation or because he was not discovered to be a prohibited immigrant. Such people could be deported under Sections 21 and 22 of that Act. It has been said by Dr. Malan in Parliament and admitted by Indians that some Indians have entered the Union by fraudulent means. The Government had the power to deport such, but the difficulty was to discover the fraudulent entrants. When Indians quarrelled among themselves on account of trade rivalry or jealousy, they denounced the fraudulent entrants to the Department and the Department then proceeded to deport them after enquiry. It was under the powers given by the old Act that some deportations were contemplated the other day, but have since been suspended. Thus in the Cape Province and Natal, the Government has power under the old Act to deport fraudulent entrants. The case was different in the Transvaal. There is a system of Registration certificates in that province and the Supreme Court ruled that a Registration Certificate, even if fraudulently obtained, could not, as the law stood, be cancelled and the holder thereof deported. Sec. 5 of the new Act of 1927 seeks to rectify this defect and bring Transvaal into line with the other Provinces. To this the British Indian Association in Transvaal objected as it took away a "vested right"—to commit fraud and go unpunished! They now seem to be reconciled to it and their present grievance is that the Section should not have retrospective effect, and that such security was not inserted in the Act. This grievance was shared by the whole Indian community in South Africa on the ground that it would be a great hardship to deport people who, though they came in by fraudulent means, have since coming established themselves in the country and built up vested rights of property and domicile, etc. It is very doubtful if the Minister of the Interior would have been successful, even if he was so minded, in putting through an amendment to the Section restricting its operation to the future and not to the past. For it must be remembered that at the time the bills were under consideration, there was a strong feeling in Parliament that South Africa had been let down by the Pact Government, and if the Minister professed to condone fraud in addition, the amendment stood very little chance. And if it was lost, the Minister would be precluded from giving administrative relief. It was this not unfounded apprehension that held back the Indian community from pressing for the amendment of the Section.

The Minister of the Interior promised in Parliament to give an amnesty for the past provided the Indian community gave him an assurance to cooperate in carrying out the Agreement and in preventing further illicit entry. That threw the onus on the Indian community to secure the amnesty by

giving the assurance in return. Now, who is to give this assurance to the Minister? The South African Indian Congress which has accepted the Agreement, is competent to give it; but the Transvaal British Indian Association, which is the most representative body in that Province, has disapproved the Agreement and seceded from the Congress. It would not therefore give the assurance itself for the Transvaal and the Congress cannot speak for the whole Indian community. Things have therefore come to a dead-lock. Meanwhile the Immigration Officers, as in duty bound by the new Act, have declared some Indians fraudulent and, therefore prohibited, entrants; and ordered their deportation in the Cape and in the Transvaal. On the representation of the Congress, and it is understood, of the Agent of the Government of India also, the Government was kind enough to suspend the deportation orders and give time to the Indian community to dissolve the dead-lock and come to a final settlement between themselves and with the Department.

There is another aspect to the question that requires elucidation. What are the implications of the assurance of "co-operation" to be given by the Indian community? Does it mean that the community will be expected to assist the Government in discovering fraudulent entrants, to denounce such to the Department and encourage assisted emigration? Or will it be sufficient for an organised body as the Congress to accept the Agreement, and offer no official opposition to assisted emigration, leaving the Department and the Police to discover the fraudulent entrants? If the implications are not cleared up now, interpretations may be put on "co-operation" by hostile Ministers and the community penalised for the faults of individuals.

It is said that in a case before the Appeal Board under Sec. 5, the Board has reserved for the decision of the Supreme Court the question whether the Section, as it stands now, can have retrospective effect or has currency from the passing of the Act. The decision is therefore awaited with interest.

#### NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Some of the anti-Congress and anti-Agreement Indians in Natal conceived the brilliant idea of organising a new body to represent the whole Indian community in South Africa, to be called the National Convention. And the thought that the Transvaal British Indian Association, which shares their antipathy to the Congress and the Agreement and has besides what they themselves do not possess, some following, and what is even more important, money, would be flattered by an invitation to take the lead in calling it. But it is understood that the Association has politely declined to undertake the job.

#### ASIATIC BOYCOTT ORGANISATION.

The Transvaal Nationalist Party held its Congress in Pretoria in the last week of September. It does not appear to have considered the Indian Agreement. At any rate nothing has appeared in the press. It is however significant that at that Congress the "Asiatic Boycott Organisation" distributed two pamphlets advocating their "programme of principles." "The European population should be protected against Asiatic competition by insisting that Municipalities and other governing bodies withhold from the Asiatic any further extension of the already existing rights." Members of the Organisation undertake "to boycott the Asiatic as much as possible" and "not to carry on any trade or business directly or indirectly with any Asiatic, and also to persuade their employees to act similarly."

#### TRADE LICENSES.

Whatever be the change for the better in the

general attitude towards the Indian, the grossest injustice is still being perpetrated by Licensing Officers and Town Councils, who are in some respects the final appeal authorities in such matters. For instance, Mr. I. A. Kharva, an Indian merchant at Ladysmith, has two trade licenses, and the business has been in existence for over 27 years. On account of financial difficulties he wished to sell away one of his licenses to another Indian, Mr. A. M. Peer. The procedure for transfer is for the transferee to apply for a trade license in his own name. No objections were lodged against the application, and the Licensing Officer indicated no objection of his own. But yet he refused the application. Mr. Kharva appealed. Then the Licensing Officer had to give his reason, and he gave it as follows:—"No necessity for the license"! The Town Council upheld the Licensing Officer!! In another instance, this time in Durban, Mr. Moosa Ismail was refused by the Licensing Officer, the notorious Col. Molyneux, a transfer of his license from one premises from which he was driven out to another where he built according to approved plans. Fortunately, the Durban Town Council reversed the order and granted the transfer, thanks to Mr. Kemp. The result was not a little due to the presence in Durban of Mr. Sastri. In yet another case, this time in the Transvaal, the Zoutpansberg Rural Licensing Board refused a license to Messrs. Dungarshi, Morarji & Co. On appeal, the Supreme Court is reported to have observed: "The Board might conceivably refuse the certificate because it bona fide believed that under the section it could do so to a person because of his colour, race or class. It would be startling if the Court had no power to review the Board's decision in such circumstances, merely because the Board had exercised its discretion in a bona fide manner. The Board was not the custodian of commercial morality, nor was it any concern of the Board whether the grant for a trading certificate might operate disadvantageously to existing competitors in the same trade. If the Board refused a certificate on grounds other than those mentioned in the Ordinance the Court would interfere."

#### THE METROPOLITAN OF INDIA.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Westcott is touring South Africa on the suggestion, it is believed, of Mr. C. F. Andrews. He has been making a close study of the Indian and the Native questions, and making speeches at various places. The Indian Congress is arranging meetings for him all over the Union. The Bishop feels keenly the mischievous influence of Miss Catherine Mayo's "Mother India," which has been reviewed in this country and has had some vogue. The Bishop is combating the book and is likely to make a public statement very soon. Coming from him, the statement will carry greater conviction in this country. The visit of the Bishop is yet another act of foresight and statesmanship of Mr. Andrews.

#### INDIAN TAXATION IN NATAL.

The Natal Indian Congress gave evidence before the Natal Taxation Inquiry Committee, in the course of which the Congress contended that as for incometax, the law is the same and if Indians did not contribute much, it was because they were poor. In the matter of Customs duty, more and more Indians were adopting western standards and consequently contribute towards customs duties on European clothing and such other articles. Besides this, they pay duties on foodstuffs and clothing imported from India, estimated at £63,707, exclusive of duty on Burma rice, of which a large quantity is imported. Indians pay more than their due in Death duties; because a number of Indians, particularly Muhammadan, mar-

riages are not registered and are not legal for the purpose of the Estates Act and consequently, the estates of such are liable to pay 10% of their value as duty instead of being either duty free in case of transfer to the wife or one or two per cent. in case of transfer to the children etc, if the marriages were registered. The Indians paid Transfer Duty, Wheel Tax, Entertainments Tax, License fees, etc. But they did not get an adequate return for the taxes they paid.

#### TRANSVAAL SITUATION.

Since Mr. Sastri arrived in Pretoria two deputations from Johannesburg waited on him. One consisted of the organisations that have shaken off their allegiance to the Transvaal British Indian Association. The second was an official deputation of the Association. The former deputation was anxious to rejoin the Congress if only for the reason that unless and until the Congress gives the assurance of co-operation to the Minister and obtains the amnesty, many of their friends stood the risk of being deported. The Transvaal British Indian Association was silent on the subject of reunion. It struck the brilliant idea of asking the Agent of the Government of India to give the assurance to the Minister on behalf of the entire Indian community and secure amnesty for them. It would then be free to maintain its present attitude of opposition to the Agreement and the Congress, while obtaining the advantage of accepting the Agreement and rejoining the Congress. In support of this suggestion it points out that the Government of India was a party to the clause, and not the community; and that, therefore, its Agent should give the assurance. There seems to be some mystery about this matter. The Department of the Interior seems to have given the Indian community and Mr. Andrews as well to understand that the Bill, now the Act, was entirely in accordance with the Agreement. The implication is that Section 5 was agreed to by the Indian Delegation and the Government of India. But the published Agreement makes no reference to it. Did the Department draw on its imagination or was there an unpublished part of the Agreement?

#### GRIEVANCES.

The Deputations drew the attention of the Agent to certain grievances of theirs. They complain that the Immigration Officers have been demanding arbitrary and excessive deposits, from £50 to £100, from immigrants pending enquiry if they were entitled to enter the country. The reasonable amount is put at £30. It is understood however that excessive deposits is not the rule but an exception and for exceptional reasons; and that in the vast majority of cases the deposits do not exceed £11.

The next point urged was that the new Act took away the right which the old Act gave to the Indian born in India of parents who at the time of his birth possessed South African domicile to enter the Union at any time in his life irrespective of his parents having subsequently lost their domicile or been dead. This point was raised by the Congress some time ago; and the Secretary for the Interior replied that the right was considered too wide; and it was originally contemplated to abolish it altogether. The original right was indeed of very wide application. For a person born in India of parents with South African domicile at his birth acquired and retained domicile in South Africa and could bequeath it to his children without even having set foot in South Africa. This right was never used by Indians; in fact, few realised its existence.

The Deputations next complained that under the new Act, minor children coming to the Union not only for the first time but also those who have been once here and acquired domicile and are now returning to the Union, have to be accompanied by their

mothers. But this however is not a universal necessity. For minors born in India, who have acquired a domicile in the Union, can after a visit to India return within three years in *their own right* and need not be accompanied by their mothers. But if they overstay, they lose their domicile. Then they can come in, not in their own right, but at the instance of their parents as minor children under the age of 16. In which case they must be accompanied by their mothers. Rather curious results.

It was also brought up as a complaint that, departing from old practice in the Transvaal, the three years' currency in Certificates of Identity is being retained. There is here a misconception. These certificates are life passports with a certain period of currency. They are invalid after the period of currency, but they do not debar a person otherwise entitled to enter the Union from so doing. For instance, a South African-born person has rights of permanent domicile in the Union. He can return to the Union at any time and as often as he likes. But the difficulty would be to prove at each return that he is South African-born and therefore entitled to enter. The Certificate of Identity, which is taken when he leaves the Union, will help him to return without further proof of domicile. So it is a convenience. Its legal currency is three years. But hitherto in the Transvaal that condition was struck out, though quite illegally. Now it is being retained. But it is probable that in future it will be struck out.

Another point is that only temporary permits are now being offered to the wives and minor children of educated and exempted entrants contrary to the practice hitherto. This means that wives of such can be here only on sufferance of the Immigration Officers; and the children, though born here, will not acquire domicile, but will have to go out of the country when they become majors. Though it may be argued that this is one of the methods of preventing an increase in the Indian population, because the policy is to reduce it, it is a hardship and a diminution of the rights secured under the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement. It is hoped that the old practice will be reverted to.

## REVIEWS.

### COMMUNISM.

**COMMUNISM.** By HAROLD J. LASKI. (Williams & Norgate, Ltd., London.) 1927. 6¼ × 4¼. pp. 256. 2s.

BOOKS on Communism are now fairly numerous but I do not remember to have read a book in which the subject is treated so scholarly, so understandingly and so impartially as it is treated in this attractive little volume. Most writers, in dealing with this question, are so obviously partisan; and express themselves, however unconsciously, with such a bias for or against, according to the school of economic thought to which they belong, that the result is usually a perversion or an exaggeration of the subject. It is not possible in this case, however, to level such a charge against Professor Laski. Though an opponent, he has performed his task in such a way that even advocates of Communism must admit it to be fair and impartial, at least so far as that is humanly possible in dealing with such urgent problems as are involved in the subject.



There is no doctrine or method or phase of Communism that the author has not outlined fairly and faced squarely. In the first chapter the writer establishes the fact that Communism, as an ideal, is nothing new, that it has in fact a very honourable tradition which reaches back far beyond the days of Plato's "Republic." This idealism he traces through the centuries down to the present day. "The New Testament, the early Fathers and the mediaeval Schoolmen all found it difficult to defend an economic system in which some men could suffer from privation, whilst others prospered." He substantiates this, so far as the last three or four hundred years are concerned, by references to and quotations from outstanding figures like Gerard Winstanley, the Cromwellian Quaker; Meslier, and Morelly, the author of *Code de la Nature*; Mably, the disciple of Rousseau; and Ogilvie, Spence and Godwin. It is true the perspective of this idealism was somewhat altered by the Industrial Revolution which changed the mechanism of production, but it persisted all the same. The change to mass production naturally resulted in mass action. As the Professor says: "The new production made combination inevitable, and, with the coming of combination mass action became essential."

It was therefore in England that there developed the first organised philosophy of revolt. It was the exploitation of the new capitalists, about the time of the Napoleonic wars, that produced the moral Communism of Robert Owen, the father of British Socialism. The author shows that while English social history from 1815 to 1846 was a period of revolutionary fervour which produced the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of the Owenites, demand for a general strike from Benbow and the Chartist movement, there was, until Karl Marx came to London in 1849 a penniless exile and began to write his famous economic thesis, no Communist philosophy that lifted the entire subject to the plane of universality.

We are then introduced to the cardinal teaching of Marxism upon which Communist economics and the whole structure of the Third International admittedly rest. This part of the book is, of course, extremely interesting to students of economics and should be read by all who wish to have a clear understanding of the labour movement generally. Roughly speaking the book is divided into two parts, one dealing with Communism as an ideal, and the other with its doctrines, organisation and methods. About the former, the author very truly says: "Communism has made its way by its idealism and not its realism, by its spiritual promise, not its material prospect. . . The answer to the new faith is not the persecution of those who worship in its sanctuary, but the proof that those who do not share its convictions can scan an horizon not less splendid in the prospect it envisions nor less compelling in the allegiance it invokes."

With regard to the Communist's conviction that social justice is unattainable through the ordinary institutions of representative government and by

reformist methods, but only through violence and the upheaval of a bloody revolution, Professor Laski very sanely remarks: "To resort to violence, even if it be successful, means trusting the officials who control the application of violence. It does not mean liberty; it does not mean equality; it does not mean justice. It means the despotic application of power by men whose intentions, however admirable, are the creatures of circumstances. The chance that the transformation of values so necessary to the attainment of justice will take place as a result of blood and iron is a very tenuous one. . . The idealism of 1914 has perished before the greater strength of the destructive forces released in the struggle. That is why it is permissible to doubt whether the method of violence is ever the midwife of justice. That wrong can be wiped out with wrong is a gospel to which we are not entitled to resort until we despair utterly of civilisation; and when we have resorted to it, it is probable that there will be no civilisation of which to despair."

The book, which by the way is one of a series produced by The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, deserves to be widely read and studied.

ERNEST KIRK.

#### THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

DELPHOS. BY SYLVIA PANKHURST. (Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.)  
6½ × 4½. pp. 95. 2s. 6d.

THE authoress of "Delphos" lives in Dreamland which will never be realised on earth, since the law of the world of appearances, mental as well as physical, is "variety in unity" rather than absolute oneness. Yet, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst dreams of an "Inter-language" which will play its part in the making of the future when the nations of the world shall be one people, and shall speak a common language" (pp. 94 and 95).

The vision of a common speech binding the intellect of the civilised world and promoting human brotherhood has always appealed to man's imagination. At the beginning of the Christian era it was Hellenistic Greek, in the early middle ages Low Latin, in more modern times French, and at present it is English which is pre-eminently the established medium of the world's trade, traffic and travel. Universal language goes hand in hand with world empire. The Roman Empire diffused Latin, and the British Empire universalised English. Should the leading Russian historians prove correct in their estimate that about the middle of this century "Colonialism" will have succumbed to self-determination, no matter whether home rule be called *sinn-fein* or *swaraj*, and that the village communal system, such as is pushed forward by the Soviet Federation, will be firmly established both East and West, it is quite possible that Russian will supersede English, and become the Interlanguage in the Councils of the world. It is because language holds up a mirror to the principle of nationality and of humane cosmopolitanism which slowly grows out of racial aspirations that Volapuk, Esperanto and other artificial speeches have not the ghost of a chance to rival successfully with naturally evolved tongues. Supposing Miss Pankhurst's fond wish were realisable and "Interlingua" (p. 71) or any other pretty toy,

cart structure were, by common assent, adopted as a medium of international communication, even then such clever inventions would be bound to follow the common law of linguistic variation. Latin differentiated into French and Italian, Old Saxon into Dutch and English. Miss Pankhurst tells us (p. 30) that Esperanto as a claimant star appeared in the inter-language firmament in 1887. That is only 40 years ago, but now there are numerous Neo-Esperantists who speak *Ido* (p.66), a popular dialect which, in their opinion, is a second improved edition of Esperanto. Where does the much-boasted unity come in? Nature implies propagation which means 'differentiation of species!'

Miss Pankhurst should study the fundamentals of philology before passing hasty judgment on linguistic problems. Yet "Delphos" is a very readable booklet. Her arguments are forcible, her style is simple and lucid.

ERNEST P. HORRWITZ.

### INDIAN HISTORY.

**A PAGEANT OF INDIA.** By ADOLF WALEY.  
(Constable & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 × 5¾.  
pp. x, 556. 15s.

THE author deserves to be congratulated for having supplied a detailed history of India in a single handy volume. The story begins with a concise summary of the Hindu period which is followed in Part II by an equally good account of the early Mahomedan period. Part III which deals with the rise and prosperity of the Mughal Empire takes up the major portion of the book. The information is everywhere brought up-to-date and one is gratified to see that the latest researches in the history of India are amply availed of. For example, we find here a very good account of Sher-Shah and the latest information about Shahaji, Shivaji and Aurangzeb. These portions are admirably described with the light that is thrown upon them by recent writers. The most striking feature of the book, however, is the short and pithy paragraphs, which give the necessary details in a very short space. The reader is taken from scene to scene, although one may at times feel that the pageant passes rather too quickly before his eyes. The author does not pause to moralize upon the facts summarized, but dispenses each story with a few sentences at the end. The book is on this account a very good reference book. The general reader will find it to be an interesting summary of the history of India from the beginning up to the opening of the British Period.

The book is exceedingly useful and ought to find a place in every good library.

V. N. KUMBHARE.

### NORWEGIAN AGRICULTURE.

**NORWEGIAN AGRICULTURE.** By O. T. BJANES.  
(J. W. Cappelen, Forlag, O. S. B.) 1926.  
9½ × 6¼. pp. 122.

THIS book gives, in a very interesting way, an account of the agriculture of Norway and of the activities of the department of agriculture in that country. The book is very well conceived and is liberally illustrated with photographs. Fully 70% of the area is unproductive, and of the cultivated land amounting to 678,000 hectares only 258,000 hectares are arable land. This, in conjunction with the fact that the land is very uneven in most places and difficult to work, makes the work done by the Agricultural Department all the more remarkable and praiseworthy.

The farms are small, the average area of cultivated ground being only 2.9 hectares, and 92.5% of the holdings have under 10 hectares of cultivated land. To most farms however belong more or less large stretches of forest, grassland or mountain pasture. A little over 33% of the inhabitants are connected with agriculture and forestry. The Norwegian farmer is, with few exceptions, the owner of his land. Horticulture does not occupy a prominent position. The statement is made that "The great subdivision of land into small holdings and the necessity for working at high pressure have caused a great demand for labour-saving implements and machines." This goes against the idea commonly held that the use of machinery can only be adopted on large tracts of land. The keeping of live stock and the utilization of the products obtained therefrom, constitute a very important part of the farming operations all over the country.

Breeding of live stock forms an integral part of all agricultural activities. Horse breeding is carried on vigorously with the two breeds, the Eastland and the Westland. Among cattle, the Red Poll, the Telemark, the Gudbrandsdal, and the Trender are some of the breeds that are raised. Sheep breeding is carried on with the Cheviot breed and goat rearing is also common. Pigs are also kept, the most common breed being the Yorkshire.

The official methods for the advancement of agriculture include the organisation of the Agricultural Division and the Forestry Division, both being under a Minister of Agriculture who is a member of Government. Each of the divisions is under a Director-General who is the chief of the staff of officials out in the districts. To the department are attached several advisers. Live stock raising and Agricultural Engineering are two of the most important sections and are very strongly staffed. There are seven experimental stations for plant culture, two for horticulture, one for reclamation of bogs and one for dairying. There are in addition various societies and leagues for the improvement of agriculture.

A very peculiar kind of work is the redistribution of holdings. Lands have for a long time been held in common by groups of men living in hamlets, and committees have now been appointed to redistribute the land among them so that each may possess an independent holding.

Agricultural education receives very great attention, there being in addition to the State College of Agriculture, a State Training School for Teachers of Smallholders, a State Training School for Female Teachers in Housewifery, and 130 lower professional schools. The College comprises five separate sections viz. Agriculture, Forestry, Horticulture, Dairying, and Redistribution of Holdings.

Colonisation and new cultivation is being pushed on specially since the war. Colonisation is supported by the State by acquiring areas of cultivable land for the creation of holdings, and by transferring on reasonable terms land in public ownership which is suitable for farming and which can be so disposed of without detriment to important public interests. The State further supports colonization by grants, loans, guarantees, and exemption from payment of interest according to certain rules. Roads and main trenches for drainage are done at State cost.

The importance attached to agriculture in this country must be evident from the foregoing. It is a happy thing that the author has overcome the temptation of making the book a mere glorified advertisement, which so many similar publications so easily degenerate into. The amount of work being

done against so many odds ought to put courage into workers in the same field, in the less favoured spots of the world.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE VOYAGE OF THE 'DAYSRING.'** By A. C. G. HASTINGS, (John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., London.) 1926.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 230. 12s. 6d.

It is a compilation of papers and letters written by the late Sir John Hawley Glover together with some account of the expedition up the Niger River in 1857. The history of the British expeditions to the West Coast of Africa goes back to the sixteenth century, when John Hawkins and others touched those shores for the first time in search of slaves. But the interior of the country was never explored. After many failures, an expedition under Sir John Glover was sent in 1857 to negotiate the Niger river and to make treaties with the native Chiefs for the encouragement of the British trade. The 'Dayspring', a boat of 77 gross tonnage with 16 men on board, started from Liverpool in 1857. After an adventurous voyage the 'Dayspring' reached Fernando Po Island in the Nigerian Delta. The curious conditions of the island under the Spaniards and the Delta scenery are described. Though slavery had been officially abolished it still existed in those regions. Then comes the fight with mosquitoes and sand flies. The terrible life demoralised the crew which resulted in indiscipline. The British merchants were already there, carrying on the slave trade. Glover was very indulgent towards them, for though he believed they were "cruel and careless in handling the natives, and there were many unrecorded crimes committed by the pioneers of industry" it was due to "a ghastly life". "For my part," he says, "I think no worse of them than those—rather better—who today in healthy England brutally murder some old woman for her purse or stand snivelling in the gutters in the gutter of the Strand." The 'Dayspring' was wrecked, and with it went down to the bottom of the river Glover's original survey papers. A relief boat was sent from England. It is marvellous how a band of Englishmen, ill fed, ill protected, and exposed to the Central African sun, annexed the Nigerian Colony to the British Empire. They paid its price in sickness and death, but "to-day Nigeria is set a very sparkling jewel in the Imperial Crown." It is more than the size of the United Kingdom with nineteen million of inhabitants. It is larger than any dependency in the British Empire, save India. There is a steady progress of social health and prosperity. Altogether it is a faithful record of the expedition.

S. A. WAIZ.

### READINGS IN ECONOMICS FOR CHINA.

By C. F. REMER. (The Commercial Press, Shanghai.) 1926. pp. 685.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ .

**MODERN CHINESE HISTORY: SELECTED READINGS.** By H. F. MACNAIR. (The Commercial Press, Shanghai.) 1926. pp. 910.  $9 \times 6$ .

THESE two books by Professors in St. John's University, Shanghai, are meant primarily for the student in China but are of invaluable help to the general reader outside, because they consist in the main of extracts culled from standard works on China. In the Readings in Economics, for instance, general theory is supplied by appropriate quotations from the works of such economists as Taussig, Edwin Cannan, Henry Clay, Richard T. Ely, T. N. Carver, Irving Fisher and Alfred Marshall, and it is inte-

resting to find that Indian economists like Radhakamal Mukerjee are also drawn upon for the exposition of certain economic doctrines, and the application of the general theory to the particular conditions obtaining in China is illustrated by excerpts from essays and works written by Chinese publicists. For instance, Sun yat Sen is brought under requisition to expound the socialism of China and it is this portion that is of particular interest to the Indians. Any diligent student of this book would gain a good deal of instruction and new light thrown on Indian problems by a perusal of these extracts. The other book deals with the history of China for the last hundred years, and the history is told by quoting original documents, the author contenting himself with supplying a link between one document and another. It is needless to say that this character of the book adds immensely to its usefulness for the Indian reader, for we know of no other book which gives in so short a compass such vast material as this. The book is really indispensable to the student of Chinese history.

S. G. VAZE.

**AN OUTLINE OF INDIAN CURRENCY.** By H. B. TURLE. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.) 1927.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ . pp. 94.

THIS book is a welcome, though somewhat belated, contribution by a Calcutta businessman, showing the practical interest which businessmen take in the burning topic of the day. As an outline, however, it may be found too elementary by those who have made a close study of the subject, and on the other hand, it may be found to be far from illuminating by those who are beginners in the subject. It is, probably a useful and up-to-date summary for students preparing for examinations, containing in a compact form the conclusions of the various committees and commissions that have investigated the question of currency reform in India. The last chapter examines the pros and cons in the ratio controversy and is of interest, as showing that European merchants have probably acquiesced in the 18d. ratio less from genuine conviction than from an experimental acceptance of the reasoning in the majority report.

P. B. JUNNARKAR.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

#### KENYA SEEKS HERSELF.

MANY readers will have noticed with interest the report from our Nairobi correspondent of the comprehensive address which Sir Edward Grigg made to the Legislative Council of Kenya, after his return to the Colony from a long absence both in Europe and in other parts of Africa. In his highly significant speech the Governor covered a wide survey of all Kenya's more pressing affairs. In many matters our younger sister of the north has grounds for self-congratulation. Her finances are flourishing. The deficit, which five years ago stood at over £600,000, has been converted into a surplus of nearly £450,000, and the Colony will shortly be in a position to dispense with the guarantee of the British Treasury for its loans, and to enter the loan market on its own account. South Africans will especially appreciate Sir Edward's generous references to the Union, and his mention of the value of his recent exchange of ideas with leaders of thought in this country. We hope that he will never have cause to alter his view that changes of Government here are unlikely to affect the Union's sympathetic interest in the pro-

gress and the welfare of Kenya and our northern neighbours generally. But Sir Edward's most important remarks were those which concerned possible constitutional changes in Kenya. He emphasised the principle, recently laid down in the new White Paper on East African policy, that the settlers must share in the British Government's trusteeship for the native races. At the same time he pointed out that any increase in the settlers' representation in the legislature would have to be accompanied by suitable safeguards against deadlock in the event of their disagreement with the Government. In other words, the settlers are being asked to shoulder part of the work and the responsibility of government, while the Government retain the power of final decision both as to means and as to ends. Downing-street offers to take the settlers in as junior partners in the firm.

Evidently the demand from the white immigrant community for self-government is going to be the crux of the near future. It is not, of course, the ultimate crux, which, as always in Africa, is the native question. But it is the first and the most pressing. There is little doubt that some degree of responsible government could not be withheld for very long, even if there were a strong desire to withhold it. Such refusal would involve departure from the time-honoured traditions of all British settlements overseas, culminating in the recent Southern Rhodesian precedent. But responsible government clearly cannot include the full control by a few newly arrived white settlers of a native population two hundred times their number. That could only mean injustice to all parties. The presence of the large semi-civilised black population makes the grant of autonomy to the whites an extraordinarily difficult practical decision. Colonial communities (it is the bitter lesson of South African history) are only too apt to develop a blind prejudice on colour questions, which, no matter how unreasonable, they fancy, is justified by their first-hand contact with native races. Views less violent and illiberal they regard as mere errors of ignorance, arising from the lack of such contact. In their absorption with the immediate necessities of their position, they miss the larger implications of the policies they pursue; they are usually without knowledge of the result of similar policies in other parts of the world. In a sense, therefore, they are peculiarly illfitted for the conduct of native affairs. On the other hand, experience shows equally conclusively that the attempt to maintain external control in defiance of local sentiment produces a dangerous form of exasperation among the men on the spot, and leads straight to failure. The settler feels no gratitude because native policy is being determined by minds which have given a lifetime of study to native problems and have the accumulated experience of the whole Empire to draw upon for guidance. On such points the prestige of the expert weighs with him not at all. It is enough for the settler that those minds are at work in Downing-street of evil memory. He leaps to the conclusion that matters vitally affecting himself are being decided on party lines or under pressure from negrophilist circles, while he has no effective means of representing his case. This feeling, as has been truly said, "is one of the principal hindrances to the development of a sound attitude towards native affairs."

Kenya is already face to face with that dilemma. Downing-street is pretty sure to handle the native question well; the settlers are pretty sure to handle it badly. But they must be given some of the

handling of it, because wisdom can only be learned in the school of responsibility and because the damage they will do while learning wisdom is preferable to the damage they would do if the only possible remedy for folly were not administered. Sir Edward's plan obviously demands for its success close co-operation and reasonable agreement between the Government and the settlers. The temper of the latter will have to change markedly before he gets either, and he has some troublesome times ahead while the change is taking place. At present the settlers' representatives are of an obtuse and intransigent type, who, to those having eyes to see, present the pathetic spectacle of men straining to acquire that vested right in racial ascendancy which is the primal eldest curse of all imperial movements, and from whose incubus all its more enlightened but embarrassed possessors in every other part of the world are doing their best to escape. Moreover, to judge from Lord Delamere's utterances at the last East African unofficial conference, the Kenya settlers seem to imagine that the grant of an elected majority in the Legislative Council would give them full power to "ensure the security of white civilisation" on their own terms. Sir Edward's speech should serve to dispel that dangerous delusion. The value of the Union as an object-lesson for those responsible for policy in Kenya has often been pointed out. Sir Edward could hardly do better than arrange for some of the elected members of the Council to visit this country and familiarise themselves with the economic and social history of our native question. They would see here the unhappy results of most of the mistakes which they themselves contemplate committing, and the sight might act as a deterrent.—*Cape Times*.

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