

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Joint Action for Improving White Paper.

POLITICAL thought not wedded to non-co-operation is busy devising ways and means of securing desirable amendments in the White Paper, and the meeting of prominent political workers held in Bombay last week at the invitation of the Bombay Presidency Association was tangible evidence of this kind of welcome activity. Though those who attended the meeting did so in their individual capacity, the discussion showed that the chances of the different parties agreeing upon a catalogue of essential improvements in the constitutional proposals were by no means gloomy. Only questions like the communal problem and sanctions to make the political demand effective must not be touched. Accordingly it has been decided to convene an all-India Conference at an early date which would concern itself only with the problem of how to make the White Paper less unsatisfactory. We purposely put it negatively, because there appeared to be hardly anybody present at the meeting who would at all shed a single tear if the proposed constitutional scheme were for some reason or other dropped altogether. Whether such demand as may be ultimately agreed upon will evoke any response from the British Government as at present constituted, even if it could be shown that the demand had the united backing of the country behind it, is of course another matter. The prospect anyhow from that point of view appears to be anything but cheerful. Not only that, but according to Mr. Jayakar than whom it would be difficult to find anybody

more closely in touch with the present state of British opinion, there is every reason to fear a whittling down even of the very inadequate provisions of the White Paper. Why then waste any labour or time on a venture which, in the nature of things, is bound to prove fruitless? it may be asked. The answer is obvious. The existence of a dark prospect is no justification for inaction, but for redoubled effort. And in any case whether the demand is listened to or not, the proposed move has an educative value which it would be unwise to overlook or underrate.

No Reduction of British Troops.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with demanding the Indianisation of the Army, Indian opinion has been assiduously agitating for a reduction in the number of British troops, who are nearly five times as costly as their Indian counterparts. Echoes of the agitation were heard in the proceedings of the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference, whose membership included the present Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare. The Sub-Committee drew pointed attention to the Indian insistence upon a much smaller number of British troops and directed that the question be subjected to an expert inquiry. Such a committee was set up under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief in April 1931, but was obviously unable to make much headway with its work till the report of the Capitation Tribunal which went into cognate matters was ready. Its object in waiting for its report was to receive guidance from it on the subject of the division of responsibility for India's defence between the Imperial and Indian Governments, which is attempted to be defined in the Tribunal's report. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to follow the Committee in the reasons leading to its final conclusion. What is pertinent to note is the conclusion itself which vetoes any immediate reduction of the British personnel. Knowing full well that this conclusion would be too bitter a pill for the Indian public, an attempt is made to coat it with sugar.

With a view to impressing the Indian public that the demand has practically been anticipated, it is pointed out that British troops at the present day number 20,000, or 18,000 if the increase of 2,000 occasioned by the Royal Air Force is taken into account, less than in 1914. Moreover, the process of Indianisation which has already started is, it is argued, bound automatically to displace some British troops with the result that when, as contemplated, a whole division and cavalry brigade are Indianised, it will lead to the disappearance of one battery of the Royal Horse Artillery and ten batteries of the Field Artillery. Apart from the fact whether these considerations are substantial or otherwise, they can bring nothing but cold comfort to the people of this country who had definitely set their heart

upon securing a reduction in the strength of the British military establishment in India. So long as this their heart's desire is pronounced to be impossible of immediate fulfilment, it is immaterial to them by what arguments the British Government's refusal to concede their demand is buttressed. Whatever favourable impression about the bona fides of the Imperial Government in the matter of pushing on army Indianisation may have been created by the recommendations of the Defence Sub-committee has been completely undone by the callousness of the Government in throwing them to the winds. Sir Samuel Hoare has virtually put back the hands of the clock of the Indianisation of the Indian defence arrangements virtually to where they were before the R. T. C. was heard of. He would indeed be an incorrigible optimist who would after this fresh evidence of reactionaryism look up to the Government to do something to accelerate the pace of Indianisation.

* * *

British Pensioners.

IN their attempts to discredit the White Paper in the eyes of the British public, mischievously-inclined British pensioners are trying their best to make their fellow-countrymen believe that their pensions would be jeopardised by the proposed transfer of power to Indians. With a view to make the flesh of the average Britisher creep, it was also being said that pensions had become uninsurable owing to the shadow of the White Paper. According to Mr. Villiers, this was utterly misleading. It had been ascertained from inquiries from various insurance companies that the considerations which weighed with such companies in their decision not to insure pensions were, he pointed out, "purely technical." He proceeded :

"I repeat deliberately that to attribute to the White Paper the non-insurability of pensions is to misrepresent, deliberately or otherwise, the known facts. Moreover, I would point out that the majority of the supporters of the Union of Britain and India are themselves pension-holders; why are they not deterred from supporting the principles of the White Paper? I will tell you. First of all, because these pension-holders believe that in actual fact, if it came to it, the security of India's revenues together with the powers which have been vested in the Viceroy in this respect are more than adequate. But apart from this, I do not believe that they themselves have any serious fears that India will seek to evade her obligations, and since she as a whole has given no indications that she would misuse her powers in this respect, is it fair to attribute to her such dishonest motives? But above and beyond all questions of adequacy of revenue or safeguards, I believe the real underlying feeling to be this; they believe, as I believe, that England is now engaged in evolving a constitution for India, not from the pettifogging point of view of whether or no India is going to default in this respect or that respect but from the broad standpoint of whether or no India is fitted for this greater measure of self-government, of whether or no the teaching and the example which we have given her during the past hundred years has borne fruit; from the standpoint of whether and to what extent we have succeeded in the proud task of inculcating into her mind something of our standards of efficiency and integrity—or whether in all these respects we have failed."

* * *

Diarchy in Indian States.

AS president of a conference of the people of a taluka in Bhore State Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande suggested that rulers of Indian States should, as a first step towards granting their subjects rights of self-rule, introduce diarchy in their administration.

An experienced public worker of Mr. Deshpande's standing can of course be under no illusion that his suggestion will command general acceptance; but perhaps he has put it forward as a feeler with a view to inviting discussion. And it would be well if the people of the States who are vitally affected by it, express themselves unreservedly about it. So far as British India is concerned, the diarchic system, as Mr. Deshpande knows, has proved to be a dismal failure; and it is very doubtful if it will fare better in Indian India, where the chances of its success do not appear to be more promising. In these circumstances any attempt to foist on the people of the States a discredited system of administration appears on the face of it to be foredoomed to failure. Is there really any need to retry the experiment at the expense of the people of the States? Does Mr. Deshpande seriously believe that its working there will yield any different results? The States' people must indeed be mere dumb, driven cattle if it is thought in any quarter that they would meekly submit to any political experimentation of the kind Mr. Deshpande has in mind.

He ascribes the failure of diarchy in British India to the lack of intelligent legislatures and of capable ministers. To remedy these defects in the possible introduction of diarchy in the States he recommends a more limited franchise than obtains in British India. Is he sure that this will ensure the return of none but good and deserving people to the State legislatures? But Mr. Deshpande has such a strong faith in the bona fides of the rulers of the States, at any rate in the Deccan, that he would not mind allowing them the right to nominate some men to the councils, because he is firmly persuaded that in their desire to ensure the success of the new experiment they would appoint none but the most deserving and public-spirited. Would he go further and allow the nominated element to be represented in the ministries? Probably he would and looking to his belief in the beneficent intentions of the rulers, why should he not? Well, all we can say is that this is not allowed even under diarchy as it is working at present in British India and is strongly resented as a subterfuge to get round the popular will in cases in which it is sought to be introduced in the new constitution. But what really is a puzzle to us is: if the rulers of States are the paragons of virtue and beneficence that Mr. Deshpande apparently has reason to believe they are, how does he explain all this furore in some of them for the introduction of political reforms and even for the grant of the most elementary rights of citizenship?

* * *

Jamkhandi in 1932-33.

WE went through the administration report of Jamkhandi State for 1932-33 in eager anticipation of information about the doings of the Representative Assembly brought into being last year; but our expectations were doomed to disappointment. All that one gathers from the report about the Assembly is that elections to it were held in May of last year, and it was expected to hold its first session "during the current year." Apparently the reference is to the calendar year and not to the official year ending with the close of March which is covered by the report. Whether the Assembly has since met and if so, with what results is not at present known to us. Anyhow the delay in getting it together, though elections were held ten months before the completion of the year, by no means betokens a superabundance of enthusiasm on the part of the State authorities for it. All the same the Chief received kudos from the ex-Governor, when he visited the State last year for the progressive tendency of

his administration. The point we wish to emphasise is that the Assembly, being a responsible organ of public opinion, should not be treated as an evil to be tolerated but as a body which should be considered worthy of consultation on all matters of public concern. In this connection we would repeat the suggestion for municipal bodies in the State being placed on a really democratic basis made by us on a former occasion. They furnish a valuable training ground for the people in the art of self-government and instead of being allowed to go on more or less as semi-official bodies, their constitution should be liberalised so as to enable the popular voice to prevail in the management of local affairs.

It is a circumstance worthy of note that the revenue side of the state accounts shows no receipts from education. This is due to the fact that both primary and secondary education is absolutely free in the State. For this its administration deserves to be complimented. At the same time the educational statistics appended to the report prove that education made no progress during the twelve months covered by it. It is of course not intended to imply that this was the result of any deliberate action on the part of the authorities. But what is really intended to convey is that if there is to be a wide-spread diffusion of education in the State, which is undoubtedly necessary in view of the larger responsibilities thrown on the people by the creation of the Legislative Assembly, it is not enough to make education free; it must be made compulsory. It should be borne in mind that the number of children at present at school represents only about a third of the total number to be educated on the basis of universal literacy. The young chief would be deserving well of his subjects if he declares universal literacy as the goal of his educational endeavour to be attained, say, in ten years.

Articles.

THE LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

THE fifteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India which is being held at Gokhale Hall in Madras has so far been a brilliant success, and the opening speech of its President, Mr. J. N. Basu, was such as would reflect credit on any one on whom falls the responsible duty of giving the right lead to a political party. It is no doubt a quiet speech without any purple passages in it, but it is a speech full of common sense and showing in every one of its sentences the poise and balance for which the Liberal Party is so justly noted. It would have been easy for him, though entirely undignified for one occupying his position, to make a bitter attack on the White Paper scheme, for there are not wanting in its provisions which merit and even provoke strong language. But Mr. Basu's speech carefully avoids heated denunciation and proceeds without undue warmth and overstrained passion to discuss some of the more important features of the Hoare scheme in the gentlest of tones. It must not be supposed however that because he is so restrained in his expressions, his disapproval of the White Paper is any less complete or unreserved than that of others. Indeed in some respects at least he evidently holds a more unfavourable opinion than is current.

His general conclusion is that the White Paper proposals "display more of doubt than of confidence and assurance." This looks like a soft enough impeachment and would indeed be so if it came from any other person; but coming as it does from Mr. Basu it is downright condemnation. The Provincial Autonomy part of the reforms scheme at least would appear to some observers as constituting real transfer of power exhibiting "an important gesture of trust" on the part of the rulers. Mr. Basu shows however that the so-called enlargement of the sphere of popular government in the provinces is so designed as to "neutralise the authority that is going to be transferred, and place the new Governments in no better position than that of the present transferred departments." Again, the White Paper constitution, "is aggressively reactionary in the matter of communal representation." He truly says that "it goes very much further than either the Minto-Morley scheme or the Montagu scheme in accentuating and elaborating separate communal electorates and seats in the legislatures." His final conclusion about this feature is that "instead of framing a constitution suitable for a modern government facing the future, the White Paper seeks to drag us backward to earlier centuries." It is only in this passage that the Liberal President betrays the intensity of his feeling.

His estimate of the White Paper provisions in regard to central government is, if possible, even more unfavourable. His discussion of this part of the constitution also shows how in some respects he goes farther than many other politicians. For instance, he demands, from his responsible position, "the transference of defence after a temporary period to be fixed by statute." It will have been noted that the Memoranda of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the British Indian delegation only ask for the process of the Indianization of the Army to be completed within a fixed period. But Mr. Basu does not hesitate to ask for popular military control itself to be established within a specified limit of time. As for commercial discrimination, he sees no merit in the principle of reciprocity being enforced in India, for, as he says this doctrine "can have no application in our internal trade and commerce." Without making any bones about it, he definitely asks for "favoured treatment." External relations he would not mind reserving temporarily to the control of the Governor-General, but he would first separate from this department the power of concluding commercial treaties and establishing economic contacts with foreign countries and have it transferred to popular Ministers. The services he would never agree to keep under the control of the Secretary of State, for that would "vitiate the principle of responsibility" both in the provinces and at the centre, and maintain "in practice the autocratic authority exercised through local officials by the Secretary of State." He does not favour, differing in this respect from most of the Round Tablers, the constitution of a statutory Railway Board, particularly if it is to be created, as he asserts, under a statute of the British Parliament. "The taking away from the Central Legislature of the control

over the railways may hamper it in future as regards transport policies that may be required by the ever-changing circumstances in the country."

In this way he goes on discussing the merits of all the important provisions of the White Paper scheme in a critical but thoroughly practical spirit. What is most remarkable throughout this discussion is that he never loses a sense of perspective, a quality most difficult to acquire. One sees it in a pre-eminent degree when he deals with the States. He could not wholly ignore the defects in the composition of the federal legislature resulting from the participation of the States, but like the practical statesman that he is, he does not mention, as a doctrinaire politician thinking *in vacuo* would have done, the drawback of the nomination of the States' representatives by the Princes, but merely confines himself to pointing out to the injustice to British India of giving an undue weightage to the States. He also complains that the White Paper scheme is "overweighted with a tendency to keep back the progressive elements in the States by giving power and prominence to elements that lag behind in experience of work for general welfare and progress in various spheres of life." Here however, we are afraid, Mr. Basu's complaint is not quite just, and this is the only place where we feel it our duty to differ from him. If he means that the States will be among the less progressive elements in our constitution, it is a statement that cannot be borne out by facts and must be repelled; he seems to think that the backwardness of the States arises from their inexperience. It is obvious that in administrative experience the States' representatives will be infinitely superior to the British Indian representatives, and if that is the criterion of progressiveness, it can be said with perfect fairness that the States contribute the most advanced constituents of the federation.

The gravest defect in the White Paper constitution that Mr. Basu points out is that "the question of status has been ignored." It does not promise Dominion Status either now or in future, because the Indian legislature will have practically no constituent powers. For every major change in the constitution, we have to go to the British Parliament. "We shall have to convince not only the 300 millions of our own people, but we must undertake to convince 45 millions of the people of Great Britain, who, if their interest can at all be roused, have in many cases a different outlook and different interest". While on this subject, he does not mention the difficulties that may be held to arise from the fact that the States' Governments too will have to be consulted and convinced before any constitutional amendment can take effect. This omission shows what a seasoned politician Mr. Basu is and what a clear insight he has. The Indian Princes have the same outlook and the same interests as ourselves and the requirement of their consent cannot therefore be said to be an additional handicap. The whole speech shows a thorough grasp of the realities of the situation and gives a wise lead to the country. Liberal statesmanship has been once more vindicated.

THE CAPITATION CHARGES.

THE dispute between His Majesty's Government and the India Office on the subject of the capitation charges which was referred last year to a tribunal presided over by Sir Robert Garran is nearly forty years old. The Welby Commission which dealt with the whole question of apportionment of expenditure between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of India bestowed some attention on it. Its conclusion was that the cost of raising and training British troops for service in India should be recovered from this country at £7-10s. per head. This rate was in fact in force since 1892 and the Commission merely recommended its continuance. In doing so, the Commission was in no way under the delusion that its recommendation would constitute a solution of this complicated problem for all time to come. In fact it never believed that its remedy was anything better than patchwork which would need attention after the lapse of a few years. Accordingly in 1907 the question came under review by a committee presided over by Sir Robert Romer. It consisted of six other members—two representatives each of the War and the India Offices and two independent members. While the representatives of the War Office pressed for a large increase in the capitation rate, the India Office representatives on the other hand with equal persistence and much greater justice contended that far from there being any increase in the capitation rate, the rate itself should be abolished. This seems to have been the first occasion when a formal claim was put forward for India being relieved of all financial liability for the raising of British troops in England for her service. The Committee accepted the principle of India contributing to the expenses of the British organisation for raising and training British troops required for service in India but made no definite recommendation as to the amount of the capitation rate, a compromise arrangement having by that time been reached between the parties. Under this India had to pay to the War Office a sum of £300,000 a year in addition to the capitation charges which henceforth came to be calculated at £11-8s. instead of at the old rate. This settlement continued in force until April 1st, 1920, even though the prevalence of war conditions compelled the discontinuance of the supply of British recruits. With effect from that date the rate was at one stretch more than doubled—it was raised from £11-8s. to £23-10s. the protests of India notwithstanding. Some slight decrease seems to have occurred in this heavy impost; but this did not suit the War Office, which again raised the question of a large addition to it. Eventually it demanded from India on this account a yearly payment of £2,000,000, against which claim India has, since 1925-26, been meekly paying a sum of £1,400,000. Though fighting against heavy odds, the Government of India have all along been strongly urging that the War Office claim was not only excessive but that the capitation payments ought to be stopped; and if the ultimate decision has gone against us, it is not due to any want of advocacy on their

reason why Tory statesmen in England are so enamoured to-day of the Order of our Rulers is in fact not that this love of theirs for the Order is sincere, but that they expect to make our Rulers their tools in repressing the national aspirations of the Indian people." They have fully succeeded in realising their expectations and our British Indian leaders have directly, though unwittingly, contributed to that result. The necessary consequence of allowing autocracy to remain in full strength in the States is to weaken and to extinguish responsible government or democracy in the federation. British Indian leaders will not listen to such reasoning when it comes from States' people; will they take it from a State administrator?

A. V. PATVARDHAN.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, December 15.

AN INTERESTING SUGGESTION.

AT the very interesting reception given by Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Butler at the Harcourt Rooms, in the House of Commons, this week, which was attended by a crowded gathering of well-known people, a novel but very significant suggestion was made to me by a prominent woman M. P., who has been enormously impressed by the tragic economic and social background of the Indian political situation. It was that the Government of India would be rendering a service of the highest value to the Indian people, and would at the same time make a gesture that would be at once warmly responded to, if they would back the khaddar movement unreservedly and with all the resources at their disposal. Such an act of imagination is almost too much to hope for from any government, let alone as sophisticated an administrative automaton as the Government of India. And yet, the present writer is confident that if only they could put political and even economic prejudices on one side and throw themselves whole-heartedly into this movement for the regeneration of the Indian people, however little far the effort might take them in the desired direction, it would have an incalculable response in all quarters in the country. For the first time there would appear to be evidence that the Government were genuinely thinking of and for the people, and in terms easily understandable by the people. They would put themselves right at one stroke with the khaddar organisations, which have only too great justification for supposing that the attitude of Government has been hostile and destructive. There are very many non-Congress people who are confident that in these matters, if not the Government as a Government, Government officials have singularly funny bees in their bonnets, which prevent their being able to distinguish between a genuine economic movement, which may here and there have a political frill or two, from a dishonestly political movement under the guise of an economic one. It is all very well for the Government to protest that wrong motives are too often imputed to them. They are just as guilty of these imputations when dealing with their opponents, and with far less justification. Anyhow, so far as the outside world is concerned, so long as Government holds aloof from the reconstructive movements of the country and does

not take them under its own protection and give them warm hospitality, it must not be surprised if it is regarded as a mere piece of mechanism, dissociated from all the finer sentiment that would naturally be looked for in an indigenous administration.

MAHATMA GANDHI REDIVIVUS.

Mahatma Gandhi is returning to the picture after a long period of obscurity, and he is doing so in a quiet and unobtrusive way. It is doubtful whether the innate sympathy of the Western public will not have fallen to Mrs. Nila Cram Cook, whose volatile personality makes a wider appeal, at least in the sensational papers, than the Mahatma's ascetic and monastic regime. But it is different when Lord Irwin comes a cropper in the hunting field, and the Mahatma sends him a telegram of delicate sympathy and personal enquiry. It is events like this that make Englishmen realise the community of human nature. Mr. George Lansbury, for example, the Leader of the Opposition, has recently broken his thigh. No one in the country to-day worries about his political and economic theories. Every one's sympathies go out to him in his misfortune and suffering, and those who ordinarily sneer at him in public are to-day sending him private messages of good cheer. When, therefore, Mahatma Gandhi is seen to offer a gesture of good-will to Lord Irwin in his misfortune, the gesture is taken as being from one gentleman to another, and his message of concern and sympathy is widely responded to in quarters where not so long ago the strongest criticism of the "naked fakir" could quite easily have been aroused.

Another indication of the Mahatma's "come-back" is to be found in a long special article in to-day's *Times* dealing with his Harijan programme of work. The article is written in friendly and sympathetic terms, even if no immediately heroic results are anticipated, and though it is recognised the same degree of popularity does not extend to him as a social reformer as it did in the days of his political ascendancy. Nevertheless it is good to know, and especially at the approaching season of good-will, that there is an increasing tendency to treat the Mahatma and his activities on their merits, and to recognise that they do in fact possess merits, and these of a very high order. Let us at any rate be thankful for the change of tone and hope that it may presage a wider and a deeper change of outlook.

SAFETY OF THE ROADS.

The toll of human life that takes place every year due to road accidents has been a subject calling for investigation for a considerable time past. All kinds of schemes have been suggested to safeguard the pedestrian and the motorist, but nothing that has been done so far has substantially reduced the figures of road fatalities. In the preliminary Report of fatal road accidents during the past year, it was shown that 1,581 pedestrians met with their death, whilst the number that received injuries is infinitely larger. From investigations made in such cases it is proved over and over again that most of these accidents were preventable and most were due to negligence on the part of the walker. People walk off the footpaths without looking or attempt to cross a road without taking precautions against moving traffic, and the danger that ensues is not only to the careless pedestrian but to the traffic that overtakes him. The Ministry of Transport, which has to deal with the safety of the roads, has been considering possible ways and means of tackling this problem. To try legally to control walkers, it realises, would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for even at the present time, when at many busy crossings underground safety passages have been constructed for

the benefit of the walker, they are comparatively little used. People seem to prefer to take their chance and rush wildly across the road at any point that the desire to cross seizes them. Amongst the schemes recently discussed by the Ministry of Transport, and which seems to find favour, is one that is quite simple and yet which might prove effective. It is suggested that the roadway should be divided from the footpath by means of chains suspended by poles. The chains should have openings at various intervals to allow for road crossing, such crossings being regulated so as to give the greatest amount of safety both to the person crossing and the driver of any vehicle. If this were done in some of the busiest roads to commence with, it is estimated that hundreds of lives would be saved every year. The problem is not one peculiar nor limited to England. It is one that is disturbing countries all over the world. From every place comes the same story of numbers of pedestrians killed and injured, and in nearly all cases the accidents should be preventable. If England devises a scheme that is effective, it is probable that it will be used as a model in the big cities in other parts of the world, and thus a considerable number of lives now sacrificed would be saved, though only the development of a proper road sense will be of real service. Mankind living under modern conditions must develop a protective instinct against the motorist, and keep his faculties alert, not only for his own safety, but for that of others whom his carelessness involves. Unless he does this, death by road accidents will take the place of the old-time epidemics of disease.

Reviews.

A PEEP INTO BIHAR'S PAST.

BIHAR AND ORISSA DURING THE FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. By JADUNATH SARKAR. (Patna University.) 1932. 20cm. 126p.

THIS treatise contains six post-graduate lectures delivered by Sir Jadunath Sarkar at the Patna University in 1931. They deal with Maratha invasions, particularly by the Bhosles of Nagpur during a period of some fifteen years (1740-1755), when Alivardi Khan was the Mughal Viceroy of that vast and rich part of Eastern India, usually known as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which under the scheme initiated by the Peshwas of Poona, was assigned as a sphere of influence, or like a mandatory region in modern parlance, to Raghuji Bhosle, the founder of the Nagpur State. Hence the title of the book is a little misleading. "The Bargi visitation of Bengal" or "the Regime of Alivardi Khan" would have been more appropriate, as these are the only topics discussed and covered by the lectures.

The performance shows how historical research is rapidly increasing all round and what thirst has now been created for authentic materials, from whatever sources they can be collected. Sir Jadunath has rendered a signal service by bringing together and using in his theme materials available in Persian, English and Marathi scattered in different places, although there may be room enough for a difference of opinion as regards their interpretation. Sir Jadunath looks upon Alivardi Khan as the legitimate master of Bengal, as an ideal governor sacrificing his all even in his extreme old age in the interest of the people whom he was appointed to guard. He evidently ignores the Maratha claims openly granted by the Emperor to the Peshwa and his lieutenants whose protection he had sought in his ex-

treme peril. The process of conquest all the world over follows the same methods, however detestable it may be to the people who have to submit to it. Then again if Alivardi Khan was an officer of resourcefulness, valour and capacity that he is represented to be, one cannot understand why one and all of his subordinates, even his best kith and kin, chose to desert him whenever an opportune moment presented itself for siding with his enemies. History is expected to offer cogent and sufficient reasons why Mir Habib, Mustapha Khan, Sardar Khan, Samsher Khan, the pusillanimous Mir Jafar and even the future heir and grandson Siraj-ud-Daula attempted more than once to leave Alivardi Khan in the lurch. It is true that the Peshwas were never able to assert their power over the doings of the Bhosles of Nagpur and to put down their wanton ways with a strong hand; but it must be admitted that the Bhosles were carrying out the behests of the Central Maratha Government and if they at times committed frightful atrocities, the responsibility lies in part at least upon Alivardi also. But Maratha history has not yet taken sufficient notice of the affairs of Nagpur, probably because the raj no longer exists and no one has cared to bring together all Marathi papers of the Bhosles' Government. But now that the benighted Central Provinces have got an independent University and institutions like the Sharadashram of Yeotmal are rising into importance, it is the duty of earnest scholars of that region to hunt out fresh materials either from the Government archives of Nagpur or from the possession of the various historical families of those parts, to corroborate or refute what Sir Jadunath has so laboriously propounded in these lectures, which from the point of view of further investigation deserve a careful study. Sir Jadunath has determined with rare skill dates, places and circumstances of the various incidents that he has handled and now that the ground is so well cleared, further work must become comparatively easy. A detailed map of the theatre of action would have been of immense help to an inquiring student, who has not topographical sheets at hand. Sir Jadunath has made full use of the selections from the Peshwas' Daftar; but these are hopelessly meagre, as the Central Government of the Peshwas had hardly any control over the actions of the Bhosles in eastern India.

G. S. SARDESAL

BRITISH INFERIORITY IN AERONAUTICS.

BRITAIN'S AIR PERIL. By C. C. TURNER. (Pitman.) 1933. 22cm. 132p. 5/-

THIS is a well-written book in an easy and popular style by the pen of an authority on aeronautics. The object of the book is to carry on propaganda in England to bring pressure upon Government to increase their air force. The author pleads for a more widespread "air-mindedness" amongst Englishmen. As compared with France, U. S. A., Italy and Soviet Russia, England possesses fewer military aeroplanes and is actually occupying the fifth place in the world so far as air force is concerned. In the author's opinion, this inferior position means a grave danger to the safety of England and he wants to prepare the British public to compel the Government to build more aeroplanes. The skill of British engineers in aeronautics is second to none in the world, and as a matter of fact, in the construction of certain types of aeroplanes British engineers stand foremost in the world. Britain is also fortunate in being able to secure very substantial orders for the supply of military and civil aeroplanes to other nations of the world. Even in the field of civil

aviation on account of the short distance to be traversed, the internal development of civil aviation is not so great in England as, for example, in France where the Government have heavily subsidized civil aviation. But on the other hand, Britain is developing very rapidly in the field of Empire aviation and with all her colonies and dominions far flung all over the globe it is but natural that she should strengthen her position in this branch of armaments.

It has been conceded that aviation plays a foremost part if there should be another war and each nation, in spite of disarmament talks, is equipping itself with more and more of this weapon of destruction. Even the development of civil aviation is looked upon as a potential source of preparatory ground for the training of pilots, who, in the event of another war, will require far less training than if there was not a considerable development of civil aviation. In the case of nations which have large colonial possessions like England, France, Belgium, and Holland, the usefulness of aeroplanes in order to frighten the less civilized population of these countries is only too well-known, as, for example, the use of aeroplanes on the Afghan border recently.

That books of this nature are having a steady influence on the British Government is proved by the fact that the Air Ministry is going to demand funds very shortly from the House of Commons for the building of another one thousand aeroplanes. Geneva goes on talking about peace, but nations go on building aeroplanes and piling up armaments. The secession of Japan and Germany from the League of Nations has introduced a militant atmosphere in European politics and even though politicians declare in public that another war is unthinkable, it looks pretty obvious that everybody is preparing for war. After all, one begins to wonder if there is some truth in the oft-repeated statement: "The best way to prevent war is to be always prepared for war".

One wonders when India will become 'air-minded' enough to possess an adequate air fleet at least to meet all demands of civil aviation. The sad history of Indian shipping is too well-known, but at least in the field of civil aviation India should lose no ground to own, control, and run the entire civil aviation fleet in India.

S. G. SASTRY.

INDIAN FINANCIAL SITUATION.

INDIAN FINANCE YEAR-BOOK, 1933. Ed. by P. R. SRINIVAS. (Author, 20 British Indian Street, Calcutta.) 1933. 26cm. 356p. Rs. 5.

THE year-book is a mine of information on all economic topics connected with India, using the word in its widest sense as including even transport and insurance. A good idea of the financial position of the country is obtained by the abstracts of all the provincial budgets as well the Railway budget. In the Currency and Monetary section full statistics are supplied showing the position of Indian currency and exchange. The Editors seem to have caught the current contagion of the thesis that the abandonment of the gold standard "far from proving a calamity it was feared to be was actually a blessing in disguise." We cannot bring ourselves to subscribe to this doctrine being believers in the honest gold standard. But apart from opinions held on this vital question it cannot be gainsaid "that the mainspring of the advance of gilt-edge securities during the year is to

be found in the big inflationary movement initiated by the authorities in Great Britain with a view to revival of prices." But it is unreasonable to believe that such booms can be kept up by a continual depreciation of exchange; this is a game at which two can play. The lay reader will benefit by the excellent account given of the rupee loans of the year. It is worth noting that the major portion of the short-term debt in the form of Treasury Bills was wiped out during the year.

Nearly fifty pages are devoted to the Trade section and a clear view is afforded of the position of the export and import trade. Exports declined from Rs. 155.89 crores to Rs. 132.43 crores; compared to 1930-31 the fall is very serious amounting to nearly Rs. 88 crores. The imports from the U. S. A. fell from Rs. 13 crores to Rs. 11 crores owing to the depreciation of sterling and consequent competition of British rivals. One of the most useful tables is that of index numbers of prices of the principal countries. The lowest index number for India was 83, reached in March 1933; number 86 is shown against February 1933 and June, 1932. Sir K. M. MacDonald writing about the Indian Banking problem, thinks that "any Reserve Bank which is part of a chain dominated by a central institution in London or elsewhere, might possibly sacrifice national interests in efforts to secure agreement on international matters." The Assembly ought to take a warning from this, and insist upon an independent Central Bank. Rural banking is faced with a "collapse of values of land and building." A review of the balance-sheets of all the important banks in India ought to be very useful to businessmen and investors.

The progress of Indian insurance may be judged from the fact that in place of Rs. 31 crores of total business remaining in force in 1920, there are now Rs. 89 crores of total business. The total assets of all the Indian companies stand at the figure of Rs. 27 crores, almost equal to the assets of the non-Indian companies. The Industrial section gives an excellent resume of the history of the principal industries of the country. Thanks to the increase in the number of iron and steel works, the imports of steel have been reduced from Rs. 16.70 crores (in 1926-27) to Rs. 6.32 crores (in 1931-32). In the matter of the jute industry the editors, after giving a history of the regime of restriction, opine that State control is necessary, if the industry is to be rejuvenated after the current depression is over.

The year-book supplies all the important figures with regard to the cotton industry including a table giving the world cotton crops; in addition a concise history of the tariffs on cotton goods is given, which will benefit the lay reader immensely. It is to be noted that the "advantage derivable from the increased duty was neutralized largely by the 18d. ratio which was unquestionably a substantial aid to imports." The editors believe that the cotton mill industry calls for a thorough reorganization and mere protection would not save it. With regard to the tea industry it is to be noted that "alike in point of production and consumption the tea industry is an industry of the British Empire." Of the 803 millions of pounds exported in the world, India and Ceylon was responsible for 630 millions of pounds and Nyasaland for 2 millions of pounds; the Empire percentage works out at 70.3. It is now proposed to fix export quotas for the several countries and ask the Governments to enforce them, in order to attain a higher level of prices. The Bengal coal industry is in trouble owing to the competition of South Africa and the editors recommend to the Bombay mills the giving of a preference to the indigenous product in consideration of the sacrifice made by the province of Bengal in

purchasing the Bombay piecegoods on the ground of patriotism.

The area under sugarcane in the current year is nearly 3 million acres, and India is capable of meeting the entire demand of the country within a short time. It is estimated that by 1934-35 India will produce nearly a million tons of sugar (excluding gur). Sugar imports should have been stopped by protective duties and the editors aptly remark: "sugar illustrates what dangers can befall a country by a negative or adverse economic policy on the part of the State." It is hoped that the paying of a duty of Rs. 9-1-0 per cwt. which was sanctioned by the legislature last year will go a long way to redress the present grievance. Already the imports of sugar have declined from Rs. 15.85 crores (in 1928) to Rs. 4.12 crores (in 1932). The excellent summary of the working of the Tariff Board given in the year-book will be valuable to students of finance as well as to the general reader.

Railway Finance has been treated very fully. It is curious to note that the company railways are generally more economically run; this ought to set the champions of State management thinking of reconsidering their position and furnishing a new armour. The purchase of stores through the Stores Department is very disappointing since the proportion of such stores to the total purchase is only 5 per cent. In spite of this there is an increase in the value of the stores purchased in India. Then follows a neat summary of the doings of the Rail-Road Conference; the editors express the opinion that "the multiplicity of petty local authorities, in whose inefficient and unequal hands has been left the care of the roads, must go."

The editors have done some plain-speaking in exposing the faults of the co-operative movement. They say that "so far the workers have comprised a conglomeration of inexperienced officials and amateur non-officials; all this is true enough. The great thing is to wipe out the present indebtedness and the societies ought to direct their attention to this object with greater energy. Bengal and the Punjab have shown the greatest progress, the first having a total of 21,464 and the latter 17,541 agricultural societies. Madras has got the largest number of members, with the Punjab closely following. The total working capital is nearly Rs. 92 crores. In conclusion we must say the editors throughout have shown sound judgment in criticizing policies both of the Government and the Indian economic associations.

V. N. GODBOLE.

SHORT NOTICE.

HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA. By J. M. SEN. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1933. 23cm. 313p. Rs. 4.

IT is nearly twenty-five years since the late Mr. Gokhale first advocated free and compulsory primary education in India. It cannot be said that we have advanced much in the matter of the spread of primary education. It is now proved by experience in almost every country in the world where primary education is widespread, that without compulsion a high percentage of school-going children is not possible.

Whether the transfer of primary education into the hands of district boards and municipalities was a change for the better, is yet to be decided. A book

like this was very necessary at this juncture and by writing it Mr. Sen has satisfied a long-felt want.

This comprehensive book traces the history of primary education in India from the earliest times upto last year. The last chapter will be particularly useful to those engaged in the administration of primary education in India because it includes the Education Acts passed in different provinces. As stated in the preface this book brings out what has already been done and what still remains to be done in regard to the introduction of compulsory education in India and it will serve a good purpose.

B. D. KARVE.

Correspondence.

"A PIOUS MYTH."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—“Observer” is perfectly right in criticizing strongly the weak attitude of the British Indian politicians in the Round Table Conferences towards the Indian Princes and their impossible terms for joining the Indian Federation. He is perfectly right when he says:—

“If the Princes know that unless they adopt democratic practices British India will not have Federation, they will commence mending their ways sooner than if British India takes them into the Federation with their autocracy and all.”

I believe that the people of the States have rightly decided that the States “should be kept out of the Federation till the Princes are more kindly disposed towards popular government.” “Observer” is perfectly frank and correct when he says that all the special pleading of the British Indian politicians in favour of a Federation is “for the purpose of keeping the States’ people quiet while the Federation is formed.” I fully echo “Observer’s” appeal and warning.

“If British Indian leaders will insist upon having Federation even if it be frankly undemocratic, let them at least give up the pretence that the people of the Indian States are with them, for they are not.”

—Burs, etc.
Madras,
December 25.

S. SATYAMURTI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- UNEMPLOYMENT: CAUSES AND REMEDIES.** By GEORGE WHITEHEAD. (John Bale.) 1933. 22cm. 432p. 10/6.
- PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.** By HAVLOCK ELLIS. (William Heinemann.) 1933. 23cm. 323p. 12/6.
- THE BULWARKS OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.** By HEBER L. HART. (2nd Edn.) (Methuen.) 1933. 20cm. 240p. 7/6.
- THE ECONOMIST IN THE WITNESS BOX.** By STEPHEN KING-HALL and N. F. HALL. (Ivor Nicholson.) 1933. 20cm. 248p. 6/—
- FINANCIAL DEMOCRACY.** By MARGARET MILLER and DOUGLAS CAMPBELL. (Hogarth Press.) 1933. 20cm. 132p. 4/6
- THE PULSE OF OXFORD.** By D. F. KARAKA. (Dent.) 1933. 20cm. 80p. 2/6.
- TOWN TO COUNTRY.** By G. C. HESLITINE. (Burns, Oat & Washbourne.) 1933. 19cm. 72p. 1/6.
- HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION IN INDIA.** (Ancient-Vol. I) By S. N. SINHA and N. K. BASU. (Bengal Social Hygiene Association, Calcutta.) 1933. 22cm. 291p.