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## Topics of the Week.

### Mahatma Gandhi's "new technique."

THOSE people, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who have been puzzled at the recent activities of Mahatma Gandhi in the Rajkot State, will find an explanation of his activities in the Mahatma's article on his "new technique" with regard to agitation for reforms in the States. Mahatma Gandhi enunciates his "new conviction" that in order to bring about reforms in the States, "direct negotiations" with the authorities should be opened up rather than agitation against the authorities. This is a good piece of advice so far as it goes. But, in case the authorities steel their hearts against any persuasion, what would Mahatma Gandhi advise the State people to do? It is hard to believe that the present agitation for responsible government in the States has been started all of a sudden, without efforts being made in the first instance to persuade the authorities to grant reforms. So far as we know, in every single State where agitation for responsible government is being conducted at present, herculean efforts were made by the State people to persuade the authorities to accede to their demands. But all those persuasions were of no avail. The very mention of reforms acted as a red rag on certain States with the result that all people who asked for reforms became the target of their oppression and persecution. This being the case, we fail to understand what useful purpose can be served by a further insistence on negotiations. Either Mahatma Gandhi should negotiate with the States direct and persuade them to grant to their people the

reforms for which they have been agitating or he should join with the States people in their agitation against the States. Mere advice to the States people, unaccompanied by any of the suggestions mentioned above, will not lead to any fruitful result.

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THE Mahatma's next piece of advice to the States people is still more difficult of comprehension. The Mahatma thinks that in asking for reforms from the State authorities, the States people should do well "to lower the key of their note". His justification for advising this course of action is that "nowhere, with the only exception of Aundh are the Princes ready to part with all the power in favour of the people". We must admit that this seems to us to be no justification at all for the States people to lower the pitch of their demands. If the States people depend on the willingness of an autocratic power to achieve their objective, then they may as well wait till the Greek kalends. Nowhere has an autocratic ruler voluntarily agreed to forgo his powers unless he has been forced to do so by the pressure of circumstances. Cases such as the Ruler of Aundh, granting responsible government to his people are so rare indeed that they may be regarded as unusual exceptions. It is therefore very difficult to agree with the dictum of Mahatma Gandhi that the States people should ask only for that much which the Rulers are willing to surrender in the plenitude of their mercy. Why does not Mahatma Gandhi, one may ask, apply the same dictum to British India and be satisfied with whatever the British Government is willing to offer? Mahatma Gandhi is a great man and none except him perhaps can understand the greatness of his reasoning!

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S objections to mass *Satyagraha* in the States is based upon the conviction that the States people have not been trained in the art of *Satyagraha*. This may or may not be the case. But we cannot agree with the conclusion which Mahatma Gandhi draws therefrom that because they are not *Satyagrahis*, therefore they are unfit for responsible government. There are many countries enjoying responsible government which may laugh at the *Satyagraha* test of Mahatma Gandhi and may utterly fail to satisfy it. But it will be evidently wrong to argue that because of that reason they should be declared unfit for responsible government. There are many ways of gaining freedom and Mahatma Gandhi should not think that his way is the only one.

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WE are surprised that instead of demanding the establishment of full responsible government in all the States, Mahatma Gandhi has given an indirect hint that he would be satisfied if only "reign of law" is established in them. That good government is no substitute for self-government is so old a saying that we never dreamt that a leader of Mahatma Gandhi's standing would ignore it. It passes our understanding why Mahatma Gandhi draws a distinction between the goals of British Indians and the people of the Indian States. The British Indians and the States people are similar in all essential respects with the only immaterial exception that while the former are under the yoke of a foreign rule the latter are the subject of indigenous oppression. Whatever is claimed for the British Indians, therefore, should also be claimed for the people of the Indian States. Mahatma Gandhi's new slogan that "reign of law" is enough for the India States cannot carry conviction with any independent-minded worker who is interested in the welfare of the States peoples' movement.

#### Repression in Ratnagiri.

THE Police and Magisterial authorities of the Ratnagiri District in the Bombay Presidency appear to have very strange notions about civil liberties of the people and Government's responsibilities in the matter. Peasants of the district, most of whom labour under a peculiarly oppressive system of landlordism called the *Khoti* system, have recently started organizing themselves into Unions with a view to securing from the *Khots* and from the Government the redress of their just grievances which are verily too numerous to mention here. It appears that in some places the Police and even the Revenue authorities of the Congress Government look askance at these organizations so much so indeed that they are being practically treated as illegal and their leaders persecuted in a variety of ways. It is reported that the Mamlatdar of Devgad recently issued notices to the important office-bearers of a local peasant Union calling upon them to appear before him within four days. The letter really deserves to be quoted in full. It runs:

Rukmini Kom. Nilkantha Prabhu Desai, Khot, has made an application saying that her tenants have gone on strike and dues cannot be collected. After enquiry it is found that a Kisan Sangh has been formed in Kulve village and that you have been prominent in collecting subscriptions from its members. Though you were previously served with notices you have avoided presenting yourself. So within four days of the receipt of this notice you are ordered to present yourself in person at Devgad. There should be no omission in this matter.

WE admit this beats us. The notice is really as much amusing as annoying. It betrays strange notions about his duties entertained by the Devgad Mamlatdar. This redoubtable gentleman appears to labour under the misapprehension that in the year 1939, under the regime of a responsible Congress Government, it is a crime to start a peasants' organization and collect subscriptions for its purposes. He also seems to harbour the notion that whatever is likely to hamper the realization of the Khot's rent must be stamped ruthlessly underfoot. In the above notice there is nothing to show that any definite charge of a criminal character is levelled against the poor victim of the notice. His only fault appears

to be that he is an important office-bearer of a peasants' organization. This really does not call for any comment.

BUT this is not all. Equally strange happenings are becoming more and more common on the country-side of Ratnagiri. Mr. Kamalakant Dalal, one of the leaders of the peasant movement, has been served recently with a notice by the Police authorities of Malvan to present himself at the Police Station with all books and papers regarding a peasants' Union with which he is connected. This is passing strange. As if this little Union of peasants is an illegal organization so that any passing police officer has a right to order about its workers as he pleases! It is indeed distressing to think that proceedings such as those described above should be in progress in the country-side while in big cities and industrial towns prominent Congressmen, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, are loudly supporting the move for the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party of India.

A much more sinister aspect of the situation, one that does great damage to the Congress Government, is the fact that, even among alleged offenders involved in the very same case under identical sections of the Indian Penal Code, an invidious distinction is being made between those who are Congressmen and those who are not. Mr. Shankar Rao Kode, a non-Congress worker in the peasants' movement and Mr. Masurekar, a Congressman working in the same field, are reported to have been recently arrested, both under sections 406 and 420 of the Indian Penal Code. The first of these two is the Secretary of the Kuvla Peasants' Union while the other was until only recently its President. Mr. Kode was duly put under arrest on 26th May last and the hearing of his bail application was postponed with the result that he has not yet been released. We cannot think what possible justification could be there for this inordinate delay in releasing Mr. Kode on bail. In the case of the other accused, Mr. Masurekar, a Congressman, the proceedings were different though the charges on both are identical. Mr. Masurekar is reported to have been arrested and immediately released on bail. Apparently, Congressmen are being treated as sort of a superior race the rest being regarded as ordinary mortals liable to be denied even their rights under the law of the land. Small wonder, therefore, if the foreign rulers of this country insist upon making invidious distinctions between the Indian criminals and British criminals in India. What they could not do with regard to different classes of people in India, the popular Congress Government is now doing. *Et tu Brute!*

#### Clarion call for Industrialisation.

IN these days when unthinking admiration for Gandhian principles holds sway over a considerable section of the people of India, Dr. Meghnad Saha is doing a real service to the country by his passionate pleadings for industrialisation. Himself a scientist of great renown, Dr. Saha knows full well how science can be utilised for the advancement of the country and for increasing manifold the national dividend. He has given figures to show that whereas the total outturn of work per head in Europe and America is 1,800 units, in India it is only 90 units, because India follows primitive methods of production. India is not wanting in

natural resources which can be harnessed by the help of science to aid and assist the human muscle, but a false philosophy is being spread in the country that mechanisation is at the root of the evil of unemployment and that it is only by the growth of the village industries that India can reach her economic salvation. So long as the followers of this doctrine were mere propagandists, there was not much reason to be afraid of them. But now they hold the reins of government in eight out of the eleven provinces of India and there is every reason to fear that, guided by their false philosophy, they will fritter away the provincial resources in directions which can never be conducive to the welfare of India.

It is being argued by the exponents of village industries that if small countries like England require big empires to market their manufactured goods, India cannot possibly make a drive for industrialisation knowing full well that she cannot capture any fresh markets. Mr. A. P. Choudhuri of the All-India Spinners' Association develops this argument at great length and we quote below a portion of his writings so that none of his points may escape our attention. He says:

"Industrialisation," says Dr. Saha, "creates more work." Let us examine the conditions now ruling in the industrialised countries of the West. (The total population of Great Britain is 458 lakhs, that of Germany 660 lakhs, that of Japan 976 lakhs and that of U. S. A. 1,265 lakhs. The total population of these four leading industrialised countries is 33 crores 59 lakhs. The total Indian population is 35 crores 28 lakhs.) Let us imagine for a moment that the markets of India, China, Africa and such other non-industrialised importing countries are out off, will the economic condition of these countries be still enviable? Is not the question of unemployment baffling the statesmen of these countries even at the present time? Does not the European standard of living mean the exploitation of many times their number of people? (The population of China, India and Africa comes to 96.33 crores.) If we try to produce more, by industrialising our population of 35 crores and 28 lakhs and if we aspire after the European standard of living shall we not have to find a way to exploit an equally large number of people, if not larger than what these four countries taken collectively have the privilege to do? Supposing, for the sake of argument, the required population is found out in some unknown region, have we not also to presuppose that those people will have to continue to be a non-industrialised buying population if we have to maintain our standard of living? If a similar awakening dawns upon China having a population of 45 crores and 38 lakhs (10 crores more than in India), where will they find a market for their goods?

WE must submit that Mr. Choudhuri is committing a serious mistake in comparing India with other countries like Germany and England. Germany and England are not self-sufficient countries and they cannot forgo international trade if they are to maintain their present position. This necessitates their maintaining colonial empires. But the same is not the case with India. India has everything within her borders. It has foodstuffs, raw materials, natural resources and human material. So it will not be necessary for India to depend on other countries for either the supply of raw materials or for the sale of manufactured goods. In the words of Dr. Meghnad Saha:

It is quite false to say that attainment of European standard by any country means the exploitation of many times their number of people. It is almost impossible to give any precise arithmetical calculation, but probably if the mineral power and agricultural resources of India are properly developed, industrial work is organised on right lines, the internal market of India will be quite sufficient for the consumption of all goods produced. This will further be helped by the gradual raising of the standard of life, which is a necessary corollary to industrialisation.

AGAIN do countries like Germany and England have colonial empires because their goods cannot be consumed by their people? Are all people in England and Germany well-fed and well-clothed and have no wants which go unfulfilled? Any student of the present condition of these countries will at once say that this is not at all the case with them. There is no over-production of goods in either Germany or England in the sense that people of those countries have no use for them. But because the poorer people of these countries have not the necessary purchasing power they cannot consume these goods, though they may be in absolute need of them. Therefore it is the capitalistic production for profit-making that is responsible for this apparent over-production of goods. Industrialisation has nothing to do with it. It is necessary that these facts should be clearly borne in mind by our people. Otherwise a false philosophy based on confused thinking may gain ascendancy in their minds which, in the long run, will only lead to misguided activities in the country.

Nawanagar.

THE administration report of Nawanagar State for 1937-38 has recently reached us. Noticing its predecessor in November 1938, we ventured to draw attention to its incomplete and scrappy character due to the absence of the usual statistical tables and accounts statements. This defect, serious as it is, remains unremedied even in the report under notice. From the chapter dealing with revenue and finance running into about fifteen lines one does know how much the total revenue and expenditure of Nawanagar was. And we are duly thankful for this small mercy. But what one likes to know is not merely the totals but also the details of both sides of the accounts. These we are unable to discover anywhere in the report! In the absence of this very necessary information it is impossible to know how much the palace expenses come to and whether their proportion to the State revenue is reasonable or otherwise. The revenue of the State in 1937-38 was nearly Rs. 108 $\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs and its expenditure about 64 $\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. What happened to the surplus of Rs. 44 lakhs? How was it utilised? Is the amount safely invested somewhere or is it spent away and if so, how? The report makes no attempt to satisfy the public curiosity on these points. One wonders whether the publication of such an incomplete document can serve any useful purpose except that of satisfying the demands of the Political Department for an annual report. We hope future reports will be fuller and more adequate.

IT must be admitted that the chapter on education, though leaving a good deal to be desired from the point of view of detailed information,

is better than most other parts of the report. We see from it that there are in all 297 scholastic institutions imparting instruction to a little over 26,000 pupils. The population of the State is over four lakhs and if 15% is to be regarded as its school-age part, it means that about 61,000 pupils would have to be brought to school before the goal of universalisation of education could be reached. In other words, however "satisfactory" the educational figures might appear to the State authorities, the field yet to be covered is more than half. In the absence of the usual statistics it is difficult to say with any degree of precision what, if any, progress was made by the State in the educational field during the last few years. But we would not be far wrong if we ventured the guess that it has not been very rapid. The State would, in our opinion, do well to make primary education compulsory. This, we find, has been free since 1911. No financial obstacles can be pleaded

when, as we have pointed out, the State has a large surplus. \* \* \*

IT is no doubt risky to base one's criticism about anything upon such meagre information as is given in the report. But even the paucity of information cannot obscure the important fact that the State does not yet boast of a legislative council and that its local self-governing institutions are anything but democratic bodies. The report tells the reader about the Jamnagar municipality being a self-supporting body. It is also believable that the other municipalities in the State too are similarly kept above want. But what the public wants to know is whether they are democratically constituted or whether they are run as no better than State departments. May we hope that future reports will leave no room for dissatisfaction on the ground of their contents being inadequately informative?

## U. P. DEBT REDEMPTION BILL.

THE United Provinces Government has introduced a Debt Redemption Bill for agriculturists and workmen. This has become necessary because the two permanent Debt Acts that have been in operation for the last four years, viz. the Usurious Loans Act and the Agriculturists Relief Act, 1934, have not given as much relief as is desirable. The first Act has had some effect in checking usury inasmuch as under it the courts allow reductions in the rate of interest claimed by the creditors. It is found, however, that creditors evade the provisions of the Act "by entering in the promote or bond a larger amount of loan than that actually advanced." This practice is illegal under the second Act, but the prohibition is largely ineffective. So far as the Agriculturists Relief Act itself is concerned, the main relief afforded by it consists in the grant of instalments, postponement of execution proceedings and reduction of interest on decrees. As the Report on Revenue Administration for 1936-37 says, "The problem of indebtedness has not been solved by the Debt Acts." The present needs are [the reduction of the existing debt so that it can be paid off in a reasonable period of time and the prevention of the accumulation of excessive debt in future, particularly debt of a social or unproductive nature, and then the provision of working capital to the agriculturists at a fair rate of interest. But the last cannot be achieved unless the first is in a fair way to be achieved. The statement of objects and reasons, attached to the present Bill, puts the matter very clearly. It says: "Experience has shown that the provisions of the Acts which were passed for the liquidation of agricultural debt in 1935 have failed to reduce debt to a level which would enable any measures, which may be passed to put agricultural credit on a sound basis in future, to be effective. Before therefore such measures can be effective it is necessary to pass an Act which will effectively

reduce agricultural debt. This is the main object of this Bill."

For the purposes of the Bill an "agriculturist" is defined as a tenant or a landlord who pays no more than Rs. 500 as rent or revenue including ten times the local rate, if any. Under the Agriculturists Relief Act it was left to the debtor to apply for a reduction of his debt. Under this Bill the creditor is compelled to sue within one year of the coming into force of this Bill an an Act. If he does not, the debt will be deemed to have been discharged, as in the Bombay Bill. If he sues, the court shall take a separate account of the principal and interest and shall allow interest only at the rate of 5 per cent. simple on secured debt and 8 per cent. simple on unsecured debt, if the rate of interest agreed upon is greater. Again, the principle of *damdupat* will be applied, and, in doing so, paid as well as unpaid interest will be taken into account. It is provided that "the amount due by the debtor shall not exceed the difference between twice the principal and the amount paid by the debtor towards the principal or interest, or both, of the loan." Even decrees passed but not executed will be liable to revision so that interest will be charged at the prescribed rate. On the decrees passed or amended under the Bill the maximum rate of interest that will be allowed will be 4 per cent. simple. Tenants and landlords who pay Rs. 1,000 as rent or revenue will also get the benefit of a reduced rate of interest, but they will not be entitled to the benefit of the application of the *damdupat* law in the stringent form in which it will apply to smaller tenants or landlords. The law that will be applicable in their case will be in its ordinary form, viz. that "the amount due by the debtor as interest shall not exceed the amount of the principal outstanding on the date on which the amount due by the debtor is

determined." Landlords who pay income-tax will not get the benefit of a reduction in the rate of interest on their debt. But the Bill will apply to workmen, and a "workman" means a person who is not a proprietor or tenant and whose earnings did not exceed Rs. 600 within the twelve months preceding 1st April, 1939, or Rs. 60 in any of these months. The classes of such workmen are specified in a schedule.

Decrees passed under the provisions of the Bill will be executable under the ordinary law except as regards execution against land and agricultural produce. If such decrees are sought to be executed by sale of land, the court will if the debtor so desires transfer the necessary amount of land at a valuation to the decree-holder and will not sell any land. As regards execution against agricultural produce, only one-quarter of the agricultural produce of the debtor will be liable to attachment at any one time and the period of limitation for the execution of decrees against such produce is reduced to four years. The provisions regarding transfer of land may be quoted here *in extenso*:

Where a decree is based on a loan made before the first day of July, 1930, or where the decree is based on a series of transactions, in the case in which any such transaction took place before that date the court shall, in accordance with rules made by the Provincial Government, determine the annual value of such land in the agricultural year 1337 Fasli and in the agricultural year in which the decree is sought to be executed by sale and shall calculate the value of such land by multiplying whichever of these annual values is the greater by the prescribed multiple.

In the case of any other decree the court shall, in accordance with rules made by the Provincial Government, determine the value of such land by multiplying the annual value of such land in the year in which the decree is sought to be executed by sale by the prescribed multiple.

If the value so determined is less than the amount of the decree together with the proportionate amount of any prior encumbrance, the court shall transfer such land to the decree-holder.

If the value so determined is greater than the amount of the decree together with the proportionate amount of any prior encumbrance, the court shall determine the portion of such land the value of which, determined in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) or sub-section (3), is equal to the amount of the decree together with the proportionate amount of such prior encumbrance and shall transfer such portion to the decree-holder.

When land is transferred under the provisions of this section the decree shall be deemed to be satisfied upto the value of such land as determined under the provisions of this section.

The Revenue Minister, Mr. Kidwai, in introducing the Bill, frankly admitted that even this Bill would not solve the debt problem. Government had to provide, he said, against the debtors being completely sold up. This could be effected either by exempting a certain proportion of the property from being sold off in payment of one's debt liability, or by fixing the paying capacity of the debtor in such a manner as to leave some part

of his property after liquidation of the debt. Mr. Kidwai announced that Government proposed to bring forward another measure to meet this aspect of the problem. It is to be hoped that such a Bill would be brought forward early and would make provision somewhat on the lines recommended by the Deccan Sabha in connection with the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Bill in its representation reproduced in our last issue.

### PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ASSAM.

THE report on public instruction in Assam for the year 1937-38 does not make very cheerful reading. As the Government resolution on the report says: "The first year of provincial autonomy in Assam was a year more of eager discussion than of actual change in policy or practice. The defects of the existing system therefore persisted, and advance continued to be unregulated." The growth in elementary education can be measured by the increase in the number of pupils in primary schools from 3,21,628 to 3,48,056, an increase of 26,428 or 9.8 per cent. "This advance was mainly due to the expenditure by Government of Rs. 50,000 on taking over venture schools," the pupils in which were not counted in the statistics of 1936-37. Over against this additional expenditure by Government must, however, be set a decrease of Rs. 31,513 in the expenditure by Local Boards, the net increase in total expenditure on primary schools last year being only Rs. 13,014. Considering all these facts, one hesitates to endorse the remark of the Director of Public Instruction that the increase is "highly satisfactory."

The waste that takes place during the passage of pupils from the infant class to class III, where they may be said to attain permanent literacy, is terrific, perhaps greater than in any other province. Of those who enter school in the lowest class, nearly 50 per cent. drop away after a year "after having been a burden to the teachers, the Education Department and the public revenue and a handicap to the other boys." Of those who continue education after the first year only 17.4 per cent. reach permanent literacy, an alarmingly low proportion. The main causes of this waste are a large number of single-teacher schools and a very small number of trained teachers. Single-teacher schools are as many as 62.5 per cent. of the total number; and trained teachers are only 26.4 per cent. among men and 14.5 per cent. among women. Not only is there a paucity of trained teachers, "but trained men are not appointed by many local bodies" even when they are available. "The main remedy lies," says the Director, "in adequate staffing of the primary schools," and he adds: "It is a mistaken policy to spend all new grants in increasing the number of schools on the boards' aided list without any reference to

efficiency and effectiveness of teaching." In fact, his complaint is that "there is no definite policy behind the primary school system," and he emphasises "the necessity of a Primary Education Board under the control of the Ministry for exercising much closer control over the whole system of primary education." To this Government seem to be agreeable, for their resolution remarks: "Even if the local bodies are to be allowed to retain important functions in the administration of vernacular schools, they must yield a considerable measure of control and the final voice in all matters of controversy to the Ministry responsible to the legislature which votes the bulk of the available funds," at present 65.4 per cent.

Compulsory education is non-existent in the province. The Government resolution says: "The cry for compulsory education, often enough raised, appears unreal in the face of actual facts—meagre financial resources and waste and inefficiency in the schools themselves. Government are, however, alive to the importance of the considerations which are bound up in the pregnant word 'compulsory' and are ready to take action wherever they feel assured of practical compliance, both in payment of a fair share of the cost and in the practical question of school attendance, from any section of the public." Here Government seem to lose sight of the fact that compulsion is the cheapest means of remedying wastage, provided, however, it is rigorously enforced. This proviso is all-important, for even in the more progressive provinces compulsion has been more or less nominal, and unless special precautions are taken it is likely to become even more a dead letter in Assam than in Bombay and the United Provinces, for instance. Special attention is being paid to the removal of illiteracy among the adults. Government observe: "If the right spirit is to be developed, the ideal of adult literacy must be approached *puri passu* with the education of children, and it is

their intention to initiate an immediate campaign designed to make this ideal a practical thing". There were during the year 132 night schools for the purpose, besides others mentioned by the Assam-Bengal Railway and Assam Oil Company and other local and private bodies. "But all these enterprises," says the Director, "go only a little way towards meeting this national demand of drawing the large mass of the adult population from the mire of illiteracy." One small remedy that the Director suggests for dealing with the wastage that occurs in schools after the first year and also for dealing with adult illiteracy is the elimination of compound letters from the primers.

The state of primary education is woefully backward, and specially that of the education of girls. The percentage of boys in primary schools to the total male population is 7 and that of girls to the female population is 0.8. "As I have repeatedly said," remarks the Director, "female education in Assam has been disgracefully neglected and until it receives a fair share of what funds are available (at present while Rs. 13,73,764 are spent on boys' primary schools, only Rs. 1,27,000 or 9 per cent. are spent on girls'), all efforts at the educational advancement of the Province will be largely wasted." The demand for girls' schools is rapidly growing. It is no longer true that "female education is a need of all but a desire of few." The Assistant Inspectress of Schools remarks: "When I tour in the villages, almost everywhere I meet with the request of the people to raise the primary school to a middle school where a primary school exists, and to help to start a primary school where there is no school yet." But enough funds are not being supplied. With regard to middle schools, the Director observes that the need for them remains unsatisfied, "because the boards have been unable and Government has been *unwilling* to provide the necessary funds"!

## BOMBAY AGRICULTURAL DEBTORS RELIEF BILL.

### I

**I**N an article published in this journal some weeks ago the salient provisions of this Bill were described and its central feature discussed. We now propose to discuss some of its provisions in detail and to indicate directions in which we feel that they need to be modified. In this discussion we shall take for granted that the structure of the Act remains unchanged and that it remains a measure which adjusts in a wholesale definitive manner existing debts and contemplates all future finance through resource societies.

*Scope*:—The Act shall apply to all debtors whose secured debt is not less than Rs. 100 or

more than Rs. 15,000. Though it is true that on account of the operation of the D. A. R. Act most agricultural debts in this Province are secured, the requirement that the debt should be secured may result in denying the benefit of the Act to some needy debtors at the lower level. There does not seem to be any special reason why the application of the Act should be restricted to debtors who have a minimum secured debt. We suggest, therefore, that the scope of the act be widened by deleting the "secured" qualification from Section 23. There is yet another and more important direction in which the scope of the act needs to be widened. In Section 2 (7) a "Holder" is defined so as to exclude all tenants other than permanent tenants. This exclusion is not likely

to cause much hardship in the unalienated area. In rayatwari area there are very few cases of pure tenant-cultivators; so that a cultivator who is predominantly a tenant-farmer will yet be covered so long as he holds a small piece of land in his own name. But in the talukdari and the khoti area and in the inam villages considerable hardship will arise because of this provision. In all this area, which is by no means negligible in extent, relief will be available only to the small class of permanent tenants. It is, therefore, necessary that the class of "protected tenants" which is to be created by the new tenancy bill should be included in the definition of "Holder" under the act. In this connection it should be remembered that the alienated villages in this province are, in the Deccan and Karnatak, freely interspersed in the rayatwari tract. The disturbing effect of the act on rural credit machinery will thus be felt as fully by cultivators in the alienated villages as in the non-alienated villages. It is, therefore, necessary that the relief afforded by the act be made available in as large a measure as possible to cultivators of the alienated villages also.

*Procedure:*—Under Section 9 every award will be subject to appeal. It has been found by experience in other provinces that the main merits of cheapness and expeditiousness which are most desired in this process of debt settlement are lost if appeals are allowed. Many awards are made subjects of appeal by one or the other of creditors and the debtor is put to needless worry and expense. The bill under consideration reduces the discretionary element in awards to a minimum and the provision for appeals is made thereby specially superfluous. Sec. 12 defines narrowly the grounds for appeal for award or suits in which the value of the subject-matter is less than Rs. 1,000. We do not see any reason for distinguishing between suits below and above Rs. 1,000. If some provision for appeals is to be made at all, this is best done by generalising Section 12. Appeals, whatever the value of the subject-matter, should then be allowed only on the grounds laid down under Section 12. For the same reasons the complete prohibition of the appearance of pleaders found in the acts of some of the other provinces deserves to be followed. Sec. 61 should be modified, making the exclusion of the appearance of pleaders absolute. Section 33 provides that a debtor should pay court fee to a creditor whose application is dismissed on the grounds that the principal amount of secured debts is more than Rs. 15,000 or less than Rs. 100. One fails to understand why the burden of costs should be laid on the debtor in such a case. The debtor concerned lies outside the scope of the act and gets no relief from its operation; by the provision of this section he will however find himself penalised because some creditor makes a mistaken application to the Board. Sections 50 and 58 also make a debtor liable to payment of costs if he fails to become a member of a resource society within

the time specified in the award. This is a fair provision if the failure is due to some act on the part of the debtor. We do not know how the resource societies will operate; but a failure to become a member can conceivably be the result of delay on the part of the resource society or the refusal of the resource society to admit the debtor as member. In such a case it would be unfair to saddle the debtor with the burden of costs.

*Co-operative Debts:*—Remission to be granted to the debtor in respect of debts due to co-operative societies is to be intimated to the Board by the co-operative society. This is placing the creditor himself in the position of determining the amount of the remission he will grant. In principle this provision is unsatisfactory. If co-operative debts are to be treated in a special manner—and they should, of course, be so treated—some independent person who is in a position to appreciate the position both of the society and the debtor member should be asked to determine the amount of the remission. The Registrar is obviously the appropriate person. In many other provincial acts also the Registrar is entrusted with this duty. We, therefore, propose that the remission to be granted be determined not by the co-operative society but by the Registrar or such other official for any area that the Registrar may authorise in this behalf. If this is not done the Registrar will still intervene with numerous mandatory circulars in order to bring about uniformity of practice. It is far better to place the responsibility in a direct manner on the Registrar.

Under Section 43 (4) the Collector and the Co-operative Society are asked to intimate to the Adjustment Board the amount of remission they are willing to give to a debtor. It is not clear, however, at what stage they shall so intimate and what data they will consider before sending the intimation. It is of the essence of the process of adjustment that the relief granted shall bear some relation to the requirements of each case. This is done in the bill under consideration by calculating the paying capacity of the debtor in a given manner. But it is not provided and it does not seem to be contemplated that the Collector or the Co-operative Society will have knowledge of the Boards' calculations of the paying capacity of individual debtors. In the absence of such knowledge the remissions given will be on some uniform scale and this will necessarily result in the remission being needlessly large in some and small in other cases. It should, therefore, be provided that the Board shall intimate to the Collector and the co-operative society the total outstanding debt calculated according to the provisions of Sec. 39 and the total paying capacity determined under Sec. 47, of each individual debtor and that these authorities shall take account of this data in determining the amount of remission to be given.

*Insolvency Proceedings*:—The Bill provides that a debtor may be declared insolvent under two contingencies (Section 62). In the first place the Board may declare a debtor insolvent if it is satisfied that "the paying capacity of the debtor is inadequate to pay the total amount of his debts as scaled down under Section 48." It is difficult to see what this means in case "paying capacity" in the above sentence is the same as "paying capacity" as defined in Section 47. The measure of scaling down prescribed in Section 48 is the paying capacity as defined in Section 47. Therefore, the paying capacity can never be inadequate to pay the scaled down debt. It is not, on the other hand, clear what "paying capacity" in the above sentence can mean other than according to the definition of Sec. 47. We have, therefore, to ignore this first contingency under which a debtor may be declared insolvent. A debtor may secondly be declared insolvent if he defaults in payment of two consecutive or any three instalments. This provision is categorical and allows of no exceptions. It seems to make no provision for bad seasons, years, for example, when the payment of even land revenue has to be suspended or remitted. It may be presumed that the annual instalment under an award will ordinarily be much heavier than the land revenue to be paid by a cultivator. In a tract like the Deccan where proverbially one season in three is bad this will mean almost universal insolvency over the period of awards which may run, on an average, from fifteen to twenty years. Further Section 69 provides that any immovable property of an insolvent on which a debt is secured shall be directed to be sold in satisfaction of the debt. It is well-known that today most debts of agriculturists are secured on their land. The effect of the two sections together will then be a rapid dispossession of the cultivators from their lands in favour of their creditors, which we suppose to be contrary to what the bill is supposed to aim at. The best way to avoid this disastrous result would be to modify the provisions of Section 62 (2). The provision must allow for exceptional circumstances. In the first instance, defaults in years when the payment of land revenue has had to be suspended or remitted ought not to count as defaults for purposes of this section. Secondly instead of the debtor being declared almost automatically insolvent on a stated number of defaults some room should be left for enquiry by the Court. The court at its discretion may, on being satisfied of any justifiable exceptional circumstances on account of which the debtor could not pay the instalment, refuse to declare a debtor an insolvent even if he has defaulted for the stated number of times. In either case the award will run for an appropriately increased number of years. If, however, these modifications are not made we fear the result would be almost universal insolvency at least in tracts like the dry Deccan districts.

Other sections of this chapter IV do not require much comment. Sections 67 and 68 have

been taken bodily from the D. A. R. Act. Under that Act these provisions have all along proved ineffective. We do not feel they will be effective under the new act either. In most cases there will be little to be managed if due provision is made for the support of the insolvent and his family; ordinarily we expect the lands of the insolvent to be sold up to satisfy the claims of the secured debtors. A sentence or clause seems to have been omitted from Section 68 (1). The marginal summary of this provision runs as follows: "Possession by the creditors of debtor's property not required for his support." In the body of the provision, however, the clause making clear that the property shall be such as is not required for the support of the insolvent or his family has been omitted by oversight. We do not also see why the exemption under Section 67 (3) should apply to buildings other than the dwelling house and yard of the debtor. The provision is no doubt copied from the D. A. R. Act, but seems to have no justification.

D. R. GADGIL.

( To be Continued )

## AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION.

### ITS FUTURE TYPE.

*Following is the summary of the 4th lecture delivered by Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, Member, Servants of India Society, to the Andhra Peasants' Institute, Nidubrolu, last month.*

**P**REVENTIVE and curative laws have to be followed by legislation protecting the agriculturist from lapsing into further debts. This largely depends on the existence of a machinery to help the agriculturist in his occupation.

The future type of agricultural organization will depend on the clientele it will have to cater. The economic development of the country is the primary duty of the State. The State may leave this duty to private citizens so long as the latter can be relied on to look after the welfare of the masses. It may leave it to such citizens who have common economic needs to satisfy and who can satisfy such needs by organizing themselves into a co-operative society and supplying their common services through their own efficient leadership. The unit of organization is the need and not the territory as a village. The needs of a big landholder are not those of a holder of a subsistence farm nor those of a tenant-at-will nor those of labourers. The first requires long-term credit and marketing, the second short-term credit and supplies, the third and fourth employment. These requirements are not watertight divisions, but only indicate their varying importance. Not only are the interests of different classes different, but sometimes they clash. Any Government in India should therefore consider how far under existing conditions it is fair or

practicable to expect one class of people to shoulder the responsibilities of economic development of other classes in a village. Even granting that the needs are common and that the inhabitants of a village are mostly peasant proprietors, to what extent can the present village leadership be trusted to have the intelligence, energy, earnestness and tact to give every assistance to agriculture and to organize allied industries in off-seasons? To what extent again can public opinion be relied upon to maintain at all times the integrity and sense of duty of this leadership by its unceasing vigilance over the actions of its leaders? Is it our object to improve the economic conditions of peasants, or to give opportunities of training for village leaders? The leadership that is required for the reorganization of agriculture on a profitable basis should combine a knowledge of conditions, a capacity to organize industrial activities, a sympathetic outlook to help all classes, and an earnestness to push a scheme through. A trained and well paid agency duly controlled from the top and working under an agricultural bank and branches will give far better service to the village rayats and labourers than a co-operative society of the two latter classes. And though India has not to-day a developed citizenship to rehabilitate village life, it has certainly a large army of enthusiastic young men who have been educated in the universities, and who are pulsating with a new life to share in the great task of building the economic life of the country. The working of the All-India Spinners' Association has shown what can be done by a central body to help the masses. And if only we had asked the villagers to run Spinners' Societies, they would have become dormant long ago. What little success can be claimed for co-operation in the Sunderbans in Bengal is due to the working of the societies under the supervision of a single estate which runs a supply store and markets the paddy of its tenants. Almost every case of success of a village co-operative society can be traced to a single person in whose absence the society goes to sleep. The way lies in the promotion of larger units of centralized organizations aided and controlled by the State operating through branches and a well-paid and trained staff.

The Kisan movement has a great place in the economic development of the country. The Congress being a national organization of all interests, many of them mutually exclusive, it cannot afford to represent the purely Kisan view. The labourers, the tenants, the un-economic holders and the holders of family-farms form the overwhelming majority of the rural population. They want a cancellation of their past debts, while the medium-sized and big holders want mortgage banks to lend to them to repay their past debts. The landless classes are against any reduction in land revenue pending

the provision for fair rents and minimum wage as between themselves and the occupiers of land. The holders of family farms are being used as handy tools by the big holders to obtain for themselves a reduction in land revenue and an unjust scaling down of debts which they could repay. The recent stunt is the cry for exemption of a minimum holding from sale in execution of decrees, so that in the name of protection of the owners of family farms, the big holders may repudiate the debts due to the creditors and get a small holding of their own for themselves. Another stunt is the cry for reduction in rents due to Zamindars so that again the rentier non-agriculturist class may benefit and be free to exploit the tenants under them. Again the Kisans are interested in the regulation of the turn-over tax so that the necessities of the poor may not be taxed and the luxuries of the rich may be heavily taxed. The Congress and its Ministries will be willing and able to carry out an economic programme on behalf of the poorer classes to the extent to which the Kisan movement is strong in the country. Congress leaders used to say that the sanction for the policy of the moderates was their Non-co-operation Movement. The Kisan movement occupies the same position to-day in relation to the Congress.

Much is made of the fact that the Kisan movement is a class struggle. One has sufficiently got accustomed by now to public criticisms that blame only those who are desirous of solving conflicting interests, and not those whose unfair exploitations of the needs of the poor are the germs of class conflict. It is responsibility to profiteer in an industry. But it is irresponsibility if we try to regulate the relation of capital and labour in an industry! An honest attempt to face local problems is laughed at, that we are too parochial to think of larger anti-imperialist problems. An appeal to the cultivators to strive for better living conditions as against landholders is misrepresented as dividing the country. One political leader went so far as to say that we breed local factions, meaning thereby that we did not sufficiently dope the poorer classes in the villages by dinning into them the so-called larger interests of the nation and persuading them to array themselves under the banner of village exploiters. The anti-imperialistic struggle is a mere shell without the ideology of the Kisan movement, and will hardly succeed without the conscious co-operation of the Kisans.

The Kisan workers want to resolve their conflicts by the methods of truth and non-violence, of love and fairness, and by truly satyagrahic methods, as the political workers try to do in their field of work. The earlier our politicians cease to mis-interpret the Kisan movement, the greater will be the sense of mutual goodwill and regard among the workers in the country.

## Reviews.

### THE PROBLEMS OF COLONIES

**THE COLONIAL PROBLEM: AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS.** By GIUSPPE UGO PAPI. (King.) 1938. 20cm. 70p.4/6.

THIS small book is, it need not be said, a vindication of the colonial policy of Italy. But curiously enough it is something more. It is also a plea for the removal of trade-barriers, and expansion of international trade.

Italy having raised itself to a high grade of civilization by its own efforts and rectitude, by 'the expansive force of its vitality', needs a colonial empire for obtaining raw materials and for affording an outlet for the investment of her productive resources. In order to utilize her position to the greatest advantage she has to introduce the state-monopoly of international trade and establish a regime by which the colonial economic life becomes supplementary to that of the mother country. She has to have a region in which the writ of Lira reigns supreme and the problems of exchange do not arise. But as a debtor country she must, in international agreements, be guaranteed a margin of balance of trade in her favour and also credits for developing her newly acquired colonies. These are the terms on which the Corporative State can regulate her foreign trade and take her rightful place in the family of nations. The argument may appear full of contradictions to the readers and singularly unconvincing; but it has been set forth with a confidence born of a set purpose, the purpose being to dance to the tune called by the Master of Italy.

Professor Papi clothes his argument in the familiar economic terms and creates a confusion in his own mind and in the minds of his readers by using the classical doctrines to suit his own purpose and for proving a case for Italy. The theory of comparative costs comes in both for his condemnation and commendation and extreme restrictions of the corporate regime are made to appear as a necessary condition of international collaboration. The book is illuminating as an illustration of how all thought—particularly economic thought—has been subordinated to the expansive force of Italy's vitality and therefore has been completely devitalized. The book in itself is a bad economic analysis and objectively speaking no contribution to the understanding of the dangerous world situation. It is, among innumerable other things, a tribute to the set jaw of the Italian Dictator's power and glory.

GYAN CHAND.

### THE PROBLEM OF LIBRARY CLASSIFICATION.

**THEORY OF LIBRARY CATALOGUE.** By S. R. RANGANATHAN. (Madras Library Association, Madras.) 1938. 22cm. 393p.

THE author of this book is too well known to the world of librarianship to need any introduction. As the Library Association Record for March 1936 puts it "If Mr. Ranganathan completes the series—he is only 43, and there seems every prospect that he may—he will have been the world's most prolific writer on librarianship." The book itself is the out-

come of the rich experience the author had in teaching to the students of the Madras University School of Librarianship. The book, written as it has been by a person about whose experience in librarianship, power of application and originality of thought, there can be no two opinions, is certainly a very welcome and valuable addition to the existing literature on cataloguing.

The book is divided into seven parts and deals with the following aspects of cataloguing:

Part 0 is concerned with definitions, terminology and guiding principles.

Part 1, (the longest), is devoted to Subject Entries. After theoretical analysis of the concept "Specific Subject of a Book" a practical method (Chain Procedure) is evolved for determining it and representing it in the Heading. Use of this procedure in the choice of Headings for "see also" References is also explained. The last chapter (15) of this part discusses the syndetic vs. systematic arrangement and establishes the essential similarity between the classified and Dictionary Catalogues.

Series Entries, Analytical Entries and Periodical Publications (all topics easily isolated) are studied in Parts 2, 3 and 4 and serve to illustrate the application of the principles enunciated in chapter 05 to specific problems and to the comparative study of standard cataloguing codes. The *Classified catalogue code* and the *guide to the cataloguing of the serial publications of the societies and institutions* are closely compared in Part 4.

Part 5 deals with the difficulties relating to Name Entries, personal and corporate. Its last Chapter (54) makes a systematic study of some of the outstanding rules of the A. A. Code. It singles out certain unsolved Author Entry Problems and shows that in certain cases the A. A. Code mixes up Author and Subject Entries.

Part 6 deals with various odds and ends. In Chapter 64 the concept of *Gestalt Value* of items in an Entry is introduced to clarify the problem of alphabetisation. In Chapter 65 the case is summarised for preferring the Classified Form of Library Catalogue.

The author is aware of the limitations of cataloguing. Rightly does he observe: "It is therefore practically impossible to maintain purity of style in a Library Catalogue, i. e. to sustain one style consistently for all time. The catalogues of a growing library can hardly escape the tendency sooner or later to become a hotch potch." He then explains in one significant paragraph the need for a new type of Catalogue "One Book, Many Entries" type, suited to the changed outlook of a Library. "The modern Librarian, however, is chiefly concerned to reveal as completely as possible the material available for readers. His function is "salesmanship" rather than safe-guarding. This outlook was formed by a new view of the library as an institution charged with the duty of making everyone in its area a customer and serving its customers so well, so promptly and with such exact reference to their special needs that they become 'regulars.' A library is not a museum but a workshop.

According to this view it is not the book rapidly worn out by constant use that should worry a library; it is the stay-on-the-shelves that need attention.

The author, though a strong advocate of classified catalogue, has not omitted to explain the several other types of catalogues and their merits and demerits. The cream of the book, however, is to be seen in 05 where the author

gives seven fundamental principles which should guide anyone who is interested in scientific cataloguing. These are, Law of Parsimony (Why not Economy?), Canon of Relevance, Canon of Ascertainability, Canon of Permanence, Canon of Currency, and Canon of Prepotence. The space at our disposal does not allow us to examine these canons in detail although they deserve to be read and re-read by every librarian. While, however, some of these canons have been discussed in his Prolegomena to Library Classification, the Canon of Prepotency is special to this book on cataloguing. Explaining the canon the author in his characteristically simple way observes: "Thus at one stage or another all parts of the address play a part in the sorting. If a mistake occurs at the first stage the letter will perhaps go thousands of miles out of its way. I know of cases in which letters addressed to "Londa" (a town in the Bombay Presidency) have been sent to London. This involved five weeks' delay and extra work for several Post Offices.

If a mistake occurs at the second stage the letter will go to a wrong part of the town, but can be returned to the right street in a day or two. Still the intervention of the Post Office is necessary.

If there is a mistake only in the house-number it can be rectified by the postman himself at the time of delivery.

Thus we see that the potency of place-name in a postal address is far greater than that of the street-name or the house-number. We may express this by saying that the place-name is the prepotential element in the address. We know of cases in which letters addressed by young boys simply to "Father" so-and-so street, so-and-so town have reached the right father's hands without much ado. I know also of an address in which everything else was correct but which omitted the name of the addressee. But since the letter came to the right house, it reached him nevertheless. The name of the addressee had been rendered impotent by more powerful factors.

Applied to letters, the Canon of Prepotence would insist that the name of the town be correctly, legibly and prominently written—of course a commonsense rule. Is it due to this canon working behind the scenes that the top-most line of an address, since it is liable to be obliterated by postal marks, is received for the comparatively impotent name of the addressee while the prepotential name of the town occupies the line farthest from such dangers?

Part 5 of the book is particularly valuable to cataloguers in India, for this is almost the first book on cataloguing which discusses personal names, corporate names, substitutes for names etc., from an Indian point of view. The Madras Library Association deserves to be congratulated on its procuring the services of such an eminent writer as Mr. S. R. Ranganathan. In the hands of the author, cataloguing is no longer a mere technique, but a theory. By writing such a book the author has, besides adding to the world's wealth of knowledge in cataloguing, has enhanced the status of India in the world of librarianship. The book is well got up and neatly printed. We have no doubt, the book will prove to be an acquisition to every library.

K. S. SRIKANTAN.

## SHORT NOTICES

**THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES AND TENDENCIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. VOL. I: ANALYSIS OF POST-WAR WORLD FORCES.** (2nd Edn.) By **BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.** (N. M. Chowdhary & Co., Calcutta.) 1938 18cm. 322p. Ra. 2-8-0

THE book under review consists of a series of studies of political conditions in the different countries of Europe and Asia during the immediate post-war years, 1919-1925. The first edition of the book was published in 1926; as it does not, as the author himself points out, attempt an historical study of current political facts and developments, but aims only at an analysis of political forces and tendencies, both internal and external, no attempt has been made to bring the different chapters up-to-date in material. Nevertheless, it is varied and delightful menu that is served up in it for the students of international politics.

The twenty-eight essays of the book deal with a wide range of topics, varying from the politics of boundaries to the evolution of the Angora Turk, from the rising tide of German nationalism to the eternal Chinese question, from the Ruha-Rhine-Saar complex to the politics of the Balkan states, from the League of Nations to the problems of Singapore. While limitations of space have prevented intense study of the numerous problems dealt with, the essays are marked by a correct appreciation of the principal trends at work, and effort has been made throughout to direct attention to the essential inter-relation of the apparently divergent forces animating recent political leadership in the more important countries of Europe and Asia.

The two papers on the League of Nations and the Third International are particularly marked by informed and sympathetic criticism; the tributes paid by Dr. Sarkar to the humanitarian work of the League, though it relates to an earlier period, are no less true at the present also. The I. L. O. has also come in for its due meed of praise from the author.

Writing in 1926, Dr. Sarkar refers almost despairingly to the eternal conflict between the Third International, the organ of war and revolution, and Geneva, with its message of law and order; there can be no more single illustration of the healing influence of time and the changes that the passing years bring out, than the fact that Soviet Russia, the spear-head of the Third International, is to-day a useful member of the I. L. O. participating fully in its many-sided humanitarian activities.

K. E. MATTHEW.

**INDIAN PRINTERS' DIARY:** Compiled by **E. A. KRAUSS,** Manager, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore; Printed and Published by the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore. 1939.

OBLIGED as the Indian printer is to explore the Wonderland of Printing with no other guide than his own sense of untrained perception, the great profession to which he belongs is never seen to rise above a level of unencouraging inferiority. The cultural atmosphere from which it derives sustenance and encouragement demands no quality

printing which thus suffers degeneration on account of the fact that any printing however contemptible is good enough for Indian needs, the cost of labour being paid for in an equally unfair measure. Wonderful printing is as much the creation of a technically skilled printer as it is the making of general patronage which is determined to obtain the very best for the price it does not grudge to pay. Legislation is the last thing that can infuse technical vigour and perfection into what prefers to remain at a low level of ill-paid efficiency. The only way as the compiler of this fascinating publication emphasises, is to make it possible for the printer to gather the admirable ropes of his calling in his skillful hands so as to avoid being an object of disrepute. It may not be known to him that in European countries, good printing is considered an impossibility in India with the result that when something really praiseworthy is met with, there is heard the exclamation that it is not typically Indian. Within the narrow compass of a diary now under review, an attempt has been made for the first time to incorporate information of practical utility to the printer such as is born of experience and extensive reading. The Indian printer who is unassisted by theoretical knowledge in an unvoluminous form, is sure to find in this book such help as will enable him to rise above the ordinarily unadmirable character of his output. A book so artistically printed as is characteristic of the Basel Mission Press of Mangalore and so closely packed with information indispensable to the printing profession is worth being recognised as a source of inspiration of better and yet better printing in India.

K. V. R.

**THE TRUE INDIA.** By C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen and Unwin.) 1939. 20cm. 251p. 3/6.

LACK of understanding is at the bottom of much of the world's trouble to-day. And India has suffered from this lack of understanding more than almost any other country. It is sad but true that bad news travels faster than good news, and India has had more than her share of so-called "interpreters" who have visited this country for a short time and who then write sensational books which are supposed to give the findings of much study in India. Hindu India has been the main field for these "exposiers." The false pictures that the books paint is partly due to a lack of knowledge and partly due to a deliberate over-emphasis on true but rare abuses which are a survival of a different age. In this book Mr. Andrews gives what he believes to be an answer to such books in the true interpretation of the facts. One of the strongest features of the book is his continual assertion that all abuses are being gradually reformed, and the reformers are the Indians themselves! It certainly gives a much brighter picture than the sensational writers are willing to paint.

Everyone knows of Mr. Andrews' great admiration for both Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Tagore and it is perhaps natural that he should describe, at length, their efforts at social reform, but this exclusive emphasis tends to give the impression that they are the only ones who are doing great work. This is a bit unfair to the many people

from Raja Rammohan Roy onwards who have been and are spending their lives in the service of the motherland.

M. C. RAO.

**THE PRESS LAWS OF INDIA** By K. B. MENON. (Author, Indian Civil Liberties Union, Bombay.) 1937. 20cm. 52p. As. 4.

"THE Press Laws of India" by Dr. K. B. Menon is the first of a series of small pamphlets by the Indian Civil Liberties Union. The author of this particular pamphlet is the Secretary of the Union. He has given us very briefly the history and criticism of the different "Press Laws" in India, as evidence of the trials and tribulations the Press is subjected to in this country. Though not much more can be compressed in a small pamphlet like this, yet one feels Mr. Menon would do well to go into more concrete details and give examples to strengthen the case against the Press Laws of this country.

P. N. DRIVER.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA.** By K. V. PUNNAIAH. (The Indian Press, Allahabad. 1938. 22cm. 409p. Rs. 6.
- THE CLASSIFICATION OF BOOKS.** An Inquiry into its Usefulness to the Reader. (H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1938. 22cm. 200p. S 175.
- FOREIGNERS AREN'T KNAVES.** By CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS. (Longmans.) 1939. 18cm. 152p. 5/-
- IF WAR COMES.** (An Essay on India's Military Problems.) By B. P. ADARKAR. (The Indian Press, Allahabad.) 1939. 21cm. 306p. Rs. 2-8.
- THE MADRAS STATES AND MYSORE DIRECTORY, 1938.** Edited by T. M. SATCHIT. (The Pearl Press, Cochin.) 1938. 25cm. 994p. Rs. 7.
- THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK, 1938-39.** (Bennett, Coleman & Co., The Times of India Office, Bombay.) 19cm. 1260p. Rs. 7.
- STUDIES IN CHINESE ART AND SOME INDIAN INFLUENCES.** By J. HACKIN, OSVALD SIREN, LANGDON WARNER AND PAUL PELLIOT. (The India Society, London, S. W. 1.) 1938. 28cm. 63p. 21/-
- THE PURPOSES OF EXAMINATIONS. A SYMPOSIUM.** By PHILIP HARTOG. (Evans Brothers.) 21cm. 146p. 3/-

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